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Pennsylvania **FOLKLIFE**

SPRING 1972

Ukrainian Pysanky in Pennsylvania

Contributors to this Issue

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GEORGE WYNNYSKY, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, was born of Ukrainian parentage in Germany, and emigrated to the United States in 1949, settling in White Haven, Pennsylvania. From 1968 to 1972 he was a student in the Department of Psychology, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania.

DR. DONALD M. HINES, Pullman, Washington, is a member of the Department of English at the Washington State University. A graduate of Indiana University, he contributes to this issue the survey of the history of the development of folklife studies in the British Isles.

LESTER P. BREININGER, JR., Robesonia, Pennsylvania, is a high school teacher in Berks County and student of Pennsylvania German material culture. He is Editor of a new journal with the dialect title *Die Shilgrut fun der Tulpehock* (The Tulpehocken Turtle), published annually by the Tulpehocken Settlement Historical Society at Womelsdorf, of which two issues have appeared, Volumes I-II (1970-1971).

DR. LOUIS WINKLER, State College, Pennsylvania, has been a member of the Department of Astronomy at the Pennsylvania State University since 1964. A

native of New Jersey, he received his B.A. degree from Rutgers University, the M.A. from Adelphi University, Long Island, and the Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. His research on Pennsylvania German astronomical and astrological ideas was sponsored by a grant from the College of Science, the Pennsylvania State University.

DR. MAC E. BARRICK, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, is Professor of Spanish Language and Literature at Shippensburg State College, Shippensburg, Pennsylvania. His article on fishing spears of Central Pennsylvania is the latest in Dr. Barrick's series on the material folk-culture of his home area, the Cumberland Valley.

DR. LEE CHARLES HOPPLE, Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania, is a graduate of Pennsylvania State University now teaching geography at Bloomsburg State College. We conclude in this issue his chapter on the geographical spread of the plain sects in Southeastern Pennsylvania, from his doctoral dissertation, *Spatial Development and Internal Spatial Organization of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Community*, Ph.D. dissertation in Geography, The Pennsylvania State University, 1971. In our Winter issue (XXI: 2) we published his findings on the Amish and the Mennonites; in this issue we add those dealing with the Dunkards and the Schwenkfelders.

DR. FRIEDRICH KREBS, Speyer, West Germany, was recently retired as archivist at the Palatine State Archives in Speyer. He has contributed many articles to our journal dealing with 18th Century emigration to the New World, based on his researches in the archives of West Germany. His article in this issue continues his series on 18th Century emigrants from the Rhineland provinces.

The Scottish photographs in the Hines article are reprinted by courtesy of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh. Those on pages 8, 17, 18, and 19 were taken by Alexander Fenton in 1969, that on page 13 by J. Baldwin in 1971. The photographs from Yorkshire—a strong area for Quaker emigration to Pennsylvania—were furnished by Professor Stewart F. Sanderson, Director, Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies, The University, Leeds, England.

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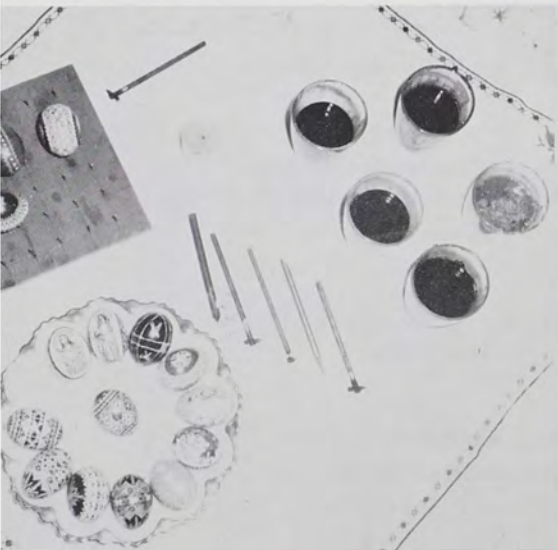
COVER:

Easter, the second most popular festival in the Christian world, has produced a wide variety of folk forms. In this issue we feature the Ukrainian Easter tradition in Pennsylvania. For comparative materials, see Alfred L. Shoemaker, "Scratch-Carved Easter Eggs," The Dutchman, VI:4 (Spring 1955), 20-23, and Martha S. Best, "Easter Customs in the Lehigh Valley," Pennsylvania Folklife, XVII:3 (Spring 1968), 2-13.

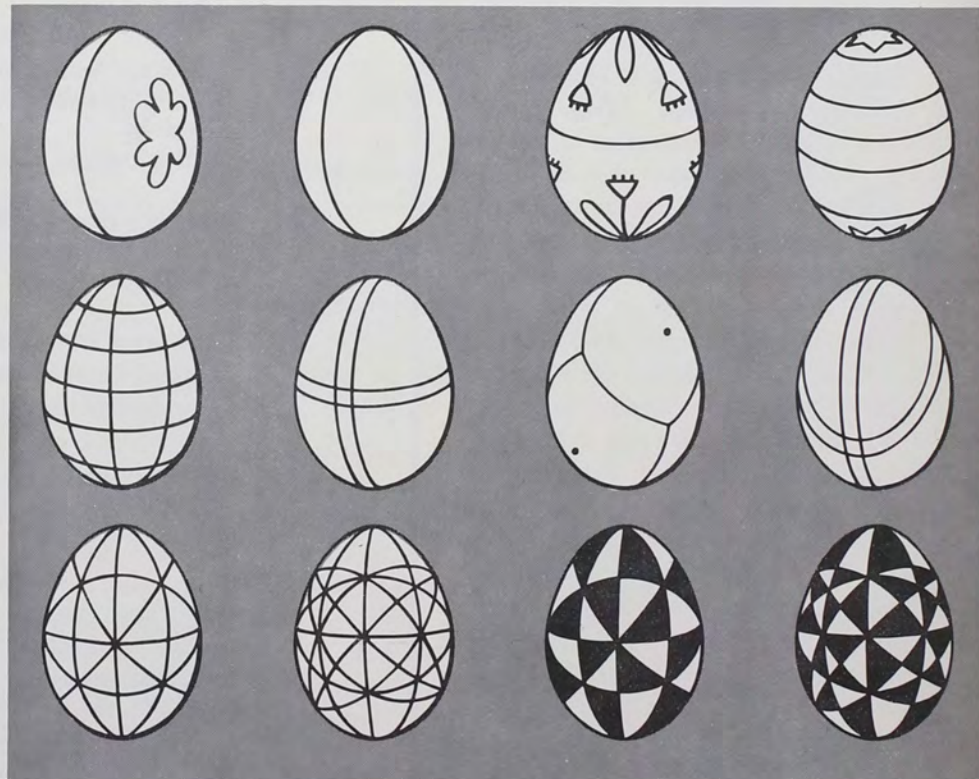
The Ukrainianian



Lines of wax are applied by Mrs. Patricia Wynnysky of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. She has also taken part in tours giving demonstrations on how to make the "pysanka."



Some of the dyes, wax pens, and other tools used to make the "pysanka." All the pens, except for the first on the extreme left, are homemade.



These are some basic lines used to section the egg.

Pysanka and Other DECORATED EASTER EGGS In Pennsylvania

By WASYL O. LUCIW and GEORGE WYNNYSKY

The Easter egg of the Slavic communities in Pennsylvania has come down to us from the Ukraine and other Slavic countries. In this article will be presented the background, symbolism, and techniques of the decorated Easter egg. One hopes that through this brief sketch this type of Slavic art will be better understood, appreciated, adopted and continued as part of Pennsylvania's mosaic culture.

The making of *pysanky* (Easter eggs) is an old tradition. In the Ukraine, the egg has had a special significance from ancient times. In the beginning it symbolized the sun and the perpetuation of life. Even today, an exchange of eggs at Easter is an expression of greeting. In another custom they are buried with the dead and serve as a symbol of resurrection. The designs used in today's *pysanky* can be traced to archaeological discoveries in the district of Kiev, Ukraine. In the village of Trypillia were found the remains of an ancient people who had a well developed culture. Lately archaeological excavations resulted in examples of ceramics made at the height of Trypillian culture (5,000 years old) which had decorations that compare with the geometric symbols and designs found on our present Easter eggs.

Historically we find that the tradition of decorating eggs not only survived, but flourished and expanded throughout the Ukraine. Regional variations of design developed and were strictly adhered to, making it easy to identify in what area a particular one originated. The Hutzuls of the Carpathian mountain region always had fine detail, striking color and delicate, intricate geometric patterns. The background color of their decorated eggs is usually red. In the northwestern part of the country, the Polissya area, the designs used are variants of the geometric art and are unique because of the inclusion of traces of floral ornamentation. In this region the background color of the egg is black. The decorative motifs of the middle and eastern parts of the Ukraine with their conventional floral patterns,

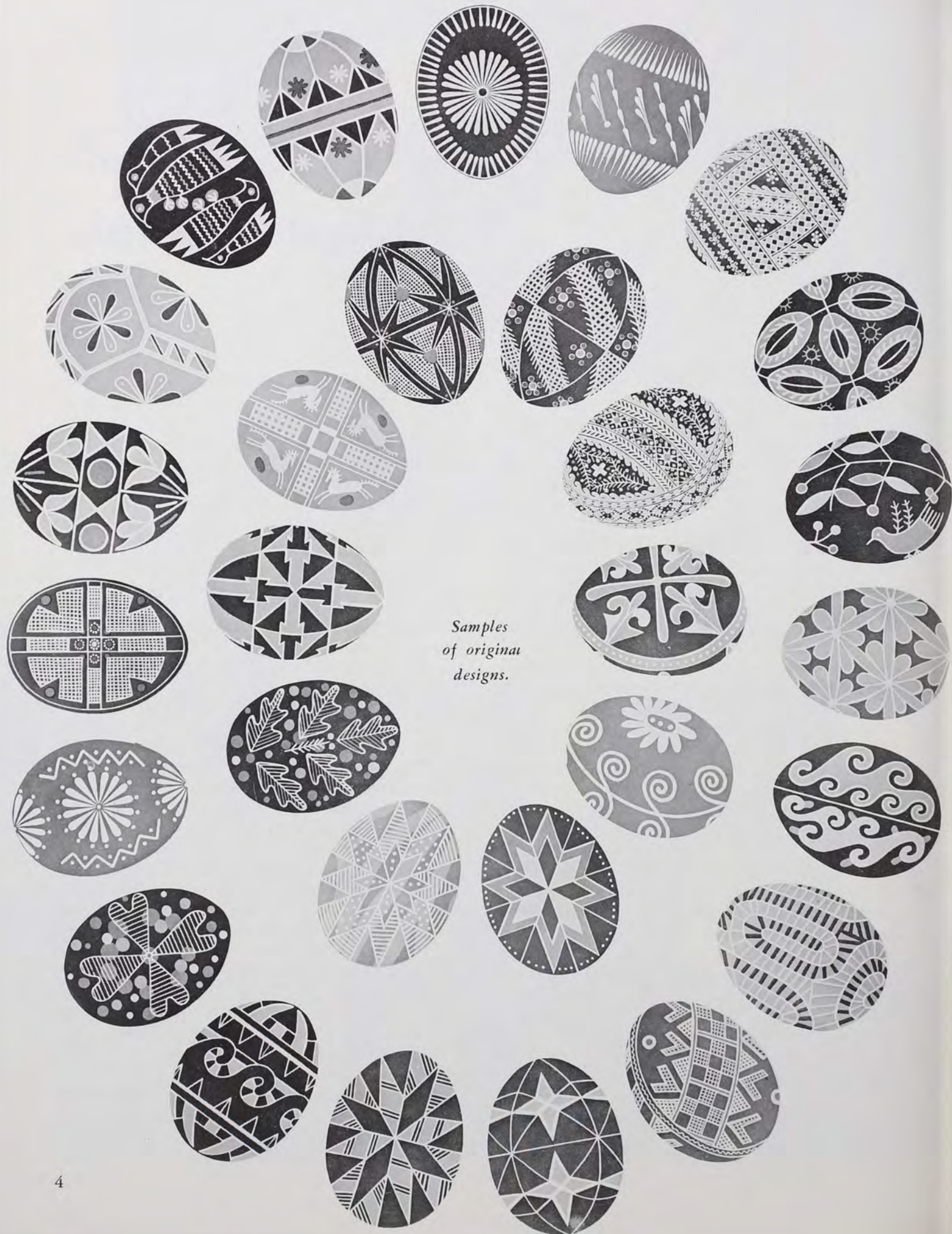
bear a similarity with Persian designs on carpets and mosaics. Not only each region, but each village, even each family had its own particular motif or pattern in the execution of design; no two were alike, yet all were traditional, handed down from generation to generation.

Evolution of this art was not only limited to the establishment of recognizable patterns, but also resulted in new methods of application of design to egg. Besides simple coloring, the oldest form of decorating eggs is called *drapanky* (scratchings). The name is fitting since the method is to color the egg and then scratch away part of the coloring to impose a design. Another form developed is *krapanky*. The name comes from the Ukrainian word for "drops." To execute this method the egg is dyed one color. A second color is applied with a brush dipped into a pigment and applied to the egg by touching brush to egg, or by flicking the pigment onto the egg with a rapid motion of the brush without touching it. A variation of this is to use drops of wax to isolate spots of a colored egg so that an egg can be dyed in a second color. When the second color is dry, the wax is scraped off to form a two-color design.

The designs used on the *pysanka* can be considered as stylistic representations of three kinds: geometric, plant, and animal. The geometric motifs are the oldest and range from simple horizontal and vertical lines to section the egg, to sun symbols like the tripod, to the different "endless line" forms, to the most complex "star" or "rosette" patterns.

The plant motifs are usually used as secondary designs on the egg. The pine tree symbolizing eternal youth and health, the apple, the periwinkle (*barvinok*), and flowers are some of the most often found.

The animal motifs are also very old but not quite as old as the geometric. Traditionally they are never used alone but with the geometric forms. The patterns represent animals or just parts of animals. The designs are in miniature on the egg and therefore, animal motifs are the most difficult to execute and for the same reason,



*Samples
of original
designs.*



Mrs. Linda Wanitzky, Allentown, Pennsylvania, watched by her son and Mrs. Patricia Wynnysky, her mother.

the most rare. A hen, or just the feet of a hen, symbolizes fertility and fulfillment of wishes. The reindeer symbolizes wealth and prosperity. Other figures used are butterflies, fish, and horses.

Today our decorated egg designs have the same characteristics as those of the early pagan cultures of the ancient Slavic peoples. After the acceptance of Christianity by these peoples in the ninth century, the pagan symbols lost their original meanings and the decorated egg became one of the traditions of the Christian Easter time.

Many Slavic nations have their own style of *pysanky*. The Russians have a method of making very beautiful designs on eggs with precious stones on gold or silver

eggs. By another method of egg decoration are made *vaskovenki*, a name derived from the word for wax (*vosk*). Here the entire egg is dipped into molten wax, then small icons are placed onto the wax on both sides of the egg. After that exquisite designs are created with colored threads, beads and sequins which are appliquéd in wax. In Philadelphia in a Russian store there was purchased a plastic egg with a beautiful oil painting of a church and an Easter greeting. This is another variation of egg-decorating technique.

The Poles have a style of decorating eggs using one color called *halunki* (from the international word alum used in coloring) or *kraszanki* (colored eggs). In years past, the selected eggs were covered with clay as part of the process of cleaning the shell so that it would dye better. The Slovaks, Czechs, Serbs, Croats, etc., have similar decorated eggs. The Ukrainians have the *pysanka* and it is their most well-known type of art form.

It has been hypothesized that today's *pysanka* has, in fact, evolved from all these forms, taking something from each, to become the true art that it is today.

The Ukrainians, about fifty million population, belong to the East Slavic geographic group (Russia, White Russia, Ukraine) and are located in an area just north of the Black Sea. Like the others of the group, they have their own independent language and culture. In the latter half of the 19th Century Ukrainians started to immigrate to the United States in large numbers. Over half of these settled in Pennsylvania's coal-mining areas, such as Pittsburgh and Shenandoah. With them they brought their customs and traditions, including *pysanky*-making, which they carried on in their new home.

The art of making Easter eggs (*pysanky*) has been handed down from generation to generation. Today in Pennsylvania we find *pysanky* being made not only by Ukrainians but by many different people. Many have actively sought information so that they could make them for themselves. Today the interest in this art form is greater than ever before.

For the purposes of this article we have conducted interviews with various families throughout the state on how they carried on this tradition. We found that basically there are three methods used.

The most popular method of decorating eggs in Pennsylvania today we found to be the *pysanky*, the method associated with that name in the Ukraine. This is also the most involved method so we shall discuss it in some detail. It was related to us by Mrs. Anna Contrady of McAdoo, Mrs. Patricia Wynnysky of Bethlehem, and by Mr. and Mrs. Kunash of State College.

To make an Easter egg one needs a pen, a source of heat, the desired liquid dyes, and patience.

It is very important that the eggs and the artist's hands be free of oils. Grease will cause the dye to color the egg unevenly on the egg. Washing the eggs in a mild vinegar and water solution thoroughly cleans



This is Mrs. Anna Contrady of McAdoo, Pennsylvania. Her parents come to this country in the 1880's. Like her mother before her, she makes "pysanky" and has taught the art to her daughter.



Mr. T. Hrycyk from Ambridge, Pennsylvania, making his beautiful "driapanky".



Basketful of artistic Easter eggs made by Mr. T. Hrycyk and his granddaughter.

the shell of the egg. For the wax it is recommended to use natural bee's wax, although regular paraffin has been successfully used.

The wax pen can be elaborate or plain. Many have been made "at home" simply by shaping a piece of thin brass into a small cone with a hole in its bottom for drawing and the large top of the cone for holding the wax and then attaching it to a suitable handle. The simplest "pen" is a pin stuck into a piece of wood. The head of the pin is heated, dipped into molten wax, and then used to transfer the wax onto the egg. A better type is one similar in appearance to a regular pen but with a tip made of metal, containing a cavity which acts as a wax reservoir. In order to write, the metal tip is heated till the wax in the reservoir becomes molten and can flow out at the point of the pen. This type is commercially available or can be made without too much difficulty at home. The quality of the pen is determined by the fineness of the wax line that it can produce. A convenient source of heat for any type of pen is a candle.

The colors originally used were natural dyes from various sources. Yellow was obtained by the boiling of onion peels or the inner bark of a wild apple tree

mixed with the petals of the common flower called buttercup. Green is made from boiling various grasses. Black can be obtained by boiling oak bark, the root of the dead nettle or the bark of the alder tree mixed with alum. Today many coloring materials are easily available. An inexpensive source of dye is obtained from colored crepe paper soaked in water.

The process itself requires that the work be done from the lightest to the darkest color. Starting with the clean raw egg, the desired design is drawn on the shell. If there is to be white in the design, take the wax pen and cover the area that you desire to remain white. The wax, after it hardens, will have the effect of shielding that area from any dye. The egg is then dyed the lightest color first, usually yellow. Here it is advisable to use a wire loop with an extended handle so that the egg can easily be immersed in the dye and easily removed. Shading of a color can be obtained by the length of time that an egg is submerged in the dye. When the desired color is reached, the egg is then lifted out of the bath and set aside to dry.

A note of caution: an egg that is allowed to remain in one position too long in the dye bath will tend to form a "bald spot" from lack of color where its bottom



Granddaughter of Mr. T. Hrycyk expertly executes the art of her grandfather.

touched the dye container. This can be overcome by gently shifting the egg's position periodically. The same effect, reverse, takes place when the egg is being dried. Unless excess liquid dye is removed, it will tend to form a drop at the base of the egg as it dries and will cause a spot of a darker shade of color to be formed. This can be overcome by drawing off any excess dye on the egg immediately after removal from the bath.

When the first color on the egg is dry, that portion of the design that is desired to be that color is filled in with wax. Again, this will seal that area from further dyeing. The egg can now be bathed in the next desired color. This process is repeated successively using darker colors until the coloring of the entire design is complete.

The last step of the process is the removal of the wax. After the final desired color is applied, the dry egg is gently heated (if in an oven, less than 200 F) just enough to melt the wax, which can then be wiped off with a clean cloth. When all the wax is removed, a coat of lacquer can be applied to add brilliance to the *pysanky's* colors and increase the pride of the artist who made it.

A second method of decorating eggs results in the *driapanky* and is entirely different. It is perhaps the most ancient method. One of the persons very expert in making *driapanky* is Mr. Theodor Hrycyk of Ambridge and he has passed the art down to his grand-

daughter Mrs. Diana Tyma of Pittsburgh. In this process, the raw egg is dip-dyed a single dark color. After drying, the design is then inscribed onto the egg with a metal stylus, needle, or the like. The process involves the scraping away of the dye and bits of the shell to form the design. With the *driapanky*, more intricate and finer designs are possible than with the *maliiovanky*.

The third method of preparing Easter eggs practiced in Pennsylvania is *maliiovanky* (paintings). This is a relatively new method. In the Ukraine, it would be common for a house to have its exterior or interior walls decorated by paintings of colorful natural flowers. The artists who painted these floral designs at some time decided to apply their talents to eggs, especially to wooden ones made for that purpose. The result was the *maliiovanky*. The name comes from the Ukrainian word meaning to paint with a brush. This method was described for us by Mrs. Linda Wanitsky of Allentown. With this method the egg is first hard-boiled and then with free hand, natural pigments originally, and now store-bought colors, are applied by brush. When the application of the various colors is completed, the egg is set aside to dry to be the finished *maliiovanka*.

This delineation of one of our many art forms in Slavic folk-culture is briefly realized. Hopefully this article will have not only introduced the Ukrainian Easter egg as an example of universal beauty, but also informed each Pennsylvania lover of the arts enough to make his own Easter egg if he so wishes. Undoubtedly this magazine will at some time devote its pages to describing equally popular subjects from the lore of each of the thirteen Slavic ethnic groups in Pennsylvania.

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The Development of FOLKLIFE RESEARCH In the United Kingdom

By DONALD M. HINES

[The scientific study of folklife (traditional culture) in the United States is an academic migrant from the universities of the Continent of Europe and the British Isles in the 20th Century. Our work in Pennsylvania very much reflects this European emphasis. In fact our title, *Pennsylvania Folklife*, was modeled on that of *Ulster Folklife*, which preceded it by a year or so. For this reason we are delighted to publish Dr. Hines' survey of the development of the discipline in England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. A second installment, on the folk museum movement in those areas, will follow. The important developments in the Irish Republic will be treated separately in a later issue.—EDITOR.]

I. A BRIEF HISTORY OF FOLKLIFE STUDIES IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, WALES, AND NORTHERN IRELAND

Folklife research (*folklivsforskning*), a term coined circa 1909 in Sweden, is the study of man and all his works in relation to the environment in which he lives.¹ The subject of folk-culture study is ordinary man; both his oral and material traditions, or arts and crafts, are included within the wide area of study.² And presently in the United Kingdom, folklife studies are conducted not only through major university research institutes, but also in folk museums such as the Museum of English Rural Life at the University of Reading, England; the

¹Useful background information and definitions of "folklife research" are given in Ake Hultkrantz's *General Ethnological Concepts in an International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore*, 2 vols., (Copenhagen, 1960), I, 132-134. An explicit definition, very useful here, plus a crucial discussion focusing on and summing up the nature of folklife research appears in G. B. Thompson's "Folk Culture and the People," *Advancement of Science*, XIV (1957-58), 480-486. On page 481 Prof. Thompson observes "... our primary task is to study and interpret the life of our chosen area by recording the living past in the present, by linking dead past with the present, and by keeping step with our culture as it progresses through the years to come." This article is based on ideas originally formulated for the creation of an Ulster Folk Museum. See also Don Yoder's "The Folklife Studies Movement," in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XIII:4 (July 1963), 43-56, wherein the background to the development of American folklife research is set forth. The broad expanse included within the ken of folklife studies is amply illustrated by Sean O'Sullivan's *A Handbook of Irish Folklore* (Hatboro, Pa.; Folklore Associates, Inc., 1963).



An Aberdeenshire mole-catcher at work.

²Not only the scope of the field, but theoretical concerns in the study of folklife research are to be found in a number of important journal articles, many of which, while influential to English folklife studies in the United Kingdom, come from abroad. Suggestive articles from Great Britain: M. M. Banks, "Recent Trends in Swedish Folk Studies," *Folk-Lore*, LV (1944), 83-84; R. U. Sayce, "Some Recent Trends in Swedish Folk Studies," *Folk-Lore*, LIV (1943), 378-389. Articles from Sweden include Albert Eskeröd, "'Folk Society' and 'Western Civilization.' A Suggestion to the Study of European Folk Cultures," *Folk-Liv*, XVII-XVIII (1953-54), 53-61; and Sigurd Erixon's five basic works: "An Introduction to Folklife Research or Nordic Ethnology," *Folk-Liv*, XIV-XV (1950-51), 5-15; "Folk-life Research in Our Time, from a Swedish Point of View," *Gwerin*, III (1960-62), 275-291; "Nordic Open-Air Museums and Skansen," *The Proceedings of the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society*, II (October 1937), 31-42; "Regional European Ethnology: I. Main Principles and Aims with Special Reference to Nordic Ethnology," *Folk-Liv*, I (1937), 89-108; and "Regional European Ethnology: II. Functional Analysis—Time Studies," *Folk-Liv*, II (1938), 263-294.



Farm house and buildings, Yockenthwaite, Langstrothdale, Yorkshire, England. Typical Dales farmstead with house and barn adjoining in one long building.

Ulster Folk Museum, Belfast, Northern Ireland; the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland; and the Welsh Folk Museum, Cardiff, Wales. Programs of folklife studies are being undertaken by several other universities, and scores of smaller museums and private collections of arts and crafts objects are thriving, too. Basically, in the United King-

²Some useful articles which reflect the issues, personalities and progress of the early days of the English Folk-Lore Society include Richard M. Dorson's "Folklore Studies in England," in *Folklore Research Around the World, A North American Point of View* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press [Vol. XVI, Indiana University Folklore Series], 1961), pp. 16-261. Dorson's "The Great Team of English Folklorists," *JAF*, LXIV (1951), 1-10, is an excellent survey of the theorists and the issues which affected the growth of folklore in Great Britain. Discussed are Andrew Lang, G. L. Gomme, Edwin S. Hartland, Alfred Nutt, Edward Clodd, and W. A. Clouston. And see Prof. Dorson's "Foreword," to *Folktales of England*, eds. K. M. Briggs and R. L. Tongue, in *Folktales of the World*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. v-xxii. Allan Gomme, "The Collection of English Folklore: Ways and Means," *Folk-Lore*, LXIV (1953), 321-333; a sad recounting of the lofty ambitions, the brave committees convened, the spirited discussions held, and the little substance accomplished, the article presents another side of the English Folk-Lore Society. A. R. Wright, "The Folklore of the Past and Present," *Folk-Lore*, XXXVIII (1927), 13-39; this is a very penetrating examination of the problems confronting folklore and the English Folklore Society upon the latter reaching its fiftieth anniversary. Other works of general interest here include the three articles by Charlotte S. Burne: "Classification of Folk-Lore," in *The Folk-Lore Journal*, IV (1886), 158-163; "The Collection of Folklore," *Folk-Lore*, XIII (1902), 299-302; "The Science of Folk-Lore," *The Folk-Lore Journal*, III (1885), 97-103; and "The Science of Folk-Lore," *The Folk-Lore Journal*, III (1885), 267-269. G. L. Gomme, "Folk-Lore Terminology," in *The Folk-Lore Journal*, II (1884), 347-348. P. J. Heather, "The Future Work of the Folk-Lore Society," *Folk-Lore*, XXI (1910), 235-236. Peter Opie, "England. The Great Undiscovered," *Folk-Lore*, LXV (1954), 149-164.

dom the major folklife research institutes and museums draw upon the example and influence of Scandinavian research, particularly by Swedish scholars. But, unlike the well-established, scholarly, and popular Nordiska Museet and Skansen in Stockholm, Sweden, British folk museums and folklife research are but recent offshoots of folklore studies in the United Kingdom and Ireland. Ultimately, British folk-culture study is rooted, like the study of "folklore" and "bygones," in "popular antiquities." During the early decades of the English Folk-Lore Society's life, an extended, often frustrating debate sought to focus on and to define the subject, the scope and the ends to be studied.³ But, when the Folk-Lore Society's discussions turned again to the narrower definition, folklife research found positive support within the social sciences, and within this framework of succor folklife studies continue to thrive in the United Kingdom.

The metes and bounds of British folklore were set in 1846 by Thoms who set apart folklore from "bygones" and "popular antiquities," the superficial study in which a gentleman might dabble.⁴ And British folklore came

³See Ronald H. Buchanan, "A Decade of Folklife Study," *Ulster Folklife*, XI (1965), 63. Published in *The Athenaeum* on 22 August 1846, Thom's definition of folklore encompassed ". . . the study of traditions, customs and superstitions current among common people in civilized countries," a seemingly expansive definition which antedates folklife studies by nearly a century. However, with the passage of time, *folklore* has become less inclusive, referring now mainly to oral tradition or spiritual lore. Indeed, according to Buchanan, on p. 63, *folklore* was defined in 1955 by the Arnheim Congress as ". . . the spiritual tradition of the folk, particularly oral tradition." Folklife implies a wider field."



Sheep shearing. Apedale, Castle Bolton, Yorkshire.

Butter making. West Stonesdale, Yorkshire. Churning cream into butter after separating from the milk. The old wooden churn, part of the traditional dairy equipment, was used in the Dales even after the introduction of the metal churn in mid-nineteenth century. Only a few are left now.

early under the spell of anthropologically oriented savants like Andrew Lang, who was concerned with the study of savage survivals in modern civilization, the study of savage ways and ideas, customs and beliefs, the "usages of educated classes in civilized races"; implicitly he included traditional arts and crafts with verbal lore.⁵ Indeed, from 1884 to 1886 and beyond

⁵In the beginning, anthropologically oriented folklorists of the English Folk-Lore Society sought to study survivals and, interesting here, through a holistic approach of both arts and crafts and oral traditions. For instance see Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth* (London, 1893). E. S. Hartland, "Folk-Lore Terminology," in *The Folk-Lore Journal*, II (1884), 340-344. And in "The Collection of English Folklore: Ways and Means," already cited, on p. 322 A. Gomme cites Rule I, from the *First Rules of the Society, 1878*: "one of the aims of the founders of the Society as declared in its first set of rules was 'the collection and publication of popular traditions, legendary ballads, local proverbial sayings, superstitions, and old customs, and all subjects relative thereto.'" See also George L. Gomme's, *The Handbook of Folklore* (London, 1890). More, in Allan Gomme's "The Folk-Lore Society; Whence and Whither," *Folk-Lore*, LXIII (1952), 9, he observes that H. B. Wheatley, C. S. Burne and Laurence [G. L.] Gomme restricted folklore to but one corner of the vast field of anthropology; for them folklore dealt primarily with *survivals* of primitive beliefs and customs among civilized races. Alfred Nutt, "Folk-Lore Terminology," *The Folk-Lore Journal*, II (1884), 311-315.

in the pages of the *Folk-Lore Journal*, folklore was variously interpreted in its functioning as "anthropology dealing with the psychological phenomena of uncivilized man," according to Allan Gomme (*circa* 1952); or as "anthropology dealing with primitive man," according to Alfred Nutt. In the term *folklore* both Alfred Nutt and E. S. Hartland included arts and crafts, termed by Nutt "folk-craft, the study of art and industry." Indeed, folklore's scope was delineated by Hartland into two divisions, "folk-thought" and "folk-wont" or "folk-craft," "... including, in art and industry, the art and industry of warfare, hunting, and every other means by which uncivilized man supports himself." Early discussion of folklore as a science bore a sense of urgency; much that should be saved for posterity was steadily disappearing under the onslaught of progress, and haste was necessary lest all vanish. But folklore tended early to be a holistic study of man in

⁶Hartland, "Terminology," p. 340 f. See also E. S. Hartland, "Folklore: What is It and What is the Good of It," in *Popular Studies in Mythology, Romance, and Folklore*, No. 2 (London, 1899). See Nutt, "Terminology," p. 312; A. Gomme, "Folk-Lore," p. 8; Folk arts and crafts are included in term *folklore*.



Remains of a Hall used as barn. Kilnsey, Wharfedale, Yorkshire. Old manor house, built on ruins of the grange belonging to the monks of Fountains Abbey. Upper end, with steps leading to upper floor, is now used for storing hay, lower floor now cow stalls. Probably used for agricultural purposes for about 150 years.



Knitting sheath. Keld, near Richmond, Swaledale, Yorkshire. The "top-crook" is carried to the left round the waist.

his environment and, crude as folklore study may have been at this stage of the science's infancy, a quite modest folk museum was founded in Cambridge. Although an ethnological museum, it was perhaps the forerunner, at least in intention, for all present folk museums of the United Kingdom.⁷

With time, the scholarly emphases of British folklorists shifted, and for them the study of material culture was no longer either an implicit or explicit part of folklore. First of all, folklorists tended to reduce the scope of folklore from its earlier broad concern with survivals, and to study instead folklore retained from the past as well as deriving from the present.⁸ In the second place, as British folklorists saw the nature of *das Volk* more clearly, they sought to discover how these folk

⁷According to A. R. Wright's "The Unfinished Tasks of the Folk-Lore Society," *Folk-Lore*, XXXIX (1928), 25, Col. R. C. Temple suggested, in *The Folk-Lore Journal*, IV (1886), 211, the formation of a museum which was begun tentatively at Cambridge with "a single case," subsequently placed "on loan in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology in Cambridge." Likewise according to R. U. Sayce, in "Folklore, Folk-life, Ethnology," *Folk-Lore*, LXVII (1956), 68, the Cambridge and County Folk Museum, founded in 1935, sought to study the "life, work and history of the people of Cambridgeshire," implying again a holistic sort of study. See also Enid M. Porter's "Folk Life and Traditions of the Fens," *Folklore*, LXXII (1961), 584-598; museum curator of the Cambridge Folk Museum in Cambridge, the author draws for her article upon the museum's materials, but includes no scholarly annotation.

⁸Wright, "Folklore," p. 38. On p. 26 f. of the same article, Wright observes that folklore is not merely survivals, that besides the past folklore has a present, a fact which he proves with numerous newspaper clippings of traditional items.

thought and acted, and to observe how the minds of the folk formed the natural background to their superstitions, customs, and tales.⁹ And with the sparsity of exposure of traditional arts and crafts in *Folk-Lore*, British folklorists became further disinclined to include

⁹Charlotte S. Burne, "The Collection of English Folk-Lore," *Folklore*, I (1890), 313-330, esp. 322. This author considered the folk most likely to keep up old games, songs, dances, and dramatic performances to be found among "... the lowest of the people" (p. 328), the common folk only. But as Sayce observes in "Folk-Lore," p. 78, based on studies of collected data, the "folk" do not comprise a "dull uniform mass..." And J. W. Y. Higgs, in *Folk Life Collection and Classification* (London: The Museums Assoc., 1963), p. 6, records Lord Raglan's ironic observations of the folk as his contemporaries saw them: "folklorists believe that there exists a large body of persons called collectively the folk, who live entirely separate from the more cultivated classes and spend much of their time in the communal composition of songs, dances and poems [from *Folk-Lore*, LVIII (1947), 258]." But on p. 5 Higgs notes that even so, in England "folk" has come to mean "the common folk" only; indeed, that "folklore has accrued suspect and bogus meanings at the hands of its often frivolous devotees, far from the concept of its founders and of serious students today." See also J. S. Stuart-Glennie, "The Principles of the Classification of Folk-Lore," in *The Folk-Lore Journal*, IV (1886), 76, wherein he attempts to thread his way among several confusing definitions of "Folk-lore;" also his "Folk-Lore as the Complement of Culture-Lore in the Study of History," in *The Folk-Lore Journal*, IV (1886), 213-221, esp. 215, where he views the folk as "... the Uncultured Classes, or in one word the Demos, but also the Cultured Classes, so far as not practically affected by Culture. A Duke, and still more probably a Duchess, may be, and occasionally is, in certain directions, just as unaffected by Culture as any of the Folk on their estates. The Folk, ... speaking generally, are those unaffected by Culture."



Stile in drystone wall. Linton, Yorkshire.



Drystone walling. Oughtershaw Side, Langstrothdale, Yorkshire. Farm worker filling a gap as best he can—regular coursing of the stones is often very difficult to achieve. "Wallheads" are however generally rebuilt.



Drystone walling. Ribblesdale, Yorkshire. Laying "throughs" across from side to side of the wall about 2 ft. from the ground to bind the two faces together. The large section being repaired is built up from stones from the collapsed section and a line is used as a guide in setting each "course" just a little behind the one below to guide the wall correct "batter".

material lore within the ken of folklore studies.¹⁰ For instance, Smith notes that "it has been pointed out that in primitive cultures the non-verbal aspects of the total field of folklore are studied by the anthropologist as part of general ethnography. Superstitions and beliefs, material culture, the dance and music, all belong to other branches of anthropological study. Collections of the 'folklore' of primitive peoples are in practice always collections of oral narratives."¹¹ Finding folklore markedly influenced by anthropology, Charlotte S. Burne, a stalwart of the English Folk-Lore Society,

¹⁰See C. Staniland Wake, "Folk-Lore Terminology," *The Folk-Lore Journal*, II (1884), 340-346, esp. 345; Wake views as undesirable that folklore should include so many of the subjects touched on by "anthropology." He doubts the legitimacy of A. Nutt's inclusion of Folk-craft as folklore, and he exclude specifically folk-speech.

¹¹Marian W. Smith, "The Importance of Folklore Studies to Anthropology," *Folklore*, LXX (1959), 305. See also G. L. Gomme's *The Handbook of Folklore* (London, 1890), p. 44.

stressed the need for extensive and thorough collecting, but offered a narrower interpretation, thus setting much of the course of study of folklore in England. For example, in her article "The Essential Unity of Folklore," in *Folk-Lore*, 22 (1911), 14-40, on page 16 to the question what is folklore she answers: "It is the learning of the people, the traditional lore of the folk,—whether among the backward races of mankind or backward classes of more advanced races. It is not folk speech. It is not art or handicraft. It is the product of the Thought, the Idea, of early or barbaric man expressed in word or in action, *Belief, Custom, Story, Song, or Saying.*" Indeed, Miss Burne thought the business of folklore sufficiently inclusive without also inviting along archeology [bygones?] and philology, a point of view reflected in her revised form of the folklore handbook.¹² But despite the stultifying bias which Buchanan sees having affected the study of United

¹²C. S. Burne, "The Essential Unity of Folklore," *Folk-Lore*, XXII (1911), 16. See also C. S. Burne's *The Handbook of Folklore* (London, 1914), pp. 2 ff. Indeed, Allan Gomme notes in "Folk-Lore Society: Whence and Whither," 9, that "Miss Burne specifically excluded arts and crafts from the scope of the Society. If we include, she said, the study of the habitations, the handicrafts, the dialects of the folk, we take in archaeology and philology—subjects in themselves enough to occupy the whole attention." [Soon after this statement her edition of the *Folklore Handbook* appeared].



A team of dry-stone dykers at work in the Scottish Borders.

Kingdom folklore,¹³ in other folklorists different seeds had been planted, and these were yet to bear good fruit.

Through the impetus of study abroad by a few Englishmen, and through the influence of folklore scholars around the world, particularly from Scandinavia, the study of folklore of the United Kingdom came to be profoundly influenced in its development. First, not every British folklorist accepted the separation of the study of spiritual or verbal lore from the material lore, traditional arts and crafts. As earlier folklorists had advocated a holistic approach to the study of man through study of his spiritual and material traditional lore,¹⁴ later folklore workers sought to retain arts and crafts as rightfully within the range of folklore schol-

¹³R. H. Buchanan, "The Study of Folklore," *Ulster Folklife*, I (1955), 8-12. Buchanan notes that during this century a bias has infected folklore research in Great Britain; theories of cultural evolution and consequent emphasis on "survivals" have caused present-day contexts of narratives to be ignored.

¹⁴Hartland, "Folklore: What is It," p. 6 f., and esp. p. 7 f.: "And the aim of the science of Tradition is to discover those laws, by the examination of their products, the customs and beliefs, the stories and superstitions handed down from generation to generation, to ascertain how those products arose and what was the order of their development, and so to co-operate with physical anthropology and archaeology in writing, as it has never yet been written, the history of civilization." See as well similar implications for holistic study through folklore propounded by J. S. Stuart-Glennie's "Folk-Lore," p. 215, and his "The Principles," pp. 75, 79. More recently, Sayce, in "Folk-Lore," p. 66, observes that cultural elements hang together, influence one another, and throw light on one another. Thus, "in order properly to understand any item of folklore it seems imperative to study it, not as a separate entity, but as something which will enter into the social, legal, or economic organization of the folk," [cited from H. W. Howes' "Some Functional Aspects of European Folklore," *Folk-Lore*, XLI (1930) 249-265, esp. p. 259].

arship. In his presidential address to the society, one prominent English folklorist opted for a greater scope for folklore, and stated, "I am of the opinion, therefore, that we ought not to hesitate to claim folk music, song, dance, and drama all as folklore, in which we should have the support of general Continental and, I believe, American usage."¹⁵ Reacting to the state of folklore in Great Britain, with the society seemingly insulated and self-sufficient, President Wright resorted to European authorities to bolster his argument for a more inclusive science; and, further, he plumped for a meeting of British with American and European folklorists at the Congress of Folk-Arts, circa 1927, to discuss definitions and boundaries of *folklore*. Secondly, Wright found precedents for the study of material culture,¹⁶ for a wider definition for folklore to include "not

¹⁵Wright, "Folklore," pp. 16 f., 18.

¹⁶Wright, "Folklore," pp. 14, 18 ff., 23 ff. For a more inclusive, a broader field of study of folklore, the author cites these sources: Arnold Van Gennep, *Le Folklore*; Catalogue of the *Musée de folklore*, or the *Conservatoire de la Tradition Populaire Flamande*; and Prof. Gittee's article, "Le Folklore et son Utilité Générale," in *La Revue de Belgique*, 1886. I am grateful that Prof. Roger Pinon of Liège (Wallonie), Belgium, directed my attention to the meeting of the Congress of Popular Arts in Prague in 1928, under the sponsorship of the League of Nations. The secretary of the Congress was Arnold Van Gennep. Many nations were represented, and on a report submitted by the Belgian scholar, Albert Marinus, the Congress became the Commission des Arts Populaires. Officially, the term "folk-lore" was banned because it was too closely associated with nationalism. The Commission became later the Commission des Arts et Traditions Populaire (C.I.A.P.). In 1964 at Athens, the organization assumed its present name and structure, Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore (S.I.E.F.).

only folk-song, but also folk-music, folk dance, folk drama, and other folk-arts so far as they express the mental and spiritual life of the folk."¹⁷ Indeed, he found a goodly array of what he sought to include in folklore as already having been studied and published in *Folk-Lore*, thus setting a precedent.¹⁸ Thirdly, one of the most significant aspects of the efforts of Wright and other folklore scholars was the realization that folklore could not be studied alone, outside its social context.¹⁹ More recently, a folklore scholar observed that the inter-disciplinary aspects of folklore demand that the student of folklore regard his study as an essential complement to other studies seeking to interpret and understand the total community behavior of human beings.²⁰ For the contemporary folklorist, the multi-faceted approach to folklife research extends the possibilities, through the cooperation of geography, archeology, and other disciplines, whereby an otherwise imponderable subject can be fully scrutinized.²¹ A fourth salutary aspect of study derived from another stalwart British folklorist, Lord Raglan, who observed that the study of material culture provided an accurate recording of details and facts useful in avoiding or destroying "fallacious generalizations which too often pass into currency."²²

More important for folklore scholars of the United Kingdom, the influence and scholarly example from abroad must be fully noted. Not only did foreign folklife scholarship influence the English Folk-Lore Society, but it was largely responsible for the growth and development of modern folklife studies in the United Kingdom as well as in Ireland. For example, perhaps the most important contributor and scholar from Sweden, the seat of the folklife research movement, was Dr. Åke Campbell, a frequent visitor to Ireland begin-

¹⁷Wright, "Unfinished Tasks," p. 16.

¹⁸Wright, "Unfinished Tasks," p. 18, esp. p. 16. He cites articles on weathercocks: *Folk-Lore*, XI (1900), 322; XII (1901), 99. Articles on house carvings and gable ornaments: *Folk-Lore*, XI (1900), 211, 322, etc. Articles on funeral masks: *Folk-Lore*, VII (1896), 351-366.

¹⁹Buchanan, "Study," p. 9 f. Lord Raglan, "The Scope of Folklore," *Folk-Lore*, LVII (1946), 98-105. G. L. Gomme, "Preface," *Handbook*, p. xv. Gomme observes that "folklore cannot be studied alone. Alone it is of little worth. As part of the inheritance from bygone ages it cannot separate itself from the conditions of bygone ages. Those who would study it carefully, and with purpose, must consider it in the light which is shed by it and upon it from all that is contributory to the history of man." See also Buchanan, "Study," p. 8; reflecting more on the direction of folklife research, according to the founders of *Folk-Lore*, in 1890, *folklore's* scope was ". . . extended to include the whole vast background of popular thought, feeling and usage, out of which and in contrast to which have been developed all the individual products of human activity which go to make up what is called History" (cited by Buchanan from *Folk-Lore*, I (1890), 1).

²⁰Buchanan, "Study," p. 10 f.

²¹A. Gomme, "Folk-Lore," p. 3; Raglan, "Scope," p. 98. See Higgs, *Folk Life*, p. 6, p. 32, concerning the many roles of expertise to be filled by a folklife researcher.

²²Raglan, "Scope," p. 105.

²³Åke Campbell, "Notes on the Irish House," *Folk-Liv*, I (1937), 205-234; also his "Notes on the Irish House, II," *Folk-Liv*, II (1938), 173-196.



Blacksmith. Danby, near Whitby, Yorkshire.
Shoeing a horse.

ning in June, 1934. His study of Irish house types²³ in Western Ireland marked a major turning point in the study of Irish folk-culture.²⁴ Influential scholars from abroad who visited Ireland and Great Britain included such eminent Swedish folklorists as Prof. C. W. von Sydow and Dr. Albert Eskeröd and Dr. Campbell, who visited Dublin again in 1935.²⁵ Von Sydow's recommendations for scientific study of folklore were influential: he cautioned that sources be examined carefully, that care be exercised in the use

²⁴Seamus O'Duilearga, "Åke Campbell (1891-1957): I Remember," *Gwerin*, I (1958-59), 3-7.

²⁵S. F. Sanderson, "The Late Professor Åke Campbell," *Scottish Studies*, II (1958), 107-108. According to Prof. Sanderson, Dr. Campbell's efforts in Scotland left folklife studies there greatly in debt to him for his field work in the Hebrides in 1939 and again in 1948. Also, in 1955 he was the first visiting professor to the University of Edinburgh under a collaborative program on cultural studies sponsored by the University of Edinburgh and the Governments of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.



Threshing-wheel shed. Hinderwell, Yorkshire. The machinery has been removed and the building is now used for other purposes.

of terminology and connotations, that a system or principle of classification be applied to folklore as to science, and finally that the people being studied should be intimately known, whether primitive or cultured. Thus, whereas formerly some United Kingdom folklorists saw *folklore* as but one part of the study of man, in contrast to anthropology which was much broader and inclusive,²⁶ now they tended to apply folklore as an inclusive term encompassing both oral and material traditional lore.

Thus far, the origins and development of folklore and folklife studies in the United Kingdom have been traced within the English Folk-Lore Society where, bravely if briefly, folk-culture study was once openly advocated.²⁷ However, the origins of the development of folklife research can be similarly traced within the framework of the social sciences. In the beginning, folklife artifacts were known as "popular antiquities" or "bygones," pejorative terms for objects possessing only curiosity or survival value. Both the user of the objects as well as the environment in which the objects

²⁶In "Some Recent Trends," p. 378, Sayce notes that von Sydow called for greater precision in the collecting and study of traditional materials. But as early as 1910 Eleanor Hull and A. Nutt in "The Future Work of the Folk-Lore Society," *Folk-Lore*, XXI (1910), 101-102, called for intensified domestic collecting, study and publication of folklore works, not of theories but of collections. Sayce in "Folk-Lore," p. 69, calls for attention being paid not only to verbal lore, but now also to occupations and material things, "a knowledge of which is helpful to the proper understanding of stories and beliefs." Von Sydow's advice is also echoed by Buchanan in "Study," p. 11. As well see A. Gomme, "Collection," p. 322; and Higgs, *Folk Life*, p. 22 f.; and Raglan, "Scope," p. 98.

²⁷Peter Opie, "The Present State of Folklore Studies in England," *Folk-Lore*, LXVIII (1957), 466-471, esp. p. 470. And see also L. F. Newman's "Folklore and History," *Proceedings of the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society*, V (1955), 49-66.

were used were ignored.²⁸ And too, early museum collections of "bygones" were partially responsible for the disrespect often shown for material lore. In the United Kingdom, folklife research developed first within museum departments of archeology. As a result, folklife study was commonly seen as an appendage to archeology, concerned only with the post-medieval period; thus, a "bygone" might be merely a bowl from the 18th Century, while a Bronze Age bowl would be an archeological find.²⁹ Since formerly folklife research was the concern mainly of museum workers who placed emphasis on material objects only, early folklife studies or the collection and study of "bygones" were treated disdainfully by many folklorists. But ultimately, folklife research evidence has come to attract the attention and interest of historians; they have discovered that folk beliefs or legends can often serve as validating and substantive evidence in the study of local history, or in the reconstruction of ancient folkways.³⁰ More recently, folklife research in the United Kingdom has found academic succor not among departments of languages, literature, or history, but among the social sciences, ethnology, ethnography, archeology, anthropology, sociology, and geography. Indeed, all within the last forty years, in the United Kingdom folklife studies have been born, have come of age, and have received formal recognition.³¹ Now, folklife research and the folk museum plus the folk-park have wrought a change in terminology. No longer can *folklore* be accepted by the science as the generic term, for it is but part of the wider category of *folklife studies*; indeed, the scope of folk-culture study is so broad that no one term now adequately covers the broad scope encompassed there-

²⁸Higgs, *Folk Life*, pp. 4 ff.

²⁹Iorwerth C. Peate, "The Study of Folk Life: And Its Part in the Defence of Civilization," *Guerin*, II (1958-59), 97-109, esp. p. 100; but see Higgs, *Folk Life*, p. 4, where folk life is to him "properly" a subdivision of ethnography in a museum classification.

³⁰Higgs, *Folk Life*, p. 6. But earlier, G. L. Gomme, in *Folklore as an Historical Science* (London, 1908), on p. 361 cited the historical usefulness of folklife materials in substantiating and separating Roman from Celtic aspects of culture in ancient Britain, particularly in the study of agricultural implements, old methods of land-surveying, wattle and daub buildings, and cruck constructed houses and other buildings. Similarly, Alexander Fenton observes in his "Material Culture as an Aid to Local History Studies in Scotland," *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, II (1965), 326, that the study of material culture has real use, though little accepted, in the study of local history.

³¹See Buchanan, "Decade," p. 63. The author notes that "interest in folklore, that is man's oral traditions and non-material culture, extends back more than a century in Britain, but the wider study, folklife, has received formal recognition only within the last forty years." Indeed, *Folk-Liv*, published in Stockholm first in 1937, was the first folklife journal: now, other folklife journals appear in nearly every country of Europe and, of course, in Great Britain. Journals devoted in part or entirely to articles on folklife in the United Kingdom include *The Agricultural History Review*, *Folk Life*, *Scottish Studies*, and *Ulster Folklife*. Formerly published were *Guerin*, *The Proceedings of the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society*, and *Laos*, which was published in Stockholm. Largely devoted to folklife studies in the United Kingdom is the third number of the *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, II (1965).



Yorkshire cobsles photographed at Bridlington.

in.³² But folklife research has been shunned again by the English Folk-Lore Society³³

Developing according to Scandinavian models and theories, folklife research in the United Kingdom engages in the study of man in society, his past and present; indeed, the multi-disciplinary nature of folklife studies resembles in part other established modes of

³²Higgs, *Folk Life*, p. 6.

³³See M. A. Murray, in "England as a Field for Folklore Research," *Folk-Lore*, LXV (1954), 1-9; she excludes arts and crafts from folklore, but she notes that folklore can be collected by amateurs. Indeed, folklore consists of "... the sights and sounds of daily life, of things so small that they are not recorded in history, poetry, biography, or other serious literature. The background is continually changing, sometimes so imperceptibly that the change is hardly noticed, sometimes so rapidly that one's breath is almost taken away (p. 2)." And following Prof. Murray's example, Peter Opie in "The Tentacles of Tradition," *Folklore*, LXXIV (1963), 507-526, discusses the tenacity of several forms of folklore, but makes no mention of folklife research. Indeed, according to Higgs, *Folk Life*, p. 6, A. Gomme in his presidential address in *Folk-Lore*, in 1952, pp. 1-18, saw the study of material lore as "justified . . . only as it threw light on the interpretation of traditional lore."

study such as archeology, human geography, economic and social history, sociology, and other disciplines.³⁴ Thus support for folklife research is strongest among the social sciences. While definitions of folklife research differ, they generally agree that it is a wide field, and that it concerns man and all his works in relation to the environment in which he lives.³⁵ Perhaps British folklife studies are summed up best by Iorwerth C. Peate: "We are concerned with man's mental, spiritual and material struggle towards civilization and there is no post-medieval or other date-line at which we begin

³⁴Buchanan, "Decade," p. 63; A Gomme, "Folk-Lore," p. 17; Iorwerth C. Peate, *The Welsh House, A Study in Folk Culture* (London, 1940), p. 1.

³⁵Sayce, "Folk-Lore," p. 66; the object of folklife research "includes all of man's activities and their results—beliefs, dress, food, speech, houses, music, work, dance, tales, social life and customs, and especially his ideas about his own nature, his relations with the visible and the unseen elements of the universe, and his ultimate purpose." And Higgs, *Folk Life*, pp. 4 ff., notes that folk life means "'the study of mankind in relation to the environment in which he lives' (including of course both the material and non-material aspects of this environment)." And see also Buchanan, "Decade," p. 63.



Corn dolly. Monk Fryston, near Wakefield, Yorkshire. Modelled with hollow wheat straw for harvest festivals.



Taking a newly made cheese from its "chessel," at a Caithness croft in Scotland.

our study."³⁶ And due to the breadth of the field of study, folklife research includes the services of a number of specialists whose contributions all lead to a synthesis whereby the "study of man and his works in relation to his milieu" can be completed. For instance, in folklife research the services and assistance of the modern regional or human geographer are to be sought in such tasks as the compilation of folklore maps; the climatological study of the effects recorded in weather beliefs; the ascertainment of means by which nucleated settle-

³⁶Peate, "Study of Folk Life," p. 101. Indeed, T. W. Bagshawe, in "A Scheme for the Development of a Museum of English Life and Traditions," *Folk-Lore*, LX (1949), 297, stresses that traditional artifacts like farm carts, wagons, carriages, heavy agricultural implements, windmills, early cottages should be preserved. Also, Edwin O. James, in "The Study of Anthropology and Folklore," *Proceedings of the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society*, IV (1952), 121, believes that "traditions of crafts, trades and industries—those of sailors, fisherfolk, miners, millers, tailors, cobblers, innkeepers, etc.—are the modern counterparts of the lore of markets, fairs, and guilds of former ages," and should be collected ere they disappear.

³⁷Karl A. Sinnhuber, "On the Relations of Folklore and Geography," *Folk-Lore*, LXVIII (1957), 385-404; the author cites aspects of the folklorist's studies which are useful to the geographer, and aspects of the geographer's studies which are useful as well to the folklorist. Indeed, "geography has to take into account the attitudes of people, folklore studies must see its objects against the natural basis, and the cultural landscape, the resultant of physical and spiritual forces, offers a common ground of study to both fields (p. 386)." A similar point of view is expressed by E. Estyn Evans, in *Irish Folk Ways* (London, 1957), p. 12. But see Lord Raglan's rejoinder in "The Origin of Folk-Culture," *Folk-Lore*, LVIII (1947), 250 ff.; he observes that mere physical environment does not account for everything. Other useful articles which reflect the usefulness of the methodology of regional or cultural geography for folklore include Ronald H. Buchanan, "Geography and Folk Life," *Folk Life*, I (1963), 5-15; and A. C. Haddon, "Presidential Address," *Folk-Lore*, XXXI (1920), 12-29; in particular the author notes on p. 17 the usefulness of maps and distributional studies for folklore.

ments are held together; the discovery of ethnic origins of settlers by doing place-name studies. Even through the study of their legends, the geographer determines the former geographical conditions of a people, former landscape features, vegetation, and the modes of habitat, all sketched out on a distribution map.³⁷ And again, while history and folklife seem dissimilar subjects, according to Sayce a distinction between folk-culture studies and history cannot clearly rest on divisions of time or exact differences in subject matter; "the boundary between the two disciplines must be a broad zone, each subject having much to teach the other;" folklife research can help fill in the gaps in written histories.³⁸

In still another instance, folklife research might borrow a great deal from anthropology, but at least one writer cautions against joining the two together: whereas folklife research is concerned mainly with traditions in civilized Great Britain, anthropology is

³⁸Sayce, "Folk-lore," p. 71.



A botby scene of the early 1900s, showing hired men at farm table at Bethelnie, Old Meldrum, 1908. Old photographs like this are indispensable in archiving the social history of farm servant life.

concerned with matters outside the United Kingdom and beyond civilization. While the ends of these respective studies may be similar, folklife studies must pay greater attention to prehistory and history in the United Kingdom rather than anthropological studies of the ethnology of Africa or of Polynesia.³⁹ Indeed, folklife studies enlist three methods of approach to the study of the folk: 1) studies of individual or single aspects of culture on a local, regional, and world basis; 2) investigations of a limited area and a consideration of all aspects of life in that area; 3) research, conducted on a formal (i.e., classifying or indexing items) or on a functional basis, of a total culture, analyzed in terms of its components, all within a social and economic context.⁴⁰ The end result of folklife research

³⁹Sayce, "Folk-lore," p. 69 ff.

⁴⁰Ronald H. Buchanan, "A Decade of Folklife Study," *Ulster Folklife*, XI (1965), 64. And see also Alan Gailey's "The Thatched House of Ulster, The First Ulster Folk Museum Questionnaire," *Ulster Folklife*, VII (1961), 9-18; also his "The Ulster Tradition," *Folk Life*, II (1964), 27-41. Trefor M. Owen, "The Recording of Past Social Conditions," *Folk Life*, 4 (1966), 85-89.

⁴¹Sinnhuber, "Relations," p. 386. See also [Anonymous] "Ulster Folklife," *Ulster Folklife*, I (1955), 3-6. Similarly, Sayce, in "Folk-lore," p. 74, observes that "we must learn the details of the conditions in which their lives are led, and come to know the countryside in all its aspects, and in all its moods, winter and summer, night and day. We must pay careful attention even to material things, if we are to appreciate how the countryman's knowledge enables him to make good use of natural productions for making his tools, buildings, foods, and medicines." And E. O. James observes in "The Approach to the Study of Folklore," *Folk-Lore* XLII (1931), 13-37, esp. p. 36, that "the workings of the human soul can only really be evaluated in living personalities, and therefore, however interesting and instructive illustrations of peasant crafts, and domestic life may be, it is not possible really to enter into the folk mind without having regard to the emotions of which technological specimens are merely the outward expression."

⁴²Peate, "Study of Folk Life," p. 108.

Grith Lerche, Secretary of the International Secretariat for Research into the History of Agricultural Implements, studying a thatched farmhouse in Caithness, Scotland.



is perhaps best stated by Sinnhuber: "The object of folklore studies . . . is in fact a way of approach towards the study of man in his regional variation, not in a physical but in a psychological and cultural sense. The aim of elucidating the complex personality of the people of a given area is the unifying concept of the field of folklore studies;"⁴¹ they seek to deal with the complete life of man and the community.⁴²

Unlike Scandinavia, where the national museums serve as the focal points and coordinating agencies for regional and local museums, the United Kingdom possesses neither a national folk museum nor a national folk-park. Instead, several very strong regional museums have been developed plus a great many village museums



A Banffshire fishing village (Pennan). The older houses have tiled roofs and are gable-end on to the sea.

and private collections of folklife materials.⁴ Indeed, in Great Britain the need for a national folk museum was officially noted as far back as 1929 by the Royal

⁴One of the more inclusive catalogues of folk museums in Scandinavia, Europe and the United Kingdom is Douglas A. Allan's "Folk Museums at Home and Abroad," *The Proceedings of the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society*, V (1956), 91-120; pages 102-111 relate especially, giving brief descriptions of both the regional and purely local folk museums in Great Britain and Ulster. Other useful articles describing folklife museums in the United Kingdom include those by T. W. Bagshawe, "Am Fasgadh: The Highland Folk Museum, Kingussie, Inverness-shire," *Folk-Lore*, LX (1949), 388-391. M. M. Banks, "A Folk Museum in the Isle of Man," *Folk-Lore*, LV (1944), 69; see especially his "Folk Museums and Collections in England," *Folk-Lore*, LVI (1945), 218-222, which contains a listing of some twenty-three folk museums and private collections of folklife material culture items. Wilfrid Bonser, *A Bibliography of Folklore, As Contained in the First Eighty Years of the Publications of the Folklore Society*, Vol. CXXI (London: Folklore Society, 1961); see esp. entries nos. 14 ff. and nos. 25 ff. for references to folklife; nos. 48 ff. for references to museums and exhibitions of traditional arts and crafts; and nos. 106 ff. regarding the study and collection of folklore. W. Hugh Curtis and S. A. Warner, "The Curtis Museum, Alton, Hampshire," *Folk-Lore*, LV (1944), 69-71; [Anonymous] "Folk Museums," *Folk-Lore*, LVII (1946), 48. William L. Goodman, *The History of Woodworking Tools* (New York: D. McKay Co., 1964); this text is particularly useful for its listing on p. 205 of museums displaying woodworking tools. P. J. Heather, "The Curtis Museum, Alton, Hampshire," *Folk-Lore*, LIII (1942), 172. John Higgs, "Museums of Rural Culture," *Folk-Lore*, LXVII (1956), 34-42; this article deals at length with the Museum of English Rural Life at Reading University. [Anonymous] "Open-Air Museum, Belfast," *Folk-Lore*, LX (1949), 205. Iorwerth C. Peate, "The Welsh Folk Museum," *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, II (1965), 314-316; see also his "The Welsh Folk Museum and Its Development," *Laos*, I (1951), 169-179. G. B. Thompson, "The Ulster Folk Museum Collection, A Preliminary Report," *Ulster Folklife*, V (1959), 9-13. George Thompson, et al

Commission on National Museums and Galleries in its final report.⁴ Again in June, 1948, the British Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute appointed an Exploratory Committee on the Ethnography of Great Britain to look into ways of promoting: 1) ethnographical studies of Great Britain; 2) establishment of a national museum or museums for the study of British culture. Here the example of the Welsh Folk

"The First Ulster Folk Museum Outdoor Exhibit: The Magiligan Cottier House," *Ulster Folklife*, X (1964), 23-34. See also Richard M. Dorson's useful article, "Folklore and Folklife Studies in Great Britain and Ireland: Introduction," in *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, II (1965), 239-243. Local, village, and private collections of traditional material lore in England are quite numerous, but no central administrative or coordinating advisory agency is apparent to assist them in the scientific study of the regions in which they are located.

⁴Higgs, *Folk Life*, p. 22. But see also James' "Approach," p. 35, wherein the author observes that "folk museums are greatly needed to encourage the study of traditional art and industry . . ." See also Bagshawe, "Scheme," p. 297; on p. 296 Bagshawe observes that the founding of "Nordiska Museet" in Stockholm (1873), and of the open-air section at Skansen (1890) were the primary influence and models for folk museums, or folk parks, or open-air museums in all Europe. But Stewart F. Sanderson notes in "The Present State of Folklore Studies in Scotland," *Folk-Lore*, LXVIII (1957), 458, that in 1892 an attempt was made to institute an ethnographic survey of the United Kingdom by the British Association, a movement that came to a halt with the demise of the committee in 1899. And Higgs, in *Folk Life*, p. 14, observes that ultimately, all folk museums owe their inception to one man, Sweden's Artur Hazelius (1833-1901), who was responsible for the establishment of Nordiska Museet and Skansen in Stockholm [counting national as well as purely local museums, Sweden now has circa 800 museums]. And Higgs notes further on p. 22 f. that in 1912 the Crystal Palace in London was proposed as a home for a British Folk Museum, and the sponsors for this project included Sir Lawrence Gomme, Dr. W. Evans Hoyle and others.



Hay creel. Hawes, Yorkshire. Creel is filled with loose hay or cut bales, then the two ends are brought upwards and tied with a loose rope. It is then lifted on to the shoulder. It was the most popular way of carrying fodder to the sheep in high pastures during the winter, before the introduction of mechanical transport. Quantities of up to a hundredweight can be carried great distances—this will feed 50-60 cows.

Museum provided them with considerable impetus.⁴⁵ Proceedings for establishment and operation of a national British folk museum, potentially titled "The Museum of English Life and Traditions," were set forth by T. W. Bagshawe in 1949.⁴⁶ Observing the demarcation date A.D. 1485 as the point separating archeological studies from folklife studies, Bagshawe's proposed national English folk museum would follow strictly scientific, specifically ethnographical lines of approach. This English folk museum would work in close liaison with folk museums in Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland to provide broad comparative ethnographical collections for England, and

⁴⁵Bagshawe, "Scheme," p. 296. And see James, "Study," p. 118, wherein the author welcomes the folk museum movement as an opportune means to display and to study the many phases of a community's life, and as well to collect fast disappearing traditional objects. Meanwhile, assuming a view backwards, A. Gomme, in "Folk-Lore," p. 17, observes that "it is right and proper that folk museums should contain old houses, shops and barns; village crafts, agricultural implements; costumes; water-mills, and all that is fast disappearing from our country scene, but I submit that none of these things are of interest to the folklorist as such"

⁴⁶Bagshawe, "Scheme," p. 296. And see Higgs, "Museums of Rural Culture," *Folk-Lore*, LXVII (1956), 34-42.

⁴⁷Bagshawe, "Scheme," pp. 296-300. See also Higgs, *Folk Life*, p. 10 ff., who observes wisely that "to the person immersed in his own particular locality it is often difficult to pick out those things which belong especially to that area. The measure of a successful folk-museum rests in its ability to do just that—to relate in simple terms for the benefit of the people who live that particular life, the store of it in a way that can be understood." Another and useful view of the operations of a folk museum as a research institute can be found in Carl-Herman Tillhagen's "Folklore Archives in Sweden," *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, I (1964), 20-36.

even for European peoples. With the minimum requirements of staff and equipment, the national museum would supplement the work of local folk museums in the United Kingdom by providing guidance and help to them in collecting items the size and expense of which they could not afford alone.⁴⁷ Bagshawe perceived that from an initial modest beginning,⁴⁸ with the task of collecting, cataloging, and storing of objects to come first,⁴⁹ with the plans for the future deferred, the establishment of a national English folk museum would be a mammoth enterprise. The project would require years of careful planning, and a wooing of popular support and ultimately governmental financial assistance, its greatest need.⁵⁰ Others besides Bagshawe have noted that the problem of finances for such a "Museum of English Life and Tradition" is the greatest obstacle in the founding and maintenance of such a museum. Although most collections are not difficult to acquire, money is required for functions such as the employment of skilled workers to process, file, and make comparative studies from field reports and collected objects in the archives of a museum; the direction and control of the flow of collections and items from particular cultural and geographic areas; the purchase, dismantling, and re-erection of buildings; even the exorbitant but necessary expenses of extremely long range planning.⁵¹ Even now no national folk museum is planned.

⁴⁸Most museums and collections of folklife materials in the United Kingdom came about through the efforts of one person, much as in Scandinavia. Allan in "Folk Museums," p. 102, cites Miss I. F. Grant's local Scottish museum, Am Fasgadh, circa 1936, as "the first folk museum in the British Isles." See R. H. Buchanan, "Folklife in the Highlands," *Ulster Folklife*, VII (1961), 51-62. But see M. E. Durham's "A Folk Museum," *Folk-Lore*, XLVI (1935), 161-162, which describes the "Abbey Folk-park and Museum," undertaken by "Rev. Father Ward" and opened in 1934 in New Barnet. Among other things the museum contained a re-erected "tithe barn," and a collection of carriages.

⁴⁹While collections of items for a folk museum would come largely from the 19th Century, the artifacts of traditional materials of the 17th and 18th Centuries should be collected too. As well, 20th Century items should be carefully photographed and measured. And above all, a system of classification of the contents of the museum should be very carefully planned and established, and then should be tenaciously followed. In *Folk Life*, pp. 41 ff., Higgs recommends the system of classification of the Museum of English Rural Life at Reading University.

⁵⁰Higgs, *Folk Life*, p. 45. Higgs observes that the curator of a folk museum will never see it completed, that he must be a visionary and plan for the future regarding a region to be represented in the museum, regarding the ultimate size and extent of the museum, and regarding the scope of the museum, for which the collecting must be done for several years before the museum is finally opened. On p. 10 Higgs notes that because folk museums are relatively new, they compete at a disadvantage for funds with larger and established museums. Again on p. 30, as the price of moving many kinds of buildings to folk parks is too expensive, Higgs observes that often many traditional structures are left intact to become branch museums. See also Margaret E. Wood, *The English Mediaeval House* (London: Phoenix House, 1965).

⁵¹Higgs, *Folk Life*, p. 32. This work is perhaps the most informative volume available to the interested reader concerned about the technical operation of folklife museums. And Sanderson, "Present State," p. 464, relates that to get "caught up" with the inflow of material at the School of Scottish Studies, periodic halts are made to all other work while a temporary attack is made to bring archiving more or less up-to-date.

JUST A BONE

By LESTER P. BREININGER JR.

In non-literate primitive societies, especially those just reaching the age of metals, bones were an important source of tools. Bone—hard, durable, workable and readily available—was a most useful item to the artisans of their day. Archeologists working ancient sites are always on the lookout for relics of this material as it resists decay better than most non-lithic cultural remains. Often giving clues of its intended use through wear patterns, it was sometimes decorated and gives evidence of ancient artistic endeavor.

In our own country we have the well-publicized New England scrimshaw—carvings on the teeth of whales—and the bone fishhook of the Eskimos. However, in our Pennsylvania German heritage we find too little attention being paid to those perhaps humble but most fascinating tools our forebears also fashioned out of bone. Professor Weygand states that perhaps bone is too suggestive of mortality and is shrunk away from.

That not everyone felt that way is evidenced by the "Gnochemann," a person whose specialty it was to travel from farmstead to farmstead, usually in the springtime after the traditional cold weather butchering had been completed. In Berks County, during the early 1900's, one of these, known only as "Jake," would drive a one-horse wagon for the bones the children had gathered together and stored awaiting his arrival.

They would bring out their baskets and boxes of bones to dump into his bags and get a few cents for their troubles. Mr. Dallas Gerhart, octogenarian, of Wernersville, said, "If you had a lot you might get three or four cents, if the dogs didn't carry them away first." "Mir hen sie als zamme sucht, was die Hund net grickt hen, un weg gschteckt far der gnochemann." Another octogenarian reported, "In meine Zeit die Bense wore ortlich weit assnanner un mir wore froh far der Gnochemann uns e wennich Schpending gewwe" (In my time pennies were far apart and we were glad for a little spending money from the bone man).

A Mohnton area scrap dealer, while weighing the bones, held the spring scale on an angle which gave a lighter reading. To remedy this shortchanging some boys "added" a few stones to their bone collection. A more intriguing dealer in rags, paper and bones from



Intestine cleaners. The double-edged one is less common than most others. Rarely do they show decoration.

Flatware showing use of bone. Spoon and small fork are entirely of bone.

the Myerstown, Lebanon County, area, was Absalom Harry Sylvester Gnoche-Yockel Eisenhower.¹ Being a tall gaunt man buying bones, his suppliers could hardly have refrained from adding to his already ample name, "Gnoche-Yockel," or skeleton.

"Was macht meh Jacht ass zwee Gnoche-Yockel ass uff em blechne Dach danze?" (What makes more noise than two skeletons dancing on a tin roof?) Ei, drei odder viere! Another bone saying, "Kalde Gnoche sin verschproche," implies that young adults with unusually cold hands may be secretly engaged.

Supposedly all those bones collected were used for bone meal, glue and fertilizer. The *Encyclopedia of Arts and Sciences* (1798) is more specific. "Bones are a very useful article, not only for making different kinds of toys, but likewise in several kinds of chemical arts, for the preparation of milky glasses and porcelains and for making glue. The bones of different animals are not equally fit for these uses, even the glue or gelatinous part of the bones of one animal is notably different both in quantity and cohesiveness from that of another".²

Let us consider, therefore, not ordinary bone meal bones, but the selected rib and shin bones that might be used in fabricating more useful items. Probably the most commonly encountered bone artifacts of our material culture are pie wheels. Some of these are decorated with heart and tulip cutouts, some with incised red and black crisscrossing lines on them, others are quite plain. One in my collection has an incised tulip with the name "Sarah R. Haws 1871" on it.

¹Interview at Robesonia of Stanton H. Clay, Thanksgiving, 1971.

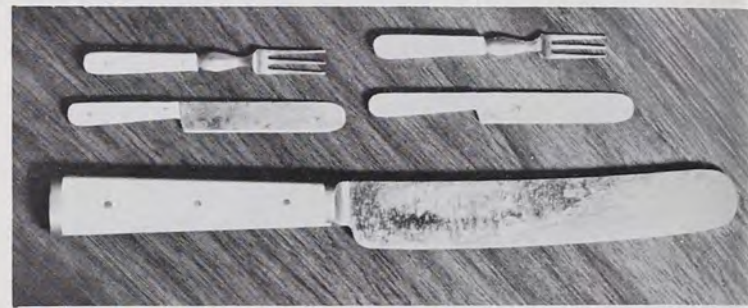
²*Encyclopedia, or A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature* (Philadelphia, 1798), III, 359.

Pie wheels. Note tulip design on first and fourth handles (from left). Heart cutout appeals to collectors. Most wooden-handled ones had metal wheels, but the bone wheel on the right appears to be original.



Another, "Feb. 1, 1904, M.H.H." Nearly all the bone wheels were held in place with a brass pin. Mr. B. Edward Fisher, late of Fleetwood, Pennsylvania, collected shin bones of cattle until about 1940, cooked them in fat, which supposedly cleaned and hardened them, then sawed, filed, drilled, and carved them. He used a steel pin in his last ones which he retailed for a dollar.

Another common bone tool is the intestine cleaner, or "Darrembutzer," although they are found of wood just as frequently as of bone. Rarely are they decorated or dated. Corn huskers, also of bone, show a greater variety of shapes and decorations. One, in a private collection, has a rooster head carved on the end of the



Unusual miniature bone-handled knives and forks.



A pair of "bones." Most people are familiar with the wooden type that are called bone, but to find a "real bone" bone is quite a delight, especially so when flowers appear.



Found at a country sale, this tableware was still in tissue in original box.



Corn buskers of bone, some with limited decoration. Most had leather straps at one time.



On left, two tools used in leather work; right, potter's ribs.

handle. Bone ones, as common as wooden ones, are obviously less common than hand-made iron or stamped-out factory-made husking pins.

Bone-handled knives and forks abound as well as pocket knives. While many of these are of Sheffield origin, some were made in this country. Child's sets and miniatures, perhaps originally for dolls, are less common while all bone forks and spoons are even more rare. Interestingly enough, a good set of six bone-handled knives and forks could be bought from the 1902 Sears Roebuck catalog for \$1.35 a set, while celluloid-handled ones, "more durable than ivory," were \$2.50 per set.³

Potters used ribs to trim the foot of bowls while still on the wheel. Nowadays the rib is most likely a wooden one. The leather worker used a bone folder and edge-creaser. Today the same shape is sold in plastic. It folds and creases, burnishes edges and may be used as a "slicking stick". Bone was also used in

³Sears, Roebuck and Co. Catalog No. 112 (1902), p. 592.

making buttons and crochet hooks. A bone creaser was sometimes used to crease the heel when making silk stockings. It supposedly was more dependable than the metal ones which sometimes cut the stocking. Some people also used a bone pointer to clean in corners. A turkey caller is often made from the wing bone of a medium-size hen turkey. One authority states that this probably caused the death of more turkeys than any other single device.⁴

An unpublished Wernersville store account of 1877 finds Mrs. Jacob Yoder buying one dozen pieces of whalebone for ten cents on October 20 and on December 30 of the same year "W1 bones \$.15." At the same time she is buying thread, 3½ yards muslin, etc.

Of course, one must not forget "the bones," those musical instruments that would enliven an evening at home or a dance, especially when accompanied by a harmonica. This was held upon occasion by a shoulder harness affair so that the amateur musician could simultaneously play the bones as well. Frank Clay, late of Mt. Aetna, could occasionally be induced to "play the bones" for the grandchildren, while his wife played along on the accordion. For years "the bones" were made of a curved hard piece of wood about seven inches long. Many oldsters vow that they really are bone. Originally they were. They are now also available in plastic.

Incidentally, the decorated one in the photograph was purchased in an antique booth at the Kutztown Folk Festival.

Other bone articles appear occasionally under quite unusual circumstances and certainly need to be studied to add to our knowledge of the uses of bone in our Pennsylvania Dutch culture.

⁴Roger Latham, *The Wild Turkey* (Harrisburg, Pa. Stackpole).

Der Neue, Amerikanische
**Landwirthschafts-
 Kalender,**
 Auf das Jahr unsers Heilands Jesu Christi
1843,

welches ein Gemeines Jahr von 365 Tagen ist.
 Worinnen, nebst richtiger Festrechnung, die Sonnen undmonds Finsternisse, desmonds Gestalt und Viertel,monds Auf- und Untergang,monds Zeichen, Aperten der Planeten und Witterung, Sonnen Auf- und Untergang, des Erdbenquers Aufgang, Endtag und Untergang, der Venus Auf- und Untergang, Cometen, und andere in einem Kalender gehörige Sachen zu finden—nebst einem sehr bequemen Feuerzeughen Kalender.
 Von Carl Friederich Egelmann, Reading, Penn.
 (Copyright secured according to law.)
 Zum acht und dreißigstenmal herausgegeben.
 Reading, (Penn.) gedruckt und zu haben bey John Ritter und Comp.
 Wie auch bey unterschiedlichen Buchhändlern und Buchern zu finden.

Fig. 1—The Egelmann German Almanac, Reading, 1843.

Pennsylvania ASTRONOMY

Early American-German almanacs contained a great variety of material, about half of which was astronomical or astrological in nature. For the purposes of this article, astronomy in almanacs is considered to be the science of the celestial bodies concerned with their motion, position, and appearance. Astrology in these almanacs, however, is more complex. It is concerned with the supposed influences of the celestial bodies on earth, as well as omens, divinations, and determinations of appropriatenesses based on observations of celestial objects. Astronomical and astrological information in the 18th and 19th Centuries was most often used in connection with everyday matters. Some of it, however, was just of an interesting educational nature. The great variety and use of the information can not be grasped until one

Finsternisse des 1843ten Jahrs.

Es ereignen sich in diesem Jahre 3 Finsternisse, 2 an der Sonne und 1 am Mond; wie folgt:
 Die Erste ist eine annuläre Sonnenfinsternis, den 27ten Juny, 2 Uhr 6 Minuten Nachmittags. Diese Finsternis ist hier und in allen nördlichen und westlichen Staaten nicht sichtbar; sie wird aber zum Theil sichtbar werden im südlichen Theil der westl. Staaten. Der nördlichen Theil der Nordatlantischen Ozeane, der Küste der West. Staaten in Südamerika und über den südlichen Theil von Südamerika, Oregon, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana und über ganz Florida ist. In Charleston wird, um 2 Uhr, 40 Minuten, die Sonne am südlichen Theil ungefähr fünfachtel voll verfinstert, und in New Orleans um 1 Uhr, 34 Minuten, die Sonne am südlichen Theil beynahe 2/3 voll verfinstert. Der Anfang ist in Charleston um 2 Uhr, 14 Minuten und das Ende um 2 Uhr, 35 Minuten. In New Orleans wird der Anfang sein um 12 Uhr, 48 Minuten und das Ende um 2 Uhr, 35 Minuten. Diese Finsternis wird beynahe in ganz Süd-Amerika und in einem großen Theil des südlichen Theils von Mexiko sichtbar sein.
 Die Zweyte ist eine partielle Mondfinsternis, den 6ten December, Abends sichtbar.
 Der Anfang ist 6 Uhr, 26 Minuten Abends.
 Mittel . . . 7 Uhr, 19 Minuten Abends.
 Ende . . . 8 Uhr, 15 Minuten Abends.
 Dauer 1 Stunde, 47 Minuten.—Der Mond wird am südlichen Theil 2/5 voll verfinstert, zum nördlichen Theil ist er verfinstert.
 Die Dritte ist eine totale Sonnenfinsternis, den 11ten December, um 12 Uhr, 9 Minuten Abends, sichtbar in Nord- und Süd-Amerika. Die Sonne wird aber gänzlich verfinstert in Mexiko, und einigen andern Theilen von Asien.

Chronologische Werkzeichen der Zeitrechnung des Jahrs 1843.

Sonntags Anstafte	A	Sonnen Jirkel		4
Goldene Zahl	1	Römer Anstafst		1
Epacten	0	Julianische Periode		6536

Bewegliche Feste.

Septuagesima den 12ten Februar,	Simmelsahrt Christi den 25ten Juny,
Quinquagesima den 25ten Februar,	Wingst Sonntag den 4ten Juny,
Fastnacht den 25ten Februar,	Fest Trinitatis den 11ten Juny,
Aschermittwoch den 1sten März,	Freihleichnam's Fest den 15ten Juny,
Palin Sonntag den 5ten April,	Erster Advent Sonntag den 3ten December,
Heil Sonntag den 16ten April,	Sonntage nach Trinitatis sind 24.

Quatember-Tage:

Den 5ten März, den 7ten Juny, den 20ten September, den 20sten December.

Die vier Jahreszeiten:

Frühlings Anfang, ☉ Eintritt in ♈, den 20. März, 1 Uhr 27 Minuten Nachmittags.
 Sommers Anfang, ☉ Eintritt in ♋, den 21. Juny, 10 Uhr 1 Minute Abends.
 Herbsts Anfang, ☉ Eintritt in ♏, den 23. September, 12 Uhr 16 Minuten Nachmit.
 Winters Anfang, ☉ Eintritt in ♏, den 22. December, 5 Uhr 48 Minuten Morgens.
 ♀ Venus ist der regierende Planet dieses Jahrs.

Alle Berechnungen dieses Kalenders sind nach der Sonnen Zeit. Um die exakte Uhrzeit zu wissen addire die Minuten in der Uhr Lokal, wenn die Uhr früher geht, und subtrahire wenn die Uhr später geht.
 M. B. Wenn in der Uhr Lokal die Uhr früher geht, geht die Sonne später, und wenn die Uhr später geht, geht die Sonne früher.
 2

Fig. 2—Eclipses (Finsternisse) and other astronomical data in the 1843 Egelmann almanac.

Der dritte Monat, Martius,

Woche Tage	Verwendigte Zeichen	Abends u. u. l.	Morgens u. u. l.	Wendepunct, Aequinoctien der Jahre mit Witterung.	Zeit des Auf- u. Untergang.	Abend- u. Morgen- u. l.
mont	1	♄	♃	♄	♃	♄
diens	2	♃	♄	♃	♄	♃
miens	3	♄	♃	♄	♃	♄
doens	4	♃	♄	♃	♄	♃
freit	5	♄	♃	♄	♃	♄
samt	6	♃	♄	♃	♄	♃

10) Jovialis. Der 3te und 4te Jovis. Nacht 4. Tagel. 11h. 20 min.

11) Neunberg. Den Conjunctionen 18. 17. Nacht 15. Tagel. 11h. 38 min.

12) Ost. Jesus trete einen Tagel aus. Ost. 11. Tagel. 12h. 14 min.

Fig. 3—Typical page—Month of March—Egelmann Almanac of 1843.

German and ASTROLOGY: I. Almanacs

By LOUIS WINKLER

examines almanac entries in some detail. Evidently, the entries were quite familiar to the users since explanations were very rarely given in almanacs.

Let us examine the entries of a typical German style almanac, *Der Neue Americanische Landwirthschafts-Calender* (Reading, Pennsylvania) for the year 1843. This particular issue was primarily chosen because it has a maximum variety of astronomical and astrological data which appeared on a fairly regular basis in this and other almanacs. Although specialized articles were also found in almanacs, they occurred only about 3 or 4 per cent of the time. Another reason for choosing this particular issue is that the astronomical calculations were made by Carl Friedrich Egellmann, one of the most famous almanac calculators in the United States.

HOW TO READ AN ALMANAC

On the page with the year of the almanac (see Figure 1), the type of year and the number of days in the year were always stated. For normal years, there would be 365 days while for leap years there would be 366 days.¹ Also on the same page was an abbreviated table of contents which pertained mostly to the astronomical entries.

On another page (see Figure 2), the entries for lunar and solar eclipses (*Finsternisse*) for the year could be found. While these were of no practical value, they were spectacular and could be anticipated with some accuracy with celestial mechanical calculations. The next three entries (*Merkzeichen, Feste, and Quatember-Tage*: signs or symbols, movable feasts, and ember days) all pertained to Christian history or the Christian calendar. Explanations of these entries and their use could be found in another publication called *Der Hundertjährige Calender* (Century Calendar). The entries under *Jahrszeiten* (seasons) were just designations of the days on which the four seasons started.² The fifth line concerning Venus is an astrological entry. Each year in seven year cycles, the sun, moon, and five planets³ visible to the unaided eye are, said to rule in matters on earth. Innumerable and varied characteristics of these seven bodies and their influences can also be found in *Der Hundertjährige Calender*. In *Der Hundertjährige Calender* and other almanacs, Venus is often briefly characterized with the adjectives cold and damp. The last few lines in small print are statements which pertain to an entry called *Uhr Tafel* (hour table) which will be discussed subsequently.

The heart of every almanac was the twelve monthly pages with their entries as shown in Figure 3. Columns one and two are simply the days of the week and day number of the month, respectively, for a Gregorian calendar. The last column is a list of the days of the month of a Julian⁴ calendar, usually along with the names of Saints. Day numbers here are always 12 days early compared to column two and the almanac user

¹The extra day for leap year was added almost every fourth year to keep the calendar in phase with the seasons.

²These are geometrical concepts based on careful calculations and observations and can vary by a day or so from year to year.

³The five planets are Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn.

⁴The Gregorian calendar was better phased with the seasons than the Julian.

oder März, hat 31 Tage.

Mond's Viertel,
mit ihren nachmahlichen Witterungen.
Neumond ist den 1ten, 12 Uhr 49 Minuten Morgens; schon hell.
Erstes Viertel ist den 8ten, 4 Uhr 35 Minuten Morgens; trüb mit Schnee.
Vollmond ist den 16ten, 12 Uhr 48 Minuten Morgens; Regen mit hoch Wasser.
Letztes Viertel ist den 23ten, 5 Uhr 25 Minuten Abends; schon.
Neumond ist den 30ten, 6 Uhr 43 Minuten Abends; Rummelich.



Monat März.
Für's männliche Geschlecht.

Ein Knabe, gekommen im Monat März,
hat einen guten Kopf und ein fröhliches Herz,
Wird nicht leicht zu schmeicheln und zu blöden,
Doch kann ihm nur wenig schaden,
Er hat seine Lust an Händen und Füßen,
Und mag in Saor oder Jäger werden.
Für's weibliche Geschlecht.

Ein Mädchen ersehnen im Monat März
hat ein empfindsames, ästhetisches Herz,
Es ist sehr und leicht zu alten Ehen.
Der Herr recht auf dem Willen nachzulassen,
Verziet ihr die Verzicht nicht Ehelich,
Nimmt sie vielleicht von ihren Wegen zurück.

Witterung für jeden Tag.
Den 1. 2. 3. früh hell, 4. 5. früh mit Regen u. Schnee, 5. 6. 7. nachts, 8. 9. früh mit Schnee, 10. früh 11. Schnee, 12. 13. 14. früh, 15. 16. Regen mit hoch Wasser, 17. früh, 18. Nord Wind, früh, 19. 20. arid, 21. Regen, 22. 23. früh, 24. 25. früh, 26. hell, 27. 28. Regen, 29. 30. Rummelich, 31. ungenüß.

Courten.

Philadelphien, Warren, Fayette, Beaver	6
Puiter	13
Armstrong, Schuylkill, Berene	20
Allegheny, Indiana, Washington, Mercer	27

Im Ma hatten sie sich einander die Wünsche vermehren be-
fahl, daß sie nicht aus den Augen sehen könnten und sich
so lange verweilten, bis die Wäute endlich wieder aus
einander gerissen waren.
Der Herr hatte seine große Freude an diesem eckelhaft
fröhlichen Ansehen, er wollte sich besten vor lassen.
Die künftigen Hoffen lag er ihm anzuhören und meinte,
er möchte ihm nicht seine Anrede für die Prüfte
mit den vier Pfunden nicht verzeihen.

Abzüge aus dem Hundertjährigen Calender für das Jahr 1843.

Venus ist dieser Jahr der regierende Planet.
Jahre in 6 e e e n — 20 mehr findet als trocken,
so man alle Theile des Jahres zusammen nimmt, auch ge-
schichtlich und physikalisch waren.

Frühling. — Wenn das Sonnen Jahr die Höhe
gewöhnlich weit hinein steigt, gleich es einen kalten Früh-
ling, ungewöhnlich temperirt, und ist in allen Nächten
fröhlich. Wötere Samen stark ist, kann man die
Schafe wohl darauf treiben, sie auch länger auf dem We-
sen gehen lassen, als man sonst andere Jahre pflegt zu
thun.

Winter. — Wenn die Hitze im Frühling nicht so
lang anhält, folgt ein warmer geschwelliger Sommer, wie
es gewöhnlich im früh pflanz. regnet es aber viel im Früh-
ling, so kommt ein kühler regner Sommer, welches gar
leiten geschleht, und macht ein aures Wein, sonst ist je
Dreißig zu betrogen, daß viel Wein und Obstzeit im Felde
verfaule. Wenn im vorerwähnten Jahr ein kühler Som-
mer ist, wird das Getreide dünne, welches folgt, wenn
im Februar, März, April, May, Juny, juwet eine Sonnen-
sturm hervor ist.

Herbst. — In gemäßigten Anstalten warm und schön,
nicht nicht lange, darum mit allem Hitzig pflanz zu thun,
daß die Winterzeit nicht zu spät, auch die Winter-Saat
fröhlich gefäße werde, denn zu Ende des November's
wintert es ungewöhnlich zu, und geht vor Weihnachten nicht
wieder auf.

Winter. — In heißen anfangen trocken, darnach
sonstlich vom 1. im Februar, bis zum Ende zum Früh-
hat überaus große Wägenhöhe, die den Pflanzen, Wägen-
schen und Vieh Schaden zufügen.

Sommer & Mau. — Wenn der Frühling zu nas ist,
alle das es fast täglich regnet, so find man mit der Saat
wenig fröhlich im Früh gefäße werdt, denn es regnet ein
kühler regner Sommer, bis es in einigen Wochen nicht
regnet, ist aber der Frühling nicht übermäßig nas, so feigt
warm und feuchter Sommer, heizig und türe, und klei-
nen die Samen fröhlich sehr fröhlich, ist er aber (wie ge-
wöhnlich) fröhlich, so gratten die Sommer-Früchte,
rennt aber darauf an, wie man sie eine Schärfe beim
bringen, wenn man nun im Frühling liest, daß es fast
täglich regnet, soll man die Hülsenfrüchte auf manere
Felder sät, sonst wachsen sie aus und verfaulen, wenn
es ein kühler Sommer geht, wird nicht viel taugliches
am Flusse und Haaf.

Winter & Mau. — Es ist das verneinte Jahr wie
es weilt, so wird an Korn und Wägen nur Streu, und
gerad selten weilt, es ist denn, daß man den fröhlich
Samen im Frühling abgäbe.

Herbst & aor. — Man soll fröhlich thun, wegen des
11

Fig. 4—The right hand page for March, 1843. It predicts the weather, gives dates for county court sessions, and gives extracts from the Century Calendar.

Vom Aderlassen und Schröpfen.

Ob man schröpfen solle und wann die rechte Zeit sey, kann jeder selbst so leicht erachten als man es ihm sagen kann; nämlich: wann in der Haut jucket oder beisset, sonderlich wenn nagende Blätterchen kommen, woraus gemeinlich die bekannte Krätze folgt. Wenn man schröpft, soll die Stube wohlwarm seyn, denn wenn die Haut bloß, dazu noch Löcher drein gehauen sind und schlägt die Kälte drein, so wird es eben so leicht schlimmer als besser werden; will es das erstemal nicht weichen, so kann man's zum zweyten oder drittenmal wiederholen.

Aderlassen ist nützlich: in Vollblütigkeit, Erstarrungen, Blutspeyen, Strick-Flüssen ic. Da sieht man nicht auf Zeichen, Zeit oder Stunde. Die sich ans Aderlassen gewöhnet und von Natur viel Blut haben, lassen am kühlichsten im abnehmenden Licht, wann Tag und Nacht gleich oder im Mayen, auch wann die Rosen blühen. Man läset nicht in Mangel des Bluts, nicht in bösen Fiebern oder Ohnmachten, nicht den Aufgedrosenen, auch nicht schwachen alten Leuten; nicht zu viel den Schwängern noch in langwierigen Krankheiten; auch nicht viel wenn das Blut hellroth läuft.

gut böß böß mit. böß mit. gut mit. mit. böß gut. mit.

Widder regiert das Haupt, darinn ist gut Aderlassen, aber nicht am Haupt.
Stier, den Hals u. Gurgel.
Zwillings, die Schultern, Arme und Hände.
Krebs, die Lunge, Milz und Magen.
Löwe, das Herz und Rücken.
Jungfrau, den Bauch und Gedärme.
Waage, die Nieren u. Blase.
Scorpion, die Schiam.
Schütz, die Hüften.
Steinbock, die Knie.
Wassermann, die Waden und Schienbein.
Fische, die Füße.



Die Planeten beherrschen:
h Das rechte Ohr, Brüste und Warzen.
z Das linke Ohr, Herz, Leber und Nippen.
j Das ganze Haupt und Gall.
o Das Angesicht, vornemlich die Augen und Zähne, Herz, Seiten und Schenkel.
m Nieren und Geburtsglied, an Mann und Frauen.
v Das Gedächtnis, Sinnen, Gehirn, Jung, Schienbein.
d Geburtsglied an Mann und Frau, Gehirn, Kehle, Magen, Bauch, Eingeweide, auch (nicht z) Leber und (nicht o) Angesicht und Augen.

Fig. 5—The page with the "Almanac Man" — showing astrological beliefs (Egelmann Almanac, 1843).

Ueber das ist zu erinnern, daß wer Aderlassen will, es sey auf dem Arm, auf einer Hand oder Fuß, so muß das ganze Glied unsehbar warm seyn; ist es aber kalt, so muß dasjenige, so Aderlassen will, durch Arbeit, starkes Gehen, oder durch heißes Trinken, das Geblüt erst erwärmen, sonst läuft das Blut gar nicht, oder nur das dünneste, und ist eine solche Aderlässe oft mehr schädlich als nützlich.

Was vom Blut nach dem Aderlassen zu mutmaßen ist.

1.) Roth Blut mit Wasser bedekt, bedeutet gute Gesundheit. 2.) Roth und schaumig, viel Geblüt. 3.) Roth mit einem schwarzen Ding, Gift. 4.) Schwarz, schaumig oder euerich, böse Feuchtigkeit und kalte Flüsse. 5.) Weiß Blut ist eine Anzeigung zäher Verfleimungen. 6.) Blau-Milch, weh oder Melancholie. 7.) Grün-Perzweh oder hirse Galle. 8.) Gelb-Weh an der Leber und Gall. 9.) Wässericht—bedeutet eine schwache Leber oder überschwemmten Magen. 10.) Dick, hart und zähes Blut, ist eine Anzeigung der Verstopfung, oder Melancholie.

could use either calendar. Both the Julian and Gregorian calendars were present since Protestant Germany only made the switch to the Gregorian calendar in 1777, and the English dominions in 1752. Many of the entries of column three are identical to those of the last column.

Since the moon was of such enormous interest practically, astronomically, and astrologically, an exceptionally large amount of data was given on it. Column four listed rising and setting times in hours and minutes. Column six could be used to find the phase of the moon or the times when the moon was above or below the ecliptic.⁵ Column five designated the sign of the Zodiac⁶ in which the moon could be found. Rise, set,

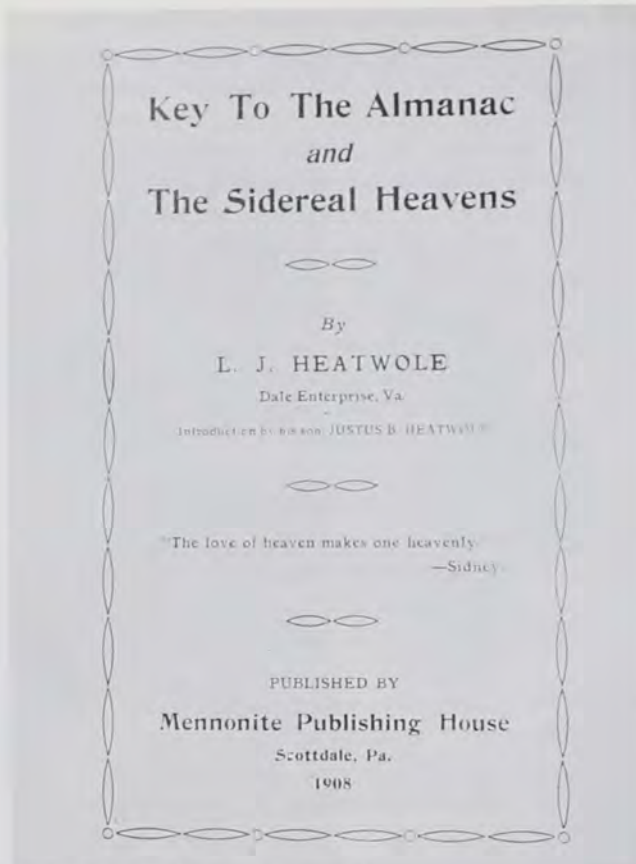
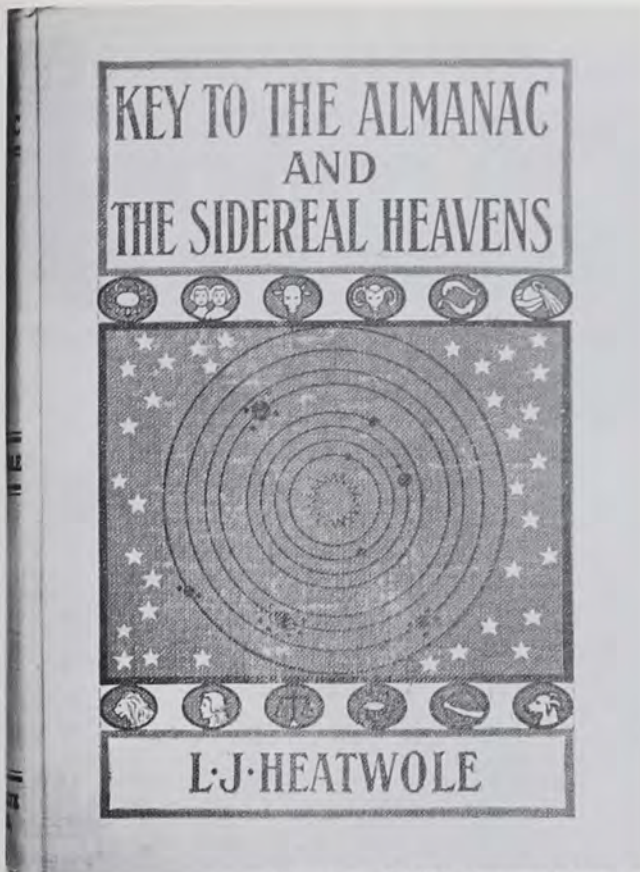
⁵The ecliptic is the apparent path of the sun.

⁶There are twelve signs or stellar constellations to the zodiac. They are Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpius, Sagittarius, Capicornus. The five planets visible to the unaided eye can always be found in the zodiacal belt.

and phase information was mostly used for practical purposes while zodiacal and ecliptic information was mostly used for astrological purposes. The symbols used to designate the signs of the zodiac were usually explained in almanacs elsewhere.

Columns eight and nine listed the rising and setting of the sun. This of course was of considerable interest to the numerous farmers since so much of their work was outdoors in the daylight.

Column six involves the results of some of the most complex of all the astronomical calculations. These include the arrangements of the planets and moon relative to the sun and earth; the rising times of certain stars and planets; and the position of the sun relative to the signs of the zodiac. While the information on the planets, moon and sun could be used for astrological purposes, all the information could be used in connection with column seven.



Cover and Title-page of Heatwole's *Guide to the Almanac*—one of several astronomy manuals produced in American-German cultures.

Column seven is sometimes known as the *Uhr Tafel* (hour table) and can be used to set timepieces to within a minute or so. As mentioned at the bottom of Figure 1, all times in the almanac were given in terms of apparent solar time. This meant that if someone wanted to set his clock with the almanac, he would have to observe one of the astronomical phenomena with precise times associated with it and then correct it with the *Uhr Tafel* to get the right clock setting.

In Figure 4, a variety of information is found, primarily of an astrological nature. Under *Monds-Viertel*, the precise date and time of the phases of the moon are given. In the upper right hand corner, a horoscope is given for the month of March. The horoscope is in poetry form and differs with the sex of the person born during that month. The section under *Hundertjährigen Calender* is just the beginning of a long series of quotes which contain varied complex astronomical and astrological data.

Most of Figure 5 is devoted to the arts of blood-letting and cupping. The appropriateness of the process of blood-letting was specified with the various positions of the moon in the signs of the zodiac. The various parts of the body affected by the position of the moon are also given. Specific effects of the seven bodies are also listed.

HEATWOLE'S VIEWS OF ALMANACS

In an investigation concerning the astronomical and astrological thought of the early Pennsylvania Germans, this writer has examined much material related to almanacs, hundred year calendars, and their calculators. Very seldom was any first-hand information found concerning the calculator's or user's attitudes toward the content of almanacs. Nearly all of the material of this nature, however, was found in a 233-page text authored by L. J. Heatwole and entitled *Key to the Almanac and the Sidereal Heavens*.⁷ In the publisher's preface to the book, it is indicated that Heatwole did work for as many as 25 almanacs. The book contains extensive calendar discussions, some practical astronomy and numerous comments by the author regarding almanacs.

Heatwole's background is ideally suited for the comments he made. Not only was he a calculator for 22 years, but he was a Mennonite minister for 21 years and lectured extensively on the weather. His religious knowledge is pertinent since an important part of the almanac was the Christian calendar and some associated history. Further, in the mind of the American-German, the universe in the form of astronomical objects was

⁷Published in 1908 at Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, by the Mennonite Publishing House. The text was loaned to this writer by the Historical Library of the Eastern Mennonite College of Harrisonburg, Virginia.

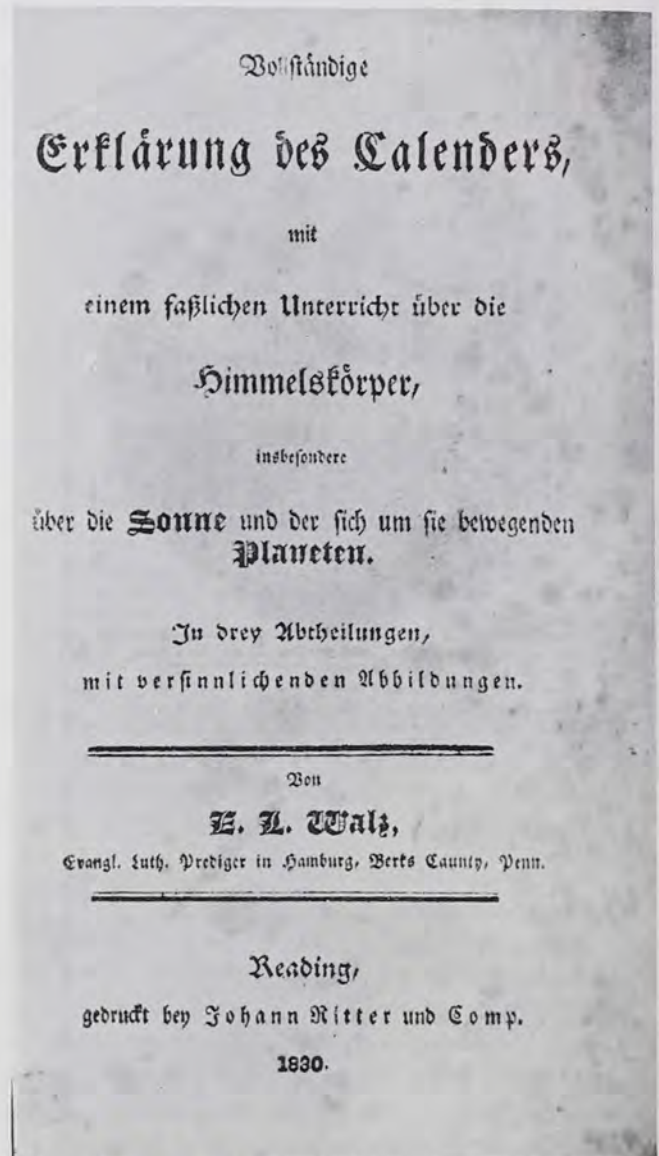
associated with the power and splendor of God. His experience with meteorology was also pertinent since another important part of the almanacs involved weather predictions.

Interestingly enough, the marked combination of elaborate calendar discussions and substantial theological references within an astronomical treatise shows up in the only other text on astronomy by an early German American. The other text is the scholarly work by E. L. Walz which appeared in 1830.⁸ Part of the reason for the similarities of the two works is that Walz like Heatwole was a preacher and educator. Similarities between two authors even extended to the point that both derided astrology in their formal discussions. The similarities end here, however, because Walz was not an almanac calculator, and while Walz wrote something on all known aspects of astronomy, Heatwole purposely chose only “interesting and practical points” and “refrained from presenting the dry and more technical details connected with the study of the stars”.

Heatwole distinguishes between astronomical and almanac calculations since he states: “The general study of their (celestial bodies) positions and movements is called astronomy; and the foretelling of their times for rising, southing, and setting for a given time in the future is called almanac calculating”. According to Heatwole, as of 1908, there were only about five full-time almanac calculators in the United States, including him. The work required for each year’s almanac involved about six months of work for the “10,000” pertinent items. Heatwole also indicated that calculators often made their computations 1 ½ to 2 years in advance of their usable date. In some cases, the calculator’s manuscripts were in the hands of the publisher three years ahead of time. This then indicates that some calculators would start three to four years early.

The popularity of the almanac was great as is attested by the large numbers of these publications still extant. Various writers claim that almanacs ranked in importance with the Bible and hymnbook because these three sources of printed material constituted nearly all the reading matter for the average American-German. The heavy use of almanacs is evident from their stains, folded and torn pages, user notations and remnants for hanging them on a nail. The American-German almanac was one of the forerunners of the magazine in the United States, and contained more pages and variety of information than nearly all other American almanacs. It is not surprising then that one of the first leading almanac calculators in America was C. F. Egelmann, a Pennsylvania German, and that the Pennsylvania

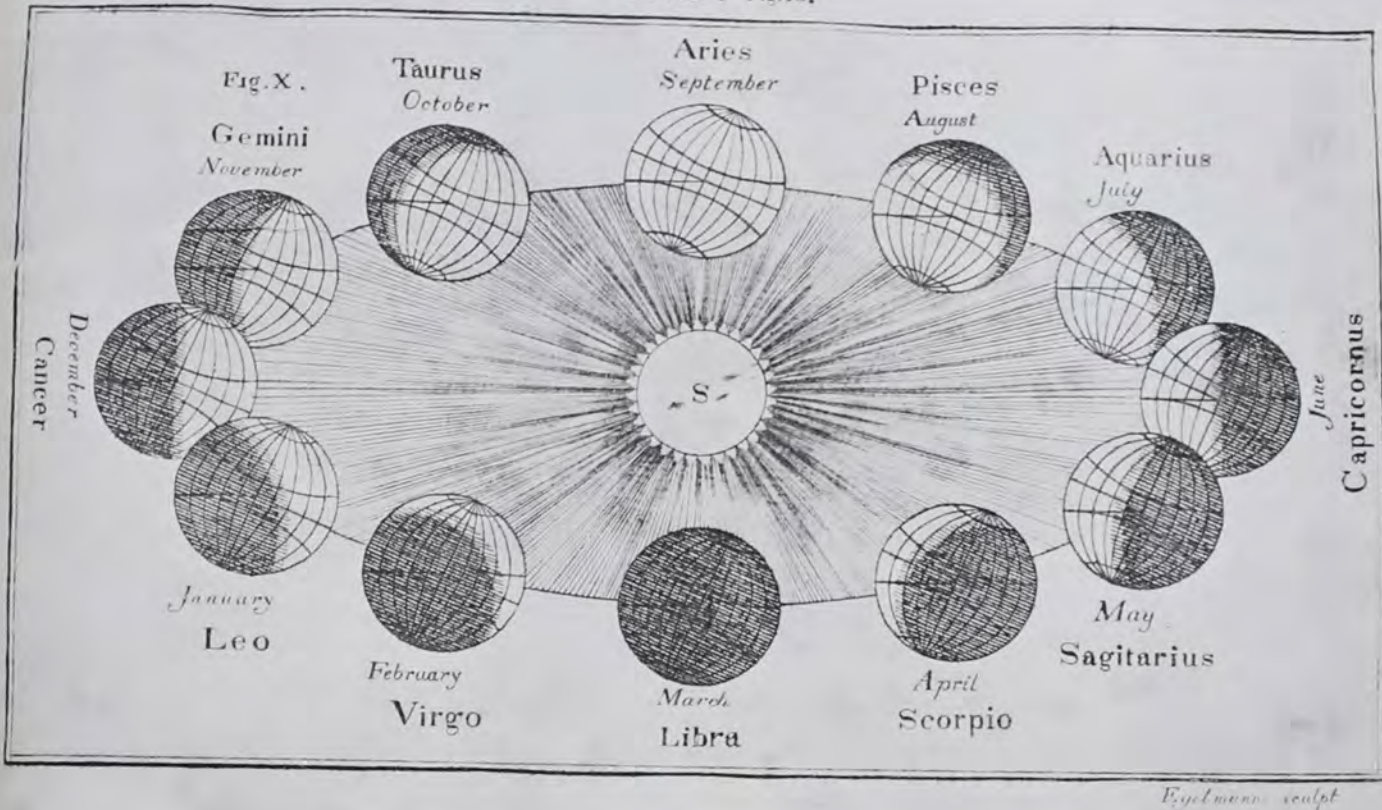
⁸Entitled *Vollständige Erklärung des Calenders, mit einem fasslichen Unterricht über die Himmelskörper, insbesondere über die Sonne und der sich um sie bewegendenden Planeten*, and published at Reading, Pennsylvania, by Johann Ritter and Company.



A Lutheran minister, E. L. Walz of Hamburg, Berks County, produced this astronomical treatise in 1830.

Germans had more than their share of almanac calculators in America.

Egelmann not only did almanac work from 1820 to 1860, but he influenced others with astronomical ideas. He illustrated Walz’s 1830 text with stipple fraktur drawings and wrote a number of good astronomical articles for inclusion in almanacs. The pride of L. J. Ibach who succeeded Egelmann, and W. R. Ibach who succeeded L. J. Ibach as calculators for almanacs, is seen in numerous statements regarding the successions in the pertinent almanacs. This pride appears to be present in Heatwole too since he states “the calculator puts both conscience and character into every item (of the 10,000)”.



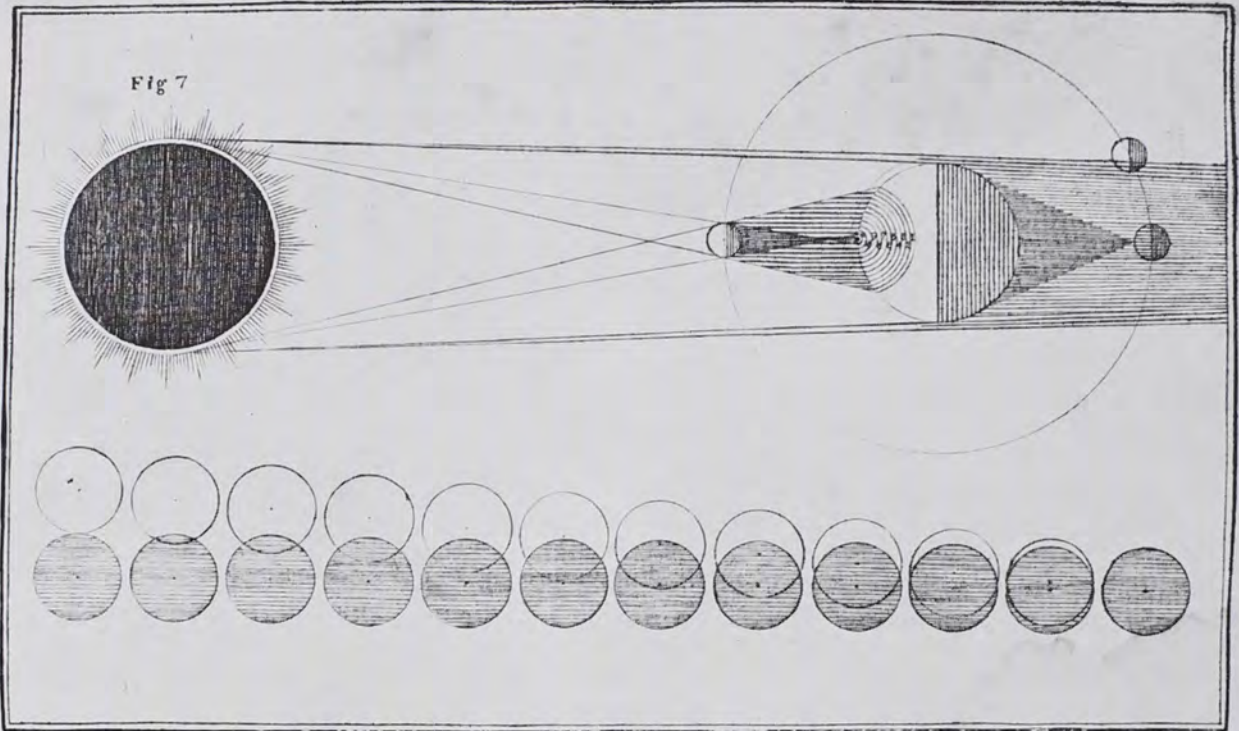
An engraving by Egelmann for the *Walz treatise* of 1830 with zodiac designations.

Just what family attitudes were in the typical early American-German household with regard to the astronomy and astrology of almanacs is probably lost forever. One glimpse of Heatwole's childhood, however, is given in a quote by him: "Before I knew the alphabet, or had learned to read, I stood beside her (his mother) as she sat in her easy chair and listened with the keenest interest as she explained to me the meanings of the moon faces appearing on the calendar pages; the column representing each of the 12 signs of the zodiac were explained in such a way that the almanac as a picture of the sky became fixed on my mind in such vivid form that it has never since been changed". It is evident that the almanac provided the only fundamental time reference within the society which affected the functioning of a number of important areas of life. The almanac's calendar was a useful device for coordinating farming, social, and religious affairs to the day of the year or year. The almanac's *Uhr-Tafel* was also useful in coordinating these affairs to the time of the day.

Heatwole's feelings were negative regarding some astrology contained in almanacs. He wrote, "Twenty years ago the author suggested to a number of publishers the elimination of some of the more glaring

marks of 'superstition' from their almanacs but the reply in each case was: 'O no, it will never do' – 'The almanac is not complete without them' – 'It would seriously affect our sales, etc.'" Heatwole felt that Christian religion would eventually remove superstitions since he states that "the evolution of astronomy had its beginning with a people who had little if any knowledge of the existence of the true God, but has been associated with a strange mixture of mythology and superstition that in time became so deeply seated" He made the statement also that "nineteen centuries of gospel light and civilization in the world have not been sufficient to entirely eradicate it from the public mind".

We shall see just what was "superstition" to Heatwole is not always clear. Interestingly enough, this arises from the fact that he unwittingly believed in some astrology. On the top of the superstition list as specified by Heatwole are those ideas regarding the 12 signs of the zodiac. The first item discussed by Heatwole is the one which relates to the anatomy of man's body ruled by the 12 constellations as the moon passes through. Although he doesn't use the word superstition here, he repeatedly uses the word "supposed" in describ-



Egelmann engraving showing process of solar and lunar eclipse.

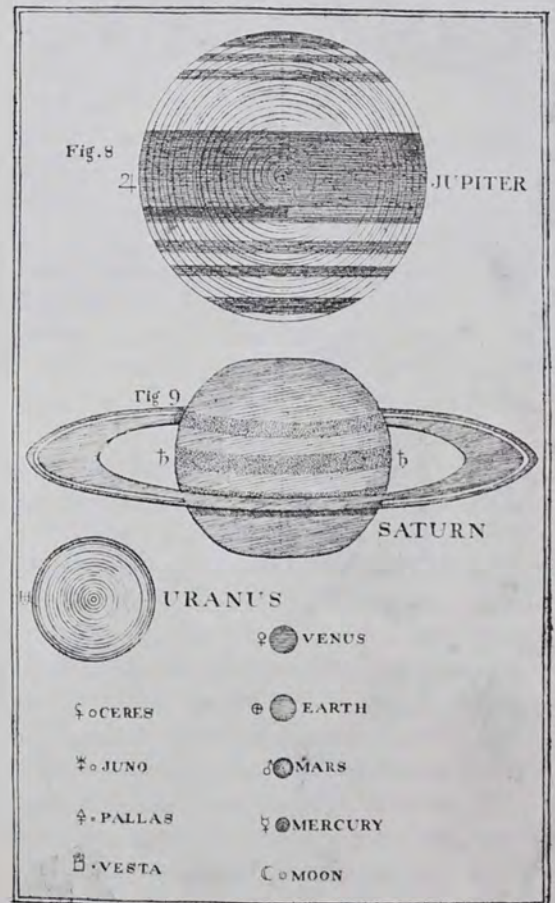
F. eglmann sc.

ing effects and specifically mentions the 12 constellations which he associates with superstition.

The next item of discussion regarding the zodiac concerns the influences of the 7 bodies which appear to move in this region. Instead of believing that all 7 bodies have an influence, Heatwole writes, "The principles of astronomy, as studied at the present day, would set aside the theory of one planet alone having positive or negative power sufficient to govern and regulate the weather and seasons of our globe". Thus, Heatwole sees fit to accept consciously only part of the astrology here. His belief is not well developed because he doesn't specify which is the one planet which affects the weather and seasons.

For some reason, Heatwole ignores an important area of astrology regarding the zodiac which deals with horoscopes. Horoscopes are highly stylized predictions regarding the character and destiny of man which are based on celestial objects of the zodiac. The most refined horoscopes are concerned with the positions of the sun, moon, and five planets visible to the naked eye relative to the zodiacal constellations' ecliptic or houses.⁹ Interestingly enough, this writer finds that horoscopes only start to appear regularly in German al-

⁹Houses are the twelve imaginary sections of the celestial sphere determined by six great circles passing through the north and south points of an observer's horizon.



Egelmann sc.

Egelmann engraving.

Die
Astronomischen Lehrsäzen nach
 Lehrende

Chironmantie,

Benebenst der
 Geomantie und Physiognomie,
 Darinnen nützlich gezeiget,
**Was dem Menschen für Glück, Unglück,
 Reichthum, Armuth, gute und böse Zeit begegnen**
 kan;

Wozu über dieses sehr merkwürdige Chiro-
 mantische Erfahrungen, und seltsame ungemeyne An-
 merkungen, samt beygefügeten sonderbaren Urtheil hinzu-
 kommen sind.

Den curiösen Liebhabern zu sonderlichen Gefallen
 an den Tag gegeben,
 Auch am Ende mit einem
Traum-Buch
 und einer
 Anweisung zu Puncturen
 versehen.

Frankfurt und Leipzig,

Zu finden bey Franz Christian Mummie,
 1742.

*Astronomical-astrological manual published in Ger-
 many, 1742—with geomancy, physiognomy, and dream
 interpretation thrown in for good measure.*

Don Yoder Collection

manacs in the early part of the 19th Century. This was about a century after the first German almanac was published in the United States. In any event, it just may be that Heatwole does not believe that the character and destiny of man are influenced by the 7 bodies since influences do not seem to be unsimilar to the case of the parts of the body.

Outside of a few other minor areas of "superstition" Heatwole leads one to believe that all the other effects of the celestial bodies are not superstition because he states them definitively in a factual way. One such area involves the effects of the moon which was entertained in elaborate detail by the Pennsylvania Germans.

Among the factors which are important are the phase, ephemeris, position in the zodiac, and whether it is moving above or below the ecliptic. Heatwole explains, "When timber is cut in the up sign above the ecliptic, it is more difficult to season it, . . . the opposite is the case when timber is cut in (the) down sign". The same rule holds good for germination of seed, "corresponding favorable times being for top growth or root crops as the case may be". Part of his belief is based on scientific reasoning because he states that "if it be clearly proven (and it is) that the moon has attractive force sufficient to produce ocean tides, to the same source may also be attributed the periodical ebb and flow of sap in timber and cultivated plants—in fact it may be possible to trace to it many other things in the laboratory of nature, if we only knew how to trace it". This writer wonders if Heatwole was seeking more support for his lunar astrology because he was not completely convinced. Further, he makes a curious comparison between tides and the up-down phenomena because the former's cycle is completed in about 12 hours and 25 minutes while the latter is achieved in about 27.3 days.

Heatwole's lunar astrology is actually quite complex and extends beyond agriculture to the weather. He states that it is a "universal law" that "the moon when in conjunction" with one or more of the superior planets by interrupting the magnetic current existing between the earth and the planet, tends to create more or less disturbances in our atmosphere". To speak of the effects of the planets in this sense is wishful thinking since their gravitational or magnetic fields as felt on earth are quite negligible to other fields.

Perhaps it is not fair to describe Heatwole's astronomical associations with weather as being completely astrological in nature. Even modern science is investigating possible physical cause and effect relationships relating to the moon, secondary solar phenomena and the weather. However, important differences compared to Heatwole are that modern scientists recognize that mathematical correlations between positions of the moon and weather may be accidental or due to some other cause than the moon. Further, scientists will only accept the relationship when a scientific explanation is given.

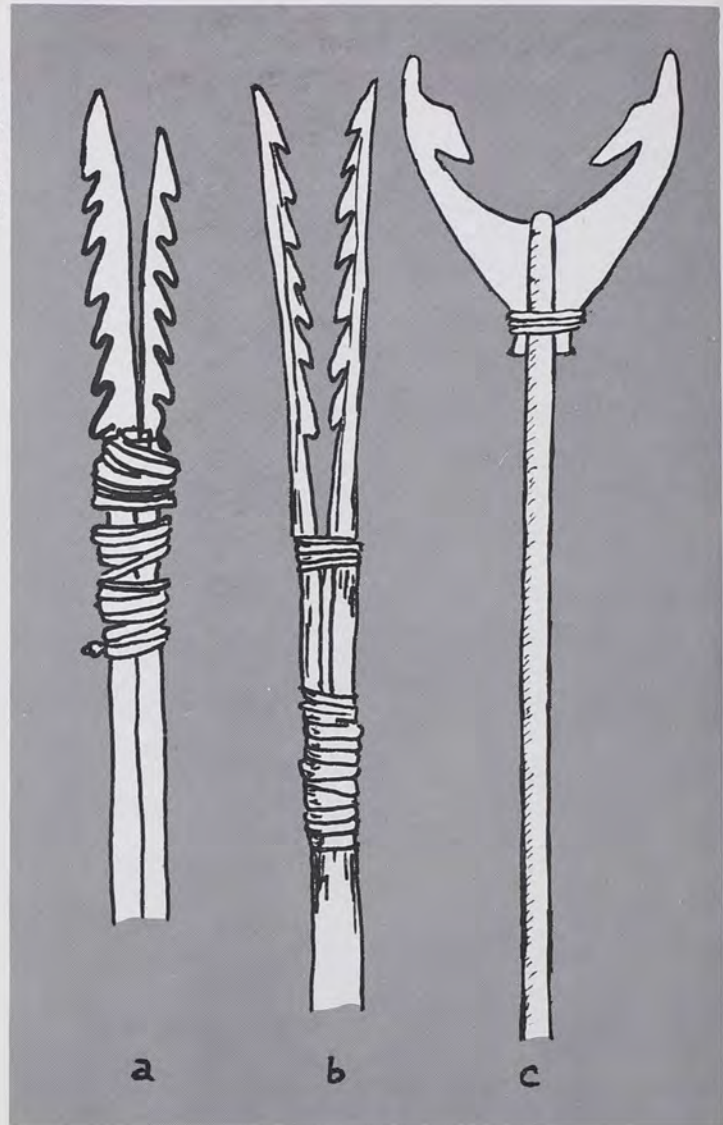
The most important aspect of Heatwole's comments are that they very likely represent the most rational of the vast majority of American-Germans in determining the dividing line between astronomy and astrology. If he accepted part of the astrology unwittingly, the average person very likely accepted more or possibly even all. It is particularly significant that Heatwole was both an almanac calculator and an extensive believer in lunar astrology.

¹⁰The superior planets here are Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. When the moon is in conjunction with these planets, it is in the same direction in the sky.

Fig. 1—Mesolithic Leister Prongs.
 (a) Magdalenian fishing spear
 (after Clark). (b) Eskimo fishing
 spear (after Oakley). (c) Cali-
 fornia Indian fishing spear, with
 antler prongs (after Beals and
 Hoijer).

Central Pennsylvania FISHING SPEARS

By MAC E. BARRICK



An area of folklife studies that deserves further investigation is the folk concept of law. Many proverbs express what the people consider to be law, though there is often no legal basis for it in the statutes. Archer Taylor notes that "in former days the lower courts before which the peasants appeared used proverbs freely," a practice which is still reflected in rural areas of the United States in the attribution of legal force to such sayings as "Ignorance of the law excuses no one," "Silence gives consent," and "Possession is nine points of the law."

Much of what the folk hold as law derives from medieval English common law. This is true especially of matters involving property rights, trespass, roads and rights-of-way, and common-law marriages. The

¹*The Proverb* (Hatboro, 1962), p. 87. Proverbs still play an important part in primitive legal systems; see John C. Messenger, Jr., "The Role of Proverbs in a Nigerian Judicial System," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 15 (1959), 64-73, reprinted by Alan Dundes, *The Study of Folklore* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965), pp. 299-307.

folk will often continue to respect a law years after it is repealed or changed, a fact often evident in subconscious behaviour rather than in overt action, e.g., a reluctance to drive more than fifty-five miles per hour on high speed highways (though this is probably a conditioned reflex), or an embarrassment at having whiskey bottles or even stoneware jugs (associated with moonshining) in the house even thirty-five years after the repeal of prohibition.

Similar embarrassment is often betrayed in the possession of fishing spears or gigs, as they are called locally. Many people still consider them to be illegal, even though the Fish Laws of 1925 and 1959 specifically allowed them for the taking of carp or suckers.² Prior to that time they had indeed been illegal for a long

²*Laws of Pennsylvania . . . 1925* (Harrisburg, 1925), pp. 452-453; *Laws of Pennsylvania . . . 1959* (Harrisburg, 1959), II, 1787. The 1959 law adds, "Rough fish or trash fish, when so designated by the Commission, may be taken with such devices and under such regulations as the Commission determines."

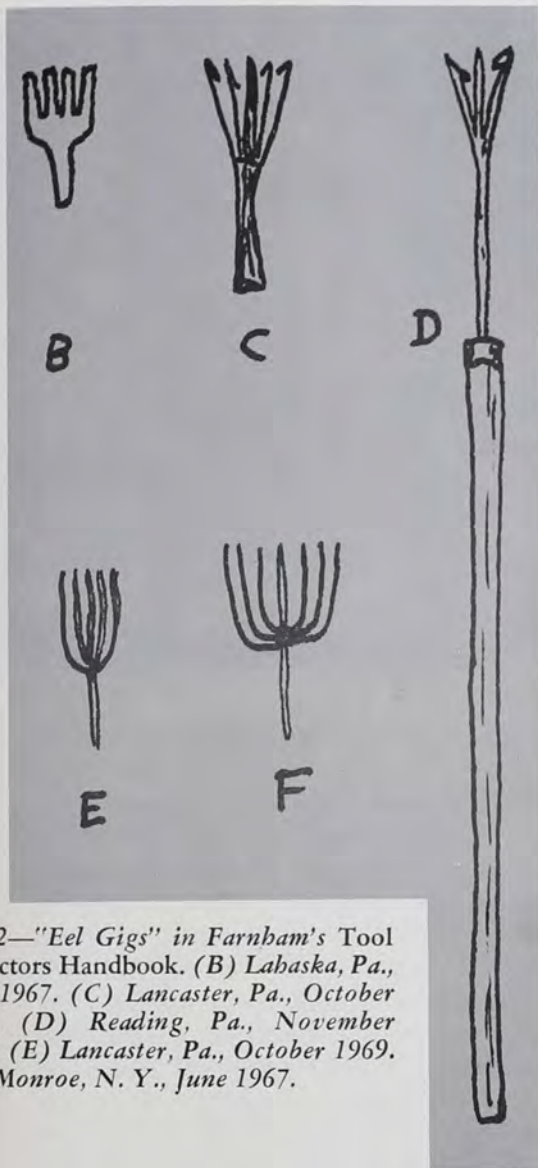


Fig. 2—"Eel Gigs" in Farnham's Tool Collectors Handbook. (B) Labaska, Pa., May 1967. (C) Lancaster, Pa., October 1969. (D) Reading, Pa., November 1969. (E) Lancaster, Pa., October 1969. (F) Monroe, N. Y., June 1967.

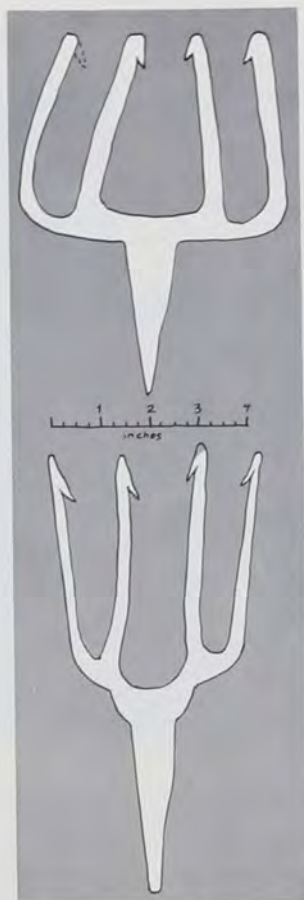


Fig. 3—Irish Salmon Spears (after Went). Top, Faughan River; bottom, Mulcaire River.

Drawings
by the
Author.

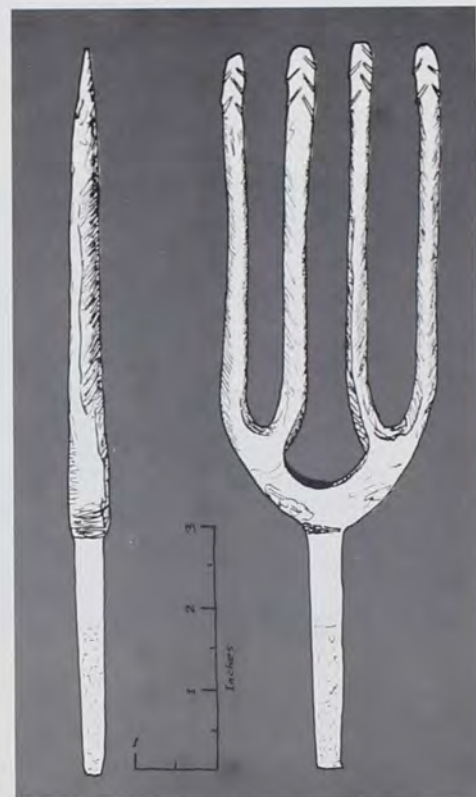


Fig. 4—Divided Pennsylvania Spearhead (example A), acquired near Franklintown (September 1970). Cf. the Irish salmon spears in fig. 3.

time. The settlers of Pennsylvania were granted the right to "Fish in all waters in the said lands, and in all Rivers and Rivulets, in and belonging to the Province and territories thereof, with Libertie to draw his or their fish to shoare on any man's Lands, So as it be not to the Detriment or annoyance of the owner thereof," by William Penn's Charter to the People on February 2, 1683.³ Fish-weirs were prohibited March 14, 1761, and the use of seines and nets was curtailed on the Schuylkill River and other waterways starting in 1767. No mention is made of the use of gigs in the law books until April 21, 1846, when a law relating to Cumberland County was passed stating:

It shall not be lawful for any person or persons to take any fish out of Yellow Breeches creek, or out of any of the dams or races of any water power on said creek, by means of any seine, net or gig, or any other way, except with hook and line, from

³Charter to William Penn, and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1879), p. 160.

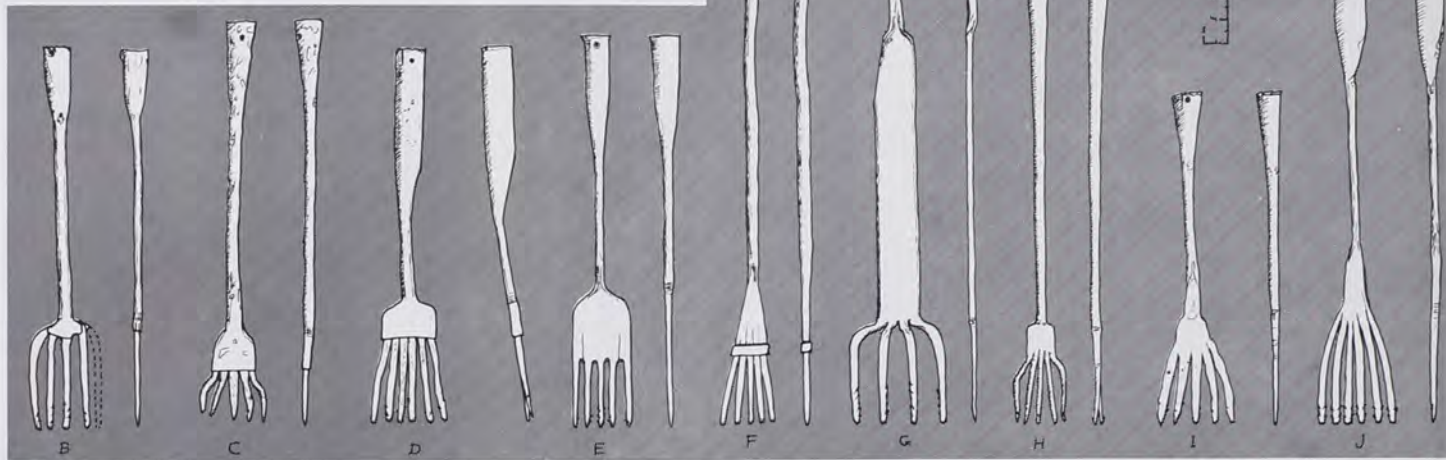
the fifteenth day of October till the first day of May, in each and every year.⁴ Subsequently, the use of "seine, net basket or gig" was prohibited in Blair County (1850), but laws relating to other areas mentioned only the use of seines or nets. The first comprehensive fish law in 1917 permitted only the use of rods or lines, implying that other (unstated) methods were illegal. This law was revised in 1919 and again in 1925, at which time gigs were legalized as noted above. But the belief persists that they are not legal, possibly because of a lingering memory of the old law, or more probably because they are occasionally used illegally for the taking of eels, trout or other game fish.

Fishing spears were among the earliest tools developed by primitive man. The first such spears must have been sharpened poles, but little evidence of them remains. Hakan Fernholm includes an illustration of one in his article on Scandinavian fishing spears, but he makes no attempt to date it, stating only that it is from a non-European or prehistoric source.⁵ Leisters, spears formed of two or three barbed prongs of bone mounted at the end of a wooden shaft, were used for

⁴Laws of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1846), p. 456.

⁵"Ljusterfiske. En Översikt över Redskap och Metoder," Folk-Liv, 6 (1942), 53, and plate 13a.

Fig. 5a—Pennsylvania Fishing Spears. (B) Mifflin Twp., near Newville (June 1969). (C) Newville (December 1969). (D) Carlisle (August 1970). (E) Plainfield (August 1966). (F) Near Mechanicsburg (April 1970). (G) Lower Frankford Twp., northwest of Carlisle (April 1970). (H) Mechanicsburg (August 1969). (I) Mifflin Twp., north of Newville (May 1970). (J) Near Mechanicsburg (September 1970). (Examples A-J are in the author's collection.)



spearfishing pike and salmon during the Upper Paleolithic period.⁶ The development of the hook and the net in the Mesolithic period led eventually to the replacement of the leister, though such devices were used until recent times among American Indians and Eskimos.⁷

European fishing spears have been studied by Hakan Fernholm (see note 5) and Arthur E. J. Went.⁸ Fernholm classifies Scandinavian fishing spears according to their forms—divided, horseshoe or lyre-form, saw-toothed, curved, comb-shaped (subdivided into Y-shaped, trident-shaped, T-shaped, cross-shaped, etc.). Went classifies the Irish spears according to function into two major groups, *casting spears* (“spears . . . cast from the operator in such a way as to impale the fish on the barbs, a rope of suitable length and texture being used to recover the spear and the impaled fish”) and *thrusting or grounding spears* (“spears . . . used, without leaving the operator’s hand, by being thrust into the body of a fish and by forcing the fish into a cleft in the spear” [art. cit., p. 110]); the latter group he subdivides into spears for marine fish, eel spears,⁹ and salmon spears. Since the type of spear used in each case necessarily differs according to the

fish, this becomes essentially a classification by form as well.

American fishing spears have been almost totally neglected. A few miscellaneous references appear in folklore studies and some examples, usually eel spears, are housed in historical and folk museums.¹⁰ Warren Fretz includes illustrations of five spears in his paper on “Old Methods of Taking Fish”¹¹ and explains their manufacture and use in Eastern Pennsylvania in the early part of this century. Alexander Farnham illustrates several spears from Pennsylvania sources in his *Tool Collectors Handbook of Prices Paid at Auction for Early American Tools* (Stockton, N.J., 1970, p. 37); he does not distinguish between what he calls “eel gigs” and those used for other fish, though only two examples follow the design of traditional eel spears (fig. 2, C-D).

The prototype of the Pennsylvania fishing spear is the European salmon spear. Though eels were frequently speared in inland waterways, no distinctive type of eel spear developed, the same instrument being used for all fish indiscriminately. Spear fishing was done with hand-held spears; there is no evidence of the use of casting spears in Central Pennsylvania.

Because of their association with illegal use, fishing spears were nearly always manufactured clandestinely by blacksmiths or hand-forged in farm workshops. Fishing spears were generally made from available

⁶Grahame Clark, *From Savagery to Civilization* (New York, 1953), p. 48; cf. Kenneth P. Oakley, *Man the Tool-Maker* (Chicago, 1968), p. 135.

⁷See Ralph L. Beals and Harry Hoijer, *An Introduction to Anthropology* (New York, 1965), pp. 376-378.

⁸“Irish Fishing Spears,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 62 (1952), 109-132.

⁹Regarding eel spears and their use in the British Isles, see also Noel C. Mitchel, “Eel Spears of the Lower River Bann,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 82 (1952), 133-134; idem, “The Lower Bann Fisheries,” *Ulster Folklife*, 11 (1965), 1-32; John N. Taylor, “Elver Fishing on the River Severn,” *Folk Life* (Cardiff), no. 3 (1965), 55-60; Sybil Marshall, *Fenland Chronicle* (London, 1967), p. 121.

¹⁰See Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia, 1968), pp. 172-174. Cf. Eric Sloane, *A Museum of Early American Tools* (New York, 1964), p. 105.

¹¹*A Collection of Papers Read before the Bucks County Historical Society*, V (1926), 361-375; see p. 362. The first example is a trident eel spear much like those in the Irish collections. The second and third examples are similar to those still found in Central Pennsylvania.



Fig. 6—Branched Spears with welded teeth made by Harry Cornman (d. 1969), Kennedy's Valley, southwest of Landisburg, Perry County.



Fig. 7—Fishing spears with a variety of improvised handles.

scrap-iron. A broken pitchfork could be adapted to a new use with a minimum of effort; one mechanic in Lower Mifflin Township northwest of Newville, Pennsylvania, still makes them this way. Other items were similarly adapted as shown by the spears in figure 5. Example E was made from a wood-chisel, with the metal between the teeth cut away (cf. fig. 2, B). Example F was formed from a long bolt; the head was flattened to make the prongs. Example B was made from a buggy spring. The choice of handles was haphazard and again depended upon the availability of a variety of salvageable items (see figure 7). Broom and pitchfork handles were most frequently used, though rake and sheaf-fork handles were more desirable because of their length. In many cases the original handle has been replaced, making it impossible to determine what was first utilized.

The fishing spears used in Central Pennsylvania are of two general types, to use Fernholm's terminology, Divided Spears (*tudelat ljuster*) and Branched Spears (*grenljuster*). The one example of Divided Spear available for study is almost identical to salmon spears found in Ireland (see figs. 3-4; cf. Went, figs 12-15). This example is hand-wrought and highly tempered, and from the workmanship appears to be quite old, though its exact age is difficult to determine because the antique dealer from whom it was purchased had cleaned and refinished it; it was at that time set in a five-inch wood-chisel handle.

Branched Spears used in Central Pennsylvania can be sub-divided into two groups, those in which the teeth are formed separately and welded into the stem of the spear (examples B, C, D, and fig. 6), and those in which the spearhead is flattened and the teeth cut into it and separated (examples E-J). An ad-

ditional classification might be made according to the manner of attachment to the handle. Two methods are used. Most Pennsylvania fishing spears have the upper end rolled and formed into a socket into which the handle is inserted. The spearhead is then secured by a nail or screw driven through it into the handle (cf. Fretz, art. cit., p. 362). The second method of attachment is less frequently observed. The head is attached by means of a tang driven into the handle (see examples A, F and G), an unsatisfactory method because the handle invariably splits and the head easily pulls loose. On example F, though the handle has been reinforced with a four-inch ferrule, it is nonetheless badly split.

Two procedures for forming barbs are evident on Pennsylvania fishing spears. The pointed or projecting barb characteristic of European spears is rare. Fretz includes an illustration of one such spearhead and two of the spears in Farnham's list (both eel spears) have projecting barbs, but only one of the examples presently being considered has them (example H; cf. Went, fig. 14, A-C). The usual method of barbing spears in this area, however, is to use a cold chisel to notch the teeth at an angle of approximately 30°-40°. In some cases, the teeth are notched on all four corners (examples A, B, D, E, I, J) while in others a regular pattern of alternate notches is developed (example G). On some spears, corrosion has destroyed any evidence of notching.

Fishing with spears was generally done at night. One informant now living in Carlisle recalls:

When we lived up there at Bloserville, above the concrete bridge, we used t' go up along that run there, after dark, and they'd gig suckers an' eels an' throw 'em out in the grass and I'd haf' ta catch 'em an' put 'em in a sack. An' some a' them eels was this long [about three feet] an' if you don't think they were a mess t' ketch.

Fernholm and Went both provided illustrations of spear-fishing with a torch; Fernholm's article reproduces a 1733 painting by Pehr Hillestrom (plate 14) and Went's a picture from William Scope's *Days and Nights of Salmon Fishing in the Tweed*, published in 1843 (plate XIX). Warren Fretz also notes that "the spear was used in conjunction with the lights for night fishing. Ideal conditions were dark nights, with no wind, as under this condition, fish could be readily seen. Windy nights were not as favorable, as the wind rippling the water, made conditions bad, as it was hard to locate fish, unless in very shallow water. Eight to sixteen inches of water is a good depth for that kind of fishing and on very still nights fish could be successfully speared in two feet of water" (p. 362). At present, fishing spears are little used, except for the occasional taking of carp, and that in daylight. Spearing is done when the fish are spawning, usually in shallow water, hence they can be taken easily with the most primitive of fishing equipment.

SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT

Of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Community to 1970:

Part II

By C. LEE HOPPLE

THE DUNKARD SECT

The spatial history of the Dunkard Sect in Germanic Europe was brief, lasting only from 1708 to 1729.¹⁴⁸ The brevity of this European interval can be attributed to the severe religious persecutions inflicted upon the sect by other religious groups, especially the Calvinists.¹⁴⁹ For 20 years the Dunkards fled from town to town across Westphalia to the Netherlands to avoid their persecutors, finally migrating to southeastern Pennsylvania.

THE PERIOD TO 1750

The entire European membership of the Dunkard sect reached Philadelphia in two migrations, the first in 1719 and the second in 1729. The original party included 98 Dunkards comprising 40 families; the terminal, 130 individuals forming 57 families.¹⁵⁰

After reaching the New World, the first party of Dunkards banded into groups of families who, for reasons of kinship or friendship, chose to remain together. Leaving Philadelphia, each assemblage of families obtained land and settled in close proximity to form the three original southeastern Pennsylvania Dunkard congregational districts: Germantown in 1723, and Coventry and Conestoga in 1724 (Figure 18, Nos. 1-3). Migrants arriving with the 1729 party did not settle in previously-established congregational districts but founded seven additional ones: at Ephrata, Oley, Great Swamp, White Oak, Little Conewago, Conewago, and Northkill¹⁵¹ (Figure 18, Nos. 4-10). Thus, by 1750, the Dunkard sectarian sub-region of southeastern Pennsylvania consisted of 10 widely-separated and territorially-small congregational districts in six counties (Figure 18). Since a total of only 97

European Dunkard families had come to Pennsylvania, most districts must have had an initial membership of less than a dozen families. The Dunkards were prolific, however, and their original population of 228 probably increased to about 320 including some 60 children by 1750.¹⁵²

Upon arriving in America, the Dunkards, like the Amish and pre-nineteenth century Mennonites, attempted to retain their European mores and vigorously resisted cultural change.¹⁵³ To prevent cultural dilution, they accepted the principle of world retreat and isolated themselves physically and socially from the surrounding population of southeastern Pennsylvania. Conforming to the general Plain Dutch attitude, they hallowed the soil and accepted subsistence farming as a way of life.

The first schismatic division among the Dunkards occurred at Ephrata in 1735, long before the Mennonites experienced similar splintering (Table I). Conrad Beissel proclaimed the parent church, despite its conservatism, worldly and impure. He withdrew and established the Seventh Day Monastic Community at Ephrata (Figure 18, No. 4). Most of the Dunkards in this area joined the Beissel movement.¹⁵⁴

THE PERIOD 1751-1800

The period, 1751-1800, was a time of slow territorial expansion of the Dunkard sub-region in southeastern Pennsylvania, for only five new congregational districts were established. Great Swatara, Little Swatara, Codorus, Bermudian, and Indian Creek (Figure 19). Thus, by the end of the eighteenth century, there were only

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁴⁹Frederick Denton Dove, *Cultural Changes in the Church of the Brethren* (Brethren Publishing House, Elgin, Illinois, 1932), pp. 39-56.

¹⁵⁰*History of the Church of the Brethren in the Southern District of Pennsylvania*. Edited by J. Linwood Eisenberg, Quincy Orphanage Press, Quincy, Pa., 1966, pp. 51-55 and 81; and C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites*, p. 553.

¹⁴⁸Floyd E. Mallott, *Studies in Brethren History*, pp. 29-30. Although the sectarians prefer the name Brethren, they are identified by their original name throughout this thesis.

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁵⁰Frederic Klees, *The Pennsylvania Dutch*, Chapters 4 and 14.

¹⁵¹Floyd E. Mallott, *Studies in Brethren History*, pp. 86-88.

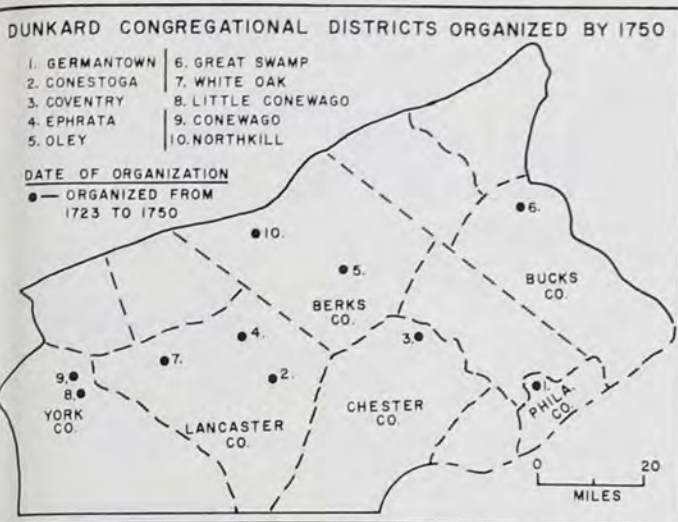


Figure 18.

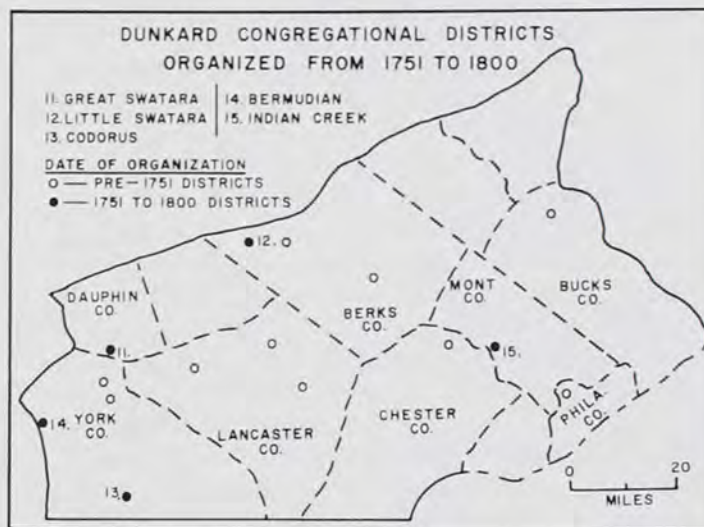


Figure 19.

15 congregational districts, and two of these were on the verge of extinction for most Northkill Dunkards eventually resettled at Little Swatara and those at Great Swamp migrated to Indian Creek (Figures 18 and 19).

Despite this limited territorial development, Dunkard adult sectarian population in southeastern Pennsylvania increased more than threefold, from about 260 to nearly 900, during the period 1751-1800.¹⁵⁵ Estimates of the number of children are unavailable. Since there were 15 Dunkard congregational districts, the number of adults averaged 60 per district. Of course, some districts had congregations larger than the average and some were considerably smaller. Many members were unmarried persons over 16 years of age, and therefore it is difficult to estimate the number of Dunkard families living in southeastern Pennsylvania in 1800. Between 10 and 25 families per district is a wide ranging, but reasonable, estimate. The number of families comprising each congregation, therefore, was becoming too large to conduct religious services in private homes and the Dunkards began erecting meetinghouses before 1800.¹⁵⁶ As was true earlier, every aspect in the daily life of these late eighteenth-century Dunkard congregational districts continued to be governed by the church's strict *Ordnung*.

THE PERIOD 1801-1850

Territorial stagnation continued to be the dominant spatial characteristic of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Dunkard sub-region during the first half of the nineteenth century, thus maintaining the trend evident during the preceding 50 years. Only three congregational districts, Tulpehocken, Upper Dublin, and Green Tree, were organized between 1801 and 1850 (Figure 20), giving a total of 18.¹⁵⁷ Significant numbers of

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶Floyd E. Mallott, *Studies in Brethren History*, Chapter VII.

¹⁵⁷*History of the Church of the Brethren in the Southern District of Pennsylvania*, pp. 51-56.

Dunkards were beginning to object to the inflexible *Ordnung* and subsequent unchanging way of life within their conservative church. Perhaps as many as 1,000 to 1,500 Dunkards left to join less restrictive Plain Dutch sects or even the outside world between 1801 and 1850. Therefore, newly-formed Dunkard families could usually obtain a farm, and the subdivision of already-owned land was as yet unnecessary. Thus, the Dunkards did not need to migrate into new territories in search of farm land where congregational districts subsequently would have been organized. Moreover, since relatively large meetinghouses, instead of individual homes, were now being used as places of worship, the populations of existing districts did not have to be subdivided to form new districts. Then too, no more Dunkard immigrants were arriving from Europe to organize new congregational districts.

Despite the lagging territorial growth of the Pennsylvania Dunkard community during the first half of the nineteenth century, the number of adherents to the church continued to grow quite rapidly. The average number of adult faithful in the 18 Dunkard congregational districts was probably over 100, and, in addition, there were almost as many children as adults in each district. Therefore, the Dunkard population of southeastern Pennsylvania in 1850 must have been approximately 2,000 adults and 1,500 children,¹⁵⁸ or more than double the number of adults of 1800.

THE PERIOD 1851-1900

The latter half of the nineteenth century was a period of greatly increased religious and cultural unrest in the southeastern Pennsylvania Dunkard community, just as it was in the Mennonite community.

The religiously conservative, socially isolated, culturally stagnant, and economically self-sufficient Dunk-

¹⁵⁸*History of the Church of the Brethren in the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, 1708-1915* (New Era Printing Company, Lancaster, Pa., 1915).

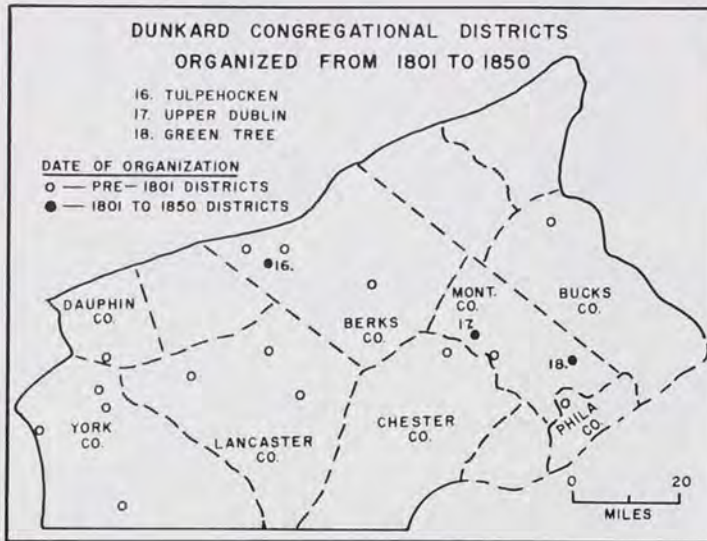


Figure 20.

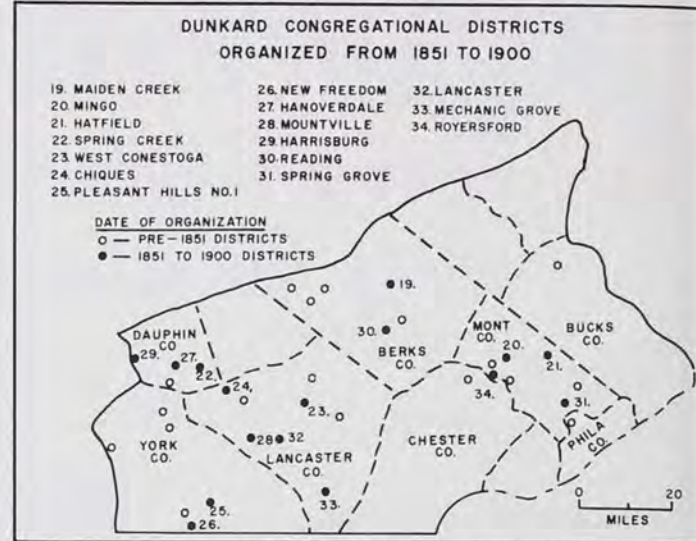


Figure 21.

ard congregational districts were becoming hot-beds of tension. A majority of the sectarians were rebelling against many of the rules of the church.

Confronted with the possibility of a wholesale loss of membership, the Dunkard church was forced to liberalize and make major changes in certain socio-cultural rules of *Ordnung* and remove others. These changes, however, did not effect the basic foundations of their religious beliefs and practices. Children were permitted to attend public school and complete high school. The dress code was greatly modified, and, by the end of the nineteenth century, sectarians were no longer required to wear the Dunkard plain dress. In certain congregational districts, Dunkards initiated a policy of frequent communication with the more liberal Schwenkfelders, and began, with moderate frequency, to have contact with the outside world. It was no longer necessary for Dunkards to become farmers, and numerous sectarians found employment in other occupations. As vocational possibilities broadened, many sold or rented their farms to fellow members of the faith and migrated to nearby urban centers. Sectarians relocating in the towns and cities obtained employment as factory workers, or they became self-employed merchants or artisans. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Dunkard population in some cities became large enough to organize congregations¹⁵⁹ — the first of the southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch sects to establish such urban foci. For those remaining on the farms, demand for manufactured products increased and the former concern with economic self-sufficiency was replaced by a new-found emphasis on commercial agriculture.

The above-detailed integration of the Dunkard economy into the general American economy and the assimilation of sectarians into the prevailing American

¹⁵⁹Jacob Ness, personal interview.

culture, both products of the liberalization of the *Ordnung*, resulted in the rapid increase in the number of Dunkard congregational districts in southeastern Pennsylvania during the latter half of the nineteenth century. A total of 16 new ones were founded: at Maiden Creek, and Reading, in Berks County; at Mingo, Hatfield, Spring Grove, and Royersford in Montgomery County; at West Conestoga, Mountville, Lancaster, Chiques, and Mechanics Grove in Lancaster County; at Pleasant Hills and New Freedom in York County; and at Spring Creek, Hanoverdale, and Harrisburg in Dauphin County¹⁶⁰ (Figure 21). The combined territories of these congregational districts almost doubled the former area of the Dunkard sect sub-region.¹⁶¹

The spatial character of these late nineteenth-century Dunkard congregational districts differed considerably from that of their predecessors. Most Dunkards, upon migrating to towns in close proximity to congregational districts of which they were members, retained this affiliation rather than developing a new congregational district. Hence, members of the various congregations were dispersing over much larger territories than formerly. In some such spatially-enlarged districts, rather than subdividing them, two or more meetinghouses would be constructed to reduce the distances members had to travel to attend religious services. Indeed, in certain instances, it was possible for a sectarian to hold membership in one congregational district while attending religious services in another.

Probably because of the relaxation of social restraints, more Dunkards adherents were retaining their sectarian affiliation, and adult membership increased more than threefold to approximately 7,000, while that of children

¹⁶⁰*History of the Church of the Brethren of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, 1708-1915*, pp. 56-60; and Edward Frantz, *Basic Beliefs* (Brethren Publishing House, Elgin, Illinois, 1943), pp. 105-109.

¹⁶¹*Ibid.*

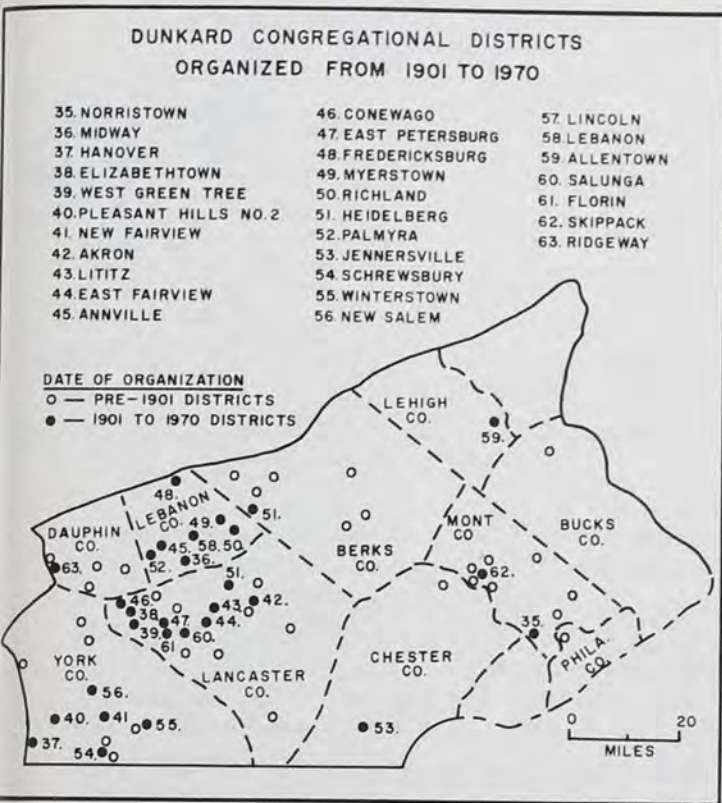


Figure 22.

doubled to about 3,000, between 1851 and 1900. Moreover, the Dunkards became a proselyting group and the sect obtained significant numbers of converts from among their neighbors, thus helping to account for the rapid Dunkard population growth. The combined adult and children populations of Dunkard congregational districts now ranged from less than 75 to more than 600; the average for the 34 districts was about 300.

THE PERIOD 1901-1970

During the period 1901-1970, the Dunkard sect has become increasingly liberal and Americanized in character and has lost most of its Plain Dutch socio-cultural attributes. Wearing of plain garb is no longer required. Among Dunkard men, some wear plain lapelless coats and do not wear neckties when attending religious services, but at all other times they are attired in contemporary styled clothing. Some Dunkard women wear the Dunkard prayer cap and brightly colored dresses with the hem extending to the calf of the leg, but the majority are clothed in modern fashions. Furthermore, the Dunkard Community is now almost completely unilingual, for Pennsylvania Dutch is seldom used in everyday conversation and many children are not being taught the dialect.¹⁶²

¹⁶²Jacob Ness, personal interview.

As is true of most other American parents, Dunkards of southeastern Pennsylvania now expect their children to complete high school and even college. Many Dunkards have entered teaching, medicine, nursing, law, the ministry, and a wide variety of other professions. Numerous sectarians are employed in business and industry; only a few have remained in the vocation of agriculture. Moreover, modern technology has invaded the Dunkard sub-region and now effects the private life of nearly every sectarian. Most Dunkard families own an automobile, and the few remaining Dunkard farms are completely mechanized. Every home is electrified and outfitted with an array of appliances; only television is not permitted.

The Dunkards of southeastern Pennsylvania have always objected to many American socio-recreational practices, and in general, these have not as yet been accepted. Most Dunkards, therefore, refrain from smoking tobacco, consuming alcoholic beverages, gambling, and dancing.

Cultural assimilation of present-day Dunkards into the modern American way of life, however, was not accomplished without certain religious changes. Since Dunkards based their church order on Apostolic Christianity, tradition dominated its religious value system. Hence, to remain compatible with the on-going cultural process, certain Dunkard religious practices had to be revised. Modernization of their mores caused the Dunkards of southeastern Pennsylvania to deny St. Paul's injunction to retreat from the world. Thus, cultural and economic isolation was no longer practiced. Many Dunkards served in the armed forces of the United States during the two World Wars, thereby sacrificing the Anabaptist principle of peace and non-violence. The changing point of view regarding occupations and education has caused some Dunkard congregations to employ professional clergy. In response to processes of cultural assimilation, the old plain-style meetinghouses have been replaced by modern church buildings.¹⁶³ Finally, English has supplanted German in religious services in the twentieth century. Twenty-nine additional congregational districts have been established.¹⁶⁴ The total Dunkard population in 1970, counting children, was estimated at 22,000.¹⁶⁵

THE SCHWENKFELDER SECT

In 1733 the severely persecuted Schwenkfelders, having been ordered to leave Görlitz, Silesia, and with no other place seemingly available to them in the Old World, turned their attention to the possibility of migrating to America. As a result of communications from 12 Schwenkfelders who had earlier successfully migrated to Philadelphia, they made arrangements with

¹⁶³Virginia S. Fisher, *The Story of the Brethren* (Brethren Publishing House, Elgin, Illinois, 1957), pp. 27-42.

¹⁶⁴*History of the Church of the Brethren of Eastern Pennsylvania, 1915-1965* (Printed by Forry and Hacker Press, Lancaster, Pa., 1965).

¹⁶⁵*Brethren Yearbook* (Brethren Publishing House, Elgin, Illinois, 1970).

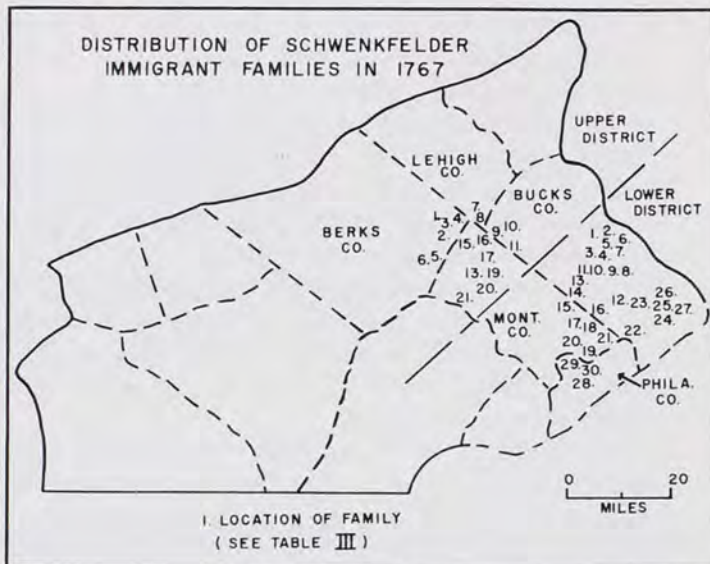


Figure 23.

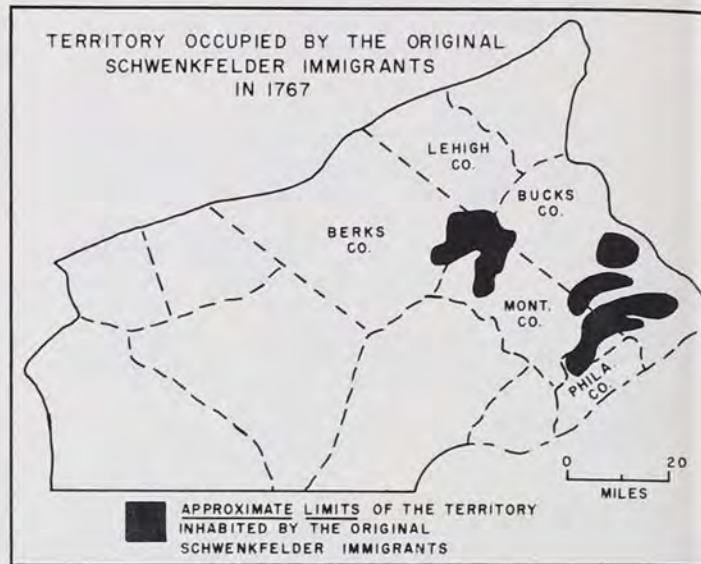


Figure 24.

the English Crown to settle in Pennsylvania.¹⁶⁰ Fear of a long and arduous journey to Pennsylvania prompted more than one-half of the sectarians, or some 300, to remain in Europe, but these soon died or were converted to other religions, thus terminating the sect's spatial history in the Old World.¹⁶¹ But, fortunately for the Schwenkfelders, their religious movement was destined to survive and prosper in Pennsylvania.

THE PERIOD TO 1750

George Schultz, the first Schwenkfelder to set foot on American soil, arrived in Philadelphia on October 14, 1731 (Table II). Of the 14 persons who set sail for America in the second migration, 11 arrived in Pennsylvania on September 18, 1733, and three vanished and have never been accounted for. During the third and only substantial migration of Schwenkfelders to Pennsylvania, 10 sectarians died enroute across the Atlantic and 171 persons completed the journey to Philadelphia on the 22nd of September, 1734. One

Table II
Schwenkfelder Migrations to Southeastern Pennsylvania, 1731 to 1737¹⁶⁹

Dates of Arrival at Philadelphia	Number Migrating to Penna.	Number Unacct'd For	Died Enroute	Number Arriving in Phila.
October 14, 1731	1	0	0	1
September 18, 1733	14	3	0	11
September 17, 22, 1734	181	0	10	171
June 25, 1735	1	0	0	1
October 19, 1736	8	0	0	8
September 26, 1737	14	0	0	14
Totals	219	3	10	206

¹⁶⁰Howard Wiegner Kriebel, *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania, A Historical Sketch*, pp. 30-31.

¹⁶¹Selina Gerhard Schultz, *Casper Schwenkfeld Von Ossig, A Course of Study*, p. 127.

additional Schwenkfelder disembarked at Philadelphia on June 25, 1735; eight more on October 19, 1736; and, finally 14 arrived on September 26, 1737.¹⁶⁸ Thus, the total number of sectarians reaching the New World was only 206 (Table II).

After the main migration of 1734, the Schwenkfelders made several unsuccessful attempts to purchase a single tract of land in order to establish a sectarian community. Instead, they were forced to secure employment and obtain lodging in Philadelphia during the winter of 1734-35. In March 1735, still unable to procure a large contiguous tract, the Schwenkfelders decided to disperse.¹⁷⁰

Upon leaving Philadelphia in the spring of 1735, some of the immigrants followed their former town-oriented trades as weavers, shoemakers, coopers, scriveners, or merchants (Table III). The majority, however, obtained land and turned to farming (Table III). The period, 1735-1750, therefore, was primarily a time of subsistence agriculture¹⁷¹ and, like the other Plain Dutch sects, the Schwenkfelders worked mainly toward achieving economic self-sufficiency.¹⁷²

Unlike other Plain Dutch people, however, and for several important reasons, the Schwenkfelders did not immediately organize congregational districts. Adhering to Schwenkfeld's principle, his New World followers rejected the concepts of a corporate church body and a physical structure for conducting religious services, and instead worshipped individually and privately.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸Samuel K. Brecht, *The Genealogical Record of the Schwenkfelder Families*, pp. 34-39.

¹⁶⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 34-40.

¹⁷⁰Howard Wiegner Kriebel, *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania, A Historical Sketch*, p. 41.

¹⁷¹*Ibid.*, pp. 49-54; and Frederic Klees, *The Pennsylvania Dutch*, pp. 191-202.

¹⁷²*Ibid.*, pp. 191-202.

¹⁷³Howard Wiegner Kriebel, *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania, A Historical Sketch*, p. 69.

Table III
*Dates of Land Purchases, and Occupations, of the Fathers, of the Original Schwenkfelder
 Immigrant Families in Southeastern Pennsylvania, 1735 to 1765*

Part 1 – Upper Congregational District (Northern Montgomery County and Nearby Portions of Other Counties)				Part 2 – Lower Congregational District (Southern Bucks and Montgomery Counties and Philadelphia County)			
Map Identification Number (Figure 23)	Schwenkfelder Settler ¹⁷⁵	Known Date of ¹⁷⁸ Property Purchase	Occupation ¹⁷⁷	Map Identification Number (Figure 23)	Schwenkfelder Settler	Known Date of Property Purchase	Occupation
1	Melchoir Schulz	1749	Weaver	1	Christoph Kriebel	1735	Farmer
2	Davis Meschter	1741	Shoemaker	2	George Kriebel	1765	Scrivener
3	George Weigner, Jr.		Farmer	3	George Heidrich	1735	Shoemaker
4	Barbara Jackelin		Farmer	4	Christoph Hoffmann		Farmer
5	Christian Schulz	1734	Scrivener	5	Christoph Wiegner	1735	Farmer
6	Gregorious Meschter	1735	Farmer	6	Balthaser Jackel		Farmer
7	Balthaser Jackel		Farmer	7	Hans Jackel		Farmer
8	Hans Jackel, Sr.		Farmer	8	Abraham Heidrich		Farmer
9	George Jackel		Farmer	9	Christoph Drescher	1735	Farmer
10	Jeremias Jackel		Farmer	10	Christoph Reinwald	1735	Weaver
11	Balthaser Kraus	1735	Farmer	11	George Anders		Farmer
12	Georg Kriebel, Jr.		Scrivener	12	Abraham Kriebel		Farmer
13	Georg Schulz	1735	Weaver	13	Abraham Wiegner	1736	Farmer
14	Georg Schulz	1735	Farmer	14	Melchoir Moschter		Farmer
15	Gregor Schulz	1735	Farmer	15	Casper Seibt	1735	Farmer
16	Christoph Krause	1740	Weaver	16	Hans Christoph Hubner		Farmer
17	George Weigner	1740	Farmer	17	Christoph Wagner	1754	Farmer
18	Christoph Jackel		Farmer	18	David Hubner		Farmer
19	David Schultz	1749	Surveyor	19	Andreas Beer		Farmer
20	Seines Bruder (Melchoir Wittwe)		Farmer	20	Abraham Anders (Abraham Wagner)		Farmer
21	George Hubner		Farmer	21	Christoph Hubner	1762	Farmer
				22	Abraham Jackel		Farmer
				23	Melchoir Kriebel	1735	Farmer
				24	David Kriebel		Farmer
				25	David Neumann		Farmer
				26	Heinrich Schneider		Farmer
				27	Melchoir Wagner	1740	Scrivener
				28	Christoph Schubert		Farmer
				29	Christoph Yeakel	1743	Cooper
				30	David Schubert		Cooper

Not being organized as a tight religious group, they were unable to formulate an *Ordnung* and thus maintain a position of socio-economic and religious traditionalism through the rigid enforcement of discipline. Moreover, the Schwenkfelders were very few in number and widely dispersed across southeastern Pennsylvania, thus making it very difficult for families to keep contact with each other. These religious and spatial conditions permitted the sectarians to neglect Old World religious and social conventions, and caused them, instead, to communicate with other Plain Dutch people as well as with the non-Plain Dutch. Hence, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the Schwenkfelder Community was already exceedingly vulnerable to socio-cultural and religious influences from the outside world, and many contemporary mores were being adopted.

THE PERIOD 1751-1800

Unfortunately, the dates of land acquisitions by all the original Schwenkfelder families are unavailable today. Purchases were still being negotiated as late as

¹⁷⁴From David Schultz' map of the Schwenkfelder community completed in 1767. Reprints available in the Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsburg, Pa.

¹⁷⁵From notes by David Schultz accompanying his map of 1767. Notes are recorded in Howard Wiegner Kriebel, *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania, A Historical Sketch*, pp. 46-49. Copies of these notes are available in the Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsburg, Pa.

¹⁷⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 49-54.

¹⁷⁷*Ibid.*

1765¹⁷⁸ (Table III), but the 1767 survey by David Schultz¹⁷⁹ (Table III, Part 1, No. 19) implied that all 51 surviving original Schwenkfelder¹⁸⁰ immigrant families had obtained land by that date, including 21 in northern Montgomery County and adjacent sections of Berks, Bucks, and Lehigh counties, and 30 in southern Bucks, and Montgomery counties and in Philadelphia County (Figure 23 and Table III). By 1767, therefore, Schwenkfelders were dispersed across four distinctly separated territories (Figure 24) which comprised the original sectarian sub-region.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, a strong culture gap was developing between the original Schwenkfelder immigrants and their children, who had either been infants at the time of migration or had since been born in America. This culture gap was destined to have a significant impact on the reli-

¹⁷⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰George Weiss, who was unmarried, died in 1740.

gious and spatial character of the sectarian sub-region. The older European-born generation, influenced by their taste of New World freedom, objected to attempts to develop an organized church and were opposed to increased conservatism and social isolation. In contrast, and contrary to the normal situation, the younger second generation advocated formation of an organized church, supported the formulation of an autocratic church *Ordnung*, and advocated a return to the concepts of traditionalism and social isolation. At the insistence of the young Schwenkfelders, a general conference was held on October 9, 1762, with about a dozen families participating. It was agreed that religious services would be conducted every second Sunday in private homes on a rotating basis. Other families soon decided to participate. The widely dispersed pattern of Schwenkfelder homesteads, however, made it necessary to divide the wide-ranging parent community into two formal congregational districts, an Upper and Lower¹⁸¹ (Figure 25), thus greatly reducing the maximum distance a family had to travel to attend a sectarian meeting. This was the first in a series of spatial subdivisions of the formerly undivided Schwenkfelder Community.

Beginning in 1781, the second generation Schwenkfelders sponsored a movement to organize a more formal religious society. The whole body of adult Schwenkfelders was requested to assemble at Towamencin in the Lower Congregational District (Figure 25) on February 5, 1782, to discuss a religious constitution, and, on June 1, 1782, the Constitution or Fundamental Principles of the Schwenkfelder Church was adopted by approximately 40 families. Thus, it is apparent that leadership of the Schwenkfelder Community had passed in the latter part of the eighteenth century from the European immigrants to the American-born and those who were infants or young children at the time of migration to Pennsylvania.¹⁸² And, with the change in leadership came a shift in perspective from that of an increasingly liberal to a much more conservative viewpoint. Many of the attributes of the strict constructionists among other Plain Dutch sects now became the hallmarks of the Schwenkfelders: the practice of the religious rituals of the Ancient Apostolic Church in public worship, the acceptance of the concept of church officials, the promulgation of a formal *Ordnung* and *Bann*, the strict regulation of dress, the establishment of sectarian-operated elementary schools, and other similar characteristics.¹⁸³

By the 1790's, the Schwenkfelder populations of the

¹⁸¹Samuel K. Brecht, *The Genealogical Record of the Schwenkfelder Families*, pp. 21-22. The terms Upper District and Lower District were used by the Schwenkfelders to identify their two main areas of settlement (Figure 25). These terms have the same religious and geographical meanings as the term Congregational District as it is used in this thesis.

¹⁸²Howard Wiegner Kriebel, *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania, A Historical Sketch*, pp. 71-72.

¹⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 72.

Upper and Lower Congregational districts (Figure 25) were becoming too large to continue assembling in private homes to conduct religious services, for there were now about 150 baptized adults and about 175 children in the two districts combined.¹⁸⁴ This caused the Schwenkfelders to begin constructing meetinghouses and organizing an additional congregational district. The first Schwenkfelder meetinghouse was built near Hosensack, Lehigh County, in the Upper Congregational District in 1790. The Upper Congregational District was soon divided into two congregational districts, Hosensack and Washington, with the erection of a second meetinghouse at Washington in eastern Berks County in 1791.¹⁸⁵ And, in 1793, a meetinghouse was constructed in the Lower Congregational District near Towamencin, Montgomery County (Figure 25). By 1800, the three districts had a combined area of some 1,100 square miles. These Schwenkfelder congregations were similar in many respects to those of other Plain Dutch sects as, for instance, in economic outlook as they attempted to achieve self-sufficiency. However, the Schwenkfelders were not quite as socially isolated from the outside world as were the others, because the former communicated as frequently as possible with other religious groups. The greatest contrast between the Schwenkfelder congregational districts and those of the other Plain Dutch sects was in territorial extent, for the former each encompassed hundreds of square miles (Figure 25) in comparison with the several square miles of the latter. This is due to the fact that the Schwenkfelders of southeastern Pennsylvania have always been more widely dispersed, in relation to their numbers, than have the members of most other Plain Dutch peoples in the area.

THE PERIOD 1801-1850

The period, 1801-1850, was one of great laxity in the Schwenkfelder church, with many members becoming indifferent about religious affairs and some even leaving to join other churches. The very conservative view manifested in the constitution of 1782 proved difficult to inculcate into the thought pattern of many nineteenth-century Schwenkfelders who had for decades earlier become conditioned to a more liberal attitude. Clothing styles became progressively more contemporaneously modern throughout the early nineteenth century. Youths were now being sent to non-sectarian schools, where they were subject to outside influences at an early and impressionable age. A Schwenkfelder-established Charity Fund, and a Literary Fund, respectively provided aid to non-sectarian needy

¹⁸⁴Actual records of the Schwenkfelder population are not available until 1905. Then, only church members were counted. The number of children was never known. Schwenkfelder population estimates are only educated guesses until 1905.

¹⁸⁵Howard Wiegner Kriebel, *The Schwenkfelders of Pennsylvania, A Historical Sketch*, pp. 79-84.

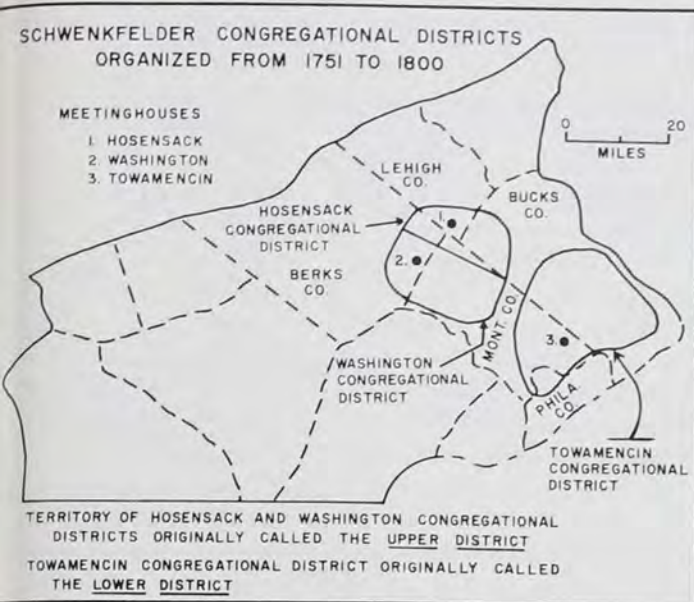


Figure 25.

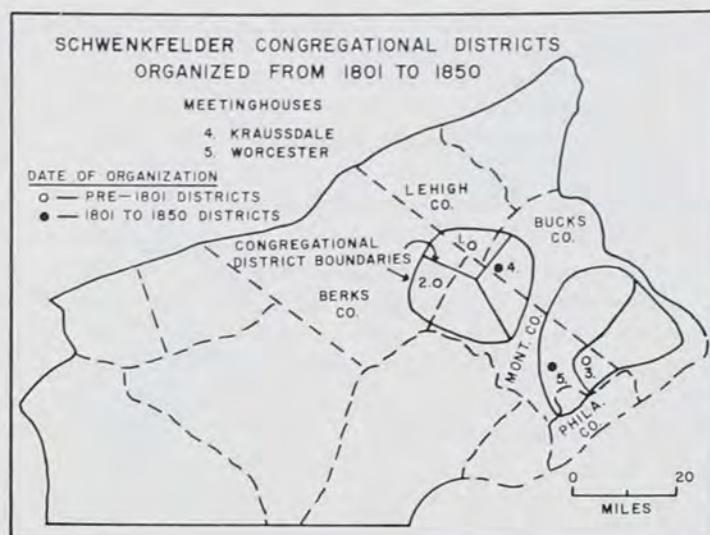


Figure 26.

and published non-sectarian religious and secular books, thus broadening the social horizons of Schwenkfelders. Young adults neglected being baptized into the church until they expected to be married. Indeed, had it not been for the fact that church membership was compulsory for both parties to a marriage, the Schwenkfelder Community might have dissolved completely. Beginning in 1803, the Schwenkfelders refrained from enforcing the *Bann* for offenses against the *Ordnung*, a policy needed to forestall people from leaving the church and to entice those that had already left to return. No longer faced with the severe penalties of the *Bann*, Schwenkfelders adopted many contemporaneous mores, and communication with surrounding peoples of the non-Dutch world increased.¹⁸⁶

Collectively, the above-described religious and socio-cultural changes modified the economic and occupational structure of the Pennsylvania Schwenkfelder community. By the middle of the nineteenth century, many sectarians felt free to accept employment in urban manufacturing and commercial enterprises, and some were self-employed as shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, grist mill operators, and retailers.¹⁸⁷ However, the Schwenkfelder community still remained essentially agricultural in its economic orientation and farming continued to be the major occupation, although the degree of self-sufficiency of the farmers was declining as they sold more and more goods off the farms and began purchasing factory-made clothing and other products.

Despite the religious, social, and economic turmoil that characterized the Schwenkfelder community in the first half of the nineteenth century, the population

of the community continued to increase slowly but steadily. By 1850, the total Schwenkfelder population is estimated to have consisted of 300 adults and 400 children.¹⁸⁸ Newly-married couples were able to obtain unused farm lands from their parents, whose immigrant ancestors had foresightedly purchased more land than they could conveniently use. Because of the availability of these surplus lands for dowry purposes, the Schwenkfelder community was able to remain within its pre-1800 limits despite the increase in population. Instead, population growth merely caused the Schwenkfelders to organize two additional congregational districts within already occupied territory. A meetinghouse for the first new district was erected at Kraussdale in 1825, and that for the second at Worcester¹⁸⁹ in 1836 (compare Figures 25 and 26). Hence, in 1850, the Schwenkfelder community consisted of only five congregational districts.

THE PERIOD 1851-1900

The last vestiges of Plain Dutch religious constraints disappeared from Schwenkfelder life with the adoption of the Formula of Government in 1898.¹⁹⁰ This document provided for the elimination of *Ordnung* and *Meidung*, for the hiring of professional clergy, for expansion of the Charity Fund to provide money for missionary work in the Orient, and for a Schwenkfelder-supported non-sectarian secondary school, Perkiomen Academy.

Moreover, as the period 1851-1900 unfolded, changes in the daily life of the Schwenkfelders became so great that, by the end of the nineteenth century, they no longer considered themselves Plain Dutch people¹⁹¹ and

¹⁸⁸Samuel K. Brecht, *The Genealogical Record of the Schwenkfelder Families*, p. 23.

¹⁸⁹Howard Wiegner Kriebel, *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania, A Historical Sketch*, pp. 79-84.

¹⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹⁹¹See Table II.

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 136.

¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 170.

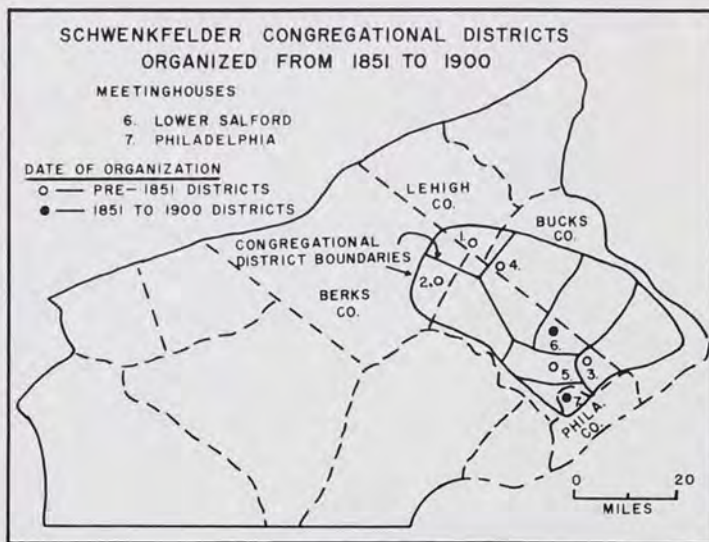


Figure 27.

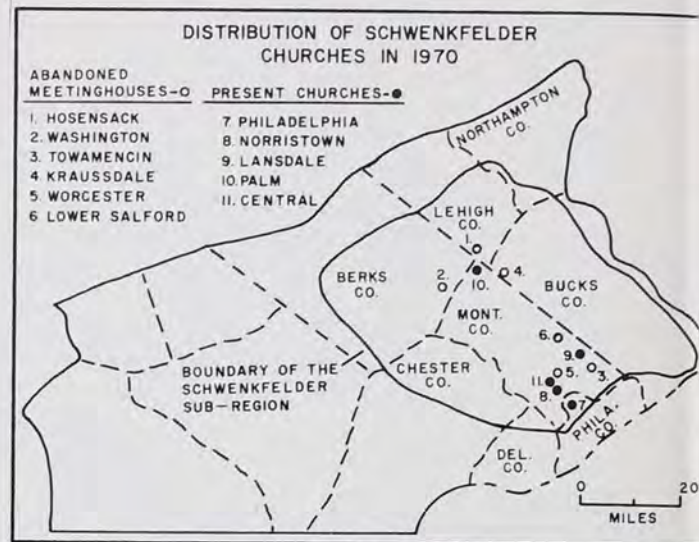


Figure 28.

their assimilation into the general American culture was almost complete. For example, they were no longer dressing in even the vestiges of Plain Dutch styles, but instead were attired in up-to-date manufactured clothes.¹⁹² And their farming enterprises gradually abandoned all pretense of achieving even minimal amounts of economic self-sufficiency and instead, by 1900, had become specialized commercial enterprises on a par with those of the non-Dutch world.

Population of the Schwenkfelder community continued to gradually increase during the period 1851-1900. It is estimated that there were about 700 adult sectarians and approximately 1,000 children at the close of the century.¹⁹³ The process of subdividing previously owned Schwenkfelder farmland ended during the last half of this century, since farmers could not provide their sons with property without making their own farms too small to operate profitably. Hence, young sectarians had to seek land elsewhere, hopefully nearby in southeastern Pennsylvania. Many of the newly-formed families found farms in the territory formerly separating the two portions northwestern and southeastern, of the Schwenkfelder sub-region (compare Figures 26 and 27). Other sectarians, seeking employment in non-agricultural occupations, moved to nearby cities. By 1900, therefore, Schwenkfelders were spread thinly across an uninterrupted area of some 1100 square miles in southeastern Pennsylvania (Figure 27). This territorial expansion of the Schwenkfelder sub-region, along with the on-going population increase, caused the sect to organize two additional congregational districts between 1851 and 1900: the

Lower Salford Congregational District in 1869, and the Philadelphia Congregational District in 1898¹⁹⁴ (Figure 27).

THE PERIOD 1901-1970

After 1900, the Schwenkfelders identified themselves completely with the Gay Dutch¹⁹⁵ community rather than with the Plain Dutch. Moreover, it has become impossible to distinguish by eye the Schwenkfelders from the surrounding non-Dutch population of southeastern Pennsylvania. Their garb is completely modern. Everything traditional or conventional has been rejected. They have accepted all the technological developments of the twentieth century. Their dwellings, for example, do not appear to be different from those of modern Americans. Most of them own an automobile and there is usually a garage on the property. Most make use of electricity in the homes, which are usually equipped with a variety of modern appliances including a telephone and a television set. They are actively involved in community affairs, are willing to accept public office, and their youths are allowed to serve in the Armed Forces.¹⁹⁶ Moreover, as the Schwenkfelder community was being assimilated into the general culture, agriculture was becoming less important. Today, Schwenkfelders are engaged in so many different vocations that it is necessary to classify the various types of employment into occupational categories. By the middle of the twentieth century, therefore, the cultural assimilation and economic integration of the Schwenkfelder sub-region into the American way of life was completed.

¹⁹⁴Howard Wiegner Kriebel, *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania, A Historical Sketch*, p. 85.

¹⁹⁵*A Brief Statement on the Schwenkfelder Church*, 4 pp.

¹⁹⁶Claire Conway, Secretary, Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsylvania, Pa.; Wilbur Seipt, dairy farmer, 1240 Sumneystown Pike, Lansdale, Pa.; Martha S. Kriebel, Pastor, Palm Church, East Pennsylvania, Pa., personal interviews.

¹⁹²Andrew S. Berky, "Buckskin or Sackcloth? A Glance at the Clothing Once Worn by the Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Spring, 1958, pp. 50-52. It is interesting to note that regulations concerning the manner of dress are not mentioned in the Constitution of 1782.

¹⁹³See Footnote 184.

The above-described total remaking of the Schwenkfelder culture and economy has, of necessity, had a tremendous impact upon the spatial characteristics of the sect's twentieth-century sub-region. Indeed, modern methods of transportation and communication, alone, have reshaped the spatial structure of the Community. For one thing, motor vehicle transportation has provided the impetus for the consolidation of Schwenkfelder congregational districts, since the automobile permits persons to travel much longer distances far more rapidly than was formerly possible by horse and buggy. In 1911, a new church was erected at Palm (Figure 28, No. 10) for the purpose of consolidating the worship services of the small Hosensack, Kraussdale, and Washington meetinghouses (Figure 28, No. 1, 2, 4). And, in 1951, the Central Schwenkfelder Church (Figure 28, No. 11), located at Worcester, was completed in order to consolidate religious services formerly conducted in the Towamencin, Worcester, and Lower Salford congregational district meetinghouses¹⁹⁷ (Figure 28, Nos. 3, 5, 6). Only the old (established in 1895) Philadelphia district, and two more recently organized districts at Norristown (1904) and Lansdale (1916), have as yet been unaffected by the consolidation process (Figure 28, Nos. 7, 8, 9). In turn, the above consolidations have necessitated the substitution of large church buildings for the former smaller meetinghouses in order to accommodate greater numbers of worshippers. Moreover, the combined influences of the mobility provided by the automobile, and the greater seating capacity of the larger churches, have permitted members of a particular congregation to establish residences over much larger areas than was formerly possible. Hence, congregations are now so territorially extensive that they overlap and, therefore, district boundaries cannot be represented on the 1970 map of church districts (Figure 28). Indeed, it is now not uncommon for Schwenkfelders to reside in close proximity to one church, but hold membership in another more distant.

According to official church records, there are today in southeastern Pennsylvania about 2,500 baptized persons¹⁹⁸ who adhere to the Schwenkfelder faith. Such records, of course, do not furnish an accurate census of total membership, for religious tenets provide for adult faith baptism and persons are not usually baptized before age 16. Names are not added to the church records until the person is baptized. Sunday School attendance is kept, but these records contribute little toward determining the total population for not all children attend. Moreover, Sunday School records only provide attendance figures, and membership lists are incomplete; thus, there is no way of supplementing church membership lists from Sunday School attend-

¹⁹⁷A Brief Statement on the Schwenkfelder Church, 4 pp.

¹⁹⁸Ibid.

ance lists.¹⁹⁹ Table IV shows Schwenkfelder adult church membership of southeastern Pennsylvania for five selected years during the twentieth century. This tabulation indicates that the adult population increased rapidly from 719 in 1905 to 2,560 in 1950. However, between 1950 and 1970, the number decreased slightly. According to knowledgeable Schwenkfelder informants, sectarian population is decreasing because many members are now leaving southeastern Pennsylvania for better job opportunities in other states. Since all Schwenkfelder congregational districts are located in southeastern Pennsylvania, out-migrants are forced to join other denominations or to give up formal religious affiliation. Moreover, the number of children per Schwenkfelder family is believed to be declining, and the total number of children is now thought to be only about 1,500, thus further explaining the trend toward a diminishing Schwenkfelder population.

Table IV
Schwenkfelder Adult Population for Five Selected Years During the Twentieth Century

Census-Reporting Church Congregational District	Church	Church Membership						
		1905 ²⁰⁰	1922 ²⁰¹	1934 ²⁰²	1950 ²⁰³	1970 ²⁰⁴		
Hosensack Kraussdale Washington	} Since 1911, Palm	214	274	333	492	600 (505 with known addresses)		
		Towamencin	} Since 1951, Central	403	480	499	626	1100
		Worcester Salford		68	390	450	400	15
Philadelphia	34	148		354	608	440		
Norristown		—	85	177	334	350		
Lansdale								
Total Membership*		719	1377	1813	2560	2505		

*Even though a church member's address is unknown, he is not removed from the church rolls until he is known to be deceased. In 1970 there were 95 members of the Palm Church whose addresses were unknown.

Growing membership and increased mobility caused a marked expansion of the territorial extent of the Schwenkfelder sub-region of southeastern Pennsylvania during the twentieth century (compare Figures 27 and 28). The 1970 boundaries of the sub-region, as delineated in Figure 42, are based on church-provided data, and enclose an area of some 2,200 square miles as compared with only some 1,100 square miles in 1900.

¹⁹⁹Claire Conway, Secretary, Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsburg, Pa., personal interview.

²⁰⁰*The Schwenkfeldian*. Published by the General Conference of the Schwenkfelder Church, Publication Office, Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsburg, Pa., Vol. 4, No. 5, May, 1907.

²⁰¹*Ibid.*, Vol. 20, No. 1, January, 1923.

²⁰²*Ibid.*, Vol. 33, No. 3, March, 1936.

²⁰³*Ibid.*, Vol. 50, No. 3, March, 1953.

²⁰⁴*Ibid.*, Vol. 67, No. 1, January, 1970.

18th-Century Emigrants from the Palatinate, Lower Alsace, and Rheinhessen

By FRIEDRICH KREBS

Translated and Edited by DON YODER

[We present here two articles on the 18th Century emigration to the American colonies by Dr. Friedrich Krebs of the Speyer State Archives in West Germany. The first is entitled "Amerika-Auswanderer des 18. Jahrhunderts aus dem Gebiet der Pfalz und dem ehemals pfälzischen Unterelsass," and appeared in *Genealogie*, 1970, No. 7, 175-176. The second appeared under the title, "Einige Amerika-Auswanderer des 18. Jahrhunderts aus Rheinhessen," in *Genealogie*, 1970, No. 12, 337-338. Additional names of emigrants from the Districts of Kleeburg and Katharinenburg referred to in footnote 2 in the first article given here can be found in William John Hinke and John Baer Stoudt, editors, "A List of German Immigrants to the American Colonies from Zweibruecken in the Palatinate, 1728-1749," *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, I (1936), 101-124; and Friedrich Krebs, "A List of German Immigrants to the American Colonies from Zweibruecken in the Palatinate, 1750-1771," *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, XVI (1951), 171-183.—EDITOR.

I.

1. *Johann Theobald Grub* was born July 14, 1718, in Glanmünchweiler, a town in the Palatinate South of Kusel and West of Kaiserslautern. He was the son of *Johann Henrich Grub*, grocer in Glanmünchweiler and his wife *Anna Catharina*, and married November 28, 1741, *Anna Elisabeth Margretha Weber*, born October 10, 1723, in Haschbach, a small village near Glanmünchweiler, daughter of *Johann Michael Weber* and his wife *Maria Margaretha*. Children, born in Glanmünchweiler: (1) *Johann Theobald*, born April 4, 1743, (2) *Eva Catharina*, born September 23, 1745, (3) *Johann Michael*, born February 15, 1748, died November 24, 1750, in Glanmünchweiler at the age of 2 years, 9 months and 9 days, (4) *Johann Jacob*, born February 17, 1750, and (5) *Maria Johanna*, born April 29, 1752. "These people went to America" [*Diese Leuthe sind in Americam gezogen*—Lutheran Church Register of Glanmünchweiler. *Debalt Grub* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Richard and Mary*, September 1752 (Strassburger-Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, List 183 C).

2. According to a ruling of the Zweibrücken Government dated May 8, 1760 (Staatsarchiv Speyer, Akt

Zweibrücken No. 4297), the property of *Philipp Edinger* of Bledesbach, near Kusel, who having emigrated before the edict of 1739 which threatened illicit emigration with confiscation of property, was free of such confiscation; but after the death of the emigrant's father one-fifth of the emigrant's property was to be collected as emigration tax [*censu emigrationis*], likewise the tenth part of the property which the emigrant took abroad. *Johann Philipp Edinger* took the oath of allegiance at Philadelphia, September 27, 1737 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 47 A-C).

3. By decree of June 17, 1760, the property of *Johann Jacob Simon* of Birlenbach, Lower Alsace, was confiscated on account of illicit emigration. According to a report by the district bailiff *Keller* of Kleeburg¹ Simon "had gone to America some nine years ago, after he



had secretly married in the Dürckheim village of Leinenhausen" [*bereits vor 9 Jahren, nachdem er sich zuvor in der Dürckheimischen Ortschaft Leinenhausen heimlich verheurathet, nach Americam gezogen*]. Presumably the emigrant was *Jacob Simon*, who arrived on the Ship *Sandwich* and took the oath of allegiance at Philadelphia, November 30, 1750 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 160 C).

4. The property left behind by *Salome Neuser*, who had gone to America from Hofen, Lower Alsace, was confiscated for the treasury by decree of the Zweibrücken Government dated July 14, 1778. At the same time the request of her brothers and sisters for the release of the property was denied.

5. According to a decree of the Zweibrücken Government dated December 18, 1762, the paternal inheritance of *Johann Jacob Heinel*, "who had gone away to America in the year 1733" [*welcher in anno 1733 in Amer-*

¹Staatsarchiv Speyer, Akt Zweibrücken No. 2022, "Vermögenskonfiskation in den Aemtern Klee und Katherinenburg 1756-1784". The Zweibrücken District of Kleeburg embraced Schloss Kleeburg and Kleeburg village and the villages of Rott, Steinselz, Oberhofen, Ingolsheim, Hunsbach, and Hofen; the District of Katherinenburg included the villages of Birlenbach, Keffenach, half of the village of Schöneberg, the Wernershäuser Mill and the Welchen Mill near Memmelshofen. All of these villages are in Lower Alsace, South of Wissembourg. Up to this time only the permitted emigration from the Districts of Kleeburg and Katherinenburg to America in the 18th Century has been treated in publications. The items in this short list are of persons whose emigration was not permitted by the government.

icam abgegangen], was delivered without security to the children of his father *Simon Heinel* of Kleeburg, Lower Alsace, although 24 florins still had to be deducted from the said inheritance for his manumission. Probably the *Jacob Hainel (Hennel)*, aged 20, who arrived at Philadelphia on the Brigantine *Richard and Elizabeth*, September 28, 1733 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 33 A-C).

6. By decree of the Zweibrücken Government dated July 12, 1764, the property of *Jacob Weimer* of Hunsbach, Lower Alsace, "who is at this time in America" [*welcher dermahlen sich in America befindet*], was declared fallen to the treasury on account of illicit emigration. He had requested the delivery of his property left behind in his home village to the sum of 254 florins, 11 batzen, and 3 shillings. Likewise by decree of February 1, 1759, it was ordered by the Zweibrücken Government that the property of *Jacob Weimer* of Hofen, Lower Alsace, who had "gone to America" [*in Americam gezogen*], be collected for the treasury. Both of these emigrants appear to have arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Janet*, taking the oath of allegiance on October 7, 1751, the one signing his name, the other making his mark (Strassburger-Hinke, List 175 C). The signer is identified by Editor Hinke in a footnote as the Reformed minister discussed in James I. Good, *History of the German Reformed Church in the U.S., 1725-1792*, p. 568, but without further information it is impossible at this time to state whether the minister



Alzey in the Palatinate, from Merian's *Topographia Germaniae* (1672).

was the Jacob Weimer from Hundsbach or the Jacob Weimer from Hofen.²

II.

The following short list of emigrants is derived from the Inventory Protocols of the City of Alzey as well as from the numerous inventories available in the community archive of Guntersblum, both dating from the 18th Century. In view of the relative scarcity of documentation on emigration to America in the 18th Century, even the publication of a few names seemed of importance to me. The protocols of the Electoral Palatine Oberamt Alzey, which undoubtedly would have been an important source for emigration research, are unfortunately—except for scanty remnants in the State Archives of Darmstadt—no longer preserved. The protocols of the Electoral Palatine Oberamt Oppenheim in the city archive there had a better fate. They owe their preservation to being stored in a city archive and list a series of emigrants to America for the period 1740-1749.

CITY OF ALZEY

1. Alzey, March 7, 1763: "Whereas *Conrad Pillanus*, citizen and master baker here, recently deceased, has besides his widow *Margaretha Gertrutis née Carbach*, left a [son] living in Philadelphia named *Simon Pillanus* and two little grandchildren, *Anna Catharina* and *Maria Margaretha Schuhler* from his deceased daughter (from his first marriage), *Maria Margaretha*, who was married to the Reformed schoolmaster at Sprendlingen, *Johann Michel Schuhler* [*Nachdem der dahiesige Bürger und Beckermeister Conrad Pillanus ohnlängst Todes verfahren und nebst der Witwen Margaretha Gertrutis gebohrne Carbachin einen in Philadelphia wohnenden (Sohn) Simon Pillanus und aus seiner verstorbenen Tochter erster Ehe Maria Margaretha, so an den reformierten Schulmeister zu Sprendlingen Johann Michel Schuhler verheurathet gewesen, 2 Enckelger Annam Catharinam und Mariam Margaretham im Leben nach sich zurückgelassen . . .*]

According to an entry in the Reformed church register at Alzey *Simon Pelanus (Pillanus)* was born at Alzey October 15, 1718, son of *Johann Conrad Pelanus* and his wife *Catharina*, and baptized there on October 19, 1718, in the Reformed faith. *Conrad Pillanus*, citizen and baker at Alzey, was buried at Alzey January 31, 1763, at the age of 78 years. His first wife *Catharina* died at Alzey December 6, 1723, at the age of 27 years, and was buried there December 8, 1723. The widower

²William J. Hinke's last book, the posthumous work edited by George W. Richards, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania and Other Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Historical Commission of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, 1951), contains a biography of Jacob Weymer (Weimer), pp. 152-155. According to this Weimer was born in 1734 and served as Reformed schoolmaster in Pennsylvania, at Longswamp, for 17 years until 1768-1769 when he entered the Reformed ministry. He served several churches in Berks and Lehigh Counties before his removal to Western Maryland in 1770, where his parish centered around Hagerstown. He died at Hagerstown, Maryland, in 1790.—EDITOR.

had married at Alzey on November 12, 1736, as his second wife *Maria Gertruda*, daughter of *Adam Carbach*. *Simon Pillanus* arrived on the Ship *Edinburgh* and took the oath of allegiance at Philadelphia September 5, 1748 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 117 C).

2. Alzey, July 29, 1758: "Whereas the widow of *Casper Weisskopf*, citizen and master baker here, has recently died leaving two children from her first marriage, i.e., *Joh[ann]*, *Erdmann Dory*, who is at this time in Pennsylvania, and *Dorothea Dory*, married to the tinsmith *Benjamin Haass*, as well as a child of the last marriage named *Carl Weisskopf*, aged 21 . . . [*Nachdem des dahiesigen Bürgers und Beckermeisters Caspar Weisskopfs nachgelassene Wittib kurtz hin Todes verblichen und 2 Kinder erster Ehe benanntl. Joh. Erdmann Dory, so sich dermahlen in Pennsylvanien befindet, und Dorotheam Dorijn an den Spengler Benjamin Haass verheurathet sodann ein Kind letzter Ehe namens Carl Weisskopf von 21 Jahren im Leben nach sich und zurückgelassen . . .*]

According to an entry in the Lutheran church register of Alzey, *Gerhard Johann Thori* had a son named *Johann Erdmann Thori*, born May 20 and baptized May 21, 1723, in the Lutheran faith. The wife of *Gerhard Johann Thori*, citizen and master sackmaker at Alzey, was *Anna Felicitas*, who after his death married as her second husband, at Alzey on June 12, 1736, the master baker at Alzey, *Johann Caspar Weisskopf*.

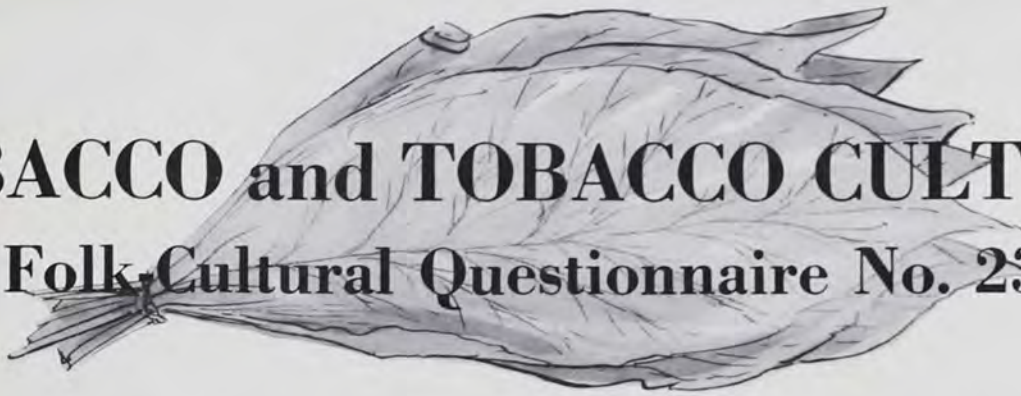
GUNTERSBLUM

1. According to the inventory of *Georg Heimlich* dated at Guntersblum, December 20, 1782, the decedent had died in May 1782 and his wife *Anna Margaretha* "four weeks ago" [*vor 4 Wochen*]. He left behind a son *Andreas Heimlich*, 34 years old, absent in America. *Andreas Heimlich* arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Delphin* and took the oath of allegiance on May 31, 1773 (Strassburger-Hinke, List 304 C).

2. Guntersblum, June 28, 1762: "Whereas *Elisabetha Gertraudta*, wife of *Dietrich Jäger*, departed this life on Lätare of this year, and after her *Dietrich Jäger*, she left behind from her first marriage with *Johannes Tesch* of Guntersblum three children, namely, (1) *Catharina*, wife of *Philipp Schmit*, of Guntersblum, (2) *Elisabetha*, wife of *Jacob Wagner* of Dolgesheim, and (3) *Wilhelm Henrich Tesch*, who is dwelling on the Island of South Carolina . . ." [*Nachdem Elisabetha Gertraudta, Dietrich Jägers Ehefrau auf Lätare h(uius). a(nni). mit dem Tod abgegangen und nach sich Dietrich Jäger und aus 1. Ehe von dem Johannes Teschen (aus Guntersblum) 3 Kinder, namens Catharina, Philipp Schmits Ehefrau dahier, Elisabetha Jacob Wagners Ehefrau von Dolgesheim und Wilhelm Henrich Tesch, welcher sich auf der Insul Sudcarolina aufhältet . . . hinterlassen . . .*] On this emigrant there was nothing more here to document; perhaps American scholars will succeed in identifying him.

TOBACCO and TOBACCO CULTURE:

Folk Cultural Questionnaire No. 23



Tobacco has been part of the agricultural scene in several of the southeastern counties of Pennsylvania for over a century and a half. As a result of the importance of tobacco as a cash crop among many of the farmers of these areas, numerous practices and beliefs about tobacco and tobacco culture have evolved. This brief questionnaire deals with these practices and beliefs. Information regarding them is elicited, or names of informants who would be willing to submit to an interview.

1. Tobacco is integrated into the cropping system of most dairy and produce farms on which the "weed" is raised. It usually follows a specific crop in the annual, three and four year rotations. Would you comment on this, particularly as regards the position of tobacco in any of these rotations? Also, state the reasons why you think tobacco fits best into that position; that is, why it should follow or precede a given crop.

2. It is a well-known fact that the quality of leaf depends upon the composition of the soil in which it is grown, and that no two soils produce the same quality of leaf even though the same seed is planted in both. Comment on the reasons why you think the tobacco raised in your area has its particular qualities. Note also the type of leaf grown.

3. Sowing a tobacco seed bed may be done in various ways with various equipment. Comment on or describe the method you think best as well as the type of equipment used for it. In addition, comment on the schedule for sowing, steaming, caring for, and transplanting the seedlings from hot-bed to field.

4. Harvesting tobacco is usually carried out in late August and in September in Pennsylvania. What determines the exact time when the plants are to be harvested? Is it height, color of leaf, number of leaves per stalk, and so on? Comment also on the method of cutting the stalk and describe the equipment used for this operation.

5. In some areas of Pennsylvania harvested tobacco plants are loaded on wagons after the stalks have been placed on wooden laths, usually five or six per stick. These are then taken to a shed for curing or placed temporarily in the fields on scaffolds for partial drying. Would you comment on these operations? Do you first

place the tobacco leaves on scaffolds? Why? Or do you take them directly to the shed? Why?

6. Spacing of laths in the sheds is important if the leaves are to cure well. Please comment on what spacing you use and why. Also note why you have or do not have ventilators on the roofs. Are vertical vents best on sheds or are horizontal ones best? Do you "fire" a shed at any time to remove excess moisture? When do you "strike" a shed? What conditions are best for it? What is your conception of a well-designed shed? Draw its plan. Also note where you think a shed should be placed for maximum air movement.

7. Stripping is an important step in readying leaf for market. Outline the procedure and describe the equipment used as well as that used for "bundling" the leaves. What time of year is best for "striking" a shed and carrying out the stripping operation? What kind of weather? Describe the social activities carried on during the stripping of tobacco.

8. Some critics of those religious groups who raise tobacco for cash, yet do not use it, say that this is a hypocritical attitude. If you grow tobacco but do not use it because of religious belief, comment on this problem. How do you resolve the conflict?

9. To what uses was tobacco put in your own family, i.e., smoking, chewing, or snuff? Relate what you recall hearing about women smoking tobacco in earlier generations. Was the "taking of snuff" ever common among Pennsylvania farmers and their wives? Did tobacco have other uses besides these, i.e., was it ever used in folk medicine?

10. Write down the lore (sayings, proverbs, songs, rhymes, or jokes) which you recall which involve tobacco.

This questionnaire has been prepared by Robert A. Barakat, graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, who is writing his doctoral dissertation on tobacco and tobacco culture in Pennsylvania. Replies are desired from all the counties of the state where tobacco is raised.

Send your replies to:

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



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