Summer 1979

Pennsylvania Folklife Vol. 28, No. 4

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European Origins of the Pennsylvania Dutch
The Reverend WILLIAM U. HELFFERICH, D.D., (1873-1933), was great-grandson of Johann Heinrich Helfferich and fourth generation of pastors in America in that direct line. Educated in basics at home, he took his A.B. at Ursinus College in 1893 and B.D. from Ursinus Theological Seminary in 1896. He served Christ Reformed Church, Bath, PA, from 1898 until his death on 13 October, 1933. During his lifetime he was banker, storekeeper, newspaper editor, artist, musician, carpenter, clerk and minister and for a decade, Borough Clerk in Bath.

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LUDWIG SCHANDEIN (1813-1893) was a poet and provincial patriot in the Western Palatinate of Southwestern Germany. His major work, Gedichte in Westricher Mundart (Poems in the Western Palatinate Dialect) appeared in 1854; his Haus und Wohnung (House and Dwelling) was one of the first published Folk Cultural appraisals of the Rhenish Palatinate in 1867. At age eighty he died, just after the final revision of his Poems appeared.
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COVER: NEW DIRECTIONS
The Cathedral at Speyer on the Rhine. In 1529 the Protestant Estates spoke out at the Imperial Diet meeting there and many of the movements of Plain Folk up and down the broad Rhine Valley passed close by. Against that background, the ultimate in possibilities: Pennsylvania in America came to the attention of physically and spiritually exhausted religious refugees. The book is by Francis Daniel Pastorius, Plain leader who pioneered the German-town experiment in 1683.
European Religious and Spatial Origins of the Pennsylvania Dutch

By Lee C. Hopple

The ancestors of the original Pennsylvania Plain Dutch sects (Amish, Mennonites, Dunkards, and Schwenkfelders) were Protestants who migrated to Pennsylvania from Europe. Protestantism, a religious movement which began in the sixteenth century as an attempt to reform Roman Catholicism, was founded and developed by Germans in the Germanic regions of Europe. (Figures 1 and 2 compare the German states and the non-German provinces which contained large German populations in the sixteenth century with the political territories of modern Europe.)
From its inception, Protestantism was almost immediately divided by three sharply contrasting, simultaneously occurring, theological systems: Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Anabaptism. A minor Protestant religious movement, Militant Spirituality, had an important, but undesirable influence upon the three major movements, especially Anabaptism.

Some Protestant religious enthusiasts' and spiritualists' organized the theology of Militant Spirituality (Table I) in Germanic Europe (Figure 1) during the sixteenth century. Almost simultaneously and in the same region, other Protestant spiritualists and enthusiasts, proclaiming the Inner Light Doctrine, formulated a non-militant theology of Mystical Pietism called anabaptism (Table I).

The Pennsylvania Plain Dutch sects trace their religious affiliations to the beginning of Anabaptism, but they deny having any connections with Militant Spirituality. However, the early European phase of Anabaptism was so adversely affected by religious militancy, that the sixteenth-century theological developments and subsequent spatial experiences of the Anabaptist ancestors of the Pennsylvania Plain Dutch sects cannot be accurately evaluated, or fully appreciated, without an examination of the Militant Spirituality movements.

### Dates of Origin, and Termination, of the Various Protestant Theological Systems in Germanic Europe, 1517 to 1725

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<th>Year</th>
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<td>1523, Schwenkfelderism begins, and continues to the present</td>
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<td>1525, Zwingian-Swiss Brethren Anabaptist Schism begins, and ultimately becomes part of the Mennonites</td>
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<td>1537, Netherlands Menist Anabaptist begins, and ultimately becomes part of the Mennonites</td>
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<td>1550's, Brethren and Menists merge forming the Mennonites; the Mennonites continue to the present</td>
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<td>1708, Dunkard-Mennonite Schism begins, and continues to the present</td>
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<td><strong>LUTHERAN AND CALVINIST MOVEMENTS</strong></td>
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<td>1517, Lutheranism begins, and continues to the present</td>
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<td>1536, Calvinism begins, absorbs Zwinglianism, and continues to the present</td>
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**Sources:**
The Militant Spiritualistic Movements in Sixteenth-Century Germanic Europe

Three Militant Spiritualistic movements developed in sixteenth century Germanic Europe: the Wittenberg Puritan Reformation in Saxony, the Nicolsburg Community-of-Goods movement in Moravia, and Melchiorite Millenarianism in the Netherlands and Westphalia (Figures 1, 3, and Table I).

Although similar in their basic principles, each of the various militant movements exemplifies a distinctly separate attempt to reform contemporary sixteenth-century Germanic European secular and clerical life. Militant Spiritualists concurred with the non-militant Anabaptists in the belief that Christianity needed reform. The Militant Spiritualists and the non-militant Anabaptists publicly proclaimed that true religious reform required an immediate reinstitution of ancient Apostolic Church practices, particularly adult faith baptism. Unlike the Anabaptists the Militant Spiritualists seldom, if ever, practiced their beliefs since they were preoccupied with the idea of organizing a community-of-goods economy in Germanic Europe. In order to achieve their economic goals, the Spiritualists justified the use of physical force.

Almost from their beginnings, the three militant movements appealed to the peasant class, not particularly because the movements' clerical doctrines promised religious change, but because their secular ideals seemed to provide opportunities for improving the economic and social conditions of the masses. Since the militant movements were very popular among the peasantry, they rapidly obtained many converts and diffused with considerable velocity.

Despite the rapid success, the application of force by the militants proved its undoing. For, in order to terminate the violence, Militant Spiritualism was quickly and completely suppressed by Roman Catholics and Lutherans. Hence, the spatial history of Militant Spiritualism was brief, being limited to the period 1520-1536 (Table I), but its impact upon Anabaptism was nearly catastrophic.

The Wittenberg Puritan Reformation Movement in Saxony

A Militant Spiritualistic movement known as the Wittenberg Puritan Reformation was organized in the city of Zwickau, Saxony, during the early 1520's (Figures 1, 3, and Table I). This movement was founded by a group of Protestant preachers called the Zwickau Prophets. One of them, Thomas Muntzer (1488-1525), possessing a dominating personality, became the unopposed leader of these self-appointed Prophets.

The Zwickau Prophets emphasized, theologically, a return to the ancient religious practices of Apostolic Christianity; while at the same time, they objected to the concept of absolute scriptural authority which is a basic aspect of ancient Christian theology. Muntzer and his associates also believed in the community-of-goods economic principle and opposed the existing social order which was dominated, of course, by the nobility. Apparently the Zwickau Prophets viewed their socio-economic goals as being as important as their religious tenets. Muntzer and his collaborators hoped to obtain numerous converts and organize many Spiritualistic congregations. Thus, if Spiritualism became the predominant religious faith in Saxony, the Zwickau Prophets would be in a commanding political position. Controlling the religious and political destiny of the majority would make possible the establishing of a community-of-goods economy and the reorganization of the social order in Saxony, and ultimately, throughout Germanic Europe.

Orienting their preaching toward the impoverished, the Zwickau Prophets contrasted the poverty of the peasants with the affluence of the nobility. By opposing the nobility, the Wittenberg Puritan Reformation movement was acclaimed by the masses, and it diffused rapidly among the peasantry in Saxony, Hesse, Brandenburg, Westphalia, and Hanover (Figure 1). In addition
to those at Zwickau and Wittenberg, large Spiritualistic congregations were organized at Erfurt, Fulda, Frankenhausen, Mulhausen, and Allstedt during the period 1521-1525 (Figure 3).

By 1525, it was apparent to Muntzer that the only way to develop a community-of-goods economy was to overthrow the nobility by force. The Zwickau Prophets incited the peasants, alienating them against the nobility and creating a virtual condition of anarchy. Mob violence occurred, and the Peasants War erupted between the Militant Spiritualists and the Lutherans. Muntzer was killed and the violent Wittenberg Puritan Reformation movement was destroyed at the Battle of Mulhausen in 1525 (Figure 3 and Table I).

**The Nicolsburg Community-of-Goods Movement in Moravia**

Balthasar Hubmaier (1500-1528), who was closely associated with Thomas Muntzer and the militant Wittenberg Puritan Reformation, following the Battle of Mulhausen, migrated from Zwickau in Saxony to Waldshut in Baden (Figures 1 and 3). While in Waldshut, Hubmaier consolidated his clerical and secular views, both of which were strongly influenced by Thomas Muntzer. Hubmaier believed in ancient church practices, and he accepted adult faith baptism as a sign of the restored ancient Apostolic Church. Moreover, he taught the community-of-goods concept. And, having been involved in the activities of the Wittenberg movement, Hubmaier believed that physical violence was justifiable in the pursuit of one’s objectives.

Because of his beliefs, particularly that of the justification of violence, Hubmaier was expelled from Waldshut. He migrated to the Tyrol where he was imprisoned. Escaping from there, he fled to Nicolsburg in Moravia (Figures 1 and 3). Many Moravians accepted Hubmaier’s beliefs and he succeeded in organizing a Spiritualistic congregation which functioned economically as a small community-of-goods society. Impressed with his success, Hubmaier attempted to extend this Nicolsburg Spiritualistic movement (Table I) to other Moravian towns by force. But the use of force caused him to be imprisoned again, and this time he was martyred.

The Nicolsburg Community-of-Goods Militant Spiritualistic movement did not disappear with the death of Hubmaier. To the contrary, under the vigorous and sometimes even violent leadership of its new champion, Jacob Hutter (1500-1536), the movement was extended to Rossitz, Austerlitz, Znaim, and Eibenschitz between 1530 and 1535 (Figures 3). Members of these communities were soon known as Hutterites in honor of their dynamic new leader.

These Hutterites experienced an exceptionally severe persecution in 1536. Their communities were destroyed by the Roman Catholic Church and the Hutterites were forced to disperse throughout Europe (Table I). Many of the Hutterites ultimately regrouped and migrated to various parts of America. But the growth and development of the forceful Nicolsburg Community-of-Goods movement had been so suppressed that thereafter it was an insignificant influence upon Anabaptism.

### The Melchiorite Millenarian Movement in the Netherlands and Westphalia

Melchior Hofmann (1495-1543) began preaching the tenets of religious Spiritualism in the Netherlands in 1530 (Table I). Within several years, Hofmann migrated southward to Alsace, but the focus of his Melchiorite Millenarian movement shifted eastward to Westphalia, centering in the town of Munster (Figures 1 and 3).

Hofmann’s religious concepts were influenced by his Spiritualistic contemporaries, Thomas Muntzer and Balthasar Hubmaier. Like them, he believed that only ancient Apostolic Church practices should be permitted in religious worship and that the community-of-goods economic system should be developed. He was also obsessed with the millenarian concept, a doctrine which he considered fundamental to his faith. As a devout Spiritualist, Hofmann did not hesitate to use physical force if it would benefit his Millenarian movement.

Since Hofmann opposed the nobility, his Spiritualistic movement received immediate acceptance by the peasantry, and Millenarian Spiritualistic communal-type congregations developed in Emden, Kampen, Leiden, Amsterdam, and the Hague between 1530 and 1533 (Figure 3). Suddenly, in 1533, prophesying that the Millennium was about to occur at Strassburg in Alsace, Hofmann migrated to that city (Figure 3). After Hofmann’s departure from the Netherlands, his followers, now called Melchiorites, began to extend the Millenarian movement by force. In 1534, the militant Melchiorites were banished from Holland.

The Melchiorites migrated to Westphalia, reassembling at Münster (Figures 1 and 3). Meanwhile, several other very small Spiritualistic groups had developed in northwestern Germanic Europe. Harassed because of their unorthodox religious, economic, social, and political beliefs, these small groups also took refuge at Münster. This admixture of Spiritualistic groups caused each of them to be diluted. The Melchiorite movement was further modified by polygamy and communal living.

The Bishop of Münster, considering these practices to be extremely obnoxious, had the town besieged by his army in 1535; the Münster congregation was destroyed and the Melchiorite Millenarian movement collapsed (Table I). Melchior Hofmann died in a Strassburg prison in 1543, where he had been confined since his arrival there in 1533.
THE PEACEFUL ANABAPTIST MOVEMENT IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY GERMANIC EUROPE

Anabaptism represented an attempt to reform clerical life in sixteenth-century Germanic Europe. It did not comprise a deliberate effort to reshape the then existing secular system, as did the contemporaneous militant movements.

The Pennsylvania Plain Dutch are comprised of several sects which were founded either by the fusion of Anabaptist bodies, or by their splintering as a result of doctrinal controversies occurring within the movement in Germanic Europe between 1525 and 1708 (Table I). The Zurich and Gröningen branches of Anabaptism united, forming the Mennonite sect. In contrast, the Amish and Dunkards are Anabaptist sects which seceded from the Mennonites. The Schwenkfelders, who were classified as Plain Dutch until the end of the nineteenth century, evolved independently as an Inner Light sect contemporaneous with, but entirely separate from, the mainstream of Anabaptism (Table I).

The Brethren Movement

Ulrich Zwingli (1483-1531) resided in the city of Zurich, in the German-speaking canton of Zurich, in the Swiss Confederation (Figures 1 and 4). Zwingli, strongly influenced by Militant Spiritualism, was never able to embrace all its tenets. Furthermore he quickly became dissatisfied with the earlier established Lutheran Reformation (Table I). Zwingli disagreed with Luther’s interpretation of the sacraments and in general he considered Lutheranism slow moving and limited in scope. 46

In Zurich, between 1519 and 1521, Zwingli organized and articulated a theology which was distinctly different from Lutheranism and Militant Spiritualism. 47 He believed in the supreme authority of the scriptures, election to salvation, an organized state church system, and that the Eucharist is only a commemorative act. By 1523 Zwingli’s movement encountered difficulties, as subordinates questioned the validity of his doctrines. 48

A Zwinglian opposition movement convened at Zurich in 1525. Dominated by the influence of Conrad Grebel (1495-1526), the anti-Zwingli delegation promulgated the basic tenets of Anabaptism (Table I). As developed at Zurich, Anabaptist doctrine is an implicit expression of the Inner Light concept. The emphasis upon ancient Christian practices in worship services makes Anabaptist theology explicit. 49 Unlike the Militants who proclaimed a belief in Apostolic Church practices only to achieve economic and political goals, the peaceful Anabaptists sincerely believed that their faith was a representation of pure Apostolic Christianity and worked zealously to obtain converts. Succeeding in this work, Anabaptism spread rapidly through south Germany and became entrenched in the Netherlands.

Under Conrad Grebel’s supervision, the Swiss Anabaptists founded their first congregation in 1525 at Zollikon, a suburb of Zurich 50 (Figure 4). Addressing each other as brethren, the Zollikon Anabaptists were soon named Swiss Brethren (Table I). During 1525, the Brethren developed flourishing congregations at Appenzel, St. Gall, Berne, Basel, and Chur in Switzerland (Figures 1 and 4).

Between 1525 and 1530, Brethren Anabaptism diffused northward from the German Cantons of Switzerland into Alsace, Baden, Württemburg, the Palatinate, the Rhineland, Bavaria, and the Netherlands, and eastward to the Tyrol 51 (Figure 1). Major congregations were organized at Waldshut, Shaffhausen, and Schleitheim in Baden; at Augsburg and Regensburg in Bavaria; at Rottenburg and Ulm in Württemburg; at Landau in the Palatinate; and at Rattensburg in the Tyrol (Figures 1 and 4). Several smaller Swiss Brethren Anabaptist congregations were founded in the Netherlands (Figure 1). The strength of Roman Catholicism prevented the extension of Anabaptism to Italy and France (Figure 2).

Persecution of the Anabaptist commenced in 1525, and except for brief periods of respite and tranquility, continued to the end of the eighteenth century. The period of most severe ill treatment occurred between 1525 and 1536. This period of unrelenting
oppression coincided with the suppression of Militant Spiritualism. The Militant movements were scorned because they condoned physical violence which, of course, is why these movements were so quickly destroyed. And, as previously implied, since both Anabaptists and Spiritualists publicly proclaimed a common belief in Apostolic Church practices, they were considered as similar if not identical movements by other Protestants and by Roman Catholics. Thus, when the Militant Spiritualistic movements were being subdued, between the time of the Battle of Mulhausen and the siege at Munster, no effort was made to identify and exempt the Anabaptists from these persecutions.\(^5\)

Completely adhering to their faith, the Brethren refused to defend themselves against their persecutors. Members of the faith who did not become incognito were imprisoned or killed.\(^4\) Brethren congregations established in the larger cities between 1525 and 1530 were disbanded by 1535, but many smaller congregations were formed in towns and villages and worship services were conducted in secret, thus preserving the peaceful Anabaptist movement in sixteenth century Germanic Europe (Figure 1).

**The Mennonite Movement**

Because of the terrible atrocities inflicted upon them during suppression of the Militant movements, Anabaptism was bordering on extinction in Germanic Europe by 1536.\(^4\) Fortunately for Anabaptism, Menno Simons (1496-1561), a resident of Witmarsun in the Netherlands (Figures 1 and 4), was able to reorganize the movement.\(^5\) Simons, deeply impressed by the Anabaptists' willingness to accept death rather than deny their religious convictions, converted from Roman Catholicism in 1536 and became the dominant personality in the Anabaptist movement.\(^7\)

Following the destruction of Militant Spiritualism in 1536, persecution of the Anabaptists subsided enabling Simons to organize an Anabaptist congregation of what was soon to be called Menists at Groningen in 1537 (Table I and Figure 4). Using Groningen as a base, Simons traveled and preached throughout the Netherlands, founding congregations at Emden, Leuwarden, and Witmarsun (Figure 4) between 1538 and 1540.\(^5\)

Frightened by the growing number of Menist converts in the Netherlands, an Imperial Edict outlawed Anabaptism and caused Simons to leave the country. Traveling eastward across Hanover and Oldenburg and then southward through Westphalia and the Palatinate to Alsace, Simons organized large congregations at Wüstenfelde, Wismar, Cologne, and Strassburg during the 1540's\(^6\) (Figures 1 and 4).

Simons came into contact with the remnants of the Swiss Brethren movement at Strassburg in the early 1550's. Since they regarded each other as members of a common faith, communications developed rapidly and the movements soon merged. Because of the dominating personality and competent vigorous leadership of Menno Simons, the members of the two movements were collectively classified as Mennonites by the end of the 1550's\(^8\) (Table I).

In time, persecution of the Mennonites, especially the Swiss branch, increased in frequency and intensity. As Mennonite status in Germanic Europe became intolerable by the late seventeenth century, Mennonite migrations to southeastern Pennsylvania commenced.

**The Amish Movement In Switzerland and Alsace**

Mennonites in the Netherlands practiced a clerical (spiritual) and secular (worldly) *Bann*\(^9\) resulting from the influence of Menno Simons. Customarily, the Swiss Mennonites enforced the ban only in clerical affairs.\(^5\) Between 1560 and 1690, the Netherlands and Swiss Mennonites periodically reviewed the question of their differing interpretations of the bann, but, during this long period, they were unable to arrive at an amicable compromise.\(^4\)

In 1693, the Meidung\(^9\) controversy climaxed in Switzerland (Figure 1). Jakob Ammann, Mennonite bishop at Berne, insisted that the Swiss Mennonites adopt the orthodox Dutch Mennonite enforcement of the secular ban.\(^6\) Hans Reist, another Mennonite bishop, and Ammann's most vehement opponent, supported the relatively lax Swiss position concerning the ban.
A Reist-Ammann dispute occurred in 1693, thereby causing factionalism among Swiss Mennonites.55

Reist and Ammann, or their subordinates, discussed the Meidung controversy on several occasions between 1693 and 1696. Despite many consultations, disunity so increased that Ammann and the strict Meidung group seceded from the main body of Swiss Mennonites. The secessionists were named Amish in honor of their foremost leader, Jakob Ammann. They, the Amish, established their first congregation at Berne, Switzerland, in 169656 (Figures 1, 5, and Table I).

Proceeding from Berne, the center of the Amish-Mennonite schism, Ammann preached throughout north Switzerland. Under his guidance, congregations were founded at Uttigen, Hobstetten, Eggwil, Reutigen, Erienbach, Friedersmatt, La Chaux du Fonds, and Neuenburg during 169657 (Figure 5).

Although the Amish congregations were mainly comprised of former Mennonites, they also included some converts from Calvinism (Table I). In retaliation against the inroads into their membership, the Calvinists, who were now the religious majority in North Switzerland (Table I), severely persecuted the Amish. To escape oppression, the Amish began migrating to Baden, the Palatinate, and the Germanic sections of Alsace and Lorraine in 169658 (Figure 1). Ammann, himself, took refuge at Markirch, Alsace, during the same year. The presence of Ammann at Markirch established the focus of the Amish-Mennonite movement there in place of Berne59 (Figure 5). In addition to Markirch, Amish congregations were organized at Birkenhof and at Mumpelgart, Alsace; at Diesen, Lorraine; and at Breisgau, Baden; as well as at Kaiserslautern, Ixheim, and Essingen, in the Palatinate (Figures 1 and 5) between 1696 and 1719.

In 1719, another period of severe ill-treatment against the Amish began in southern Germanic Europe.60 In response, the Amish exodus to southeastern Pennsylvania commenced about 1720.

The Dunkard Movement in Westphalia

Gottfried Arnold (1665-1714) in the early 1700's, implied that the Mennonite faith was no longer absolutely pure because several ancient Christian practices were being ignored.70 According to Arnold, adult baptism by trine (triple) immersion in a flowing stream,71 the keeping of the love feast,72 and foot washing ceremonies, all Apostolic Church practices were almost completely neglected.

However, it was Alexander Mack (1679-1735), of the Palatinate, who refined and formalized Arnold's religious ideas. In 1708, Mack and seven religious sympathizers baptized each other in the Eder River near Schwarzenau, Westphalia, thus beginning a second schism among the Mennonites73 (Figures 1, 6, and Table I). The word Dunkard was adopted to identify the newly organized sect because its members baptized by immersion.74

The Dunkard faith attracted considerable attention, and becoming immediately popular, a large congregation developed at Schwarzenau. Many of the Dunkards were former Calvinists. Reacting identically as they did to the Amish movement, the Calvinists decided upon a policy of religious persecution in order to suppress the Dunkards, and thus preserve their own membership.

Imperiled by Calvinism at Schwarzenau, the Dunkards were compelled to relocate and they moved to Marienborn. Ill treatment there caused the Dunkards to migrate to Krefeld (Figure 6). Persecution at Krefeld, and knowledge of the availability of religious freedom in Pennsylvania, resulted in practically the entire Dunkard population migrating, via Westervian in the Netherlands (Figure 6), to southeastern Pennsylvania between 1719 and 1729.75

The Schwenkfelder Movement in Silesia

Caspar Schwenkfeld (1490-1561)76 occupies a unique place among the Mystics and Spiritualists of the Protestant Reformation.77 While serving as a noble at the court of the Duke of Munsterburg in Silesia in the early 1520's, Schwenkfeld was converted to Lutheranism.78 Disillusioned with the modesty of Luther's reformation, and believing that Luther's interpretation of the sacraments79 was too conservative, he articulated his Inner Light beliefs at Leignitz, Silesia, in 152380 (Figure 7 and Table I).
was expanding primarily at their expense, the predominant Luthers developed a bitter resentment toward Schwenkfeld and his followers, and threatened to institute drastic measures, namely persecution, to nullify Schwenkfelderism. In 1529, Schwenkfeld accepted an involuntary exile imposed upon him by the Lutheran Church in German Silesia, as an alternative to the persecution of his co-believers. The Lutherans believed that if Schwenkfeld were banished from Silesia, the movement would collapse.

During his long exile (1529-1561), Schwenkfeld conducted a steady correspondence with his Silesian sympathizers. His letters were instrumental in stimulating the further numerical development and areal dispersion of the faith from the four core centers to Harpersdorf, Armernuhr, Lauterseifen, Hockenuhr, and Langneundorf in the 1530's (Figure 7).

The exile imposed upon Schwenkfeld by the Lutherans failed to curtail the movement, and its membership numbered in the thousands by 1540. In desperation, a relentlessly bitter persecution was inaugurated against the Schwenkfelders in the late 1530's. Except for several brief respites, the period of ill treatment continued into the eighteenth century. All but annihilated by 1726, a surviving nucleus of 519 Schwenkfelders abandoned Silesia and relocated at Gorlitz, Saxony (Figures 1 and 7). Following a relatively brief residence in Gorlitz, the Schwenkfelders began their long and arduous journey to southeastern Pennsylvania. Most of these sectarianists arrived in 1734.

SUMMARY
The Protestant Reformation, consisting of three major movements—Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Anabaptism—and one minor movement—Militant Spiritualism—focused on Germanic Europe (Figure 1) where it began in the early sixteenth century. Lutheranism, the first successful major Protestant Movement (Table 1), from the time of its inception to the present has been recognized as the most theologically conservative branch of Protestantism. Hence, almost from the beginning of the Reformation, many of Luther’s followers and sympathizers became dissatisfied with the narrow scope of his movement and made many more-or-less successful attempts to secede and establish new sects. Among the earliest and historically most important of these were the Militant Spiritualists, who promised not only a return to the ancient rituals of Apostolic Christianity but also economic reform and the organization of community-of-goods societies in Germanic Europe (Figure 1). To achieve their economic objectives, these groups resorted to physical violence. Three temporarily successful Militant Spiritualistic movements developed between 1521 and 1530: one at Zwickau, another at Nicolsburg, and a third at Munster (Table 1 and Figure 3). The promise
of economic betterment caused Militant Spiritualism to enjoy much popularity among the peasant class, but the violent character of the movement engendered ruthless persecution by the established churches and, thus, by 1536 all three militant movements had been destroyed.

The persecutions provoked by the militant movements conditioned the adherents of the dominant religions to engage in similar repressive measures against the various peaceful Anabaptist sects that were arising. One of these, Schwenkfelderism, founded at Leignitz, Silesia (Table I and Figure 7) in 1523, evolved independently from but akin to the mainstream of Anabaptism in western Germanic Europe (Figure 1). The Schwenkfelder Movement spread rapidly into surrounding towns. A second group calling themselves Swiss Brethren, organized a nonviolent fundamentalist spiritualistic movement termed Anabaptism near Zurich in 1525 (Table I and Figure 4) and diffused rapidly through southwestern Germanic Europe. Almost vanquished by persecution, the movement transferred to Gröningen in the Netherlands (Table I and Figure 4). This new Menist movement, named for its foremost leader Menno Simons, spread eastward and southward (Figure 4). At Strassburg Menists and the remnants of the Swiss Brethren movement united to form the Mennonite sect. Following some doctrinal controversies a group of dissidents under the leadership of Jacob Amman broke away from the Mennonites founding the Amish sect at Berne in 1696 (Table I and Figure 5). Later, in 1708 another small band of Mennonites in Schwarzenau seceded from the Church and organized the Dunkard sect (Table I and Figure 6).

Religious intolerance was rife in sixteenth and seventeenth century Germanic Europe, and the Amish, Dunkards, Mennonites and Schwenkfelders were frequently and severely oppressed by the predominant state churches. Toward the end of the seventeenth century it was apparent to the minority groups that sectarian survival depended upon migration, preferably to America. At that time the Quakers initiated a program of advertising the religious liberty and economic advantages available to all people in Pennsylvania. Thus, many members of the Anabaptist sects, as well as other German Protestants, began migrating to Pennsylvania. The great exodus of Germanic European Protestants to southeastern Pennsylvania spanned the period from 1683 to the time of the American Revolution, with the greatest numbers arriving during the middle half of the eighteenth century. 

Calvinism is that branch of Protestantism founded by John Calvin and absorbed the parallel movement, Zwinglianism. Calvinism and all the Protestant denominations affiliated with his theology, are collectively referred to as the Reformed Church. (Ibid., pp. 197-282. (The Calvinist Reformed movement represents a liberal middle-of-the-road departure from Lutheranism.) Anabaptism is that branch of Protestantism founded by theologians supporting a return to the religious practices of the Ancient Apostolic Church. (Ibid., pp. 399-426.) (Anabaptism represents a radical departure from Lutheranism.)

Militant Spiritualism was formulated by Protestant theologians who advocated the use of physical violence to achieve their religious and secular goals. See George Hamlin Williams, The Radical Reformation (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962).

Enthusiasts believed that God reveals himself to man directly by a special act outside His revelation in the scriptures. See Mayer, op. cit., pp. 573-574.

Spiritualists hold beliefs that, to the nonbeliever at least, appear to be identical with those of the Enthusiasts. (Ibid., pp. 573-574.) See footnote 4.

Inner Light Doctrine refers to an alleged divine presence in the soul which guides and enlightens it. (Ibid., pp. 9-95.

Mystical Pietism is a belief that man can gain direct understanding of God and divine truth through insight in a manner different from sense perception. Mystical Pietism is an explicit expression of the Inner Light Doctrine. See Mayer, op. cit., pp. 573-574.

Differences between the terms Anabaptist, Enthusiast, Spiritualist, Inner Light, and Mystical Pietism are very subtle. However, interpretation and actual practice by various religious groups differ considerably.

Regardless of any other beliefs, the use of physical force by the Militant Spiritualists clearly differentiates them from the Anabaptists. Hereafter, the words Militant, Spiritualist, and Enthusiast are used interchangeably, and separately from Anabaptism.


(Ibid., pp. 4-11.

Foot washing, adult baptism in a stream, and keeping of the Love Feast are examples of such early Christian practices.

(Ibid., op. cit., pp. 2-27.

(Ibid., pp. 4-11.

(A belief that the scriptures superseded the dictates of the church prelates.

(Littell, op. cit., pp. 2-27.

(Ibid.


(Littell, op. cit., pp. 2-27.

(Ibid., pp. 16-17

Daniel-Rops, op. cit., pp. 312-316.

(Ibid., op. cit., pp. 16-17.

Williams, op. cit., p. 18.

(Ibid.


C. Henry Smith, The Story of the Mennonites (Berne, Indiana: Mennonite Book Concern, 1941). This reference is the source of spellings for the section on the Mennonite movement.

Hillenbrand, op. cit., p. 234.


(Littell, op. cit., p. 20.

The place names Netherland and Holland are used interchangeably in this study.

Millenium signifies the second coming of Christ. See Smith, op. cit., p. 75.

Dicken, op. cit., pp. 130-133.

Smith, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

Hillenbrand, op. cit., p. 220.

Endnotes

Lutheranism is that branch of Protestantism founded by Martin Luther. F. E. Mayer, The Religious Bodies of America (4th ed.; Saint Louis, Missouri: The Concordia Press, 1961), pp. 127-196. (Lutheranism is the most conservative of the major Reformation movements.)
"Smith, op. cit., pp. 78-79.
*Williams, op. cit., pp. 259-264.
*Smith, op. cit., pp. 71-79.
*Williams, op. cit., pp. 259-264.
*Hillenbrand, op. cit., p. 259.
*Ibid., p. 220.

Zwingli denied Luther’s doctrine of Consubstantiation and took a position approximated by Schwenkfeld who considered the Eucharist a commemorative act of faith.

*For explanations of Lutheranism and Zwinglism, see Mayer, op. cit.; Williams, op. cit.; Littell, op. cit.; and Thomas M. Lindsay, A History of the Reformation, Vol. I (2d ed.; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1910).
*Williams, op. cit., p. 118.

*For an explanation of Anabaptist theology, see Littell, op. cit., pp. 1-14; and Smith, op. cit., pp. 9-95. See also footnote 15.
*See footnotes 47 and 49.
*Smith, op. cit., pp. 9-95.

*Williams, op. cit., p. 392.
*Ibid.
*John A. Hostetler, Amish Society (Revised ed.: Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1968), pp. 28-35. This reference is used as the source of all spellings for the section, “The Amish Movement in Switzerland and Alsace.”
*Meding is the German word equivalent for Bann. Ibid., p. 62.
*Hostetler, op. cit., pp. 28-35.
*Ibid.
*Ibid.
*H. M. J. Klein, History and Culture of the Amish People (York, Pa.: Marble Press Co., 1946).
*Hostetler, op. cit., p. 38.
*Ibid., pp. 38-44.
*floyd E. Mallott, Studies in Brethren History (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing Co., 1957), This reference is used as the source of all spellings in the section, “The Dunkard Movement in Westphalia.”
*Klees, op. cit., p. 61.
*Ibid.
*Samuel K. Brecht, The Genealogical Record of the Schwenkfelder Families, 1731-1737 (New York: Rand McNally, 1923), p. 7. This reference is used as the source of all spellings for the section, “The Schwenkfelder Movement in Silesia.”
*Brecht, op. cit., p. 8.
*Sacrament, in theology, is a rite ordained as an outward and visible sign of inward and spiritual grace. Roman Catholic and some Protestant churches regard the sacraments as having been instituted by Christ to provide grace. See Mayer, op. cit., pp. 62-93.
*Brecht, op. cit., p. 8-9.

“The external word refers to the statements of the saints as recorded in the scriptures. Ibid., pp. 400-402.

“The internal word refers to the pronouncements of Christ as recorded in the scriptures. Ibid., pp. 400-402.

“Divine Revelation is a term that indicates an absolute belief in the last book of the New Testament. Ibid., pp. 400-402.

“Eucharist is one of the Christian sacraments called the Lord’s Supper.

“Schwenkfeld proclaimed the Eucharist to be only a mystical commemorative act. Luther propounded the doctrine of Consubstantiation, wherein the body and blood of Christ are permanently united with the consecrated bread and wine. See Mayer, op. cit., pp. 62-93.


MAP SOURCES

(Many of the sources referred to in this study also have been helpful in the preparation of some of the maps.)

Daniel Rops, H. Protestant Reformation. (Figures 1, 3, 5, 6, and 7).

Eppes, Edward W., ed. Goodes World Atlas. 12th ed. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964. (Figure 2).
Fosdick, Great Voices of the Reformation. (Figures 1, 4, 5, 6, and 7).
Hillenbrand, The Reformation. (Figures 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7).
Hostetler, Amish Society. (Figures 1, 4, and 5).
Lindsay, History of the Reformation. (Figures 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7).
Littell, Anabaptist View of The Church. (Figures 1, 3, and 4).
Mallott, Studies in Brethren History. (Figures 1 and 6).
Schultz, Christopher. Map prepared from the diary of Christopher Schultz recording the emigration of the Schwenkfelders from Silesia to Philadelphia. Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsburg, Pa. (Figures 1 and 7).
Schultz, Selma Gerhard. Caspar Schwenkfeld von Ossig. (Figures 1 and 7).
Smith, C. Henry. Story of the Mennonites. (Figures 1, 3, and 4).
Williams, Radical Reformation. (Figures 1, 3, and 4).

ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

The English colonists of the New World relied for their winter-time comfort on the reflected heat of a fire built in the gable-end fireplace(s) of their homes. Large firebacks, (arch topped iron plates, decorated with symbolic or heraldic motifs) positioned against the backs of the fireplaces, fulfilled the dual purposes of heat reflector and masonry protector.

It was left to the German settlers of Pennsylvania to introduce into America the five plate heating stove, which utilized the heat available in the kitchen fireplace to raise at least one other room of the house to a liveable temperature.

Unlike the English of the Middle Colonies, the German settlers usually constructed their dwellings around a central chimney, with the fireplace on the inside wall of the kitchen and a five plate stove, mounted into a jamb in the back of that fireplace, jutting into the "stube" (living room) beyond (see Figure 1). The remaining room on the ground floor of the typical German house, the "kamer" (bedroom) was seldom heated by anything more than the warm stones of the chimney back.

Consisting of a top, bottom, front and two side plates, the five plate heating stove (see Plate 13) functioned much like a modern radiator, transferring the heat of coals from the fireplace into the room behind.

This then, is the story of one of those five plate stoves, the discovery, reproduction and installation of which was a memorable episode in the restoration of the Peter Wentz Farmstead,1 an episode that once again underlines the danger of approaching any historical project with pre-conceived, stereotyped notions about the way our ancestors lived.

While it is true that many Pennsylvania Germans built their homes around a central chimney, the findings at Peter Wentz prove that "it ain't necessarily so". Peter, wealthy second generation Pennsylvania Dutchman that he was, apparently decided, that with a little ingenuity, he could build a Georgian manor house with a gable chimney and center hall, stylish enough to impress his Philadelphia friends,2 but without sacrificing the comforts of the traditional, continental central chimney. He accomplished this architectural feat by simply rotating one gable-end fireplace 90° from its normal position on the outside wall, jutting it into the middle of the building where it became the divider between the winter kitchen and the dining room (see Figure 2). Following traditional German building practices, he even anchored one end of the summer beam into the chimney pile, but on the cheek, rather than the face!

His arrangement of the fireplace and chimney allowed Peter to install a five plate stove in the dining room, clear evidence of the prior existence of which (in the form

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1 An original stove plate "Temptation of Joseph." From the collection of the Mercer Museum of Bucks County Historical Society.

Plate 1

Figure 1

Layout of kitchen fireplace with five plate stove behind it.

Figure 2

Floor plan of Peter Wentz house showing position of fireplaces, five plate stove and summer beam.
of additional bracing under the floor) became apparent during the restoration. While it was thus known that a five plate stove was needed, it wasn't known what kind. The traditional five plate stove was composed of identical top and bottom plates, two decorated side plates (one left and one right) and a matching front plate, all held together by a long bolt with a butterfly nut. The Peter Wentz Restoration had none of those parts, no clues at all regarding the decoration or text of the side plates nor where the stove was made - but early in the project pieces began turning up. An almost complete top (or bottom) plate was discovered, and shortly afterward its missing section was found. Next a front plate dated 1749 (a logical date for the stove that could have been in Peter's first house built in 1744) was discovered at the farm across the road from the restored Farmstead. It was however, the discovery of the fragment of a left-hand side plate, found during the removal of a nineteenth century smoke house that tied the whole thing together (see Plate 2.)

![Plate 2](image)

*Plate 2  Original left-hand side plate of "Temptation of Joseph" stove, found in the smoke house on Peter Wentz Farmstead.*

Just enough detail was visible through the ashes and corrosion on the Wentz plate (again see Plate 2) for it to be identifiable as a "Temptation of Joseph" plate which, like the front plate found across the road was dated 1749. These identical dates, plus the matching division of text from decoration on both the front and side plates was proof enough that both plates had, at one time, been integral parts of the same five plate stove. Adding to the excitement of these discoveries was Mercer's comment that (at the time of his writing) no front plate for a "Temptation of Joseph" stove had ever turned up.

While the top/bottom and front plates were sufficiently intact, as found, to be used as patterns for their reproduction, it was obvious that a better plate than ours was needed as a pattern for the side plates. The logical place to look for such a plate was the Mercer Museum, where, among their collection there proved to be a practically perfect "Temptation of Joseph", right hand plate. Our request to borrow the plate to use as a pattern met with a very reluctant refusal, since the Museum is bound by Henry Mercer's will, specifically prohibiting any of the objects in their care from ever leaving the Museum. The Museum Staff did however, generously give us permission to make a wax impression of their plate, from which a plaster pattern could subsequently be made. Since neither we nor they had ever before done anything like this, the day the impression was made proved to be memorable for us all. We did, despite predictions to the contrary, eventually come up with a good, clean impression of a "Temptation of Joseph" plate (Plates 3 and 4.) Lynn Poirier and the Staff of the Mercer Museum could not have been more helpful; we will be forever in their debt.

![Plate 3](image)

*Plate 3  Four inches of molten paraffin covering "Temptation of Joseph" side plate at Mercer Museum.*

It is probably fair to say that the one outstanding trait of the average Pennsylvania Dutchman is his frugality. Fortunately for the material culturist, few (if any) Pennsylvania Dutchmen ever discarded anything usable, certainly never anything as fine as a cast iron stove plate! We have seen stove plates being used as stepping stones, as run-off plates under downspouts, as door steps and as hearth pavements to fireplaces. Mercer reports in addition, their use as firebacks, chimney covers and dripstones, and to have found them in old houses, old mills, chicken houses, tobacco sheds, antique shops and junk yards. The Peter Wentz side plate was found being used as the hearth in a smoke house.

It is probably fair to say that the one outstanding trait of the average Pennsylvania Dutchman is his frugality. Fortunately for the material culturist, few (if any) Pennsylvania Dutchmen ever discarded anything usable, certainly never anything as fine as a cast iron stove plate! We have seen stove plates being used as stepping stones, as run-off plates under downspouts, as door steps and as hearth pavements to fireplaces. Mercer reports in addition, their use as firebacks, chimney covers and dripstones, and to have found them in old houses, old mills, chicken houses, tobacco sheds, antique shops and junk yards. The Peter Wentz side plate was found being used as the hearth in a smoke house.
The next problem was to find a foundry interested in casting the plates for our stove, a problem that disappeared when Don Stoughton, President of Confer-Smith & Company, of Hamburg, Pennsylvania, became interested in our project and agreed to take on the job.

Since we did have the original plate to use as a pattern, the top/bottom plates proved to be no problem to the Foundry, nor did the front plate, which only needed some chips replaced on the return (which clasps the side plates and holds the whole thing together) to convert that original plate into a pattern. The problems came in producing the side plates from the wax impression that we provided. From that impression a plaster pattern had to be made, from the pattern a sand mold, from the mold a master pattern (in this case aluminum, although its 1749 ancestor would have been of carved wood) (see Plate 5), from the master two more sand molds, and from those molds two side plates for our stove.

The actual casting of our plates proved to be duck soup for Confer-Smith, where “chust aside” of the modern foundry there is a Special Products department where sand cast objects are produced in much the same manner as they were when our plates were first cast in 1749 (Plate 6.)

While eighteenth century founders would have poured iron for stove plates directly into impressions in the sand floor of the casting shed, twentieth century safety requirements dictate that our reproduction plates be cast in sand flasks. To begin the process, the pattern had to be attached, face up, to the top of the drag (bottom half of the flask), which was then turned upside down and filled with founder’s sand, rammed hard. The bottom of the drag was then covered with a follower board to keep the sand from falling out, and the whole flask turned over. Parting sand (which allowed the impression to remain when the flask was opened) was then sprinkled over the face of the pattern, and the cope (top half of the flask) filled tightly with rammed and stomped sand and leveled off. Sprue holes (which allowed the steam to escape) were tapped in, the cope and drag separated, the pattern removed (leaving its impression in the parting sand), spacers inserted, the flask closed, molten iron poured into the impression and, following sufficient time for cooling, a finished plate extracted. (See Plates 7 through 13). Finally mounted into a jamb in the back wall of the winter kitchen fireplace, jutting into the dining room, with its front end supported on a squared, red sandstone block and with its surface blackened (with a non-traditional shoe polish), our reproduction stove has been taken for the original by casual visitor and museum professional alike.
Plate 7
Ramming the sand into the drag of the flask being used to cast a "Temptation of Joseph" side plate. Confer-Smith Company.

Plate 8
Attaching the follower board to the drag.

Plate 9
Stomping the sand of the cope.
Plate 10  
Making sprue holes in the sand of the cope.

Plate 11  
The cope and drag are separated prior to removing the pattern (on the bottom side of the board shown in this Plate.)

Plate 12  
Inserting spacers around the completed impression prior to closing the flask.

ENDNOTES:
Mid-eighteenth century restoration project of Montgomery County, the Farmstead is located near the intersection of Routes 73 and 363. It is open to the public daily (except Monday) from 10:00 a.m. until 4:00 p.m. (1:00 to 4:00 p.m. Sunday.)

'It certainly impressed George Washington, for the General twice chose it for his headquarters, stopping there before and after the Battle of Germantown.

'A later house with a history of ownership by a member of the Wentz Family.


'Ibid., pp. 189-190, 255; Plates 81, 82, 83.
The Journal of
Rev. Johann Heinrich Helfferich
A Diary of His Journey across the Atlantic in 1771. A literal rather than a free translation of same.

Translated by William U. Helfferich

Johann Heinrich Helfferich was the son of Johann Peter Helffrich, who was first identified as Reformed Church member inhabiting the village of Mittel-Schefflenz. In 1718 John Peter Helffrich was accepted as a citizen of the city of Mosbach, within jurisdiction of which Mittel-Schefflenz fell. The Trade Guild of Mosbach in 1720 admitted Johann Peter, saddler; he appears on the tax lists from 1720 to 1741. When he died, he left his widow Anna Magaretha (Dietz) and one child, Johann Heinrich.

In the friendly old town of Mosbach, surrounded by vineyards on the slopes rising from the Elz Creek, Johann Heinrich Helfferich was born on 22 October, 1739, and was baptized two days later in the church of Mosbach. The birth certificate records the name of the god-father, Johann Elias Helffrich, Innkeeper of the Crown at Unter-Schefflenz. — Rudolf P. Hommel

As a boy John Henry attended Latin School and then University of Heidelberg, where he matriculated 17 February, 1758. Three years later he passed his first examination, was licensed to preach and was received as candidate of theology. Supervised by his stepfather, Rev. Peter Helffenstein, he preached for 3½ years at Sinsheim and Rohrbach and after seven years as vicar in the vicinity, was approved for service in America in 1771. As noted in the accompanying Journal of the Voyage, Helfferich travelled with his half-brother, Rev. John Conrad Albert Helffenstein and John Gebhart from Amsterdam to New York on the Ship Rising Sun, Arthur Helme, Master. Both young ministers survived the hardships of travel well enough.

Soon after arrival, Helfferich participated in the Coetus of Pennsylvania, in which he also served as Secretary (1776, 1785) and President (1777, 1786.) In 1785 he wrote the most elaborate statistical letter ever sent to Holland authorities; in it he first suggested the need for a school of higher learning to prepare young men for the ministry. Church Fathers in Holland turned down the idea (it would indeed compete with the College at New Brunswick) though Franklin College did begin in 1787.

Helfferich's own copy of Hohfner, On Evangelical Unity, with autograph inscribed eight years before he brought the book to America in 1771.

Helfferich was a leading sponsor of the Widows' Fund and served as officer on that board for years. Helfferich was a good preacher and a fine theologian. He spoke freely and clearly with a ringing voice.

— William J. Hinke
Soon after his arrival in America, Helfferich went to Philadelphia and from thence to Weissenberg, then in Northampton, but now in Lehigh County, Pennsylvania; his charge, the congregations in that area. He married, 3 November 1773, Maria Magdalena, daughter of Andrew and Elizabeth Gertrude Sassamanhausen. Soon thereafter his father-in-law presented him with land and dwelling. He resided there until the time of his death.

On the 6th of September, 1771, at nine o'clock in the morning we set sail from Amsterdam. At twelve o'clock we stuck fast on a bar, and signaled “Vorspann,” that is, a ship of lighter tonnage, which had to tow our heavier ship. At four o'clock we ate dinner; at eight o'clock we drank coffee. By nine o'clock we were in the middle of the Zuyder Zee. The anchor was cast, and we slept.

7th. — This morning, at five o'clock, the anchor was raised. The wind blew so hard that we could not stand on our feet. My cousin and Mrs. Baas, and my brother were seasick when they attempted to rise this morning and had to remain in bed. Mr. Gebhard and I stayed up until two o'clock; then we, too, got sick, but there was no severe sickness. At twelve o'clock we reached the Texel (Island) and with much difficulty the anchor was cast. This region is very dangerous on account of the many sand bars. We rode very near a wrecked ship. The wind blew very hard into the night, and the ship rocked constantly. At two o'clock we ate chicken but they did not taste - we had no appetite -. At four o'clock we drank coffee; at eight o'clock we ate ham and eggs and slept well.

8th. — Sunday. It was the intention to raise the anchor, but the wind was again strong against us, and we rode at anchor. Towards evening it stormed so hard that the top masts had to be taken down. No fire was allowed on board ship, and the Captain cooked soup for the baby on a lighted tallow candle. At eleven o'clock this night a ship passed ours and tore the anchor; another was immediately cast out, and we slept while a severe wind was blowing.
9th. — The wind blew very hard. By two o'clock in the afternoon it blew so hard that three anchors were cast out and the masts were taken down. Most of this day Mr. Gebhard was obliged to remain in bed; however, it did not come to vomiting. It rained terribly.

10th. — The wind moderated somewhat, but was still strong against us. This day we had great fun with our Captain on account of the language.

11th. — Wind blew stronger again. Another ship that could not use its anchor drifted around our ship and collided with ours, striking us once real hard.

12th. — The wind moderated somewhat, however it was still contrary. Today the cabin boy was to dry a pillow for the baby, and threw it into the sea.

13th. — At last the wind was from the South; the anchors were raised, the sails spread and we left the dangerous Zuider Zee and after eight o'clock we sailed into the Texel (Stroom) and at twelve o'clock we were on the sea. In the afternoon there was a calm and we made a little progress. At night the wind rose, accompanied with constant rain, and continued until the

14th. — toward evening; but still continued contrary.

15th. — The wind remained contrary until evening, when we had good wind. All night we could not sleep on account of the terrible rocking of the ship. It continued

16th — until noon, when we arrived at the harbor of New Castle, but on account of contrary winds and the tide we could not enter it until evening.

17th. — We went on shore with the Chalaise (Sloop). Here we were constantly followed by a crowd of “Mischen.” They kissed the baby; we were expected to kiss their babies.

18th. — We went to New Castle. The same thing happened here also.

19th. — Accompanied the Captain on shore.

20th and 21st. — Remain on board. These days two passengers joined us.

22nd. — Went ashore.

23rd. — Mr. Gebhard and Mrs. Baas went ashore to make some purchases. The pilot and a sailor had a fight.

24th. — Landed on the southern side of the shore and visited a glass factory.

25th. — Went on shore.

26th. — Remained on board ship.

27th. — Likewise.

28th, 29th, and 30th. — Went ashore.

OCTOBER

1st. — Went ashore. Another passenger.

2nd. — Wanted to go to sea, but the wind being contrary, we went ashore.

3rd to 5th. — Remained in the harbor. During this time Mr. Gebhard had “stroblich” fallen in love with Madame Nitchin, and she with him.

6th. — Sunday. At one o'clock in the afternoon, in company with a large number of ships, two of which collided violently with ours, we sailed, with the tide, out of the harbor into the sea. Toward evening all of us, except my brother, had to vomit on account of the terrible rocking of the ship.

7th. — Vomiting continued. The wind was contrary and the waves, high as a house, beat into the ship.

NOTE: The word “Mischen” and “stroblich” mean, I believe, Menschen and sterblich: People, and in the case of love, head-over-heels. WUH

8th. — The vomiting ceased somewhat. The wind was still contrary. Waves dashed constantly on the foredeck. Mr. Gebhard ventured once, upon the foredeck; a wave struck and wet him through and through.

9th and 10th. — Still continued the same.

11th. — Sighted Holland and the Texel; but could not, on account of contrary winds, enter the canal. Up to this time we had to stay in bed; had no appetite, no desire for tobacco, and could not sleep at night; to-day, however, we went on the fore-deck, and I smoked a pipe of tobacco.

12th. — Wind strong against us. All this time we tacked. This morning a wave dashed through the window into the Cabin, into a passenger’s bed; he was almost drowned in bed. Mr. Gebhard sat on the “Sesret” (sessel) the ship was rocking violently; a wave came and he fell off. Every one was afraid to sit at (on) that place, for every moment a wave comes and cools one off. Towards evening it stormed furiously. For two days few sails stayed spread for us.

13th. — Had a terrible storm. The sails were furled, the top masts were taken down, the helm lashed, and the ship given over to the mercy of the wind and the waves. The waves came rolling like high mountains; soon we were in the heights, soon in the depths; soon on this side, soon on that side. We passed a sleepless night and the waves beat into the Cabin.

14th. — The storm still continued. In order to prevent the waves from breaking the windows, shutters were bound before them. All day a fight was kept burning in the Cabin. Many chickens and ducks that were on the fore-deck died, on account of the much sea water. Were they drowned or did the drinking of the water kill them? Since we left Amsterdam we lost, all told, 86 chickens. The storm drove us back so far that with good wind we shall have to sail two days until we reach again the place where we were. Two masts on the front part of the ship were damaged. It was fortunate that our ship is a strong one and that we were on the “ostene” sea, where there was no occasion to fear cliffs and sand bars. It was terrible to hear the roaring of the wind and
the fury of the waves. When the waves struck the ship it sounded like the thunder and crack of cannons. We committed ourselves altogether into the Divine Providence. During the night the storm moderated somewhat, but the sea was still boisterous. My brother had to vomit.

15th. — Towards noon the sails were set. Towards evening the wind was good, and we sailed fairly quiet; but the ship still rocked a good deal.

16th. — Our cabin boy had an undesirable breakfast, the Captain beat him, justly too, because by his talk he had occasioned a difference of opinion between them. The wind remained favorable until night, when it grew contrary.

17th. — Had another storm. The sails were furled, the helm lashed, and the ship given over to the wind. At night, while we were eating the cold veal left over from dinner, we were frightened not a little. The cabin boy, very much alarmed, called the Captain, who left the table and went on the foredeck. I also left the cabin in order to see what was the matter, because we could not understand the Welsh. However, I could see nothing, and therefore went back into the cabin but was much afraid because of the alarming conversation on the foredeck. When the Captain returned to the cabin we were relieved of our fear. I asked him what had happened, whereupon he told us that a large ship under full sails had headed for ours, and because it had the wind in its favor, might have wrecked our own. My brother still suffering and vomiting.

18th. — The storm abated somewhat and the sails were again set, and we tacked, because the wind was contrary. The first storm of the 13th drove us back, near to Hamburg; the second storm of the 17th did not drive us quite so far.

19th. — The wind still contrary. The distance that we covered in 14 days we should have made in 3 days — with fair winds.

20th. — Contrary Wind.

23rd and 24th. — Wind from the West, which was contrary. Towards evening it was calm, and this calm continued.

25th. — until towards noon, when it blew steadily from the West. Towards evening we cast anchor before Cones (Cannes) [really Cowes-WTP] and entered.

26th. — in the afternoon the harbor. We were immediately taken on land and remained here until the

30th. — eleven o'clock at night. Here we discovered that more than 100 ships had been wrecked during the last storms. Here my cousin was cured of his dangerous sickness.

31st. — In the morning at 2 o'clock the anchor was lifted, and we sailed under good, but light winds until

NOVEMBER

3rd. — when it was contrary. But towards evening we had strong North-West wind, which was very good and continued until the

4th. — in the night, when it ceased. At this time we left the Channel.

5th. — wind from South-East, but not strong.

6th. — Somewhat stronger.

7th. — Very strong East-North-East wind. In twenty-four hours we sailed 132 English miles.

8th. — We had strong East wind. We laid 130 miles behind us. During this time waves frequently swept the fore-deck, and the ship rocked very much.

9th. — We had very strong East wind. In 24 hours the ship sailed 150 English miles. Last night a rat came and tried to take the baby's Pacifier, but because it would not let it go, it was bitten into the finger, which bled freely. The baby cried lustily, the mother awoke, and the rat, unsuccessful in its attempt, made good its flight. In the afternoon the wind changed, coming from the South. After one o'clock we were precipitously (idiomatic) scared, dark clouds arose; it lightened and thundered. On account of a severe rain all the sails were furled, the passengers helped to pull, but because the sails were wet and heavy, some of the ropes tore. Twice we were struck by whirlwinds, but fortunately the sails were furled. A wave struck the window, broke it and the whole wave came into the cabin. Mr. Gearhard, who was near the window, was so covered with water that he could no longer be seen. My brother also got wet, and the rest of us retreated upon chests and trunks. A passenger's bed was filled with water. Our fears were increased when the captain called us to load the guns. (My cousin, Mr. Doll, had a double barrel and a single barrel gun. Mr. Gebhart's was wrapped up and hence could not be used. This is all in the line of weapons we have on board ship; not even a cannon.) The two guns were quickly loaded with a heavy charge, and we went on the fore-deck to ascertain the cause. We saw it with our eyes. All the sails were immediately set again, in order to avoid the danger. This was the danger, the water was drawn up into the sky, now here, now there, in the form of a pillar, which falls at once, and with such force that, were it to strike a ship, would smash it to pieces; or were it to touch but a part thereof, it would crush in the fore-deck. The English call it a water spout. In Latin it is called cataractæ nube, or rapidus ex aere nimbus. It is said that the water spouts follow ships. The only method of dispersing these waterspouts is by separating the air by shooting off guns. By evening we were out of danger, the clouds having scattered somewhat. At eight o'clock - at night - another wave struck the window and tore it loose - (But did not
break it). My brother and Mr. Gebhard were both drenched again. I sat on a trunk and because I did not raise my feet quickly enough the water ran into my shoes. This day we were not far from the Azores Islands, midway between this point and Lisbon. At night the shutters were bound - before the window.

10th. — Wind from the North-East. This morning a fight occurred between the pilot and a sailor. The Captain was called, who picked a piece (diomatic) and threw it, hitting the sailor. Since yesterday at twelve o'clock until to-day at twelve o'clock we covered 98 English miles. Toward evening we had strong South wind. Scarcely had a passenger dried his bedding with a great deal of pains, when this evening a wave again came in through the window and everything was wet again.

11th. — We had little East wind. We were - to-day - on the same path as yesterday.

12th. — North wind. Sailed 42 English miles. Last night we lay at one place for six hours, because there was no wind. Evening, North-East.

13th. — We had a little North wind. We sailed 68 English miles. This afternoon the Captain, pilot, cabin-boy and three sailors dived head-first into the ocean, and swam for a time on the stomach, then on the side and on the back; they stood upright in the water, one of them even turned a summersault.

14th. — The wind was contrary, South-West, and we had to sail North-West. We sailed only 37 English miles. The night before we lay becalmed for eight hours, there being no wind.

15. — Wind still strong South-West. We headed West-North-West. We covered 84 English miles. At night, however, we sailed 14 miles South-East-South; i.e., we covered our course, deducting them from the 84 miles left 70. To-night a rat bit holes in the child's fingers, which bled profusely. My brother had to vomit — was he seasick or did he see the sight of blood cause the retching?

16th. — North-East. We sailed South-West by West. Covered 50 miles.

17th. — South towards West-South-West. Sailed 115 English miles. At night the wind came from South-West.

18th. — Strong wind from South-West. We still sailed North-West. It stormed so terribly that only two sails could be kept up. One sail was torn by the wind; also some of the ropes. The helm was lashed fast. Toward evening and during the night the storm reached its height. Though the shutters were tied to the windows, a wave dashed in through a window; we retreated to trunks and chests. A passenger who was in bed jumped up quickly, but was already wet through and through. The water had destroyed the fire place and the water-closet — two very necessary things. The latter was rebuilt on the following day. One did not longer need to worry about the rats, which before had incommoded one very much. The winds were much more severe this time than during the storms of the 12th and 13th of August (September)? The sea was also more boisterous. The waves were high as mountains. The cook was almost swept away from his fireplace and overboard by a wave. The Atlantic Ocean West Sea on account of its great latitude is not so bad as the North Sea; on the latter the waves follow rapidly one after the other, and often strike, the one on the other. We sailed 86 miles toward West-North-West.

19th. — The storm abated, but the wind was South-West, and we sailed West-North-West. We made 37 English miles.

20th. — South by West toward West by South. Covered 55 English miles.

21st. — South-West toward West and North-West. We sailed 65 English miles.

22nd. — We had hardly any wind, made only 19 miles.

23rd. — Little wind, we made only 4 miles toward South-West by West. This afternoon the Captain jumped into the sea, and actually three stories high — (from the highest part of the ship or did he dive so deep?)

24th. — Little East wind. We sailed 5 English miles toward South-West by West.

25. — The wind was contrary, South-West and West. Since yesterday afternoon at twelve o'clock until this morning at four o'clock, 30 miles toward South-West, and until to-day at twelve o'clock, 32 miles toward West-North-West and North-West-North.

26th. — The wind was contrary, South-West. We sailed most of the time South, and covered 39 miles.

27th. — Still South-West. We sailed 104 miles, partly South by West; partly South. This morning a pig weighing 23 pounds was killed. Now one more weighing about 35 pounds remains. For eight days already we have had no veal; nothing but some specks of ham and peas. All the flour that we had tried to save was spoiled by the rats. What shall become of us? But God will help.

28. — Mostly North-East. Covered 96 miles; 72 toward South by West and toward West-South-West.

29th. — East-North-East. We sailed 80 miles toward West-South-West.

30th. — East-North-East. We sailed 66 miles toward West-South-West. In the afternoon and at night we had no wind at all. The Captain, Pilot and several sailors took a bath (in the sea). A passenger and a sailor were tied to a rope in order that they might take a bath. It was funny to see this, as they swallowed a lot of sea water. They did not venture far from the ship on account of the large fish that abound at this place. For several days an Abnus (?) came quite near to the ship. It was wonderful to see
it throw the water into the air. He was, according
to the opinion of the pilot from 10 to 14 feet long.
This kind of fish have the mouth underneath, toward
the belly, have long teeth and are able not only to
bite off a man’s arm or leg, but to swallow him at
once. (Shark?)

DECEMBER
1st. — North-East-North. We sailed 33 miles toward
South-West. Toward evening the wind was strong.
2nd. — North-East. We sailed 108 miles toward
West-South-West.
3rd. — North-East. We sailed 104 miles toward
West-South-West.
4th. — North-North-East. Sailed 109 miles toward
South-West. This afternoon we came near having a
sea fight. Already since yesterday morning we saw a
ship in the distance that was sailing toward the West.
This morning we saw it ahead of us (because it was
not carrying a heavy cargo, it sailed fast). It furled
all its sails except one and thus gave us to understand
that it wished to speak with us. The Captain changed
our course towards the West, and in the afternoon at
three o’clock we came near the ship. It carried a
white flag and proved to be a French ship on its way to
Martinique. The Captains asked through the mega­
phone, whence they came and whither they were going.
The French Captain asked the latitude and longitude,
and our Captain told him. Because we carried no flag,
the French Captain grew angry and demanded that
we raise one, and as it was not done immediately, he
threatened to open fire on us with his cannon. If we
had only had six cannon, he would, perhaps, not have
threatened us, or our Captain would have made things
interesting for him. He accordingly ordered the flag
brought and unfurled. But hardly had it been displayed
when he ordered it drawn down again, and this so
angered the Frenchman, that he wheeled back several
cannons in order to load them, and with this he
stopped (idiomatic). But, had he fired, our Captain
(so he said) would have taken the wind from him and
grappled with his ship when the matter would have been
settled in a hand to hand fight. But the Frenchman
went on his way without shooting.
5th. — East-North-East. We sailed 126 miles toward
the West.
6th. — East-South-East. Sailed 109 miles toward the
West.
7th. — East-South-East. Sailed 130 miles toward the
West.
8th. — South. Sailed 120 miles toward the West by
West.
9th — We sailed 69 miles toward West by North,
wind most of the time from the South. This evening
at about five o’clock, while the sails were being turned,
the Captain, the pilot and a German sailor, heard on the
middle mast, under which they stood, a mournful voice,
as though of a dying person, repeat the word, “O, yes,”
three times, the last time very weakly. Towards evening
the lightning was sharp, but in the distance.
10th. — South-South-West. We sailed 65 miles
toward West by North. In the afternoon we had, once
this, then that kind of wind, soon none at all. Then
again terrible rain.
11th. — Wind mostly from the South. We sailed
60 miles towards West by South. At twelve o’clock
noon we had a storm with terrible rain, and at two
o’clock a severe storm. The middle part of the fore­
mast broke and much cordage was torn. It was a sad
sight to look upon, and we heard the still worse
news that things would grow worse. O God, be our
help! It would appear that on the coast of America a
terrible storm must have been raging, for the waves
come from North-West like mountains. But the storm
ceased again as quickly as it had arisen. The wind
from the North and the sea boisterous. For two days
already we have been dissatisfied with our Captain.
We are disgusted with the abominable food and can
hardly endure it any longer. For this reason the Captain
no longer speaks with us, but we don’t care, the sailors
are with us. They also complain much, and often
beat the cook, wishing he were the Captain.
12th. — North-East. Sailed 87 miles towards the
West. To-day the broken piece of the mast was set
up. Often a storm comes and the top sails must be
furled. The middle part of the middle mast is also cracked
and the ship’s cut-water is broken. Things look pitiful.
Last night the baby was bitten twice on the forehead
and in the hand by rats; also this night.
13th. — East. We sailed 100 miles towards the
West, by South.
14th. — East. We sailed 100 miles towards the
West. Yesterday the Captain gave us good words
again (idiomatic). He is afraid that we might report
him to the “Kaufleuden” in New York and in Amster­
dam, to whom the ship belongs.
15th. — South. We sailed 105 miles towards West.
At noon there were various thunder shower clouds,
and at night we had rough weather.
16th. — North. Sailed 83 miles, West. In the after­
noon and at night we had hardly any wind.
17th. — West-NorthWest. Sailed 30 miles towards
South-West by South. This continued until the
18th. — In the morning at six o’clock, when the
wind came from the North. We sailed 86 miles,
partly toward South-West by South; partly towards
the West. This afternoon we caught the first fish on a
hook, it was a dolphin, weighing between 40 and 50
pounds, and tasted very good. In his stomach he had
a flying fish that was quite white, and full of
pricklers like a file. We had already had three flying
fish that had leaped on the ship's deck. They cannot fly far.

19th. — North-East. We sailed 90 miles towards West by North, and towards West-North-West. At noon we saw a young whale; for more than an hour he sported about the ship, and often came so near that we were not more than three steps distant from him. He was over forty feet long; grey above, and under­neath, green. Old whales are over 120 feet long.

20th. — East. We sailed 76 miles toward West-North-West. For over an hour, this afternoon, we saw, as far as the eye could see, everything full of fish; they stuck out, once their heads, then their backs above the water. They belong to the kind that eat men (?). The English call them porpoises. In Latin they are called Phocacnae. At night the wind veered to North-West by West.

21st. — North-West. We sailed 69 miles; partly towards West-North-West; partly toward West-South-West. This morning we caught another dolphin, a small one.

22nd. — Little wind. North-North-West and North. We sailed 53 miles toward the West by South and toward West.

23rd. — Very little wind; soon North-North-West. We sailed 46 miles West-North-West and North-West by West.

25th. — Very little wind, North-East. Sailed 59 miles North-West. This morning they began to divide (portion out) the water. Everybody—passengers as well as sailors—received about two and one half cups, and of this he had to give some for tea and soup. In the morning the passengers received a small glass of wine. The thirst due to the salted and stinking meat, of which we receive barely enough to keep body and soul together, is almost unendurable. Some peas are left, which are served twice a week with bacon and some salted veal. Frequently finely chopped cold veal, biscuit and water are cooked as a soup, which of course reduces our allowance of water. We are already suffering from hunger and thirst. With good winds we ought to reach New York in ten days; but it is also possible, even if we were in sight of New York harbor, to have seven or more weeks of North wind, which would necessitate our seeking a Southern harbor (port). To-day we again saw a ship in the distance. By noon it was alongside. It came from Boston and was sailing South on a whaling expedition. Our Captain asked for latitude and longitude, and he found that all during the voyage he had missed his bearing by only a few miles.

26th. — We sailed only 28 miles toward North-West, wind from North-East.

27th. — North-East and East. Sailed 71 miles North-West.

28th. — North-East and East. Sailed 80 miles North-West by North. For some time it had been so warm that we did not know what to do. At night we slept between sheets. Now it is somewhat cooler and the farther North we come the colder it is.

29th. — Very little East Wind. We sailed only 38 miles, North-West by North. This day was unusually hot. In the evening the captain took a bath—in the sea?

29th. — Very little East Wind. We sailed only 38 miles, North-West by North. This day was unusually hot. In the evening the captain took a bath—in the sea?

30th. — Very little East wind, we sailed only 23 miles towards North-East by North. Yesterday and to-day we saw two ships; but because there was no wind we did not come close together. Today we ate our last oatmeal porridge.

31st. — Very little and variable winds, South-West and West. We sailed only 25 miles towards North-West by North, and North-North-West, and North. This afternoon we saw in the distance another waterspout. May God keep it away from us! In the afternoon the wind was contrary, North-West and North-North-West. At twelve o'clock, this night it came from North-East by North. Tonight at seven o'clock—twelve o'clock at home, we wished the friends a happy New Year.

1772

January the 1st. — North-East by East. Sailed 22 miles North-East and North-East by East; and 77 miles toward North-West by North. At night the wind veered toward the South.

2nd. — South-West by West. Sailed 94 miles towards North-West by North. To-day we sighted two ships in the distance. In the afternoon the wind was West-South-West. During the night the wind veered from West to North-North-East.

3rd. — North-North-East. Sailed 40 miles toward North-West by North, 18 miles towards North-East by East, and 13 miles North-West; in all 76 miles. During the night the wind veered from South to South-West, and there was little of it.

4th. — West-South-West. Sailed 30 miles North-West by North. Last night a sailor saw a woman clad in white on the fore-deck. Toward evening the wind was fresh, and lightning was seen in the distance. During the night the wind became contrary; strong North-North-West.

5th. — Very strong North-North-West wind. We sailed 43 miles towards North-West by North; and 49
towards North-East. There was a fierce storm and the waves frequently swept the fore-deck.

From this point on the handwriting and the ink show that another hand wrote the journal. (Whose?)

6th. — North-North-West. We sailed 40 miles North-East and 31 towards the West. This day at noon we saw a sloop, and turned in its direction; could not reach it, however, as it sailed past too quickly. At evening no wind whatever. At ten o'clock at night a terrible storm from South-West.

7th. — South-West. Sailed seven miles towards the West; 74 miles Northwest by East. The waves struck the fore-deck frequently. This morning our last pig, that we have kept against exigency (idiomatic), was swept overboard by a wave. Gebhard was thoroughly wetted by a wave; had to vomit and went to bed where he stayed most of the day. The storm tore our top-sail, but drove us toward land, and in four days, under this wind, we should reach New York. This afternoon my brother, Mr. Gebhard and two passengers were covered by a wave that swept the ship; I was below filling my pipe. During the night the storm ceased and the wind veered from North to East.

8th. — Little East wind. We sailed 75 miles towards North-West by North.

9th. — Strong North wind. We sailed 72 miles towards North-North-West.

10th. — North by West. Sailed 23 miles towards North-East by East, 41 towards West, 17 towards West by North. Yesterday and to-day it was too cold to be on the fore-deck.

11th. — Wind contrary. Sailed 16 miles towards North-East; 16 West. Several times we took soundings, but found no bottom at 720 feet. The ocean is so deep that the soundings made by a royal ship did not find the bottom at 1,200 feet. In the afternoon wind North-East and during the night very strong East-South-East.

12. — East-South-East. Sailed 104 miles North-North-West. To-day we found bottom at a depth of 210 feet.

13th. — Wind West. Sailed 100 miles towards North by East. This morning we saw the shores of New Jersey. At eight o'clock this evening we saw the light on a tower on the shore, that is lighted every evening to guide the ships. We ran hard by a sand bank and at twelve o'clock this night, to our great joy, cast our anchor in the harbor.

14th. — In the morning at eight o'clock we entered the harbor and at two o'clock we were on the land in America.

Thou God, has helped us through storm and tempest, help us also in that which we here wish to do!

Bath, Pa. W. U. HELFFRICHT
March 13, 1912.

For the information of the reader, a free translation of the Journal of Johann Heinrich Helfferich was done by William J. Hinke and appears in The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography v. 38 (1914), pp. 65-83, where it may be consulted for a comparison with this family translation. They are not contradictory in spirit.
One of the facets of shared values in the German-American experience is the exchange of dialect poetry in European and American newspapers and journals. Henry Harbaugh, Charles Calvin Ziegler, Arthur Graeff and John Birmelin come to mind as Pennsylvanians who sometimes paraphrased in Pennsylvaniaisch Deutsch items they had read in Pfälzisch, Schwabisch or others of the numerous Mundartengedichten (dialect poems) published in Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Leipzig, Berlin or Kaiserslautern. Conversely, many of the works of such American writers were originally issued or had highly successful editions in the German market, for they had a sympathetic appeal to the reader.

In point of fact, Die Auswannerer of Ludwig Schandein (1813-1893), was actually written in the Westricher sub-dialect of Pfälzisch (Palatinate dialect.) That language form existed in the rolling farm country and sharp valleys of the mountainous Western Palatinate, in that “up-country” set back from the Rhine River. Westrich speech peculiarities sounded from the villages around Kaiserslautern to the very western settlements bordering on France. In explanatory statements, Ludwig Schandein pointed out to the readers of his small book, Gedichte in Westricher Mundart (Stuttgart & Tubingen: J. G. Cotta, 1854), that proper Pfälzer Mundart (Palatinate dialect itself), which was to be found along the Rhine, had submitted to a far greater infusion of High German than had the speech forms of the Westrich. The poet saw both that language and the people of the Westrich as remnants of the old Kingdom of Austrasia, which had pre-dated Charlemagne by centuries.

This poem appears to have been written between 1848 and 1852, perhaps going through several preliminary forms before reaching the printed stage in 1854, along with other brief poems by Schandein. But he continued to make changes and to experiment with words, ideas and effects until it appeared in the third edition a more cohesive unit with a perceptible story line throughout most of its length. Some evidences of cutting and patching still remain, but he has created a moving tale which carried out the poet’s responsibilities as he saw them. We print it as it is found in the 1892 edition of his Gedichte.

In a publication of the era in which first forms of this poem took shape, August Becker’s Die Pfalz und die Pfälzer (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1858), delimited the area they both understood to be the Westrich: “Now the name ‘Westrich’ particularly applies to the territory on the west slope of the Vosges.” (p. 5.) He further described the rough, mountainous terrain cut across by numerous wide-meadowed stream valleys, small villages, with a raw climate and silent inhabitants. Westrichers were border people who benefitted from the exchange of goods and who appropriated foreign words into the dialect. “On the green valley floors of the Blies, the Glan and the Lauter, a quiet people work hard for their potatoes and their hay, pasture their beautiful flocks, their lives based upon an ages-old but still changing culture, a mixture of German, Celtic and Roman.” (Becker, Die Pfalz, p. 21.)

Die Auswannerer, brief narrative poem by Herr Schandein, offers much to American readers and students of comparative culture today. He wrote with enthusiasm of the ambitions of youth, regretting they were frustrated by the demands of a conservative society. Schandein was a provincial in an ever more nationalist Germany. Not surprising at all is his strong protest against the military service of his day and the similarly not unexpected Southwest German complaints against the Prussification of the system. Modest are those complaints and subsumed under other matters, yet he makes his regional appeal most appropriately in the dialect.

Students of Folklife studies will find much of interest in Schandein’s easy references to folk procedures, beliefs and values in nearly every verse. So much escaped the formal historians for so long! Farm tenancy, planting and harvest, social cohesion of the village group all turn up in minor references, yet
there are gems of information for the searching. Schandein’s alliterative line: “Roppt Rose ‘raus un’ Rosmarin’,” was picked up by Birmelin in his search for Waardeschpielerei. But see how the author also ties in the sorrow in the graveyard and the need for remembrances as the migrants head out toward America: there are the rosemary and the fresh gravesite soil as symbols of both grief and hope. Albert Becker in his Pfälzer Volkskunde (Bonn: Schroeder, 1925), wrote “the evergreen strong-scented rosemary plays its part in baptism, death and marriage; at a burial, mourners, officials and pallbearers, indeed each and every participant, wear strands of rosemary.” (p. 117.) Nevertheless, he also points out, in certain parts of the Southern Palatinate, the young girls seem to tie it to the age-old search for a mate:

Rosmarin und Thymian
wächst in unserm Garten.
Mutter gib mir einen Mann,
ich kann nicht länger warten!

Rosemary and Thyme
Grow in our garden.
Mother, do send me a husband,
For I can wait no longer!

Describing the people of this Western Palatinate region, Schandein in 1854 used a phrase from Rhine-land folk usage which has a precise parallel in Pennsylvania: “Wie aber das Land, so auch die Leute, das Volk.” (But as the land is, so also are the people.) The pattern of land use is important to the story line: Heenerich states his small defiance of the system by failing to report when called for military duty, so his punishment was loss of the Deel (Teil or tenant-right.) Small difference that made to Heenerich, for he had already fled to America. But his aged father and the relatives who found the farm-work too burdensome without his young strength - they were all denied continued use of the land for Heenerich was key to the tenure. The terror such a move brought to farm folk is shown by the forced evacuation even at a time when the crops they had planted would yield the harvest to their successors.

Ludwig Schandein presumed to try to save for posterity those dialect speech patterns of the past which, even in his time, were threatened. He had an obvious feeling for his subject and for the dear Bauernvolk who spoke the dialect so effortlessly. It was a marvelous way to express thoughts exactly. To be factual, Schandein changed the text quite considerably from its first appearance in 1854 (when for instance Heenerich forfeited only “sei’ Sache” - his things, not his Teil) to the improved, cohesive and more polished version of 1892. It is the latter we have printed here.

This Ludwig Schandein is surely a preservationist who would fit into our present mood in that regard. He was not only conscious of the world they were about to lose; he was one who would not yield without a struggle. But his strongest force, his most convincing power is his ability to tell his story, to paint the verbal picture. He does that in grand style. Perhaps it is both interesting and appropriate that the final poem in his little book, this chief claim he has to fame, closes with these lines:

Mei’ Lied is aus. Och wär es wor,
Ja dar-es trellich sich erfülle!
Ich hall demit e’ Bild eich vor,
Ich hann kee’ Macht, nor gure Wille:
Der Dichter lebt nor in sei’m Lied,
Un’ was er singt, er singt es frei;
Un’ wo sei’ Aah was Scheenes sieht —
Do is aah ganz sei Herz debei!

My song is done. Ah, were it true,
It really would fulfill itself!
Therefore I bring a picture before you,
Though I have no power, only good will:
The poet lives only in his song
And what he sings, sings freely forth:
And where his eye spies something beautiful
He puts his whole heart into it therewith!

Translations in this article have been made expressly for this printing by the EDITOR.
Es dur-eem allemol so weh,
Wann eens sowe it ewegg muss geh’
For immer in die Welt cnaus,
Das Halle mer un’ ehr net aus.
So hot es dann mich a’getribb,
Ich hann for eich es hi’geschriib
Was dodebei gedenkt ich hann,
Ich hann’s geda’ sogut ich kann.
Wie weit ehr eich aah dun entferne,
Ehr solie net die Sprooch verlerne,
Die Sprooch, die wo so herzvertraut,
Wie keeni jo so heemlich laut.
Un’ gäng se je ‘mol eich verlor,
So lese das Gedicht do vor!
Un’ dun-er das, so denken als
An ’s Weschterich un’ an die Palz!

So manjem geht’ sei’ Glick in Trimmer,
Un’ manjes jaht umsunseht d’nroh;
Will dann eens fort, ja fort for immer,
So steh’-mer dießbekimmert do.
Wie dut mei’ Herz doch an eich hänke,
Nau gehn-er noh Amerika!
Ehr liewe Leit’, was dun-er denke?
Den weire Weg in alte Dah’?

It always causes so much pain
When one must go so far away;
Forever out into the world
That he and we cannot endure it.
So then that has in fact impelled me
To write it down for you:
Whatever I have thought about it;
Which I’ve thought out the best I can.
As far away as you may travel
You shall not lose the language once learned,
The tongue which is so dear to the heart
That noone whispers it about in secret.
Should anyone though start to lose it
Then just read out this poem aloud!
And doing that, then think about us
In the Westrich District of the Palatinate.

For many, their luck just goes to pieces
And many hunt it for years in vain.
If one departs then, gone forever
All us there stand so deeply grieved.
How must my heart hold attachment to you
Now that you go for America!
Your dear, dear folks, what do they now think
Of the road ahead in their old days?
Doch 's is verbei. Was will m' r mache?
Der Wah steht fertig vor der Der,
Das Nerigscht druf vun ehrn Sachen,
's is nix vergess, die Fracht is schwer:
Guck Spinnerad un' 's Faireschippche,
Das Schaffgeschern wo hackt un' haut,
Aah 's Pothebache, 's Millichdippche,
Ja 's Stannerche for 's Sauerkraut.

Still, all that is past. What is to be done?
The wagon stands ready outside the door,
Necessities of life atop your own things
Nothing forgotten, what freight weighs more?
See spinning wheel and fire shovel,
Sheep-shears which cut and chopped about,
The leg-restraints, the old milk-dipper
and "stenner" - can pour for sourkraut.

Un' in der Kischt die A' gedenker
Vun Gross un' Klee', vun alle Leit';
Der Name druf vun jerem Schenker
un' beigeleht for jeri Zeit
Bin Reimcher noch mit gure Lehre,
So ebbes net noh Wunsch geschiert;
Aah Bichelcher for dree ze bere —
Die hann-se dann vum Parre krieth.

Remembrances are in the trunk now
From big and small, from all such folk;
The names on them from all the donors.
Now laid aside for other times
Are little rhymes to teach good lessons
And something else to make wishes come true;
Such little books to make his wishes come true —
They came from the Pastor to be sure.

Vor allem bleibt en' lieb un' daier
's Familjestick, e' Stat un' Pracht,
Ehr Heeligdum bei jerer Feier —
Die Spieluhr, wo die Musik macht:
Sie spielt vum Rhei' die freie Lierer,
So deck gesung aus hellem Hals
Kann 's Leiblied aah der frohe Brirer —
Das is "Der Jäger aus Kurpalz".

Above all remains a dear and beloved
Old family-piece, of status and pride.
Our sacred thing at every celebration —
The music box where tunes reside:
It plays the free songs of the Rhineland
So often sung with loud clear voice;
Knows the favorite song of joyful brothers —
The "Jaeger aus Kurpfalz" their choice.

Sie bin in Kerch hi'. Voll Vertraue
Werd noch um Gottes Seh gefleht;
Der Parre mahnt uf Gott ze baue,
Die ganz Gemee' leeh im Gebet.
Die Kerch is aus . . . Netz heeszt's sich schicke
Zum schwere Gang, zum Adjesah';
Sie denke deck: "Ja wer'd s aah gliche?"
Doch 's zieht se noh Amerika.

You're in church here. Full confident
Of the winnowing of God's blessing;
The pastor wants us to build upon God,
The whole congregation takes strength in prayer.
Church is over . . . Now we are called to send ourselves
To most difficult departure, to the spoken "Good-bye."
They think moreover: "Will it go well?"
For he is leaving for America.

Amerika! Ehr Leib un' Lewe',
Ehr eenziger, der is jo dort!
Der wollt for Freiheet sich erhewe
Musst dann in Nacht un' Newel fort:
Ehr Heenerich, sunscht so gutmiring,
Is 'nannernoh in's Dowe kumm,
Hot sich vergriff un' hot wie wirig
De' Sawel for die Sens genumm.

America! One's entire life work,
One's only son, he's over there!
He wants to stand up for freedom
Must then take off into foggy night:
Their Henry, otherwise so good-natured,
Increasingly became enraged.
As if mad, he shouldered others' burdens,
Took up the sword in place of scythe.
Who shall guide the plow in farm fields?
Who fetch the fuel, chop the wood?
Who mows for hay and threshes grain,
Really, who is so proud of his work?
Who makes the best driver for the horse,
Cares for the goats in their little stall?
Sure, Henry! And he does all that
Plus more indeed than people know.

All that is past. The boy is yonder,
Endured since then both fear and need.
He’s better for that than he was before it;
He earned thereby his slice of bread.
In his letters one can read it —
He wrote so well more recently:
They speeded up his need to travel
Into the free land, now right away!...

The farm fields draw them straight away,
They worried much of who’s to blame
Held up quite well in that hard time.
How they sowed — Now nothing from it:
“O God in Heaven, protect the leaf-blades,
Send dew and rain, send sunshine!
Let no hail damage cut the crop down —
Shall all the harvest not be ours!”

But be it cold or be it sultry
They blamed themselves and worried more
That God should spare them — but in vain —
What beat them was reassignment of the land:
Henry, of age for the military drawing,
When his turn came, failed to appear;
For this young boy thus to dispute it
The forfeit was his inheritance-share.

They just stand there and look around them,
In looking, are completely lost;
Never had things looked so lovely
Nor so sad, as they stepped out to count the cost:
“Farewell to fields and your green meadows,
Pine forest, valley and the heights!
Obliged to go from you forever —
Entirely too harsh, but now, Farewell!”
Sie gehn erum noch in de’ Haiser,
Hann nie aah net e’ Kinn gekränkkt:
Do klaht eens laut un’ dort eens leiser,
Wie’s ganz Dorf doch an en’ hänkt!
M’r drängt sich bei die Hann’ ze dricke,
Sie reiße mit Gewalt sich los:
“Gottsname dann!” M’r muss sich schichke —
Dem härtschte Herz, dem gebbt’s e’ Stoss.

Vum Gram gekränkt un’ die in Trauer
Versuche sie de’ schwerschte Gang:
Im Krichhof dort an seller Mauer,
Do leih’t s’ A’mmriels noch net lang!
Es war net schwächlich, net gebrechlich,
Ja’s hot sich niemols net geklahlt;
Sei’ Heenerich, der war haabtsächlich
E’ Nachel an sei’ Dorelad.

Sie knie’n am Grab so ganz im Stille —
Was batt dann aah das laut Geklah?
Sie gewe sich in Gottes Wille,
Doch ’s Wasser schiesst en’ hell in’s Ah.
Un’er’s erlebt hot so ze trau’re —
M’r weess es jo, ’s versaht eem ’s Wort:
Die alte Leit’, sie dunt’eem dau’re,
Sie wolle still vum Krichhof fort.

Doch kann nor sie net los sich reisse,
Roppt Rose ‘raus un’ Rosmerei’,
Brecht Nachelcher vun dere weisse —
Das soll ehr letzschlich Gedenkes sei’.
Nemmt Grunn vom Grab mit in die Scherwel,
Wo vum A’mmriels noch is do;
Un’ ’s Grab, das werd vum Annebarwel
Als Gärteleche dann ufgezoh.

Ja’s Annebarwel, ’s Nochbersmare,
Dem dut’s so leed, es mecht jo mit
Zum Heenerich, doch muss es here,
Sei’ Vatter hot’s jo net gelitt:
Was aus den Auhe nor ze lese
Den’ alte Leit’, die dun sich schwer,
Das dät’s en’ dort, ’s liess net sich heesse —
’s greint heemlich an der Gartede . . .

Sie bin zerick sich fertig mache,
Nau’ noch e’ Gang dorhch ’s ganze Haus!
Was do verblibb vun ehrhe Sache,
Nemmt nau’ alswie verwääst sich aus:
Guck ’s Viehche trauert, dut so traualich,
Der Bummerhunn, der Gaul im Stall,
Un’ ’s Gees’che màxt eraus so raulich —
Ei meent m’r net, die wissten’s all?

They went about throughout the houses
And not a single child fell ill:
Here one fussed aloud, there one cried softly,
How the whole village followed around!
They crowded in to press hands tightly,
Then tore away, it took some force:
“In God’s Name, then!” We must just send him —
The hardest heart beat extra loud.

Shattered by sadness and deep in sorrow
They attempt the most difficult departure:
There, in the cemetery, just along the wall
Lay AnnaMarieElizabeth, though not long there!
She was not sickly nor an invalid,
In fact, she had never yet complained;
Her Henry, he was particularly
A nail into her coffin.

Still they could not quite tear themselves away,
Plucked out a rose or rosemary,
Broke some lilacs off this white bush —
That must be the last memento.
Bring from the grave in this small flowerpot
Ground still visible where Amriele lies;
As for the gravesite, Anna Barbara
Will tend it like a garden small.

This AnnaBaerbel, neighbor’s daughter,
She was so sorry, she would like to go along
To Henry, but she must remain,
Her father did not come with her today:
How sad to read just from the eyes
Of older people, they feel it most.
But that must be, yet don’t detail it
They weep in secret at the garden post . . .

They have come back to make last things ready.
Now still one trip through all the house!
And what remains of all their small things,
Take now or else stays here abandoned:
Look now the animals even sadden,
That lazy dog, the horse in its stall;
The little goat bleats out so miserably —
Don’t tell me that is not known to all!
Die Zeit ist um, Wer will's en' wehre?
Der Wah steht a'gespannt schun do;
Un' aus de' Fenischter, aus de' Dere
Do winkt e' letzchter Gruss noch noh.
Un' ebbes Leit' noch laafe zamme:
"Adje, Adje!" ruft's um die Reih;
Jetz nemmen eich nor fescht zusamme —
Ich wollt, der Abschied war verbei!

So lewe wul, ehr Freind', ehr alte,
Do is mei' Hann, Glick uf die Rees!
De' liewe Herrgott losse walte,
Dann der es wul am beschte weess!
Un' machen eich kee' Gram, kee' Sorje,
Uf Gott gebaut nor alle Dah':
Der sorgt for heit, er sorgt for morje —
Noch sorgt er in Amerika.

Un' dun-er dort de' Borem baue,
Ja hann-er Naring, hann-er Glick,
Un' mangelt's net un' hann kee' Raue,
So denke dann an uns zereck!
Un' spielt die Spieluhr eich die Lierer,
So deck gesung aus hellem Hals:
Vergesse net uns treue Brirer —
Net's Weschterich un'net die Palz! . . .

Nau' bin-se fort, ja fort for immer,
Guck's Owendrot am Himmel dort:
Schun is es spot — un' noch der Schimmer,
Als wollt der Dah vun uns net fort.
Der goldig Glanz mer doch aah Sorje,
Mer manjerlee Gedanke macht:
Bei eich dordriwe werd's nau' Morje —
Bei uns dohiwe — werd es Nacht.

Then, time is up! Just who will halt it?
The wagon stands there already hitched;
And from the windows, from the doorways
Signal final greetings still.
And still some more people run together:
"Farewell, Farewell!" calls in succession,
In tight small clusters still they bunch up —
I wish the parting had already ended!

Enjoy life then, dear friend, old fellow,
Shake hands, Good Luck the journey through!
And may Dear God Himself protect you
As He knows best just how to do!
Make for yourself no pain nor sorrow
But build on God in all your days:
Care for today, that cares for the morrow —
Even cares for things in America!

Build there upon a good foundation,
Come foolishness, come best of luck;
And do not skimp nor be regretful;
Think now and then of us back here!
Re-play those songs upon your music-box
Which we did sing from youthful throats:
Do not forget us, your true brothers —
Nor the Westerich, nor yet the Pfalz! . . .

Now he is gone, yes, gone forever;
See evening red in heavens blend:
Already later, though still faint light,
The day itself wants not to end.
Its golden rays make sorrowful warning
Though many thoughts are clearly right:
For you overseas there now, it's morning —
For us right here — it will be night.

Costumes of the Old Palatinate
in approximately 1860.
—Albert Becker, Pfalzer Volkskunde
Abstract of Diary of Warren G. Bean, 1899

By Willoughby W. Moyer

Warren G. Bean was born in 1866, the son of William Johnson Bean and Mary Grater Gottshall. The farm along the Skippack Creek at the eastern end of Skippack Township had been in the family since 1710. W. J. Bean was born in 1835, so he had reached the age of 64 in 1899. Warren had taken over active responsibility for the management of the farm in 1896, when he was 30. His parents moved into the “Grossdaadi” wing of the house. Warren was married in 1887 to Anna W. Kolb and in 1897 was ordained into the Mennonite ministry.
ABSTRACT FROM THE DIARY 1899

JANUARY
4 Took some ice from the creek.
5 Cleaned up wheat.
10 Got horse shod and at mill. PM killed hog.
12 Did away butchering. PM Brought load of coal.
18 Sawed walnut tree and cherry tree down.
19 Smoked meats. Sawed wood.
21 Hauled manure.
25 Sawed wood.
26 Took wheat to Landes’ Mill; 19-1/16 bu. at 70¢.
27 Went to market, roads very rough.
28 Sawed wood.

Snow scene on the Bean farm along the Skippack Creek.

FEBRUARY
1 Cleaned snow off the ice.
2 Hauled ice.
3 Hauled ice. Ice was 5 in. thick.
7 Did away butchering.
9 Shovelled snow 4 hours.
10 Opened road to go to market, 4 hours.
14 Put 4 horses on bobsled and went to Kriebles Mill — through the fields all the way.
15 AM opened roads. PM Put 4 horses on sled and worked out to store and from there to Collegeville and brought back a load of coal.
16 AM Took a load of corn to Collegeville with 4 horses for Johnsons. PM Took a load of corn to Kriebles’ Mill.
17 Opened our lane. Shovelled each *2 hours at the road along Green Hill.
20 Helped Abraham [his brother on adjacent farm] to fill ice house. Ice was from 9 to 14 in. thick.
21 AM Butchered 2 hogs. PM Shovelled snow 1-½ hours. PM Went to mill. Took a hog to Abraham’s which weighed 223 lbs.
22 AM Did away butchering. Charles shoveled snow 3 hours. PM I shovelled snow 2-½ hours, Charles [hired man] 1 hour.
23 Threshed some wheat. PM Got horse shod.
27 Ice went off the creek during night. Smoke meat.
28 AM We opened road on island and along creek - 3 hours both.

MARCH
1 Killed hog. PM Hauled wood. Took hog to Abraham’s weighed 247 lbs.
3 Father [William J. Bean] went to market.
6 AM Brought Sarah Kulp [midwife]. Mary K. Bean born. [5th of his 6 children]
8 Butchered hog and took the same to Abr. also cow. 219 lbs. Last week 247 lbs, week before 222 lbs. Total 688 lbs. @ 5-½ = $37.84.
9 AM Threshed some wheat.
16 Hauled manure and spread.
17 Cut corn stubs.
18 Went to city (Phila.) for seeds.
21 Killed hog then threshed wheat out.
22 did away butchering.
23 Cleaned up wheat.
30 Took 26 bu. to Landes’ Mill 70¢.

APRIL
3 John W. Koffel entered into my employ. PM He brought a load of coal.
4 Cut corn stubs. PM Thrashed oats.
5 AM Finished threshing oats. PM Hauled manure in truck patch and plowed the same. Then commenced to plow for oats.
6 Ploughed, dug garden.
7 Ploughed a while.
8 Cleaned up oats.
10 Hauled manure. Sowed clover seed in first field across road on other side of meadow.
11 Sowed clover seed back of orchard. Hauled manure in field at barn.
12 Plowed corn ground. Prepared truck patch and planted 5 rows of peas.
14 Sowed oats. Finished harrowing.
15 Rolled and went to mill.
17 Hauled and spread manure.
18 Hauled and spread manure.
19 Plowed potatoe patch in orchard. Prepared same and planted 9 rows. Then hauled 3 loads of manure on 2nd patch. Took cow away to Abr.
20 AM John rolled sod field. PM Plowed 2nd patch in orchard. Then began to plow sod in field at barn.
21 Plowed, finished one piece.
22 Rolled.
24 Began to plow sod in field at the woods. Prepared truck patch. Planted 2 rows of peas, 5 of corn, 1-1/2 of lima beans.
25 Plowed sod by garden.
26, 27 & 28 Plowed sod.
29 Finished plowing sod in large field.

MAY
2 Rolled large field then began to plow sod in field at the barn.
3 Plowed sod in field at barn. Harrowed peas.
5 Finished plowing sod. Rolled some. Hauled manure on potato patch.
6 Planted potatoes.
8 Dug garden. Harrowed a while until it rained too much.
9 Rolled field at barn then harrowed.
10 Finished harrowing in field at barn. Then marked out crosswise.
12 Plowed and harrowed truck patch. Harrowed in lower field.
13 Harrowed. Planted sugar corn, cucumbers, lima beans, &c.
15 Planted corn in field at barn. Went to cow and hog sale at Trappe. Bought 6 shoats and 1 cow, $34.00 $12.75.
16 Harrowed and began to mark out.
17 Marked out. Finished one way.
20 A. Kratz took load of hay away. Hauled manure on truck patch.
22 Planted corn in lower field.
23 Finished planting corn in big field. Plowed truck patch. Worked in potato patch.
25 Planted bean poles. Sowed corn and planted 3 rows potatoes.
26 Harrowed strawberry patch.
27 In market. Came home about quarter past 10.
29 Repaired fence. Replanted corn whole field at barn.
30 Replanted corn. Harrowed truck patch.
31 Planted truck. Made fence.

JUNE
3 AM In Market.
5 Replanted corn in lower field.
6 Replanted corn in large field. Harrowed potato patch and truck patch.
7 Replanted corn in field at barn.
8 Finished replanting corn in field at barn. Then picked peas.
12 Planted corn for cows. Harrowed corn.
13 Planted cabbage. Harrowed corn, picked cherries.
14 Cultivated corn.
15 Harrowed corn, planted cabbage, picked cherries [He was at Boyertown for the following week on church business.]
23 Prepared for market.
24 Cultivated corn, finished in large field.
26 Cradled around part of wheat field. Mowed some with scythe.
30 Cultivated corn.

Haying in an upper field, Bean farm near the Skippack. Warren G. Bean forking hay onto the wagon.

JULY
1 Cultivated corn.
3 Mowed grass in back field at road. Took rye off with binder. Hauled 2 loads of hay in.
4 Mowed grass. Took 3 loads of hay in, 1 load of rye.
5 Finished putting away rye and wheat. Took 3 loads of hay home.
6 Took one load of hay in. J. Farringer took one load of hay away.
7 Mowed grass in field across meadow. Took 3 loads in.
8 Loaded load of hay for J. Farringer then brought rakings home.
10 Mowed grass. Took 3 loads in.
11 Finished cutting grass also wheat that was left standing on account of grass in. Took hay in an 1 load of wheat that I mowed yesterday.
12 Thrashed wheat rackings.
13 Cultivated corn and took last of wheat rackings in.
14 Cultivated corn.
15 Cultivated corn.
17 Cultivated corn. At cow sale of M. Swartley. Bought 1 @ $39.75.
18 At cow sale at Collegeville. Bought cow @ $35.00.
20 Began to cut oats.
21 Finished cutting oats.
22 Bound oats. Hauled 875 sheaves home.
24 Made fence. Turned some oats.
25 Cleaned up wheat. Took wheat to Landes' Mill 16 39/60 bu. @ 60¢.
27 Plowed wheat stubble. Bound oats and took 2 loads in.
28 Plowed. Bound up oats and took 2 loads in.
29 Finished binding up oats and put away the same.
31 Hauled manure.

AUGUST
1 Hauled manure. Boiled apple butter.
2 Hauled manure.
3 Spread manure.
4 Hauled manure.
5 Brought 3 cows from I. K. Gottshall. Hauled manure out of stables.
7 Plowed wheat stubble. [Following week he was away at Harvest Meetings at various churches.]
14 Finished plowing oats stubble. Gathered apples.
16 Made cider and boiled apple butter.
17 Thrashed oats rackings with flail.
18 Prepared for market.
21 Took out potatoes in orchard.
22 Cleaned fence.
23 Thrashed some oats. Cleaned up the same.
24 Cleaned fence.
28 Plowed rye stubble.
29 Made cider at Creamery - 83 gallons $1.04.
31 Rolled.

SEPTEMBER
1 Brought ½ ton of phosphate from Shatz at Graterford.
4 Made horses.
5 Thrashed wheat, made horses. At sale of H. B. Cassel.
7 Harrowed.
8 Harrowed, cleaned up wheat.
11 Brought 1-½ ton of phosphate from Rahns Station.
12 Gathered apples. Got apples made to cider at Creamery. 114 gallons.
13 Made horses. Boiled apple butter.
14, 15 & 16 Plowed.
18 Plowed. Cut corn. Took out potatoes.
19 Plowed, harrowed and rolled until rained.
20 Cleaned up wheat. Took home cow that I had bought. Cut corn and thrashed with flail.
21 Thrashed with flail. Put potatoes in cellar.
22, 23 Cut corn.
25 Cut corn, harrowed and plowed.
26 Thrashed with flail. Cut corn.
27 Cut corn.
28 Cut corn and went to mill.
29 Cut corn and plowed.
30 Finished cutting corn. Plowed.

View of the main farm buildings from the road along the Skippack, on the Warren G. Bean farmstead tract.
OCTOBER
2 Finished plowing. Harrowed and drilled wheat.
4 Began to seed rye.
7 In market.
10 Husked corn. Hauled 3 loads home.
11 Husked corn and hauled home, also pumpkins.
12 Picked stone, 10 2-horse loads.
13 Thrashed 150 sheaves of oats. Hauled corn fodder.
14 Harrowed for seeding. Seeded 1 ½ acres rye, corn ground.
16 Picked apples.
17 Picked apples and got cider made at Creamery. 76 gallons.
18 Boiled apple butter twice.
19 Husked corn. Got cider made.
20 Husked corn, hauled 2 loads home.
21 Husked corn, hauled home.
23 Husked corn, 92 shocks and hauled 3 loads home.
24 Husked corn, hauled 4 loads home.
25 Husked corn, hauled 4 loads home.
26 Husked corn, hauled 2 loads home.
27 Finished husking corn in large field. Hauled 2 loads home.
28 Husked corn home. Thrashed some oats.
30 Husked corn and hauled 2 loads home.

NOVEMBER
7 Brought load of coal. Hauled 6 loads of fodder.
8 Finished hauling fodder in large field.
[He travelled for a week in Chester County on church business.]
16 Thrashed some rye that was in barn.
20 Took turnips out and buried some.
22 Went to mill. Hauled and spread manure.
23 Spread manure.
27 Killed hog.
[Travelling on church business.]

DECEMBER
5 Cleaned up rye and oats. Began to thrash rye stack, 350 sheaves.
6 Finished thrashing rye stack.
7 Brought load of coal.
11 Brought 1 ton of bran from P. M. Markley. $19.00.
12 Cleaned up rye.
14 Sawed tree down. Went to mill. Patched house roof.
15 Prepared for market.
18 Sawed white oak tree down and split same. Went to Lederachville cow sale.
19 Sawed tree down at little woods and sawed at same until it rained.
20 Sawed cherry tree down across meadow and worked at same.
21 Sawed up cherry tree across meadow and sawed another down.
27 Hauled wood home.
28 Cleaned out ice house.
29 Prepared for market.
30 Ice is 4 inches thick.
Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, is situated near the middle of the Great Valley extending from the Delaware River into the southern highlands. The great highways crossing it from colonial times to the present have made it a crossroads of cultural influences. Yet these cultural currents have left along its mountains and other rural areas backwaters little affected by change until relatively recent times. Settled by Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the mid-eighteenth century, Cumberland County became a terminus of Germanic migration by the end of that century, and these two groups have remained since then, often at odds with each other, the dominant ethnic forces in the county's development. Even today people of other backgrounds represent less than ten percent of its total population. The Black population is small but visible (1,767 of 156,156 in 1970), and recent immigrants include extensive numbers of Greeks, Italians and Vietnamese.

The county's religious life, until the ecumenical changes of the mid-twentieth century, reflected the same conflict between the Anglo and Germanic groups, descendants of English ancestry usually forming the professional and landowning elite and attending the more urban-oriented Presbyterian and Methodist churches, while the people of German descent, usually laborers and farmers, joined Lutheran, Reformed, United Brethren or Winebrennerian congregations. Whatever the church name, Fundamentalism was its doctrine. Strict adherence to the Bible in its only inspired (i.e., King James') version was the rule, to the extent that one local man, as late as 1950, declared that the earth must be flat since the Bible speaks of "the four corners of the earth." Such thinking has naturally infiltrated local beliefs about death and its aftermath.

One practice associated with this religious fundamentalism is that of burying the dead with their feet towards the east, "so that when they rise from the dead they'll be facing east." The practice is an ancient one with European parallels in the placement of cathedrals on an east-west axis, the elite who were buried within them having their feet toward the main altar (i.e., the east). Frederick T. Elworthy noted that "the traditional burial of Christ Himself, looking eastwards, shows that the ceremony of Orientation was at least practised in the earliest days of the Church," and there is strong suggestion that the tradition stems from primitive sun-worship. As for the day of resurrection, that may not be far off. A man in Mount Holly Springs declared in March 1968 that "the year two thousand is the end. The world ain't supposed to stand thousands," This equates with a complex but common belief once held in the area that the world was created about 4000 B.C. in accordance with Archbishop James Ussher's famous calculation, and that since "a thousand years is as a day in the sight of the Lord" (Psalms, xc, 4), 4000 years before Christ and 2000 years after represent the six days of the earth's creation (read existence); thus the Second Coming of Christ, the beginning of the seventh or Lord's day, will occur about the year 2000 A.D., give or take a few years for miscalculations.

The following stories illustrate a more typical folk attitude toward the Second Coming and the Last Judgement:

There was two fellas, they went out fishin' an they caught a whole bunch of fish, and on the way home they passed a cemetery. And they had two big fish an' they left them lay at the gate. Left them lay at the gate an' went into the cemetery with the rest a the fish. An' two people come along an' they heard these two fellas in the cemetery dividin' the fish. "One fer me an' one fer you, one fer me an' one fer you," till they were done dividin' the fish. Then they said, "Now we'll git them two at the gate." An' the two people at the gate thought it was the Lord and the Devil dividin' an' they were comin' ta git them.

And a local Pentecostal preacher once said in a sermon, "I was talking to a preacher friend of mine and he told me, 'My church will be the first to get to heaven.' I said, 'Well, I've got a pretty good church.' He said, 'Well, mine will go to heaven first. Don't you know the Bible says the dead in Christ shall rise first?'"

Though burial facing the east still occurs in older and rural cemeteries, contemporary public burial grounds are usually landscaped in elaborate geometrical designs.
where placement is terrain oriented (see fig. 1). As one local undertaker remarked (June 1976), “They usually want them buried with the head uphill, so in that one cemetery up there they’re buried every which way.”

As a side-note to the manner of burial, a Carlisle country-music disc jockey once stated on his radio program that “When I die, they’re gonna bury me face down,” implying that his manner of life was such that he was headed the other way. However, when he was killed in an automobile accident a year or so later, he was buried in the normal manner.

Death with its accompanying rites is one area in which the church still exerts a strong influence. In rural Cumberland County, interment frequently takes place in the yard of the church where the deceased held membership, and a number of local churches still provide free burial space for members. The days when the family burial ground was located at the ancestral homestead are long past but such sites, often fenced and well tended but occasionally overgrown with greenbriers, can still be seen at the corner or even in the center of a cultivated field. Since the 1930’s, however, more and more families are acquiring lots in public cemeteries, but even there, for a long while, family plots were sometimes surrounded with ornate cast iron fencing, prompting less ostentatious plot owners to wonder if the fence was there to keep other people out or to keep those people in. The difficulty of mowing and maintaining such plots eventually led to the prohibition and even the removal of such individual fences.

In keeping with the trend toward public burial grounds, each year fewer funeral services are held within the church building itself, since local funeral homes provide new and adequate facilities. One church-related custom has disappeared completely, that of ringing the church bell to announce a death. “Back in McClure’s Gap they use’ to toll the bell, once for each year the person was old,” but this has not been done for twenty or thirty years.

Resigned acceptance of the inevitability of death is reflected in a frequently-heard comment at funerals, referring to the deceased, “He’s done his. We got ours to do yet.” Of course, even though death cannot be forestalled, it can be foreseen. Natural and supernatural signs are often interpreted as predicting it. Perhaps the most common natural omen is a bird flying into the house. “If a bird flew in the house, it meant he came to take one of the family out.” Variations of this include such ideas as “A bird flying against the window is a sign of death,” “When a bird flies into a window it means death of a loved one” (Gardners, Jan. 1976), and “When a bird runs into a glass and dies, someone will die” (Shippensburg, Oct. 1976). “A rooster crowing late at night (or at midnight) is a sign that one of the family will die.” And the ill-omened owl hooting near the house was an ancient sign of death.

The behavior of animals is also closely watched. “A dog whining at night is a sign that someone in the family will die soon” is a commonly held belief, so common in fact that it is mocked by an early newspaper editor:

To hear a death-watch, denotes that there is a little insect near you. To hear a dog howl is a sure sign that he has lungs. To see strange lights, is a sign that there is something to cause them, or that your head is disordered; and that someone will surely die after it. To see an apparition, or to be be-witched, is an incontestible evidence that you are lacking in common sense. (Carlisle American Volunteer, Feb. 11, 1819, p. 4)

Less common is the belief that when a cow “washes” (licks) another cow, it means a funeral. And the observation by a Black woman in Carlisle on seeing a cat licking a doorstep, “Somebody in the house will die,” is unusual.

Domestic death omens noted in Cumberland County include the creaking of the house at night, and a picture falling from the wall (“Someone in the family will die”). Two such omens involve sitting at the table: “It’s unlucky to have thirteen at the table, because Judas was the thirteenth at the Last Supper. One of them will die”; “When the clock strikes twelve on Monday, if you’re settin’ at the table, you’ll hear of a funeral before the week is around.”

One unusual belief relates to sweeping, a household practice that in terms of homeopathic magic suggests the sweeping away of the soul. A young woman in Newville related that her grandmother, Mrs. Annie Mentzer (1858-1951), once warned her about sweeping dirt out the door after sunset, “If I die, you’ll be sorry.”

Parsley, a seemingly innocuous but tasty little herb, has an ominous significance in rural southern Pennsylvania. “If you plant parsley,” it is believed, “for each stalk you plant, you plant a member of the family.” A related belief collected in Shippensburg (October 28, 1976) is, “If you plant parsley seeds in the ground instead of laying them out on a board,
someone in your family will die."

Parsley, of course was regarded by the ancients as sacred to the dead and it still bears a strong association with death throughout Europe.21 In southwestern England, we are told, it is dangerous to transplant it and fatal to be given a plant as a gift. A slightly safer way is for the owner to indicate a bed of parsley silently and for the recipient to come and dig it up in pretended secrecy. It is safer to sow it and this is a slow process, for it goes down to Hell three times - some say as many as nine - before it sprouts. It is said to grow best if it is sown with curses and better for a bad man than a good one but all is made safe if it is sown on Good Friday after coming back from church.22

One other planting omen collected in Cumberland County is, "To miss a row when planting is a sign that you'll miss one of the family. One'll die." 23

Curiously, such widely-held beliefs as "Rocking an empty cradle or rocking chair means death," "A falling star means someone has died or a soul is going to heaven," and "A green Christmas means a fat churchyard" have not been noted in Cumberland County. And a large group of superstitions that are elsewhere reported as death omens (e.g., opening an umbrella in the house, breaking a mirror, carrying a shovel into the house) are here only suggestive of bad luck, perhaps because of a reluctance to talk about death and dying, 24 or possibly because they have lost their original significance. If this is the case, beliefs change gradually from awesome certainties to vague or ambiguous suggestions, reflecting perhaps the ability of medical science to deal now with once terminal diseases.

One belief where the nature of the bad luck is obviously fatal is that "It's bad luck to say, 'I'll be seeing ya' to an undertaker" (Oakville, June 1972). And an interesting example of a bad luck omen given new and personal meaning was the idea expressed by a Carlisle undertaker, himself long since dead, that a black cat crossing the road meant a death, not in his family but a funeral coming to him.

Dreams are occasionally interpreted to foretell death. "To dream of muddy water is a sign of death" frequently reported.25 Even more widespread is the belief that "If you dream you're falling and don't wake up before you hit bottom, you'll die."26 The reason no one has ever dreamed of hitting bottom should be obvious. The general rule for interpretation is that dreams go by opposites. Thus "If you dream of a marriage, it's a sign of a funeral,"27 and conversely, "If you dream of a death (or a funeral), it's a sign of a wedding."28 The mystical number three occurs in the belief that funerals, like other misfortunes, come by threes.29

Psychic tokens of death are rarely reported, though there are undoubtedly many instances that have escaped collection. Lynwood Montell's Ghosts along the Cumberland (pp. 43-60) contains many examples from southern Kentucky but few seem to occur in Pennsylvania. Ella M. Snowberger reported one interesting form from Pennsylvania, from Blair County, noted perhaps a hundred years ago:

Dan was a mere boy. On returning home one evening with his brother Jake from their work on a lime stack in the vicinity of the Phil Kensingler place, in Taylor township, Dan saw a silver dagger sail through the air. He declares nothing ever was any clearer or plainer before his eyes. It was about two feet long. Glittering in the late sunlight, it floated in a graceful arc high over head. Hilt and keen edged blade were natural as possible. The point was turned in the direction of the Snowberger home. It passed from view above, the nearby woods. Jake could not see it at all. What did it mean? Their brother Wesley died soon afterwards. Did it portend his death?

The only omen of this nature collected in Cumberland County is one from a 68-year old woman from McClures Gap the day after her husband died in 1942: "I saw a black star in the room the night my baby died, and I saw that same black star last night." The rarity of such omens is possibly due to a fear of ridicule; but then not too many people in in Cumberland County see flying saucers either, at least not that they talk about.

Though the supernatural no longer plays a role in the foretelling of the imminence of death, it has on occasion been important in other ways. J. Raymond Bear (1896-1972), prolific folk narrator from Barnitz, 31 near Carlisle, recalled that an uncle of his named Ben Finkenbinder once sought out the aid of an elderly Black "witch doctor" in Harrisburg, after searchers had sought in vain for the body of a little boy drowned in the Conodoguinet Creek, even to the extent of dynamiting for several miles below the spot of the accident.32 "When he got there, the old lady's place, he knocked 't the door, and she appeared, an' she said, 'Well, I know your name and I know what you're here for.' And she jest told 'im straight out, 'Your name is Ben Finkenbinder, and,' she said, 'you're huntin' that little boy that drowned, an' I kin tell ya he ain't more th'n twenty feet from where he drowned,' she said, 'he's holdin' a, a black elm root, 'th one hand, and,' she says, 'That's where you'll find 'im.' He goes back, goes up . . . there the next day, and a man 'at could dive went down 'n' picked 'im off a the root." (Utech, p. 221). Another widely noted method of locating drowning victims, that of floating a loaf of bread in the water,33 is apparently no longer known.

Since death occurs now usually in hospitals or under medical attention — there is even a joke about a man who died without the aid of a doctor, i.e., of natural
causes — friends or relatives rarely are required to witness the moment of expiration, but this was once a solemn ceremony involving as many members of the family and close friends as possible (Aries, p. 137). The common practice of holding a mirror in front of the mouth to determine when breathing stopped (MEM, July 1978) is now rarely practiced.

When death does occur, whether in a hospital or at home, the body is taken away almost immediately by an undertaker. It was not always so. Formerly, neighbors came to the home and helped to wash and clothe the corpse for burial, interment usually occurring the next day. Friends and relatives “sat up” with the body during the night, some say to guard it from evil spirits or animals who might harm it, others say to watch for movement or other signs of life to prevent premature burial. Such personal involvement no longer happens. Even such once universal practices as placing coins on the eyes of the deceased have disappeared. One local undertaker said (June 1976), “I haven’t seen that for twenty years.” The practice is often explained as a means of keeping the eyes closed, but the question arises as to why coins, rather than pebbles or other weights, were used. This sounds like a survival of an ancient custom of providing payment for the voyage across the river of death, especially when it is noted that in the Norfolk Fenland of England the so-called “corpse money” is placed on the forehead rather than the eyes, and among the Italians of Northampton County, a dollar and a handkerchief were placed in the corpse’s pocket. Of course the coins on the eyes were sometimes returned to the family, but W. F. Hoffman does indicate that they were once placed in the coffin (JAF, 2[1889], 30).

Most of the old customs about the death-room are gone. Today’s undertakers express amazement when asked if they’ve ever seen covered mirrors or pictures turned to the wall in the home where someone has died. Of course death is a more frequent caller to hospital or nursing home rooms than to private residences these days. With the professionalization of funeral directing, fewer funerals are held in the home and there is an increasing tendency to perform even the religious services in the funeral parlor rather than in the church. The funeral home, rarely used by rural families in southern Pennsylvania before 1930, and once an expansion of the undertaker’s residence, is today often a specially designed building with facilities adequate for conducting several funerals the same day, if necessary.

The undertaker is solely responsible for the preparation of the body for burial. Though Formalin was introduced about 1915 (other chemicals and even whiskey were sometimes used before then), embalming was not commonly practiced in the smaller towns until much later, and then less for the preservation of the body than for protecting the undertaker from contagious infection, since some of them died after contact with diseased bodies. Fear of premature burial was another factor influential in the introduction of embalming. Several afflictions, including a form of epilepsy, produced death-like comas, and stories are often told of subsequent exhumation of corpses that had turned around in the coffin or raised a hand over the face, evidence that the person had been buried alive. Despite such popular fears, many churchmen regarded the morticians who first practiced embalming as murderers, a curious irony, considering the alternative.

Perhaps associated with this, and possibly a factor adduced as evidence of premature interment, is the belief that the hair and nails of the corpse continue to grow after the burial. Stories are told of graves being opened when cemeteries must be moved, not only in Cumberland County, but elsewhere. For example:

A little cousin of mine who years before had died at the age of two, had in that time grown hair more than a foot long. Before opening the coffin of one of my uncles, hair was perceived sticking out through the cracks along the cover. Inside they found the casket fairly packed with hair, enough to fill a bushel basket. This caused great amazement, for no one hereabouts then knew that hair is a vegetable growth.

The motif occurs frequently in literature.

One curious belief about the manner of embalming heard in Carlisle about twenty years ago is that, instead of using the femoral artery (Feegel, Autopsy, p. 41), the undertaker uses the big toe: “There’s a vein in the big toe where all the blood comes to, and the undertaker sticks a needle in the big toe to draw out the blood and inject the embalming fluid. If they don’t move then, they’re dead.”

People of strict religious upbringing often objected to the use of cosmetics to improve the appearance of the deceased. Relatives have frequently remarked at funerals that “Aunt Millie told me if they put any rouge on her I was to take my handkerchief and wipe it off.” The author witnessed this being done on one occasion in the 1950’s. Modern funeral directors use colored lighting to produce the desired effect. Where once the intent was to create the impression that the corpse was merely asleep, at present the sought-for effect is to make it lifelike (Aries, p. 148). A common comment at funerals is, “My don’t he look natural,” and sometimes the deceased is buried wearing glasses because “he just don’t look like himself without them.”

Blacks in Cumberland County once thought it was a bad omen if the hands of the corpse were soft, thinking that it meant bad luck. Now of course embalming prevents that, which explains the tendency for undertakers in the Caribbean Islands to use ex-
cessive amounts of embalming fluid, injecting it directly into the muscle tissue in many cases (JW, June 1978). As a sidelight on the funerals of Blacks, one undertaker’s assistant, though he affirmed that “in this business we don’t dare be superstitious,” admitted that “we used to say that to rub the head of a dead Negro was good luck” (Carlisle, June 1, 1976).

Undertakers’ assistants are amazing sources of folk humor, often of a morbid kind as might be expected. One such man from Carlisle stated that extra chairs are always kept in the viewing room “so rigor mortis can set in.” But an earlier assistant was more morbid, as revealed in this anecdote:

You knew Clark [Dunkelberger] didn’t you? He’s dead now. The ventriloquist. He was working for Lutz one time and there was a funeral down there at the old graveyard. They were carrying the coffin into the cemetery and they were all colored, so he said, like it was coming from the coffin, “Let me down easy, boys.” They just dropped it and ran. He got fired for that, too.14

The coffin selected by most families is a finely-polished natural color wood model (oak is popular15), though metal caskets are being used more frequently these days. When a small child dies, the coffin is almost always white to suggest innocence (cf. Montell, no. 198). Custom dictates that the body be fully clothed, including shoes, and that it be placed with the left side to the rear of the coffin, unless unusual circumstances dictate otherwise. In 1942, for instance, an elderly man who died in his sleep in a fetal position was placed the opposite way because postmortem lividity had discolored the side of the face that would have been most visible. The hands are usually positioned across the abdomen with the left hand holding the blanket which covers the lower part of the body. Coffins with divided lids are not used in this area, and the old glass-windowed viewing coffin, sealed to prevent odors before modern embalming methods were used, is now a museum curiosity.

In sociological terms, “the fact of death provides a central focus around which human cultures develop in two main ways. Firstly, there is what we may loosely call the conceptual aspect of death; secondly, the organizational. Or to put it another, and not altogether overlapping, way, there is the anticipation of death and the actuality of death, the ideology and the interment.”16 As noted, the interpretation of omens foretelling death is a matter of individual behavior. The rites surrounding the final display and interment of the corpse after death, however, are a matter of ethnoreligious tradition. The community expects certain elements of behavior at this time and is troubled when they are absent.

The traditional rural Protestant funeral as it is presently structured in central Pennsylvania consists of three and possibly four public segments. They are the viewing, the funeral service, the remarks at the grave, and, sometimes, a return to the home.

The viewing, a social gathering which relatives and even distant acquaintances of the deceased attend, has replaced the older form of wake and now lasts only two or three hours in contrast to the all-night vigil which the former rite entailed. The corpse lies in state, surrounded by floral memorials sent by family and associates. Not long ago the viewing was a solemn occasion during which the family sat mournfully to the right of the casket to receive the condolences of each new arrival throughout the evening (cf. Montell, no. 245). Now solemnity is reserved for the funeral service and the viewing is a not-pleasant occasion where friends gather to talk, regretting only that the guest of honor is unable to participate. Such occasions often give rise to levity. One man will remark that he goes to all the viewings he can. “After all,” he says, “if I don’t go to their viewing, they won’t come to mine.”17 Another might say, “I asked him [the man in the coffin] what he was doing in there and he said nothing.”18

The viewing provides an emotional relief for the family and for the friends who visit with them, a respite of sorts between the overwhelming feelings of loss that comes with the moment of death and the selfish despair of the funeral service itself with its climactic moment of closing the coffin. The friends comment on the beauty of the floral displays (and secretly compare the one they sent with those of other mourners), reminisce among themselves about recent or significant contacts with the deceased, and exchange words of sympathy with the bereaved. There is also the opportunity for the exercise of a common superstitious practice, touching the corpse. An unidentified woman at a viewing in Carlisle, January 19, 1973, stated, “When I was a kid and I’d see somebody dead, I’d see them fer a week or two after that. Then somebody told me that if you touched them, they wouldn’t bother you after that.”19 Then she marched up to the coffin and with studied deliberation placed her own hand on the dead man’s.

The viewing is invariably held in the local funeral home. However, as recently as 1949, when Curt Raudabaugh died in Bloomsburg, his wife Tillie insisted on an “old-fashioned” funeral and had the viewing in the parlor of their home, with the body being transported to the church building for the funeral the next day.
The contemporary funeral service may be held in the church or at the funeral home though the latter is usually preferred for convenience. During this service friends are seated to the left and family members to the right of the center aisle, the closer the relationship generally the closer to the front. The officiant is usually the deceased’s pastor, though occasionally a guest preacher, possibly a former pastor or an old family friend, assists him. Devotional readings by the pastor open the service after a prelude of organ music (now played on tape through a central speaker system unless the service is in the church). A short prayer follows and then the pastor, (or the guest preacher if there is one) reads a brief obituary, which is often provided to the guests in a printed booklet reminiscent of the elaborately morbid memorial cards of the Victorian era. The sermon itself varies according to the preacher and his denominational background. Most preachers seek to comfort the family, like one Carlisle minister speaking at the service of a man who died of cancer at an early age; he chose his text from second Timothy (iv, 7): “I have finished my course, I have kept the faith,” and explained that this man had simply finished his earthly course sooner than others. Another preacher took the dying words of a boy fatally injured by a farm tractor, “I’m going home,” and reminded the parents that the boy was now in heaven. There have been less sensitive preachers, one for example at the funeral of a suicide who stated flatly that the man had died unrepentant of an unforgiven sin and was now in hell, to the despair of surviving relatives. Evangelical-minded preachers occasionally seize the opportunity to convert members of an audience not otherwise accessible to them and preach a hell-fire and brimstone sermon.

The funeral service proper ends, usually with a prayer, then the funeral director invites the audience to come forward and view the remains for one last time, starting from the rear of the auditorium so that the immediate family members are last to approach. The most heart-rending moment occurs when the closest female relatives draw the blanket up over the chest and sometimes plant a farewell kiss on the dead (cf. Puckle, p. 75) before leaving the funeral director and his assistants to close the casket. The six pallbearers, invariably male and usually close friends of the deceased rather than relatives, carry the casket to the hearse, placing it so the deceased’s head is always toward the front. Meanwhile the undertaker’s assistants carry the floral arrangements to a second hearse for transport to the cemetery. This “flower wagon” leaves immediately so that the sprays and wreaths are arranged around the grave when the entourage arrives.

For the funeral procession itself, a careful orchestration arranges the vehicles in traditional order, the pallbearers preceding the hearse along with the minister, and the immediate family next behind it, with the order of precedence according to the relationship to the deceased (see Puckle, p. 118). No longer does the funeral procession proceed at the sedate pace of yesteryear, particularly since it often moves now on Interstate highways. Member vehicles in the procession are identified by lighted headlights and often in addition by a “Funeral” placard or magnetic flag on the front. A police escort sometimes leads the group through urban areas since a funeral procession, by tradition if not by law, has the right of way over other traffic, a possible survival of an ancient superstition that it is bad luck for a funeral to stop on the way to the cemetery. Of course no one counts the number of vehicles in the procession; that’s bad luck, just as it’s bad luck to count the number of people at the funeral.
Once at the cemetery, the mourners follow the coffin to the grave in roughly the same order as in the procession. The grave is rarely hand-dug anymore; cemetery companies own back-hoes and most churchyard caretakers have access to them as well. Every attempt is made to avoid the suggestion that the grave is a hole in the ground; the space around it is carpeted in green and the mound of earth, if not removed from the area before the service, is also covered with green cloth and the floral displays or else is hidden behind the protective awning erected in case of bad weather.

The weather on the day of the funeral is the subject of numerous superstitions. Rain on that day is considered a bad omen, at least in Cumberland County: "If it rains in an open grave, there's going to be another death in the family soon"; or "If it rains the day of a funeral, another will follow." In other areas, rain is seen as a good sign, indicating that the deceased is going to heaven.

One strange superstition involving an open grave is practiced, for obvious reasons, before the day of the funeral. Sam Burkholder, the late pharmacist and local historian of Newville, Pa., once recalled:

A woman called me up and asked me if I had any open graves out at the cemetery, and I said, "Yes." And she asked if she could use it. And I asked her what she had in mind and she said, "I have a four-year-old who wets the bed." So I told her to go ahead. She saw me afterwards and said he'd only wet the bed once in six weeks. Of course, I think it scares him out of it, urinating in an open grave. (Jan. 16, 1969)

The belief is widely reported," sometimes with the stipulation that it be practiced at night, or that the grave must be a "new grave of a baby" (Bedford Co., Sept. 17, 1976).

The graveside service is brief, consisting of a prayer, a few words from the minister, perhaps scriptural quotations regarding immortal life or the resurrection of the flesh and usually ending with the passage from the Book of Common Prayer, "earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust; in sure and certain hope of the Resurrection unto eternal life," and the final commendation of the body to the ground. The moment, though serious, is often remembered with levity. One hears of a minister who supposedly said at this juncture, "Here lies the shell; the nut has gone to heaven" (JRB, 1965), or of an ungodly man whose service no preacher would conduct; and a friend, feeling the need to say something appropriate, intoned, "Ashes to ashes, dust to dust; if the Lord won't take him, then the devil must." It was once the custom to lower the coffin into the grave as the final act of the service but this is now felt to be too emotional an experience for the survivors. The coffin is now lowered and the grave filled only after the mourners are safely away.

In modern times the public phase of the funeral ends at this point. There may be some who are reluctant to be the first or the last to leave the cemetery, but no one seems to recall the superstitions associated with this. The practice of removing a rose or a carnation from the grave to press in a family Bible is still common, though some view it with caution. One woman notes, "They say it's bad luck to take anything off a grave, but I don't believe it" (ES, Carlisle, May 29, 1965), while another states flatly, "They say if you take a flower from the grave, you will replace it. My aunt did that, and three weeks later she passed away."

The custom of inviting mourners back to the house for refreshments is gradually fading. In the horse and buggy days, the social necessity of providing food for travellers before they started their journey home was widely recognized. However, as Puckle noted, "much as it may have contributed to the continuation of the usage, hospitality was certainly not the origin of the funeral feast" (Funeral Customs, p. 102), for it is a rite which developed in pre-Christian times. If the custom is observed at all today, few outside the immediate family partake of the cold sandwiches, salads and pies usually offered. As a side-note, raisin pie, once so widely served on such occasions that it is generically called "funeral pie," has now yielded to the abundance of convenience foods. It still figures in folk humor: "Why do they always have raisin pie at funerals? — To eat." Raisins are always in season of course and because of their black color are appropriate funereal food (cf. Puckle, p. 108).

The funeral meal, because it synthesized grief and pleasure, fulfilled an important psychological and sociological function in that it returned the bereaved to the world of normal social behavior at a moment when eating and entertaining were farthest from the mind. Then as the guests gradually departed, the deceased's family was finally alone to contemplate the events of the day with mixed feelings, torn between the emotions of despair at their loss and relief that the ordeal was over at last.

Figure 4 Mid-nineteenth-century tombstones were elaborately decorated, even in this Mennonite cemetery near Newville, PA.
The subsequent memorialization of the dead takes several forms in Cumberland County. Beyond the erection of a tombstone — and tombstone style preference over the years deserves additional study — there are annual opportunities, on the anniversary of the loved one's birthday or death date, to publish advertisements in *memoriam*, consisting of simple announcements, traditional verses or poems written for the occasion. These sometimes take on the quality of folk ballads, like the following honoring a young auctioneer who died in 1978:

**In Loving Memory**

O Brother, Dear Bubber you have gone away
For the Master has called and shown you the way.
Our hearts are heavy and the tears drop on our cheek.
And our aching hearts yearn to hear your call.
No more will we see your kind happy face
And the jovial spirit that was filled with grace.
The auctioneer singing his happy song
On his horse called Major as he rode along
He loved all life and he fought a good fight
And in spite of reverses his face shone with a light.
How he loved to laugh and sing and play
For football was his life playing it night and day.
And playing the game right was dear to his heart
As he drove every sinew and muscle apart.
O gallant soul never more will we see
Your proud erect figure standing straight as a tree.
Your corn cob pipe now lies silent and still.
Cowboy hat and pointed boots now lay unfilled.
You served your country well both on land and sea.
And held fast to Old Glory serving her constantly.
You were known by many as the Colonel who cared.
And your life was left open, no one could ever ensnare.
You left us a son and three wonderful daughters
And Charley boy loves football like his spirited Father.
O Brother, Dear Bubber you have gone away
For the Master has called and shown you the way.

Another annual remembrance rite is the decoration of the graves before the Memorial Day weekend in May. Formerly whole families gathered for a sort of picnic reunion to trim grass and weeds and to plant flowers, somewhat reminiscent of the All Souls’ Day celebrations in Europe and Latin America, but this is no longer necessary since commercial cemeteries now provide “perpetual care.” Geraniums are still planted on the graves at this time, but many people resort to the plastic ephemera offered by florists and discount stores, not only for Memorial Day but for other holidays as well. It is not unusual to see garish heart-shaped arrangements on graves at Valentine’s Day or cross-shaped designs at Easter, but the more traditional pine (albeit artificial) wreath prevails at Christmas.

Naturally one should be careful when visiting cemeteries not to walk on a grave, or the person buried there will come back to haunt you (Mercer Co., July 1976). Closely associated with this is the eerie belief that “when you shudder, someone’s walking over your grave.” But don’t worry, the rapidity with which funeral customs are changing and the ease with which the old beliefs are disappearing, chances are that by the time you need that grave, in-ground burial will no longer be in fashion.

**NOTES**


Reported in 1965, Brown Collection, no. 5188, adds, "for the cat cleans the passage for the corpse." Cf. Thompson, motif B147.1.2.2, "Cat as beast of ill-omen."


"Collected May 1967. Brown Collection, no. 5111


"Katharine M. Briggs, The Folklore of the Cotswolds (Totowa, N.J., 1974), p. 119. An informant from Bedford County reports: "The seeds of parsley go seven times to the devil before they germinate."

"EB, May 1963. Cf. Fogel, no. 569 (planting onions); Aurand, p. 29; Long, p. 54.


"LS, Carlisle, June 1964. "Sickness or death": JRB, June 1964, Brown Collection, no. 5175; Frederick Stier, "Some Pennsylvania German Lore," JAF, 4 (1891), 321; Fogel, nos. 257-261; Montell, no. 65. The Index of Penna. Folk Beliefs contains examples from Armstrong, Snyder and Union Counties.

"Commonly reported in Carlisle, 1946-51, and Shippensburg, 1972-76. Cf. Brown Collection, no. 3754; Montell, no. 11. Also reported from Blair, Bradford, Franklin, Lawrence, Luzerne, Northumberland, Snyder and Wayne Counties. Cf. "If you dream of hitting bottom, it will kill you" (Mercer Co., July 1976).


Not recorded in Cumberland County, but the Index contains reports from Armstrong, Blair, Bradford, Centre, Clearfield, Columbia, Franklin, Huntingdon and Luzerne Counties. See also Brown Collection, nos. 4390 ff.; Fogel, nos. 252, 264; Simons, p. 2; Hand, "More Beliefs," no. 119; Jesse Rosenberger, The Pennsylvania Germans (Chicago, 1923), p. 131; Aurand, p. 25.

"We had to go to a funeral yesterday. You know they always say, if there's one, there'll be three in a month. That was the
third one" (Wanda Minich, Carlisle, Feb. 1971). Also reported from Philadelphia (1964), Franklin County (1976) and Huntingdon County (1977). See Brown Collection, no. 4903; Hand, KFQ, IV, no. 129; Shoemaker Proverbs, p. 18; Montell, no. 190.

"Snowberger, Recollections of Bygone Days in the Cove, 9 (1941), 64. W. H. Egle noted a case of the image of the deceased appearing to his family at the moment of his death (Notes and Queries, Historical, Biographical and Genealogical, 13: 2nd ser., II [1895], 91). Mrs. Marie Shiffer recorded stories of several such supernormal omens for the Union County Oral Traditions Program (March 1976), at Lewistown.


"In the spring of the year, 1816, a young man was unfortunately drowned in the Juniata River, near Millerstown. Every exertion was made by the people of the neighborhood to find the body; but without effect. An old man who lives near Millerstown proposed to find it, if any person would procure a loaf of bread and a small quantity of quicksilver. These articles were immediately procured; the quicksilver was put into a quill and inserted in the loaf, and put into the river, at or near the place where the young man was drowned; and, after drifting down the river nearly half a mile, the loaf was observed to remain stationary. A boat was immediately dispatched to the place and the dead body was actually found directly under the loaf! The above may be relied on, as strictly true" (Pittsburgh Mercury, May 7, 1819, p. 2). See also, Ibid., 622; Long, p. 153; Aurand, p. 29; Felix Reichmann, "Bread of Our Forefathers," Historical Review of Berks County, 9 (1943), 13.


"Edward Porter, The Folklore of East Anglia (Totowa, N.J., 1974), pp. 36-37. Cf. Puckle, pp. 51-52. "This is indeed a relic of the primitive superstition that money...cannot be dispensed with in the future state."


"The old Dutch people always used to turn the mirror to the wall" (Clair Killian Newburg, July 31, 1978). Cf. Hoffman, JAF, 2, 30; Fogel, nos. 610-624; Brown Collection, no. 5414; Montell, no. 186. More commonly, the mirrors were covered (see Aurand, p. 30; Fogel, no. 617; Byington, KFQ, 9 [1964], 8; Bianco, p. 211), especially in Jewish and Russian cultures; cf. Marvin Kalb, "Pasternak’s Russia," Saturday Review, March 11, 1967, p. 70.

"The assistant at one establishment in Carlisle recalled an occasion when the hearse was required at another cemetery while a Black funeral service was in progress: "It always takes them a long time with their speakers and so forth, so we thought we’d be back in time. Sure enough, we got back an hour later and they were still reading the telegrams."


"Edith Brower, "Little Old Wilkes-Barre As I Knew It... Proceedings of the Wyoming Historical Society, 18 (1922), 8. A similar story was told by Annie Stover, near Carlisle, ca. 1944.


"If the corpse is limber, there will be another death in the home within a year" (Schultz, p. 15; cf. Fogel, no. 582).


"Burial in oak-tree coffins dates from the earlier part of the Northern European Bronze Age; see Gordon Childes, Peering Together the Past (New York, 1969), pp. 65-85.

"Jack Goddy, "Death and the Interpretation of Culture," in Death in America, p. 16.


"JRB, Carlisle, bef. 1950. Cf. also Two Hundred Years in Cumberland County, ed. D. W. Thompson, et al. (Carlisle, 1951), p. 104: "Did you ever go down to the eastern end of Main street at the fork of the Trindle Spring and York roads and call out ‘Donnelly, what were you hung for?’ "Nothing," was the silent reply."

"Motif L341.15; Brown Collection, no. 5421; Fogel, no. 593; Montell, no. 209; Puckle, p. 75 (Scotland).

"Cf. Montell, no. 137. In fact, suicides were long denied burial in holy ground, even among Protestants.

"George Farling, Bloomsville, June 1976. Brown Collection, no. 5436; cf. Montell, no. 137. It is reported that the corpse was found within a half mile, the loaf was observed to remain stationary. A boat was immediately dispatched to the place and the dead body was actually found directly under the loaf! The above may be relied on, as strictly true" (Pittsburgh Mercury, May 7, 1819, p. 2). See also, Ibid., 622; Long, p. 153; Aurand, p. 29; Felix Reichmann, "Bread of Our Forefathers," Historical Review of Berks County, 9 (1943), 13.

"EB, May 1963; also reported from Lebanon County. See Brown Collection, no. 5454; Fogel, no. 588; Simonson, p. 2; Schultz, p. 14; Hand, KFQ, 4, no. 136; Aurand, Remedies, pp. 29-30; Montell, no. 77.


"EB, 1959. Brown Collection, no. 5515; Fogel, no. 575.

"Mary Reiber, Carlisle, October, 1976.

"Simonson, p. 2; Montell, no. 260; Elizabeth M. Davison and Ellen McKee, Annals of Old Wilkinsburg (Wilkinsburg, 1940), p. 399: "Happy the corpse the rain falls on."

"See Hoffman, JAF, 2, (1889), 28; Fogel, no. 1481; Simonson, p. 3; Brendle and Unger, p. 189; Aurand, Remedies, p. 10. Cf. Alfred Shoemaker, "Collectanea," PF, 10, no. 1 (1959), 41: "A common bed-wetting cure in the Mennonite and Amish sections was to fill a bottle with the child’s urine and place it in a coffin and bury it with a corpse."

"C. K. Snyder, Carlisle, bef. 1950.

"From an unidentified female on the WHYL (Carlisle) radio public opinion program, Friday, August 13, 1976. A Blair County informant notes, "If you bring flowers home from a funeral, you’ll take a good friend back."

"Cf. Fogel, no. 600; Shoemaker, Proverbs, p. 12; Long, p. 55; Brown Collection, no. 5496.

"Ken Whister, Newville, June 18, 1972. The meal itself was often the subject of folk humor; cf. Baughman, motive W165(a) and Thomas R. Brendle and William S. Troxell, Pennsylvania German Folk Tales (Nortirstown, 1944), pp. 85-86.


"EB, bef. 1955. Brown Collection, nos. 4921-23; Montell, no. 57; Puckle, p. 19.
Planning continues for the Third Annual Educators’ Conference sponsored by the Education Committee of the Pennsylvania German Society, Saturday, 22 September, 1979, at the Conrad Weiser High School, Robesonia, PA. Program and arrangements take shape now under the direction of Parre Richard Druckenbrod and his Committee, including Mary Alice Minderhout, John Zug, Irwin Klinger and Marie Graeff. Program and registration forms will soon be available from them or from Society Headquarters at Breinigsville, PA.

After nearly a decade of experimenting with a schedule of five issues of PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE annually, we will, as earlier announced, revert once again to four issues per year beginning with Volume 29, of which the Autumn 1979 issue is Number 1. Thus in manner of celebrating the changeover, your editor had intended that the Summer 1979 issue (Vol. 28, #4,) be devoted to Migrations. For a number of reasons various articles originally intended for this issue will instead be spread over at least the next three issues.

To make this series of articles available to the readers is, in our view, to honor traditions set by both Alfred Shoemaker and Don Yoder in previous editorial stints. In doing so, we notice as well that theories regarding immigration, pioneers, emigration and migration studies (along with methods of expressing ourselves on those subjects) have developed entirely new patterns of approach and of exposition since this publication began as The Pennsylvania Dutchman in 1949. In fact, a combination of old and new presentations shows quite clearly in this Summer issue. We will try to continue the process of printing the best and most interesting of old-style formats alongside new and original approaches.

One longstanding myth which ought to be dispelled is the notion that once the Pennsylvania Dutchman set his roots into Pennsylvania soil, he never budged from here generation in and generation out. Of course that is true for some of us who are ninth, tenth, or even twelfth generation Pennsylvanisch and have never had a home outside the narrow bounds of Penn’s Woods since 1749 or 1683 or 1717 or whatever date of arrival. But in every generation from the first to arrive until now, no matter how great the attraction of productive soil, economic opportunity and a free choice of religion, some of the Deitsch were born wanderers, while others travelled for business or study or for greater economic opportunity. They also had followers of a willow-the-wisp which told them pastures were greener and business more rewarding in distant places.

Many of these Pennsylvania Germans, more frequently Church Germans or men without any firm religious convictions to the contrary than from among the Plain Folk, served in local and national wars or with volunteer/militia forces. From the time of French and Indian Wars or the Pennamite War against Connecticut incursions into Pennsylvania, to the massive manpower demands of both sides in the Civil War and the two World Wars within a quarter-century in our recent lifetime, they went. Those who survived had seen whole new kinds of lifestyle and were often rewarded, if victorious, with land bounties or bonus money which afforded them a chance to venture back to places they had seen in their travels.

The lure of gold in 1849 carried as many of the seemingly sedentary and essentially agrarian Pennsylvanian Dutchmen as those of any other ethnic group out into the wild and untamed west of California, Colorado, Nevada and Utah. They went singly and in companies, in numbers which leave us absolutely astounded today. We will try to take our readers through the words of both travellers and researchers on those very real journeys from the old homelands not only out of Swabia and the Palatinate, but also away from Pennsylvania, Virginia and Ohio.

The Dutchman - Pennsylvania Folklife has also built much of its impressively faithful circulation through the Immigrant Lists and Church Registers of past issues. We plan more such items but with the reminder that even a shiplist tells us some different things today than it did twenty-five or fifty years ago. Or rather, we are assembling the data gathered from such informational listings to make different kinds of assessments and deductions than were possible in earlier years. Several articles along these lines are approaching completion now and we hope to bring them to interested readers before the last pages of Volume 29 (1979-1980) have been printed. Your comments and concerns are solicited herewith.
Subscribers and readers who take the time to corroborate, correct, chastise or congratulate the editor are the source of joy and encouragement to him. Still the urge to put together one full issue absolutely free from typographical errors or editorial flaws begins to press more heavily upon this editor as time progresses. We are spared the literal pursuit of that goal by the old reminder attributed (though probably erroneously) to an aging Mennonite scribe who deliberately wrote one error into every Vorschrift or decorated drawing since the perfect product could be expected only from a Divine hand. To this moment, this editor has not been faced with that problem, to be sure.

Another bonus which accrued in our editorial searching has been the cheerful assistance and cooperation of library and archives personnel at the various institutions and organizations where we worked locating, verifying and clarifying points in question to properly prepare each issue. This editor has made extensive use either book or manuscript holdings at Myrin Library of Ursinus College; the Van Pelt Library of the University of Pennsylvania; Library of the German Society of Pennsylvania at 611 Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia; Moravian Archives in Bethlehem; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, back to back at 1300 Locust Street in Penn’s fair city; Mercer Museum of the Bucks County Historical Society; and in particular, at the Historical Society of Montgomery County.

In the tradition of our forbears, the likes of Francis Daniel Pastorius, Christopher Sauer, Bishop Spangenberg, James Logan and the illustrious Benjamin Franklin himself, library and archives personal hold to schedules, maintain bridges of communication and spend countless hours searching for the seemingly irretrievable. And that to humor, assist, improve and correct the ideas and wild notions of editors and authors on the trail of an elusive gem of knowledge they absolutely must have, though no one else has ever heard of it. Books are indeed our friends, but so much more are the people who make them available. As a mark of our respect and thanks, we will attempt to designate all pagination for Volume 29 consecutively throughout. This will also aid us in future indexing.

Incidentally, all our readers who are keeping their Summer plans close to home as a tribute to the gasoline situation, will wish to consider a visit to the Heritage Center of Lancaster County in Lancaster city, on the Center Square where King and Queen Streets cross. You will want to see their regular displays of period rooms and exhibits just replete with the fine hand-crafted products of Lancaster County artisans: fine clocks, pewter and copperware, quilts, coverlets and samplers, as well as the works of folk art and fraktur you expect to find on a museum jaunt. There is a nominal admission charge.

This visiting season (from now until December) there is special reason to pay a call on them, thanks to the imagination and care of Bruce Schumacher and his staff. They have an exciting comparative exhibit in mirror-room arrangement, of items by Pennsylvania Germans from Lancaster County and quite similar, almost imitation pieces, made in the Pennsylvania German communities of Upper Canada settled by colonies of Lancaster Countians on the move. It is one of the finest examples of comparative cultural development your editor has been fortunate enough to see. Both the concept and the result are engaging. Make the short trip there and judge for yourself.

Another Summer season of Living History Exhibits, Craft Displays and Folk Festivals will have flown rapidly by as you read this notice, though unless our timing is too far off, you should find the time still on the calendar for a day at the two-day Fescht: that is the always interesting local spectacular. The Goschenhoppen Folk Festival, listed for 10 and 11 August 1979 at New Goschenhoppen Park, East Greenville, Pa. Energetic planning for the celebration of folk cultural remains and evidences of one formerly isolated valley system has done well each year and as usual, has something for each member of the family.

If you miss the Goschenhoppen Sing-Gemeinde, a choral group dedicated to the study and preservation of religious as well as secular folk traditions in music, on 11 August at the Goschenhoppen Fescht, they will also be participating as a group in special services at Delp’s Meeting House (Herrite) and at Kline’s Meeting House, both near Harleysville, on Sunday afternoons 19 August, 2 September and 7 October, 1979. Watch for further notice.

In the pages of Altes un Neues, we attempt to bring you notice of meetings, gatherings and organizations of interest to readers, but operate always under our especially precise page limitation. In order to consider notices for inclusion (and selection and editing must obviously be reserved to our best judgment) we must have notices in hand in sufficient time to meet our normal publication schedule. Since we revert to four issues per year starting with the Autumn 1979 Pennsylvania Folklore (Vol. 29, #1), copy for Autumn issues must regularly be received before 1 June preceding; copy for Winter issues must get to me before the preceding 1 September, and for Spring issues, not later than 1 December prior to the date of appearance. No responsibility is assumed for the appearance of any particular notice in any given issue, or for lack of space, that it will appear at all, because of problems of deadlines, arrangement of articles and illustrations, and pagination. We will surely try to be timely.
Welcome to the Archives Collection of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society. We are housed in Room 301 Myrin Library at Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa. The Collection, a result of some thirty years of accumulation, donation and purchase, includes old and local books and imprints. It also contains many documents, records and manuscripts, some photographs and color slides, audio-tape cassettes and other materials pertinent to the Pennsylvania German (popularly called the Pennsylvania Dutch) settlements of Pennsylvania and neighboring areas. These materials are supplemented by printed sources about the Pennsylvania Germans and similar materials on other groups for comparative study done by various societies and organizations in the United States and Europe.

The Pennsylvania Folklife Society Archives Collection functions as a research center for all facets of history and culture of the Pennsylvania Germans, but especially for the folklife, folk culture and all that these encompass. In the Myrin Library the scholar may consult the Alfred L. Shoemaker File, a unique index to folk-cultural information explicitly about museums or cultural-historical collections. It consists of 80,000 cross-reference cards listing information from books, journals and newspapers. In addition, abstracted information from thousands of folk-cultural informants' interviews, letters and other comments is to be found in the files. The letters and interview notes may be used, also, for research purposes.

Photographs, color slides and audio-tape cassettes of activities in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country are another useful part of the collection to be found in Room 301. A personality card file has been begun which documents names, families, points of origin and locations of American settlements having thousands of Pennsylvania German migrants.

The Archives of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society in Room 301 Myrin Library are open regularly on Monday afternoons of the school term between 2:00 and 4:00 p.m. or at other times by special arrangement in advance. Inquiries should be directed to:

Professor William T. Parsons, Archivist Pennsylvania Folklife Society Box 92, Collegeville, Pa. 19426

COLLECTIONS

Charles R. Roberts Manuscript Collection
Account books, ledgers, order books and other bound manuscript items (1762-1818), especially those of Peter Rhoads and Frederick Schenkel; letters and documents 1756-1875, including some correspondence of the Reverend Abraham Blumer (1736-1822).

Walter Boyer Collection
Books, pamphlets and prints in German and English; Rhineland and Pennsylvania imprints, on the history, dialect, folk culture and heritage of the Pennsylvania Germans, including some items purchased by Boyer from the earlier Henry S. Bornemann Collection.

William T. Parsons, Evan S. Snyder Cassette Collection
Audio-tape cassettes of Fersommlinge, Karrichedinscht and other program use of Pennsylfawnisch Deitsch (the Pennsylvania German Dialect); interviews and commentary in Deitsch and English; Folk Culture and Oral History from Pennsylvania Dutch Studies Classes at Ursinus; Rhineland and Pennsylvania Dutch Folksongs.

William T. Parsons Color Slide Collection
Approximately 750 slides of items, artifacts, locations and personalities in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country, reflecting the heritage of the Pennsylvania Germans; slides of German and Swiss locations from which these travelers emigrated.
The Festival and its Sponsorship

The Kutztown Folk Festival is sponsored by the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, a nonprofit educational corporation affiliated with URSINUS COLLEGE, Collegeville, Pennsylvania. The Society’s purposes are threefold: First, the demonstrating and displaying of the lore and folkways of the Pennsylvania Dutch through the annual Kutztown Folk Festival; second, the collecting, studying, archiving and publishing the lore of the Dutch Country and Pennsylvania through the publication of PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE Magazine; and third, using the proceeds for scholarships and general educational purposes at URSINUS COLLEGE.

FOR THE FOLK FESTIVAL BROCHURE WRITE TO:

Pennsylvania Folklife Society
College Blvd. & Vine, Kutztown, Pa. 19530