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Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE

SPRING 1978



Contributors to this Issue

DR. DON YODER, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is Professor of Folklife Studies and Adjunct Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. His paper in this issue was the keynote address at the Shaker Bicentennial Conference, 1774-1974, held in October, 1974, at the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland. It touches on many common points of reference between Shakerism, Pennsylvania Quakerism, and the Pennsylvania German communitarian groups, particularly the Ephrata Society and the Harmonites, who derived their worldview from a European source which also influenced Shakerism.

KATHERINE JAN JARRETT, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, is a graduate student in the Department of American Civilization at the Capitol Campus of the Pennsylvania State University at Middletown, Pennsylvania. In her article she deals with the 20th Century phenomenon of the folk mailbox. Her materials were gathered in Cumberland, Perry, Dauphin, and York Counties, Pennsylvania — from areas within twenty miles of Harrisburg. Her work was done under the guidance of Dr. Yvonne Milspaw.

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DR. LOUIS WINKLER, State College, Pennsylvania, is Professor of Astronomy at the Pennsylvania State University. His article in this issue is one of a series dealing with Pennsylvania German astronomy and astrology. It was supported in part by a grant from the American Philosophical Society.

Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE



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COVER:

Spring plowing is one of the common scenes in rural Pennsylvania this time of year. Our cover print appeared in *Gleason's Pictorial* (Boston), April 1, 1854.

THE SPIRITUAL LINEAGE OF SHAKERISM

DON YODER

Shakerism was more than the original creation of the creative spirit of Ann Lee, and it is certainly more than simply the progeny of the French Prophets, the movement from which it has usually been traced.¹ Every religious movement reflects not only the experience of its founder but also the times of its founding. Furthermore, every religious movement is the culmination of a chain of influences that start in the past and lead down to the foundation period. Ideas have a way of working themselves out in history, by stages of development, through the minds and lives of creative individuals until we reach the Ann Lees, the founders of specific movements.

Shakerism was a product of the 18th Century, but it incorporated within it ideas that had originated much earlier in Christian history. We think of the 18th Century as the age of enlightenment, of rationalism. Shakerism, like Pietism, Evangelicalism, and Methodism, provided a countervailing force to the Enlightenment, opposing revelation and inspiration, in this case a new revelation and direct inspiration, over against reason as the authority in religion. Essentially Shakers were inspirationists, and as we will see, came from a long chain of inspirationist thought in the history of Christianity.

Focusing upon its spiritual lineage, I propose in this brief paper to analyze Shakerism under the following threefold division: (1) Shakerism as a system of ideas, (2) Shakerism as a way of life, and (3) Shakerism as an expressive culture.

¹The "French Prophets," who evangelized England beginning in 1706, were a radical offshoot of French Huguenot Protestantism which developed in the Cevennes in Southern France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Through the Wardleys, who converted Ann Lee, they can be and usually have been considered, even by the Shakers themselves, as the direct parent of the Shaker Movement. They were also the parent of the Inspirationist Movement in Germany which produced the Amana Society and influenced Conrad Beissel and the Ephrata Society. The most recent treatment of the French Prophets and Shakerism is Henri Desroche, *The American Shakers: From Neo-Christianity to Pre-socialism*, translated and edited by John K. Savacool (Amherst, Massachusetts, 1971), Ch. I. For the relation of the movement to Quakerism, see "Friends and the French Prophets," *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, XXII (1925), 1-9. For the Inspirationist Movement and its influence on European and American religious groups, see Bertha M. H. Shambaugh, "Amana Society," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 358-369; and Don Yoder, "Trance Preaching in the United States," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XVIII: 2 (Winter 1968-1969), 12-18.



An Ephrata sister, from the "Turtel Taube" (1746), Library of Congress. The Ephrata Society shared with American Shakerism a partial lineage from the "French Prophets".

1.

The cardinal concept of Shakerism as a system of ideas is that of the duality of the Godhead in male and female forms, and the second coming of Christ in Mother Ann. Calvin Green and Seth Wells in their *Summary View of the Millennial Church* (1823) spend much time in defending what they term "the Manifestation of Christ in the Female".² They cite a long chain of evidence which takes us to the Deborahs and Esthers of the Old Testament through whom God "did condescend to reveal his mind and will to females, who were then commissioned, by Divine Authority, to bear testimony thereof to man". But their authentication of Mother Ann is based in the end on the doctrine of creation.

²Calvin Green and Seth Y. Wells, *A Summary View of the Millennial Church*, 2d ed., revised and improved (Albany, 1848), pp. 258-271. Quotations are from pp. 260, 265.



Map of the Shaker World. The circles mark the eighteen Shaker settlements in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky, with the shortlived Philadelphia community in Pennsylvania. The triangles represent the Moravian communities, the squares the branches of the Ephrata Society, and the asterisks the locations of the Harmony Society.



The Shaker Dance was often illustrated in the American press of the 19th Century. This print appeared in "Harper's Monthly Magazine" for 1857.

In God's dealings with the world, Adam and the "Second Adam" (Christ), Eve and the "Second Woman" (Ann) are paired and balanced. Adam and Christ had miraculous births, Eve and Ann had natural births. Eve led mankind into the work of generation, Ann was "empowered to break the charm which binds mankind under that loss, and to take the lead in coming out of it". She "took up a final cross against that nature, and against all those propensities which lead to the gratification of it". Thus an entire theological superstructure is constructed to defend the new creation of Shakerism.

We need not seek beyond the 17th and 18th Centuries for precedents for the Shaker doctrine of Christ revealed in the female. On the continent of Europe radical Pietists, following Jakob Boehme and cabbalistic theosophy, had developed the concept of the Virgin Sophia, the female counterpart of Christ in the spiritual universe, the mirror of God in whom God sees himself reflected. These ideas filtered into England by way of the Behmenists on whose work Rufus Jones and others have enlightened us.³ The concept of the Virgin Sophia has come down to American contexts through the German wing of the inspirationist movement, through such groups as the Ephrata Society and the Harmonites, while in the English wing of inspirationism the figure of Ann Lee becomes Christ in female form.⁴ The Shaker epithet "Holy Mother Wisdom" which is encountered so frequently in Shaker writings and spirit drawings is an obvious echo of the radical Pietist emphasis on the Virgin Sophia.

There are of course reasons — psychological, sociological — for all such theological innovations. One of my favorite ways of accounting for their presence among Protestants is that in emphasizing such ideas, radical Protestants are restoring some areas of Catholic thought which normative Protestantism has forbidden since the Reformation. In this sense Protestantism can be looked upon as a simplified or truncated Catholicism. The English historian Lecky writes that "in the great religious convulsions of the sixteenth century the feminine type followed Catholicism, while Protestantism inclined more to the masculine type. Catholicism alone

retained the Virgin worship, which at once reflected and sustained the first." And he called Puritanism "the most masculine form that Christianity has yet assumed".⁵ In analyzing this passage, the American sociologist W. Lloyd Warner comments:

The longings, feelings, and deep physio-psychological attachments that had been a part of mediaeval and late Roman Christianity and the great religions that preceded them became suspect and were violently attacked and abolished. The moral revolt against female symbols of the species increased through time until the mother and the woman largely disappeared from worship and only the male Jesus and the other male figures of the Trinity remained.⁶

Jung, as is well known, came to the conclusion that one of the spiritual problems of modern Western man is his lack of recognition of the mother as well as the father archetype of the ancient pantheon. The divine pair, the father and mother gods, representing heaven and earth, formed the core of the classical prechristian religions. In Christianity this "divine syzygy has not become obsolete, but occupies the highest place as Christ and his bride the Church".⁷ In his lengthy essay, "Answer to Job," Jung deals with the image of Sophia, the *Sapientia Dei*, who is a "coeternal and more or less hypostatized pneuma of feminine nature that existed before the Creation". With the Virgin Mary taking the place of Sophia in Catholicism, Jung felt that the renewed Catholic emphasis upon Mary in our time (the dogma of the Assumption, 1950) springs from "a deep longing in the masses for an intercessor and mediatrix who would at last take her place alongside the Holy Trinity and be received as the 'Queen of Heaven and Bride at the heavenly court' ".⁸ And he concludes as follows:

Arguments based on historical criticism will never do justice to the new dogma; on the contrary, they are as lamentably wide of the mark as are the unqualified fears to which the English archbishops have given expression. In the first place, the declaration of the dogma has changed nothing in principle in the Catholic ideology as it has existed for more than a thousand years; and in the second place, the failure to understand that God has eternally wanted to become man, and for that purpose continually incarnates through the Holy Ghost in the temporal sphere, is an alarming symptom and can only mean that the Protestant standpoint has lost ground by not understanding the signs of the times and by ignoring the continued operation of the Holy Ghost.⁹

³For the European backgrounds of these ideas, see Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (New York, 1914); John Joseph Stoudt, *Sunrise to Eternity: A Study in Jacob Boehme's Life and Thought* (Philadelphia, 1957); Leiv Aalen, *Die Theologie des jungen Zinzendorf* (Berlin/Hamburg, 1966); and Pierre Deghaye, *La Doctrine Esotérique de Zinzendorf (1700-1760)* (Paris, 1969). For Johann Georg Gichtel (1638-1710), who was the ultimate architect of sophianic mysticism in Protestantism, see *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, IX, 147-150, and *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, II, cols. 1568-1569. For an 18th Century study of his teachings and his followers, see *Unpartheyische Kirchen-Historie Alten und Neuen Testaments, Von Erschaffung der Welt bis auf das Jahr nach Christi Geburt 1730* (Jena, 1735), II, 1116-1119; III (Jena, 1754), 272, 550.

⁴For the sophianic mysticism of the German communitarian societies in the United States, see James E. Ernst, *Ephrata: A History*, edited by John Joseph Stoudt (Allentown, 1963); Karl J. R. Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847* (Philadelphia, 1965); and Hilda A. Kring, *The Harmonists: A Folk-Cultural Approach* (Metuchen, N.J., 1973).

⁵William E. Lecky, *History of European Morals, from Augustus to Charlemagne* (New York, 1879), quoted in W. Lloyd Warner, *The Family of God: A Symbolic Study of Christian Life in America* (New Haven, 1961), p. 66.

⁶Warner, p. 68.

⁷Carl Gustav Jung, "Aion: Phenomenology of the Self," in Joseph Campbell, ed., *The Portable Jung*, translated by R.F.C. Hull (New York, 1971), pp. 160-161.

⁸Jung, "Answer to Job," in Campbell, ed., *The Portable Jung*, pp. 639-640.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 640-641.

Quakerism arose in the fragmentation of the Puritan movement during the English Civil War of the 1640's. The Shakers, at first called "Shaking Quakers," came in part out of the same stream of radical spiritual Puritanism. The print, "The Quakers Synod," shows the opening of London Yearly Meeting in 1696. It appeared in Arnold Lloyd, "Quaker Social History" (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1950); note William Penn seated beside George Whitehead.



Can the Shaker doctrine, then, and the Radical Pietist emphasis upon the Virgin Sophia, be explained as an intra-Protestant reconstructive attempt to restore the Virgin Mother cult of Catholicism and to naturalize it into Protestantism? In taking this original step, Shakerism broke with normative Protestantism and in turn provided a model for Mary Baker Eddy and other women founders and leaders of American sects. Perhaps the Shaker emphasis upon theological feminism was a parent of the current women's liberation movement in general. The world of Protestant sectarianism was always, until very recently, the sole theater in the Protestant world where women could and did take a role as minister, priestess, even messiah.¹⁰

When we turn to the wider question of incarnationism — the indwelling of Christ in a human being in such a way that he or she becomes Christ — we find more than

¹⁰It appears that in our day the priesthood (or ministry) of women is a concept that is invading the churches. See Malcolm Boyd, "Who's Afraid of Women Priests?" *Ms.*, III:6 (December, 1974), 47-51.

enough examples in 17th Century England. During that time of turmoil and ferment in religion as well as politics, with the Puritan revolution and the restructuring of church and parliament under Puritan ideals, a whole spectrum of radical puritan sects lifted their voices. As in all times of crisis, the Bible was turned to for answers. Particularly the books of biblical "prophecy" — Daniel and Revelation — were studied and restudied for answers. Apocalypticism and millennialism ran riot, new prophets and gospels arose.¹¹ According to the drift of many minds, antichrist (in the form of king and pope) had been conquered, and it seemed indeed time for Christ's Kingdom to appear.

¹¹For general perspectives on millennialism, see Bryan Wilson, "Millennialism in Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, VI:1 (October, 1963), 93-114; Wilhelm E. Mühlmann, *Chiliasmus und Naturismus: Studien zur Psychologie, Soziologie und historischen Kasuistik der Umsturzbewegungen* (Berlin, 1961); and Sylvia L. Thrupp, *Millennial Dreams in Action: Essays in Comparative Study* (The Hague, 1962). For the biblical roots of the concept, see R.H. Charles, *Eschatology: The Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, Judaism, and Christianity* (New York, 1963).

Out of the fragmentation of orthodox Puritanism emerged some 17th Century groups which we are accustomed to think of as major — the Congregationalists (the great New England way which has set its mark upon so much of American thought and life), the Baptists (now America's largest single Protestant church), and the Quakers. But in the 17th Century all of these groups were radical. Hugh Barbour in his recent book on the origins of Quakerism has enlightened us on radical Puritanism, which stressed "the emotional fruits of the Spirit in conscious experience," and "linked the Spirit with direct 'leadings' — that is, specific impulses to act and speak — just as did the Quakers". What Barbour calls "spiritual puritans" were a major group among radical puritans. These thought themselves totally dependent "upon the Spirit in worship and conduct":

Some little sects arose which especially emphasized the direct guidance or inspiration of the Spirit. These were noted with horror by orthodox puritans: Etheringtonians, Grindletonians, Muggletonians, Manifestarians, and the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson and Mrs. Attaway, as well as the Diggers, the Ranters, the Seekers, and the Quakers.¹²

All of these had similar theologies, and all of them thought that their discovery, spiritual religion, would reshape Protestantism.

It is to this spiritual Protestantism that we must look for the backgrounds of Shakerism rather than to the French Prophets alone. It was this movement out of which came the combination of messianism and incarnationism that we find represented in Ann Lee. Let us look at some examples, all from England or America, predecessors or contemporaries of Ann Lee.

The first example is the case of James Nayler. While the mainstream of the Quaker movement stabilized, rejecting radical prophetism and incarnationism, a radical fringe arose for a time which held and acted out these ideas. James Nayler (1617-1660), a Yorkshire farmer who had served as quartermaster with the Puritan forces during the Revolution, was converted by George Fox and became almost second in command of the Quaker mission task force. In 1656 he went over the edge into incarnationism when he was persuaded by his women followers to ride into Bristol as Christ as a prophetic "sign" to the nation. In a tragic scene described by the contemporary chronicles this reluctant messiah, in imitation of Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, rode through heavy autumn rains from village to village until Bristol was reached. A small crowd of adulant followers accompanied him, the men spreading their cloaks for the messiah, the women chanting "holy, holy, holy," and proclaiming him "King of Israel and Son of the Most High". Nayler was tried in Bristol for blasphemy, and remanded to Parliament

¹²Hugh Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England* (New Haven, 1964), pp. 25, 26, 27, 28.

which spent several weeks debating his fate. Finally he was set in the stocks, whipped by the executioner, conducted into Bristol seated backwards on a horse, had his tongue bored through with a hot iron, and was imprisoned without pen and paper. This was considered a "merciful" punishment for blasphemy in Cromwell's biblical commonwealth.¹³

Ronald Matthews begins his book, *English Messiahs*, with the statement, "The pretension to be Christ, His Mother, or a special messenger from Him is naturally quite a popular one among mental sufferers in a Christian, and more particularly a Protestant, country". He finds it "difficult not to admit that the Protestant belief in religious individualism puts a far greater strain on such characters of brilliant instability than does Catholicism". And he asks the question whether these messiahs, under intelligent spiritual direction, could have ended as figures of genuine religious importance instead of paranoiac pretenders.¹⁴

The 18th Century appears to have produced other female messiahs apart from Ann Lee. Of English contemporaries of Ann Lee, Joanna Southcott (1750-1814), an Anglican associated with the Methodist society, is the most renowned. A Devonshire servant girl, she was led by the Spirit into a life of prophecy. Calling herself the Bride of the Lamb, she wrote reams of prophecies, sealing them, to be opened, as she hoped, after the events she predicted had come true. After attracting national attention and gathering a church in several English cities, she made the fatal error of predicting, under inspiration, at the age of 65, that she would bear a divine son named Shiloh, "the Second Christ". When she died her movement reorganized so that throughout the 19th Century and even today one hears of Southcottian sects and individual believers. The Church of England has, however, never risen to her standing challenge to open her sealed box of prophecies in the presence of twenty-four of its bishops.¹⁵

Of the other female messiahs of the 18th Century, Jemima Wilkinson (1752-1819) was a homegrown American product from Rhode Island.¹⁶ Her parents

¹³For Nayler and his tragic career, see *The Dictionary of National Biography*, XIV, 130-133; Emilia Fogelklou, *James Nayler, The Rebel Saint, 1618-1660*, translated by Lajla Yapp (London, 1931); Mabel R. Brailsford, *A Quaker from Cromwell's Army: James Nayler* (London, 1927); Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *James Nayler: A Fresh Approach* (London, 1954); W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (Cambridge, 1955); Ronald A. Knox, *Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion with Special Reference to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York, 1961); and Ronald Matthews, *English Messiahs: Studies of Six English Religious Pretenders, 1656-1927* (London, 1936).

¹⁴Matthews, *English Messiahs*, p. xl.

¹⁵For Joanna Southcott, see *The Dictionary of National Biography*, XVIII, 685-687; Matthews, *English Messiahs*, Ch. II; and George R. Balleine, *Past Finding Out: The Tragic Story of Joanna Southcott and her Successors* (New York, 1956).

¹⁶For Jemima Wilkinson, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 226-227; [David Hudson], *Memoir of Jemima Wilkinson, A Preacheress of the Eighteenth Century*. . . (New York, 1844); and Herbert A. Wisbey, *Pioneer Prophetess: Jemima Wilkinson, the Publick Universal Friend* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1964).

were Quakers, and after a rebellious “gay and listless youth,” as her biographer puts it, showing great fondness for “dress and company,” she was converted by the so-called “New Light Baptists” or “Separates” who were preaching the “necessity of living continually in the power and spirit of religion, which consisted in constantly exhibiting outward evidence of the internal workings of the spirit. . .”¹⁷ Jemima exchanged her “airy gaiety” for sedateness and reflection and began to read the bible instead of her “light and airy tales”. In the summer of 1776 she took to her bed and experienced visions of a heavenly visitation, and when she arose declared herself risen from the dead. Putting on plain attire, she went forth to “preach to a dying world”. She traveled through New England preaching universal love and good will, calling herself the “Universal Friend of Mankind”. Like the Shakers she insisted upon absolute obedience from her followers. When she wanted something, she got it by declaring “The Lord hath need of this thing”. After an unfortunate love affair with a British major in Newport she became “disgusted with the idea of wedlock,” and made an “open declaration of war against matrimony”.

Broadening her base, she went to Philadelphia in 1782 and preached among the Quakers and the Pennsylvania Germans, making converts in Montgomery County among the “honest and credulous Germans,” as her biographer expressed it. She now began to develop the doctrine of her messiahship, by speaking of the “Lord’s mercies” and the “Friend’s favors” in the same conversation. Gathering her followers about her she made her way to the Lake Country of New York State where she founded the “New Jerusalem,” adding to her title, “Saviour of Sinners”. Her followers called her “the Friend,” “the Beloved,” or “the Beloved Friend”. She seems to have been surrounded herself with female lieutenants with masculine religious names — one was called the Prophet Elijah, another the Prophet Daniel, another Enoch the Prophet of old, and still another John the Beloved. She tried without success to convert the Indians to a belief in her divinity, was tried for blasphemy in the state of New York, and finally died, leaving behind a curious will signed the Universal Friend.

With this plethora of female messiahs in Yankeedom, it is no wonder that good Dr. Stiles, president of Yale College, could write in 1781,

It is remarkable that there sh[oul]d. be two Women deceiving the public at the same time with two such diff[erent]. monstrous & sacrilegious Systems: as that of Jemima Wilkinson at Rh[ode]. Isl[an]d. who calls herself the PUBLIC UNIVERSAL FRIEND, and this of the ELECT LADY [Ann Lee]. The former says she is Jesus X the eternal Son of God, the other that she is the Mother of all

the Elect, that the fulness of the G[o]dh[ea]d. dwells in her, that she is the Queen of Heaven, Christ[us] wife, that X thro’ her is born a second Time. Not only are these mistakes, but really impious & blasphemous.

And since the Shakers were British emigrants, he suspected that they “cover themselves with this cloud of religious Dust while they are acting as Spies among us & procur[ing] and faithfully transmitt[ing] Intelligence to the Enemy. This espec[ially] as [to] the Elect Lady & her Connexions. But this is not the case as to Jemima — her disorder is temporary Insanity or Lunacy, or Dementia quoad hoc”.¹⁸

That this combination of millennialism and incarnationism, this acting out of messianic roles in human society, has its grave dangers has often been illustrated in Christian history. Particularly among German Pietists the combination produced disastrous results. The tragedy of the Weberites in Colonial South Carolina is a case in point:

One man, by the name of Weaver [Weber], personated Christ, another the Holy Spirit, a certain woman, the wife of Weaver, the Virgin Mary, and one poor fellow was doomed to represent Satan...Excess followed excess, until at length Weaver, representing either Christ or God, ordered, in virtue of his dignity, that Satan should be chained in a subterranean hole, and finally that he should be destroyed.

Weber was tried in 1761 and found guilty of murder, and “suffered the penalty of the law on the gallows”.¹⁹ There was a similar case in Brazil in the 1870’s, where a farmer’s wife, an epileptic healer, was proclaimed as messiah among the German population of Rio Grande do Sul.²⁰ Another case is on record only a few years ago from Switzerland.²¹ “Those who do not know history, are condemned to relive it”.

¹⁷Franklin Bowditch Dexter, ed., *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College* (New York, 1901), II, 510-511. The passage is dated February 14, 1781, and was evidently inspired by his reading of “Mr. Valentine Rathbun’s Account of the new Religionists at Nesqueunia ten miles N.W. from Albany”. See also September 26, 1781: “Rode 10 m. to Harvard where lives the Elect Lady who made about 20 Converts of the Relics of old Mr. Irelands Immortalists. He died 4 years ago & the sect was shockt & breaking up, but now listen to the Reveries of Nesqueuna” (II, 558).

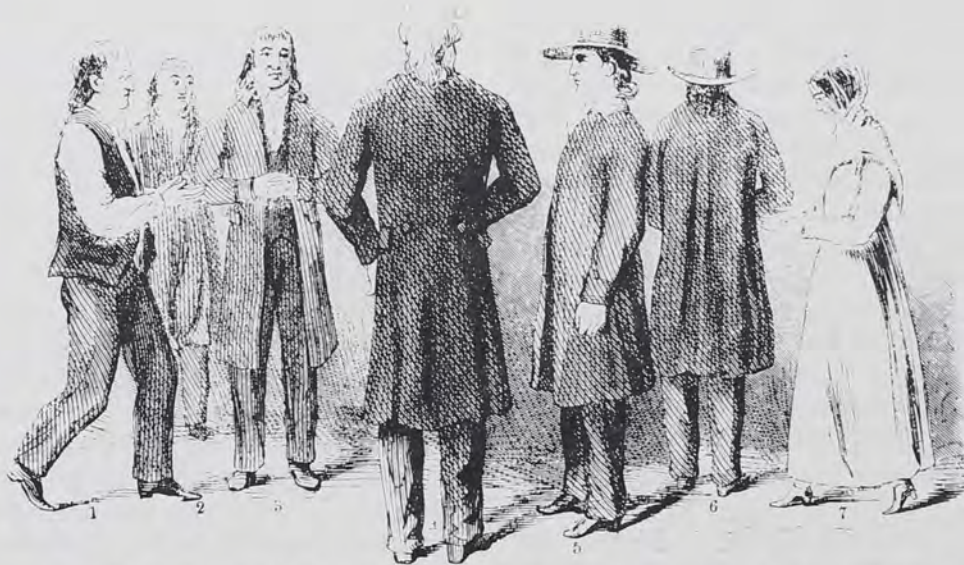
¹⁸G.D. Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina...* (Philadelphia, 1872); Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, trans. and eds., *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, II (Philadelphia, 1945), 577-580. For another contemporary account, see Charles Woodmason, *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant*, edited by Richard J. Hooker (Chapel Hill, 1953).

¹⁹For the Brazilian case, see Leopoldo Petry, *Die Mucker: Erkenntnisse und Schlussfolgerungen zur Geschichte der Mucker am Ferrabraz*, 2d ed., translated by Theophil Dietschi (Porto Alegre, n.d.).

²¹The case was centered at Ringwil in the Zürcher Oberland and involved a “Father” and “Mother” of the “Holy Work,” who with four of their adherents, attempted to exorcise a 17-year-old girl of her supposed pact with the “Devil Lucifer”. See Gerhard Mauz, “Was Gott ins Herz legt, ist fest drin,” in *Der Spiegel*, 23 Jg., Nr. 3 (January 13, 1969), 74. The most celebrated such case in Protestant history was that of the Buttler sect in Germany. See *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, I, cols. 1555-1556; also Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen evangelischen Kirche*, II (1852), 778 ff.

¹⁹For the “Separates,” see Clarence C. Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740-1800: Strict Congregationalists and Separate Baptists in the Great Awakening* (New Haven, 1962).

When we search for the backgrounds, immediate or distant, of the Mother Ann theology, "Christ as Mother," it is not without significance that the 14th Century English mystic, Lady Julian of Norwich, in the "revelations of divine love" that came to her in 1373 describes the Trinity in terms of Fatherhood, Motherhood, and Lordhood. ". . . God Almighty is our kindly Father; and God, All-Wisdom, is our kindly Mother; with the Love and the Goodness of the Holy Ghost: which is all one God, one Lord". The Second Person of the Trinity is, she states further, "our Mother, Brother, and Saviour". And again, "the high Might of the Trinity is our Father, and the deep Wisdom of the Trinity is our Mother, and the great Love of the Trinity is our Lord".



A print illustrating Shaker "plain" costume, similar to that of Pennsylvania's Quakers. From "Harper's Monthly Magazine" for 1857.

Thus Jesus Christ that doeth good against evil is our very Mother: we have our Being of him — where the Ground of Motherhood beginneth — with all the sweet Keeping of Love that endlessly followeth. As verily as God is our Father, so verily God is our Mother...

Lady Julian's sixtieth chapter is entitled, "Of our sweet, kind, ever-loving Mother, Jesus: and of the property of motherhood. Jesus is our very Mother, not feeding us with milk, but with himself; opening his side to us, and challenging all our love". And finally, "this fair lovely word *Mother*, it is so sweet and so kind itself that it may not verily be said of none but of him; and to her that is very Mother of him and of all". This vein of thought and expression continues chapter after chapter: "Christ is Mother".²²

²²Dom Roger Hudson, O.S.B., ed., *Revelations of Divine Love Shewed to a Devout Ankeress by Name Julian of Norwich* (Westminster, Md., 1927), Chs. 58-63. Quotations are from pp. 119, 121, 123, 125.

Can we summarize by saying that Shakerism as a system of ideas, particularly that peculiar Shaker blend of incarnationism and messianism illustrated in the mission of Ann Lee, appears to have come out of spiritual Protestantism, a widespread type of radical sectarian Protestant thought that appeared on the continent and in England at various times of crisis. The major ideas of spiritual Protestantism, which have always been looked upon as dangerous by the larger church bodies, can be traced back through Puritanism and Pietism to medieval mysticism, and from there to the gnostic and neo-platonic "heresies" of early Christianity.

2.

"Hands to work and hearts to God" was the Shaker motto. The division of life into work and worship (*ora et labora*) was characteristic of monasticism, particularly Benedictine monasticism, throughout the Middle Ages. Despite the fact that Shaker writers have played down the possible roots of Shaker life in monasticism,²³ I see monasticism if not the model at least the closest analogue in history for the Shaker community with its "families" and its hierarchies. The rationale as well as the results of the Shaker way of life are so similar to those of monasticism that we must take some time to go into the question.

²³For a discussion of the Shaker reluctance to claim monasticism as their model, see Henri Desroche, *The American Shakers From Neo-Christianity to Presocialism* (Amherst, Massachusetts, 1971), pp. 246-248, citing especially John Dunlavy, *The Manifesto or A Declaration of the Doctrines and Practice of the Church of Christ* (New York, 1847). See also Green and Wells, *A Summary View of the Millennial Church*, 1848, p. 5.



Shaker Sisters in one of their communal kitchens.

Monasticism was a way of organizing life apart from the nuclear family. Like Shakerism, it provided the adherent with a ready-made community, a larger "family," strictly delimited against the outside world, separate from the life and ways of the "worldspeople". This was one of its purposes, to separate the individual from the world. The community which it provided was a close knit group which became the individual's family, the substitute for the nuclear family of one's birth. Shakers even referred to their basic social units as "families".

We normally think of monasticism as being limited to either men or women, monks or nuns. But one form which monasticism took in medieval Europe was the double monastery, often under an abbess, with monks and nuns living separately but in the same community. This was true of many areas throughout the Middle Ages, including England, but was particularly a feature of the Hirsau and Premonstratensian movements, the Order of Fontevault, the Gilbertines, and the Bridgettines.²⁴

One cannot read the Millennial Laws of the Shakers without realizing that they, like the monastic rules of

²⁴For the double monastery, see Herbert B. Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal* (London, 1913), pp. 176-180, 262-266. Of the orders mentioned, the Gilbertines or Order of Sempringham were an English foundation of the 12th Century. In their rule the founder, St. Gilbert of Sempringham, combined Augustinian and Benedictine concepts of monasticism. His follower and biographer describes the rule as follows: "It is the Chariot of Aminadab, that is, of a willing people, of the voluntary poor of Christ. It has two sides, one of men, another of women, four wheels, two of men, clerk and lay, and two of women, lettered and unlettered. Two oxen draw the chariot, the clerkly and monastic discipline of the Blessed Augustine, and the Holy Benedict. Father Gilbert guides the chariot over places rough and smooth, over the heights and in the depths. The way by which they go is narrow, but the path is eternal life" (Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham*, p. 14, in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* [1661], II, 679).

Europe, were intended not only to separate the Shaker from the world. Even more radically, their intention was to deindividualize the individual, to rid him of all sense of self. This was done in many different ways, from the outward uniform of plain costume which identified the Shaker sister or brother, to the radical breaking of the family ties which joined the Shaker member to his blood relationship. Self, pride, vanity, ownership, will, individuality — all were denied. Individual taste could not be expressed in clothing, possessions, or manner. A Catholic nun of the 20th Century puts it in this way:

Everything one has is, to begin with, exactly like that used by everybody else; and, since it is only lent to one, nothing of one's own personality is to be found in it. The enjoyment of seeing one's own ideas and tastes mirrored in everything around one, because one has chosen it and arranged it exactly as one likes, is unknown.

"Indeed," she continues, "everything in the convent combines to prevent, as much as possible, the external exercise or expression of anything personal at all". In the monastic life one can not even say such things as "my very own" or "exactly as I please".²⁵ These expressions of individuality the adherent must leave behind in the world when he enters the cloister.

Obedience to authority was the principal method in the process of deindividualizing the individual. The inculcation of obedience in both monastery and Shaker family was intended to lead to the creation of a new

²⁵Monica Baldwin, *I Leap Over the Wall* (London, 1949), p. 85. This admittedly controversial volume, by a nun who after twenty-eight years of monastic life voluntarily left the cloister and returned to the world, is of great value in teaching the contrast between monastic and secular organization of life. The author was a niece of British prime minister Stanley Baldwin.



Shaker Sisters in Everyday Costume. From "Harper's Monthly Magazine," 1857.

type of personality. The nun that we have just quoted writes of the all-inclusiveness of the monastic discipline in the shaping of personality in these words:

Looking back, it now seems to me that what was hardest on human nature in religious life was the absolute subjection, day by day, hour by hour, minute by minute, of one's free will to the exigencies of the Rule.

It would not be too much to say that in those few words are contained all the agonies of what is called "a life of perfection".

From the moment of awakening, till the hour when at last you are permitted to fall asleep, the Rule holds you in its grip.

Nothing . . . is left to individual choice. Not only what you do, but when, and even how, you do it is meticulously prescribed.²⁶

Shaker discipline accomplished the deindividualization through what Shakers called "the cross" or "crucifying the natural affections". David Lamson, an ex-Shaker, describes these aspects of Shaker discipline critically but fairly in his memoir, *Two Years' Experience among the Shakers* (1848). After telling us that "no individual is allowed to have any thing he can call his own. Not even the clothes he wears," he states

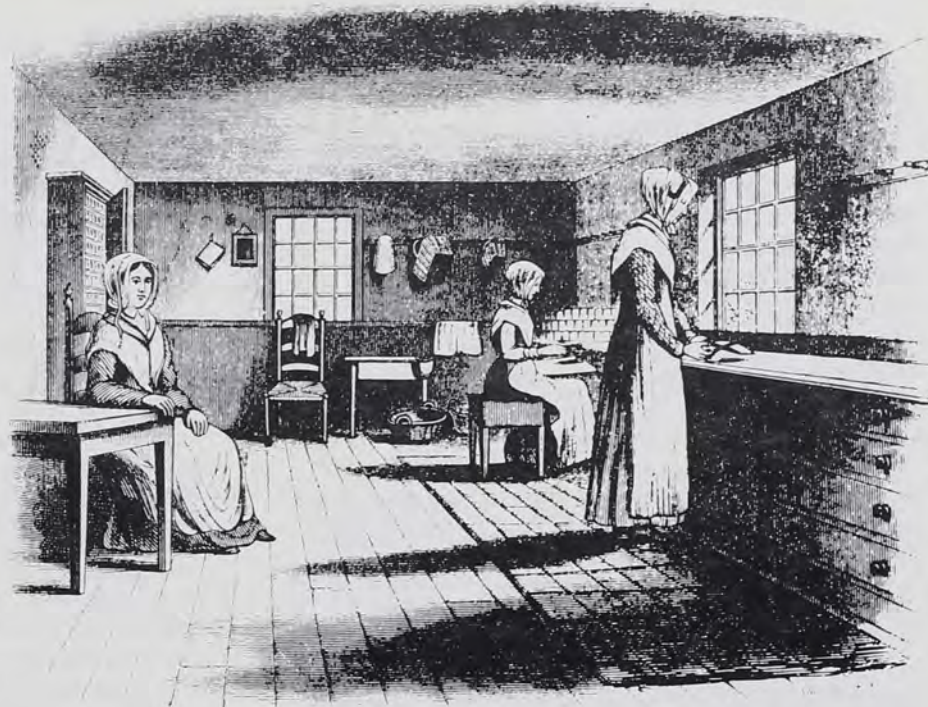
²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 82.

that the adherent must "crucify all the natural affections," stifling his feelings and confessing them to his superiors. "...No Shaker may exercise any natural affections," he insists, "but must crucify them: that is his first duty". And again:

"The cross," as they express it, requires that all "the natural affections" be crucified. Parental and filial affection, and all love of natural relations, is as contrary to the doctrine of the cross as conjugal love. It is all carnal and must be put away. To overcome and extinguish all the natural affections, is the great end of all Shaker life. To do this, is the taking up of "the cross against the world, flesh and devil," which is necessary to a life of purity, and to salvation.²⁷

What are the roots of this extreme body-denying, deindividualizing Shaker doctrine of celibacy? The common psychological explanation traces it logically from Ann Lee's unfortunate experience with the sexual side of her own marriage. But again, this somewhat unprotestant form of asceticism was frequently part of that stream of spiritual Protestantism which we have pointed to as the principal source of Shaker ideas in the age immediately before Ann Lee. A recent work

²⁷David R. Lamson, *Two Years' Experience among the Shakers* (New York, 1971, reprint of 1848 edition), pp. 169-170, 191, 193, 201.



The "Finishing Room," one of a Shaker settlement's many shops. From "Harper's Monthly Magazine," 1857.

of Professor Ernst Benz of the University of Marburg has pointed to the rediscovery of and fascination with the ascetic works of an ancient monastic named Makarios the Egyptian among the Pietists of Germany in the 17th Century. In 18th Century England Protestants were introduced to these ideas by John Wesley, who included the Homilies of Makarios in his Christian Library.²⁸ I am not saying that Ann Lee was necessarily influenced by this particular source. What I am saying is that ascetic ideas were in the theological air in the spiritual wing of the Protestant movement in the times before and during the career of Mother Ann.

Monastics of course saw celibacy as basic in their system. Another church father, in his *Ascetical Works*, put it this way:

Virginité is the central virtue through which man perfects himself and reaches his goal which is participation in the purity and incorruptibility of God. It is the mediating force which brings God down to man and lifts man to God. It corrects the catastrophe of man's fall and restores him to the contemplation of the divine nature.²⁹

Mother Ann could not have said it better. Shaker theology saw her as doing just that — correcting the catastrophe of the Fall of Man through the reinstatement of celibacy.

Recent interpreters of Protestantism have suggested that the asceticism of the monastic life went underground at the time of the Reformation. By orthodox Protestants it was brought above ground again and

modified into rules for the Christian family, the context of life among the majority of Protestants.³⁰ While the family was accepted by Protestantism, Protestant rules of sexual practice were, as everyone knows, ultra-strict. But in exalting celibacy itself, radical Protestants recreated the monastic system within Protestantism. The communitarian experiments of the Shakers as well as the Harmonites and the Ephrata Society were in a very real sense the Protestant reformulation of the monastic ideal.

3.

When we look for the lineage of the Shaker dance and the other bodily and vocal accompaniments of their worship, there are of course precedents and analogues on a worldwide scale. Dancing is widespread throughout primitive religions, in some contexts linked with possession of the dancer by a divinity or spirit. In the 17th and 18th Centuries such bodily movements and vocal accompaniments of spiritual worship were lumped together under the (then) bad words "enthusiasm" or "enthusiastic religion". The volumes on Protestant "enthusiasm" by Ronald Knox, Dwight Dimond, and Umphrey Lee deal with these phenomena.³¹ They are important for us since they treat in detail the 18th Century movement of Methodism whose influence comes into Shakerism through some of Ann Lee's converts like John Hocknell and through the

²⁸James Hasting Nichols, *Primer for Protestants* (New York, 1947), pp. 34-37, 43, 116-125, and particularly 137-141, on the Protestant concept of "vocation".

³¹Ronald A. Knox, *Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion with Special Reference to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York, 1961); Sydney George Dimond, *The Psychology of the Methodist Revival: An Empirical and Descriptive Study* (London, 1926); and Umphrey Lee, *The Historical Backgrounds of Early Methodist Enthusiasm* (New York, 1931).

²⁹Ernst Benz, "Die protestantische Thebais: Zur Nachwirkung Makarios des Aegypters im Protestantismus des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in Europa und Amerika," *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur: Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Jg. 1963, Nr. 1 (Mainz, 1963).

³⁰St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Ascetical Works*, translated by Virginia Woods Callahan (Washington, D.C., [1967]).

large accessions she made in America from the ranks of Whitefield's converts and the Separates.³²

Among the experimental forms of worship that have entered the church in our time the dance is an important one. Perhaps in the future Mother Ann's dancing worship will be looked upon as a link in the chain of rediscovery for Christianity of a primal form of worship. Harvey Cox in his recent book, *The Feast of Fools*, summons the church to reconsider the place of festivity and fantasy once again as it did in the festivals of the Middle Ages. He quotes Paul Valery the French Catholic:

The Dance, in my opinion, is much more than an exercise, an entertainment, an ornament, a society pastime; it is a serious thing and, in some respects, even a holy thing. Every age which has understood the human body, or which has, at least, sensed something of the mystery of this structure, of its resources, of its limitations, of the combinations of energy and sensibility which it contains, has cultivated, venerated the Dance.³³

Another Catholic theologian, Michael Novak, writes that the recovery of festivity in the underground church "offers a way of celebrating death and life, community and loneliness, joy and sadness — a way that is at once fresh and spontaneous and yet tied to tradition as old as Western man." This movement, he concludes, is pointing middle-class Christians "in the direction of spontaneity, touch, dance, emotion, and noise—i.e., in a direction historically more congenial to primitive societies and the poor".³⁴

But the religious dance, like the Shaker doctrines of celibacy and theological feminism, had to be exercised with care, as there were possible moral and spiritual dangers in its misuse. I wish to illustrate this idea by calling attention to the work of Werner Stark. In dealing with sectarian patterns of religion, Professor Stark has provided scholars with three dualities into which sects usually fall. Sects can be, he writes, either (1) retrogressive or progressive, (2) rigoristic or antinomian, or (3) violent or nonviolent. According to his definition, sects are religious conflict societies, groups in deviance from established religion. Deviation can be to the right or to the left. But, he continues, "opposition and duality are sister concepts, and there is a deep inner connection between them". With immense historical erudition he gives examples of the way his three dualities have worked themselves out in

sectarian countercultures. The case of the closely related movements of Ranterism and Quakerism is a classic example. These two movements of 17th Century England shared many common theological ideas, but the Ranters were libertarian, the Quakers rigoristic.³⁵

Professor Stark sees Shakerism as an example of a rigoristic sect which denied and sublimated sex but came dangerously close to its expression in the dance. He cites Marguerite Melcher on the subject:

Celibacy was a cornerstone of their spiritual life . . . yet the believers were probably farthest from the essence of celibacy when they were most fervently worshipping. For the more devout and inspired the ritual, the more emotional its effect. Shakers who held themselves rigidly repressed in all their workaday human relationships gave way to such emotional excesses in their worship that they were even suspected . . . of breaking all their workaday rules of conduct on the Sabbath day.

And she adds, "The spiritual abandon had in it, of course, some of the elements of sex excitation . . ."³⁶

So there were dangers, pitfalls in religious dancing just as in theological experimentation. Shakerism avoided the pitfalls in both areas. Certainly the chorybantic abandon of the worship patterns of the first generation of American Shakers was eventually channeled into stylized and patterned forms of liturgical dance. But could not the period of new creativity in the 1830's and 1840's, the phenomenon called "Mother Ann's Work," when new spiritual "gifts" enlivened the church, when the spirit drawings and the mountain worship and the spirit garments were added to the Shaker repertoire of expression, could these not be looked upon as a revival of the original enthusiasm? Perhaps in Professor Stark's terms this curious and wonderful development could be looked upon as a period of temptation for Shakerism to swing back to the earlier extreme.

We can, as I have said, find all sorts of precedents and analogues for the Shaker dance, and we can likewise theorize from various standpoints on its function in the Shaker creation. Perhaps in the last analysis we need seek no further for reasons for the Shaker dance than the anthropologist Marett's statement: "Primitive man did not *believe* his religion — he *danced* it".³⁷

We are living in times of religious ferment such as produced the Quaker movement in the 17th Century and the Shaker movement in the eighteenth. National and international crises have led to crises of confidence in which many in our society find it difficult to know where to turn for spiritual direction. Especially is this true of youth, who have been attempting to find answers to their problems in everything from the Jesus

³²The whole question of the relation of Shakerism to American revivalism needs to be studied more thoroughly. Certainly the Western phase of the Shaker movement grew out of the Second Awakening, a phenomenon which also produced the camp-meeting and the kinesthetic and vocal "exercises" associated with it. Shaker music and hymnody are partially dependent upon this larger Anglo-American movement for their inspiration.

³³Paul Valery, as quoted by Christopher Larkin in *Federation News*, No. 1 (1967), World Student Christian Federation, p. 7, cited in Harvey Cox, *The Feast of Fools: A Theological Essay on Festivity and Fantasy* (New York, 1969), p. 53.

³⁴Cox, p. 53.

³⁵Werner Stark, *The Sociology of Religion: A Study of Christendom*, Vol. II: Sectarian Religion (New York, 1967), p. 1.

³⁶Marguerite F. Melcher, *The Shaker Adventure* (Princeton, N.J., 1941), p. 254, cited in Stark, III, 187.

³⁷On the relation of the dance to religion in many cultures, see Maria-Gabriele Wosien, *Sacred Dance: Encounter with the Gods* (London, 1974).

Movement to the Rock Festival, from Neopentecostalism to the Hari Krishna Movement. The difference between our times and the 17th and 18th Centuries is perhaps that our populations are less firmly rooted in a knowledge of the Bible out of which new interpretations, new light and truth have always been considered in the past as ready to break forth. Messiahs are arising now as then. But many of them herald oriental gospels, foreign to the main thrust of Western thought. Some of these do attempt syncretisms of Eastern thought with Christian theology. Perhaps these are simply the modern equivalents or projections from that synthesis between Christianity and mysticism which flowed into radical pietism and radical puritanism from Jakob Boehme and the medieval mystics and which channeled itself in part into Shakerism and in part into the other religious communitarian movements of the United States. It is this "spiritual" type of Christianity, ancient and widespread, rather than the French Prophets alone, to which we must look for the spiritual lineage of the Shaker movement. And judging from the new movements of today, perhaps this great reservoir of spiritual Christianity is ready to overflow again.

Jemima Wilkinson was a Rhode Island Quakeress of the 18th Century who founded a millenarian community based on her own claim to divinity. Titlepage from the standard early biography by David Hudson (1844).

MEMOIR

OF

JEMIMA WILKINSON,

A PREACHERESS OF THE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY;

CONTAINING AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE OF HER

LIFE AND CHARACTER,

AND OF THE

RISE, PROGRESS AND CONCLUSION OF
HER MINISTRY.

—o—

"Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them."
Matt. vii, 20.

—o—

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PENNSYLVANIA IN THE ROMANTIC AGE OF TOURISM

Edited by Don Yoder

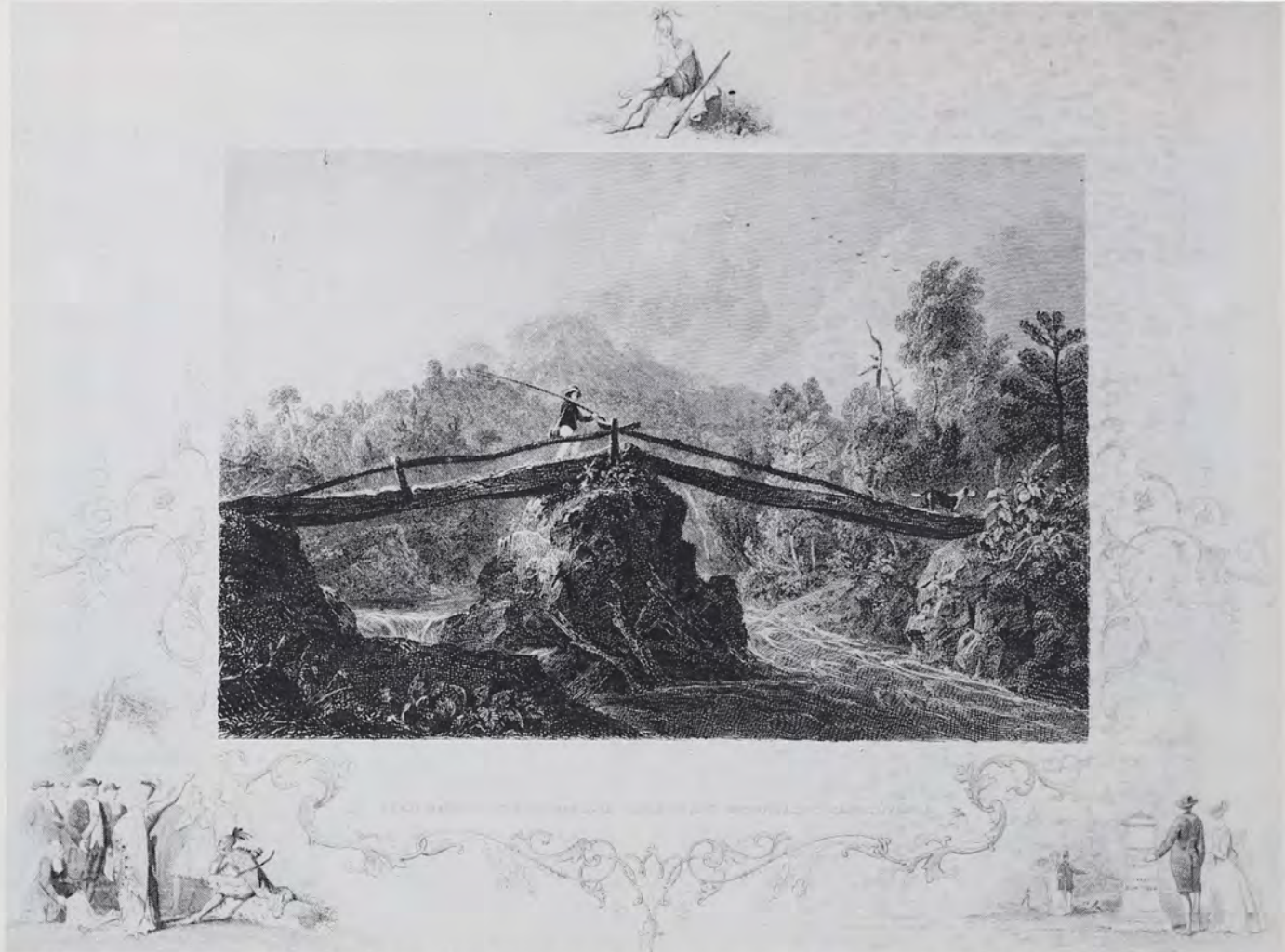
Rebecca Harding Davis, in one of her short stories of the 1860's, spoke of Pennsylvania's "unsung, unpainted valleys". It is true, I suppose, that in comparison with New England, New York, and the Far West, Pennsylvania was not as popular a subject for either poets or painters in the 19th Century. From the period of the Revolution to the Civil War Americans were discovering their sense of being Americans, their national identity. There were conscious attempts at creating an American literature, and an American art. This movement toward Americanizing our culture culminated in the Centennial of 1876, which in turn caused a new fresh look at America and Americans.

The 19th Century was the era of romantic tourism in the United States, as in Europe. Since the discovery of the Alps by English gentlemen on their "grand tours" in the 18th Century, mountains and rivers have been invested with an aura of beauty, mystery, and above all, picturesqueness. Nature, man's environment, was personified by the romantics, and became the subject of poetry and pictorial art. The cult of the picturesque grew, and the natural beauties of America came to be featured in the tourist literature of the 19th Century.

The picturesque mountains and valleys of Pennsylvania were discovered by Americans as early as the 1780's, when a much romanticized "View on the Juniatta River" appeared in the *Columbian Magazine*,

showing wild rocks and deep forests and lordly mountains in the distance. The "Blue Juniata," as it came to be called in the 19th Century, was never quite like that, but the artists attracted the attention of tourists and travelers to the natural beauties of the river and its long valley in Central Pennsylvania.

Nineteenth-Century engravers continued the romantic portrayal of Pennsylvania's river valleys and mountains. The print-makers published views of the Susquehanna, of the Headwaters of the Juniata and other favorite Pennsylvania landscapes. Finally the great volume *Picturesque America*, from which most of our illustrations for this album are taken, continued the tradition of romanticizing Pennsylvania's mountains. Our favorite is the last in our series — the scene of the Allegheny Mountains at Allegrippus in Western Pennsylvania, with woodburning locomotives chugging away in the distance drawing trains East and West. The artist created a mood by exaggerating the natural wildness of the scene, where mountain appears to be heaped upon mountain, and rocks and forests cover the world. As a native of the Alleghenies myself, I can assure our readers that while the artist did exaggerate, the mountains are still wild, and though the iron horse and the automobile have subdued them, they are still beautiful, still somewhat of a natural wilderness, and still — yes, why not? — romantic.



Headwaters of the Juniata River. This romantic print, showing a fisherman and his dog, was often reprinted, including one reproduction on a china plate series.



The Susquehanna at Hunter's Gap, print by D. Appleton & Co., New York, dated 1873.



Pine Forest on West Branch of the Susquehanna.



Dauphin Rock, with raft and raftsmen.



Canal at Hunlocks.



The Forks of the Juniata, near Huntingdon. View of Juniata Canal along the river, fore-runner of the Pennsylvania Railroad.



Allegrippus in the Allegheny Mountains.

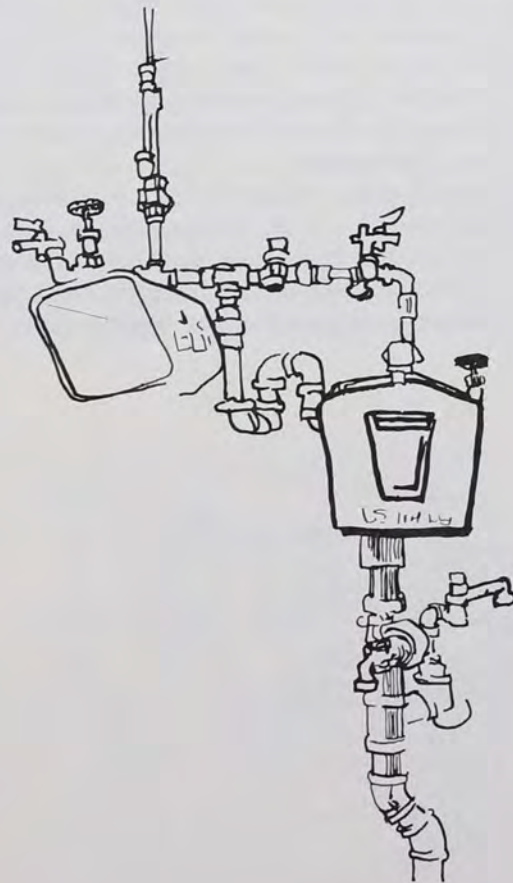
NEIGHBORHOOD INFLUENCE ON MAILBOX STYLE

KATHERINE JAN JARRETT

Rural delivery mailboxes are a ubiquitous feature of secondary roads and suburban developments. Sprinkled among the strictly utilitarian mailboxes are those which have been decorated in some way. These are a lively element of our continuing tradition of material folk culture in the late 20th Century. American folk art has been defined as “the art of the middle class — kindred folk with a kindred philosophy . . . an authentic expression of the community for the community.”¹ The author of that definition went on to bemoan its passing. More recently, Michael Owen Jones has pointed out that some forms of folk art persist in response to a social demand or creative urge on the part of the practitioner. He has stated that folk art and practices are “generated spontaneously among people with shared identities and values.”² Mass culture, pervasive as it is, is only one level of our total cultural experience. Folk artists are no longer tied to agricultural themes nor do they engage in crafts out of necessity. The personal satisfaction derived from creating an attractive artifact and the social approval and reinforcement bestowed upon the artist are reason enough to engage in such practices. Decorated and handmade rural mailboxes stand as one highly visible element of a continuing tradition of folk art in a culture which has supposedly obviated the need for continuing such practices. In this study, the term folk mailbox will refer to either a mass produced mailbox or stand which has been decorated in some way or to a mailbox which has been wholly or partly handmade.

The literature on material folk culture is filled with studies of commonplace objects which were handmade and studies of styles of decoration found on utilitarian objects. Most of these, however, have an ethnic or regional emphasis. The assumption underlying many of these studies is that material folk culture as it exists today is a remnant of the folk traditions of European peasant ancestors and is found in relatively isolated pockets where the pervasive influence of our mass culture has been slow in coming. As a result, there is precious little information available on any contemporary folk practices. A search of the literature failed to yield any information about mailboxes except that

Drawings by Peter Stolvoort



¹Edith Gregor Halpert, “What is American Folk Art? A Symposium,” *Antiques*, Vol. 57 (May 1950), p. 337.

²Michael Owen Jones, “There’s Gotta Be New Designs Once in a While,” *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, Vol. 36 (March 1972), p. 60.

there is a slide collection of about two or three hundred rural mailboxes of the Rocky Mountain West at Utah State University assembled by Austin Fife.

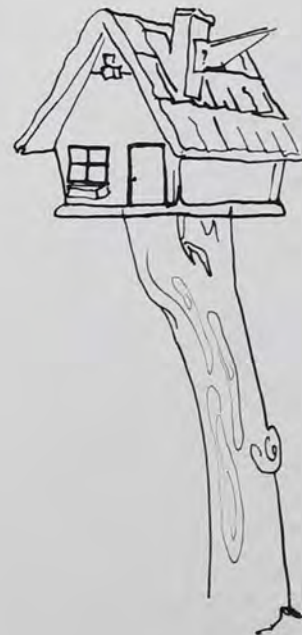
As one might expect, a study of rural mailboxes in the context of their location reveals some general patterns. This study will show that the character of a particular neighborhood influences the style of decorated mailboxes located there, and that there is a tendency for folk mailboxes to be replaced by popularized versions of folk styles in developments that are in a higher socio-economic class. These conclusions are based on a sample of six neighborhoods: two of the areas included in my sample are typical Pennsylvania secondary roads where houses average from \$20,000 to \$50,000 in price; two of the neighborhoods are moderately priced suburban developments with houses ranging in price from \$40,000 to \$80,000, and two of the neighborhoods are quite exclusive with house prices averaging from \$80,000 to over \$100,000. I used three criteria in choosing the sample neighborhoods. First, the area had to be geographically limited in some way, and secondly, the houses had to be the same general age and price. The third criterion is obvious: there had to be rural delivery mailboxes in the neighborhood. This naturally excluded urban areas and suburban settlements, so this study has a rural emphasis. As a contrast to the rather closed nature of the developments, I randomly selected two rural secondary roads. All the areas used in this study are within twenty miles of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

As the data will show, trends vary from neighborhood to neighborhood and run along a continuum from a random variety of folk styles along rural roads, through more conformity of style in some suburban developments, to nearly totally conforming popular styles in

the more exclusive developments. Other variables which influence the style of the mailbox include the nearness of the houses to each other in a particular area and the nearness of the mailbox to its respective house. Folk mailboxes make up only 1/10 of all the mailboxes in neighborhoods where folk styles appear. The rest are simply mass produced. (See chart)

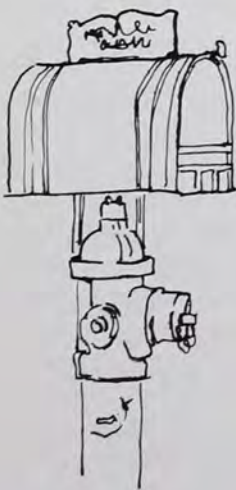
Folk mailboxes can be classified into three general types which are found throughout all the neighborhoods where folk styles appear. The most commonly found type of folk mailbox is a mass-produced one that has been mounted on a found object. The most popular object used for this is a milk can filled with cement, but other objects used for stands include fire hydrants, water pumps, tree branches, and wagon wheels. The second most frequently found type is a mass-produced mailbox and stand which has been decorated either with paint, stickers, decals, or wallpaper. The least usual type of folk mailbox is one that has been wholly or partly handmade. Many of these are unique, and the materials used and the type of construction are limited only by the makers' imagination. For purposes of discussion, mailboxes mounted on found objects will be referred to as Type A; mailboxes which have been decorated with paint, decals, and stickers will be referred to as Type B; and those which are handmade to some degree will be referred to as Type C. The following sample neighborhoods are grouped according to property values from the least expensive to the most expensive.

Neighborhood 1 is a typical secondary rural route in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. There are 245 mass-produced mailboxes along this road which are strictly utilitarian; they show no attempt at decoration. Sixteen mailboxes fall into one category or another of



folk mailboxes. There are eight Type A mailboxes (see chart). One is mounted on an old water pump; two are mounted on milk cans; two are mounted on fire hydrants, and three are mounted on old wagon wheels. This neighborhood is the only one where I saw any mailboxes mounted on wheels, and these are located within 45 yards of each other in a little cluster of modest ranch houses. There are only two Type B mailboxes along this road. One is painted in a red, white, and blue motif, and the other is half-heartedly decorated with little plastic yellow happy face stickers which are nearly ready to peel off. Six mailboxes in this sample are Type C. One is a mass-produced mailbox mounted on a chain that has been welded to immobility, and another is mounted on a piece of wood that has been turned on a lathe and painted. Two of the mailboxes are mounted on stands made out of bricks which match the brick in their respective houses. A freshly painted red, white, and blue Uncle Sam cut from a piece of plywood serves as a stand for one mailbox. Finally, there is one mailbox handmade in the shape of a little house complete with a door, window, and window box filled with tiny plastic flowers. Its roof is made of wooden shingles, and the whole thing is mounted on a tree limb. All but three of these sixteen mailboxes are located where houses are clustered together.

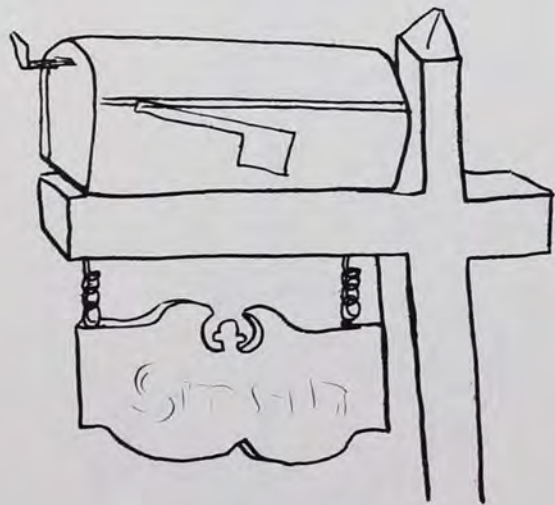
The second rural road, Neighborhood 2, is located in Perry County, Pennsylvania. The land along this road is used mostly for farmland, and the houses along it are more scattered than in Neighborhood 1. Twenty-one mailboxes along this road are folk while 202 are mass-produced. By far, the most popular type along this road is Type A. There are 13 of these, and all but one are mounted on milk cans filled with cement. The other Type A mailbox is mounted on an old plow.



There are six Type B mailboxes in Neighborhood 2; two of these are red, white and blue; one is decorated with racing flags; one is done in Pennsylvania Dutch tulip design; one has two simple flowers painted on either side of the address on the box, and another has two orange asterisks which could either be stars or flowers on the lid. There are two Type C mailboxes along this Perry County road. One has a stand made out of brick-like tiles mortered together end to end. The other is a delightful creation built from plumbing fixtures and pipe. It has faucets branching out in all directions variously topped with yellow, blue, and pink handles. Since there are few houses clustered together along this road, the decorated mailboxes are mostly randomly distributed along the way.

Although there is quite a variety of mailbox styles along both Neighborhood 1 and 2, there are some general tendencies which characterize them. First of all, most of the folk mailboxes are mounted on found objects. Secondly, when the mailboxes fall into Type B and are painted, they tend to be done in some kind of symmetrical design or use a red, white, and blue motif. Folk mailboxes seem more likely to appear where houses are clustered together, but Neighborhood 2 has its share of them even though the houses are relatively scattered. In most places along both these roads, the mailboxes are features of the roadside rather than fixtures of individual properties. Some are at the end of long driveways, and some are on the opposite side of the road from the houses they serve. The patterns that are hinted at along the secondary roads become better defined in suburban developments. The influence of the neighborhood becomes more and more important in the following areas.

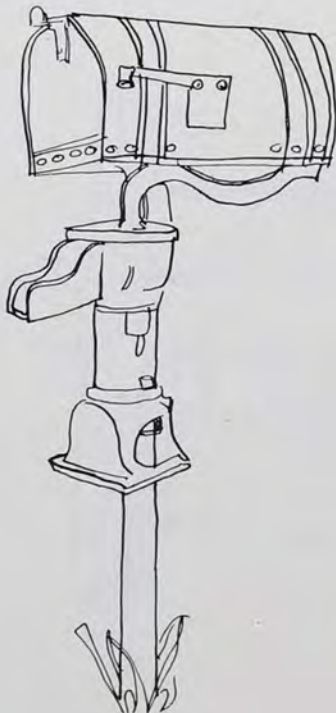
Neighborhood 3 is a development in Cumberland



County, Pennsylvania. The houses range in price from about \$50,000 to \$80,000 and are situated on large, heavily landscaped lots. They were built in the middle 60's to early 70's and range in style from large ranch houses to substantial two-stories. There are six folk mailboxes among the 52 mass-produced undecorated mailboxes in this development. Two of the folk mailboxes fall into Type A; one is mounted on an old water pump, and one is on an attractive tree limb. There are three Type B mailboxes, and these are all cleverly painted. One has a bunch of flowers painted across it; another has three birds sitting in a berry tree branch, and another has a rabbit sitting in flowers. Only one mailbox is a Type C. The mailbox is constructed in the shape of a house. It is quite clear in Neighborhood 3 which mailboxes belong to which houses, and each one is very much a part of the yard instead of the road.



Neighborhood 4 is a fairly large development also in Cumberland County. The houses in this development range in price from \$40,000 to \$80,000. The lots are not as large or as heavily landscaped as in neighborhood 3. There are ranch house split levels, and large two-stories in Neighborhood 4. The development was started in the middle 60's and there is an area where new construction is still under way. Twenty-three mailboxes are folk, and 158 are mass produced. Along the road which runs along the western border of the development, there is a striking example of conformity of mailbox style. Twelve of all twenty mail boxes along this road are Type A, and ten of the twelve are mounted in milk cans; one is mounted in an old ash pail, and the other is in a small barrel. One has an eagle painted on the front, and two of them have the plants locally called chicks and hens growing around the top of the can. These milk cans and the other two containers appear to be a solution to a problem along this road. Since mail is delivered from a car, the mailboxes have to be right at the road's edge to be within reach, but a cement sidewalk runs right to the curb in this part of the development. The containers provide a firm anchor for the mailboxes and save the owners the trouble and expense of sinking a stand down into the cement sidewalk. In the rest of the development, there is a grassy area between the sidewalk and the curb where a mailbox stand can easily be installed. Scattered around the development, there are four more Type A mailboxes; two more mounted in milk cans, one mounted on an old pump, and one mounted in a barrel. Both the one on the pump and the one on the barrel are also decorated and overlap into Type B. The former is painted with ducks and cat o' nine tails, and the latter is decorated with two Pennsylvania Dutch "hex sign" stickers. There are four Type B mailboxes in Neighborhood 4. Two are decorated with decals: one of old antique cars, and one of an old locomotive. Another



mailbox is painted with little flowers all over it and a vine twining up the stand. Old wallpaper decorates the other mailbox in Type B. Three of the mailboxes fall into Type C. One has a stand constructed from plywood cut into a fancy shape with a jig saw. Another has a stand made out of metal rings set at right angles to each other welded one on top of the other. The other Type C mailbox is mass produced, but then the owner decorated it with an attractive metal sculpture of cat o' nine tails at the base of the stand and metal ivy leaves twining up the stand.

In both Neighborhoods 3 and 4, there is an emphasis on neatness throughout both developments. Well maintained mailboxes naturally go along with well maintained homes and nicely groomed lawns. Since anyone can easily tell which mailboxes belong to which houses, the mailbox becomes more of a concern than along secondary roads where this is not always so clear. Type B mailboxes in Neighborhoods 3 and 4 take on a different character from those along the secondary roads. The concern for symmetry is not so evident, and there are no red, white and blue ones. Conformity seems to be important in both these developments, but there is still room for a variety of styles. The folk artists of these areas leave their stamp of individuality on the mailboxes they decorate. Conformity of mailbox style becomes more absolute when folk styles are adopted popularly and used by a building contractor to add charm and unity to his development.

Neighborhoods 5 and 6 are two developments which have no folk mailboxes, but use popular versions of folk styles. Neighborhood 5 is an exclusive development in Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. The houses start in price at about \$80,000, and some are in the over \$100,000 bracket. When the contractor in this development builds one of the custom homes, he also provides a matching mailbox. For instance, if the house has a Spanish style tile roof, the mailbox holder, constructed in the shape of a house, also has a Spanish style tile roof. A house with half-timbered decorative beams is accompanied by a mailbox decorated with half-timbered beams. Property unity and identity are all important in Neighborhood 5. Neighborhood 6 in York County is a small development which consists of only seventeen houses. All seventeen houses have identical contractor-provided wooden stands. Twelve of these are equipped with optional wooden plaques which bear the owner's name and address. Instead of providing individual property identity as in Neighborhood 5, the mailboxes in Neighborhood 6 give the neighborhood an unmistakable unity and collective identity.

As the preceding data show, the character of a particular neighborhood has an influence on the mailboxes located there. Generally speaking, the more unified a neighborhood is, the more conformity there is in the style of the decorated and handmade mailboxes.





The data also indicate that folk styles tend to drop out in more exclusive developments and are replaced by mailboxes which have been decorated by the contractor or chosen by the contractor. The individual owner is left out of the process entirely. In other neighborhoods, the individual uses his mailbox to express himself in a way that is limited to a lesser degree where neighboring houses are farther apart and to a greater degree where houses are closer together. An individual's attitudes toward his own property and toward his community pre-determine the nature of his final product.

Except for the mailboxes which are wholly handmade, decorated rural delivery mailboxes are a hybrid of different cultural levels. A would-be folk artist starts with a mass produced product, the metal mailbox, and uses it as a vehicle for self-expression. Once the paint or decal is applied, or once the mailbox has been mounted on a found object which was never meant for a mailbox stand, a transformation takes place. The mailbox may not be magically transformed into a bit of material folk culture, but neither is it strictly a mass produced product any longer. The individual who decides to decorate his mailbox does not pull his ideas out of thin air. He uses a combination of ideas, values, and attitudes, and memories of other mailboxes he has admired. The result is "an authentic expression of the community for the community." The popularized versions of decorated mailboxes like those found in Neighborhoods 5 and 6 have the form but not the substance of the folk styles. They are a commercial adaptation of a folk practice, an adaptation which certainly has precedents.

Decorated rural delivery mailboxes are an element in the folk culture of the great American middle class. Since our material culture is commonplace and mundane, and since it is often hidden in other cultural products, it takes careful observation to pick it out. Material folk culture persists into the late 20th Century and will not die out as long as people share values and identities, and engage in creative self-expression.



FEAST, FAST, AND TIME

JANET THEOPHANO

They will feed on barley meal and flour of wheat, baking the one and kneading the other, making noble loaves;

And they and their children will feast—in happy converse with one another. . . . of course, they must have a relish—salt, olives and cheese and they will boil roots and herbs such as country people prepare; for a dessert we shall give them figs, and peas, and beans; and they will roast myrtle-berries and acorns at the fire, sipping their wine in moderation.

And with such a diet they can be expected to live in peace and health to a good old age, and bequeath a similar life to their children after them.

Plato, Book II, *The Republic*

Food as a marker of ethnic identity, ethnic group boundaries and cultural change has been a dominant theme in the literature on food habits research. "Food habits represent, for people in many cultural groups, both a congeries of symbols and a nexis of communicative interaction, as well as a source of life supporting sustenance. Habits relating to the preparation, consumption, and distribution of food items, and conversation about them, can thus be subtle indicators of social stratification, complex communication, and cultural creativity" (Kerner, 1972:1).

The traditional focus on peasant groups has been supplanted in the United States more recently with an interest in urban ethnic enclaves. The food habits of these groups are viewed as manifestations of the change which these groups undergo in the process of assimilation to the mainstream society. Interest has shifted from historical concerns to dynamic interaction and the processes of ethnic group formation and interaction in multicultural settings. This perspective eschews historical continuity in favor of the analysis of food patterns as markers of boundary maintenance and across boundary transactions.

Proponents of a symbolic approach to food studies such as Claude Levi-Strauss suggest that: "Cooking is with language a truly universal form of human activity: if there is no society without a language, nor is there any which does not cook in some manner at least some of its food" (1966:587). Mary Douglas presses the linguistic analogy further: "If food is treated as a code, the message it encodes will be found in the pattern of social relations being expressed. The message is about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and

exclusion, boundaries and transactions across the boundaries" (1963:61).

Foodways research has included these as well as other perspectives ranging from pure description, cultural and regional distribution studies, ethnosemantic classification and taxonomies to physiological studies involving the role of food in maintaining life and health. Each of these approaches renders a different reality. Concentration in one area robs us of insights to be gleaned from another. With this in mind the task of describing the Greek-American community of Philadelphia was selected and shall be dealt with in the perspective of time. The focus is continuity; variation and change will be explored only peripherally.

The Notion of Community

In attempting to assess food patterns in an urban milieu, the first problem one encounters is the selection of a group. The question arises: What is community? What constitutes a group? What is the nature of the relationship between a group and its food? Conrad Arensberg's work gives some guidelines for what constitutes a community (1965). His criteria are useful as a starting point for the determinants of community. In order to be conceived of as a community, "the structure thus involves both a full table of organization and a continuity in depth uniting the lives of the people of the table, repeating or reiterating, in the main, their experience from generation to generation. Our sample community must have both these memberships and these depths" (Arensberg, 1965:23). This concept of community stresses both personnel and periodicity in cultural life. Changes in rhythm in the passage from one generation to the next are the criteria by which to differentiate continuity from change.

A comparison of the food patterns of the Greeks both ancient and modern and the Greek-Americans in Philadelphia may reveal a way in which American subcultures maintain or mark their ethnic identity and community solidarity despite the geographical dispersion of their personnel. They create, to some degree, a sense of community, the renewal of a bond and the creation of a link through an aspect of culture they believe to be an historical reality.

Before addressing ourselves to the particular food complex of the Philadelphia Greeks, a brief history and description of the diet of the ancient and the modern Greeks will be discussed. This in order to see more

clearly if there are patterns which seem to have been carried through time and if so which ones? Are there areas which ethnic groups mark as continuous and hence more resistant to change? If so, which are they?

The Old World

"The peoples of the Old World may be classified according to their subsistence; the basic technologies of food, land use, and livelihood, have formed the first reliable guide to grouping cultures"(Arensberg, 1965:91). Europeans may be considered "Peoples of the Plow," practising "a mixed agriculture" with field cultivation and the domestication of animals. The basic grain, meat, and milk complex of Europe varies in degree and kind and the move from West to East yields subtle variations in the basic configuration.

The Mediterranean, in contrast to the northwest of Europe, is host to day laborers and migrants who move easily in and out of urban areas. The social stratification of the Mediterranean is based upon a bipartite division. An urban elite stands in contrast to a marginal peasant group which provides the labor for agricultural enterprise. Eric Wolf has characterized the "Mediterranean Ecotype" as a "special adaptation to a particular set of environmental circumstances" (1966:33). In this case a peasant group supplied urban areas with specialized crops; tree crops such as olives and pistachio nuts and vines were cultivated thereby supplementing the basic cereal production.

Today "half of the Greek population is directly engaged in agricultural activities though only 25% of the land is cultivable" (Arnott, 1971:204). Though some of the crops are exported, Greece is dependent upon other areas of the world for food. Though used less frequently than in Western Europe, meat, eggs and other livestock products must be imported.

There is regional variation in the basic diet of the Greeks: rural and urban, Northern and Southern Greece each display variations of a basic cereal and vegetarian diet. This consists of bread followed in order by legumes, olives and cheese, vegetables, eggs, meat, and fish (Arnott, 1971:204). Arnott concludes her description of Greek dietary habits with the statement that the diet is "not much different from the Ancient Greeks" (1971:204). Regional variation based upon climate, production, and occupation is observable. In Northern Greece, the pastoralists' diet is enhanced with a larger amount of milk and milk products. In this region, agricultural groups differ from the southern farmer by the use of corn as the basic grain. Usually boiled, corn is accompanied by beans, chick peas, and rice.

In southern Greece a slightly different configuration exists. A more typical meal might include toast, honey, and wine with vetch peas and flat beans. The Pello-

ponese and Islands use more oil with all parts of the meal and enhance their diet with the addition of dried fruits and nuts: figs, raisins, walnuts, almonds, and hazelnuts (Arnott, 1971).

Because of its importance to the Greek diet, bread is imbued with sacred qualities. Many taboos and rituals accompany the making and eating of bread. Various forms of bread associated with daily food consuming activities and those connected with religious ritual attest to the variety of forms and meanings which denote the basic life sustaining quality of grain. The grains from which bread is made in different regions include barley, corn, rye, and wheat. Other starches include macaroni and derivatives as well as various pies.

Legumes, a source of protein, are the next most important item of food consumed by the Greeks. These include vetch-peas, flat beans, and chick peas. Vegetables including wild greens constitute the next domain. Meat is less frequently eaten and includes such flesh as goats and lambs while beef is the least commonly consumed in rural areas. Pork is reserved for the winter months. There are no prohibitions on flesh foods with the exception of frogs and horse meat. Other proscriptions are concerned with periods of abstinence and involve the following: oil, flesh food, fish and milk and other milk products such as butter and cheese. In the time of the ancients it was considered improper for a man to eat the oxen which aided him in the work of the field. Sweets are not permitted during mourning and pregnant women avoid hares and snails (Arnott:1971).

The most popular drinks in Greece are water, wines such as ouzo and retsina, and coffee. Turkish coffee made thick and sweet is an accompaniment to social occasions and business transactions. With Northern Greece being the exception, milk is seldom ingested by adults in its liquid form. Milk is consumed only by the very young.

Among the rural Greeks certain foods are thought to have healing power. These might include milk, wines of various sorts, cognac teas, juices, holy water and coffee. Yogurt, honey, rice, and greens are some of those included in Arnott's list of foods which aid the sick. Ernestine Friedl's description of Vasilikia, a village in northern Greece, concurs with the more generalized description by Arnott. The people of Vasilikia boast small gardens in which they raise egg-plants, tomatoes, cucumbers, squash, melons, onion, spinach and lettuce. With the exception of the sweet called "glyko" the preservation of surplus foods is not the custom. Even tomato paste, a vital ingredient in many dishes, is bought rather than preserved by the women.

Significantly, Arnott concludes that food preparation in Greece has changed very little since ancient times, especially the food associated with festivals.

The Great Tradition

From that beginning there are still consequences, for differences of civilization and for continuities of tradition, through all the rich differentiations of historic cultures and civilizations of particular ethnic or religious or other high cultural variance (Arensberg, 1965:94).

It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss the many invasions and dominations which impinged upon the Greek tradition. Suffice it to say that there have been many Great Traditions which have influenced and contributed to the Greek culture. These have been mainly the classical traditions of the Greeks, Romans, Phoenicians, Saracens, and in modern times, the Turks. The most significant influence upon the Greeks has been the Eastern Orthodox Church, among the Greeks called the Greek Church.

Until the 11th Century the eastern and western empires were united into one religious domination. In 1054, a schism between east and west occurred, based upon various political, economic, and religious disputes. The main reason given for the split is a differing interpretation of the liturgy. After this date, the Eastern and Western Churches evolved along similar though distinctive lines. Eastern Orthodoxy continues to stress the nature of the community and the more equalitarian structure of the church hierarchy. Papal infallacy is not a tenet of the Eastern Church. The Patriarch is a spiritual leader but he does not dominate nor can he change the dogma of the church in the manner which is familiar to Roman Catholics. One of the most important emphases of Eastern Orthodoxy is the relative autonomy of its individual churches. That is, each church is free to decide within certain constraints the nature of the liturgy and the structure of the church together with the priest who officiates.

The Church in Greece is intimately bound to the daily lives of the people. Thus the religious tradition of Eastern Orthodoxy is interwoven with the social life of the Greeks. Religious activities promote social interaction centered about the festivities and facts of the Greek calendar. The calendar in large part is the Gregorian calendar and the Christian year is "that annual sequence of feasts and fasts which commemorates the Incarnation and its fulfillment in the church. Nobody who has lived and worshipped amongst Greek Christians for any length of time but has sensed in some measure the extraordinary hold which the recurring cycle of the Church's liturgy has upon the piety of the common people. Nobody who has kept the great fast which lies heavily upon the whole nation for forty days . . . None can have lived through all this and not have realized that for the Greek Christian the Gospel is inseparably linked with the liturgy that is unfolded week by week in his parish church" (Ware, 1963:304). The Eastern Orthodox Church as a nexus of social as

well as religious activity is perpetuated in the old world and to a large degree in the new world as well. For our purposes, Vasilikia in northern Greece may be considered representative of similar though varied and unique villages in rural Greece. In general daily ritual is undertaken only by the women; men participate less frequently in mundane events but enjoy the more communal and social festivities.

The festivals which are most frequently celebrated in Vasilikia are the Saints Days of the Village and the events which lead to the celebration of Easter. These remain the most conspicuous periods of significant communal activity in relation to the church. The following are illustrative of the more important religious observances as described by Friedl (1967).

Sunday before Lent:Carnival: festivity including singing, music and dance.

Clean Monday.

Holy Week, which leads to *Easter Sunday.*

Maundy Thursday: Visitation by friends and family from other villages.

Good Friday: An abstinence of activity is advocated but usually not observed. Children of the village circulate in the village, going from house to house, reciting and being rewarded with money and eggs. Church services begin in the afternoon at 2:00 and again at 9:00 in the evening. After this, congregants march to a nearby hillside and end the service around midnight.

Holy Saturday: Sweet Easter breads are made with red eggs. A lamb is often killed. At midnight Easter services begin and last until 4:00 A.M. After the service the villagers usually return home for a nap. A few hours later, usually around 6:00 A.M. the celebrants begin preparation for the Easter meal later that afternoon. The lamb which was killed the day before is usually roasted whole on a spit and eaten at the Easter meal.

The festivals and the food associated with these festivals which are celebrated in Vasilikia and throughout Greece are still observed by Greek-Americans in the United States.

The New World

It has been argued that one of the functions of the church and church related activities for ethnic groups in the United States is the maintenance of ethnic boundaries. Illustrating this view is E. A. Buxbaum's description of the Greek community of Tarpon Springs. He has noted the importance of the church in maintaining the integrity of the Greek community along with language, and family. He considers these as "barriers" which protect the integrity of the Greek community. When these barriers are undermined or infiltrated, ethnic solidarity is decreased. The church becomes a primary vehicle for maintaining the boundedness of the Greek community. The festivals, church

activities and food related to these activities are primary sources of identification and continued unity for a people.

Groups in the United States are viewed as subject to a myriad of varying influences which impinge upon their traditional way of life. Church, family, language, and food are constraints which presumably deflect the impact of the larger society. When these vehicles of ethnic identity are weakened, it is believed a loss of identity occurs. Perhaps these cultural resources actually refract innovative forms creating a new configuration.

Originally the Greek community in Philadelphia was restricted to a center city bounded geographical locale. However, second and third generation Greek-Americans have since relocated, by means of a suburban exodus, to the sterile uni-generational suburbs. Gizelis (1972) has noted schisms within the Greek community and relocation associated with new church affiliations. Thus, though there are areas of population concentration there is no single unified Greek-American community in Philadelphia. The areas of concentrated Greek membership are Upper Darby and Springfield, newly immigrated Greeks in the center-city and a large dispersed population in the northeastern section of the city.

The twenty-five informants who were interviewed are from all of these areas, though the majority—seventeen—are from the northeast suburban section. These women are all affiliated with the Church of the Annunciation located in Jenkintown.

The importance of the Greek Orthodox Church as the center of community is not a recent development. Although Greeks in some villages in Greece today do not participate regularly in daily religious ritual, Greek Orthodoxy as a symbol of country is a strong one. Intimately bound to the politics of Greece, the Greek Church has continued to be central to the social life of Greeks as well. In fact it may be fair to say that involvement in the Greek Church for many is as much a social commitment as a religious one. But here it is important to note that for those Greeks who do not become wholly absorbed into the larger society the notion of community is fulfilled by the Greek Church and the social relationships which are manifested in those activities. Inter-generational contact and exchange is not sought among the middle-class American community. On the contrary, a Greek who remains and wishes to remain identified with his "ethnos" will engage in activities which are related to the church and seek the Greek personnel who fulfill Arensberg's criteria for that which constitutes a community.

The personnel is supplied by the church as it gathers under its wings all the generations of Greeks within a radius of 20 to 30 miles and intersecting several communities.

Depth of activity is engendered by the church through the ritual and social activities which are a major contributor to the life of the Philadelphia Greek-American.

Sodalities, fairs, dances, socials and trips to Greece are all sponsored by the Church. And even those who do not believe in the liturgy and the precepts of the Church recognize the part that it plays in maintaining Greek life. Clearly, not *all* Greek-Americans identify so strongly with the Church or with the ethnos. Several have explicitly rejected this mode of identity. But for those who wish to identify with the ethnos, though they move to the thoroughly modern and middle class American suburb, "community" is sought and found through the Church; this regardless of the belief system that it entails.

Festivals Celebrated by the Greek-American Community in Philadelphia

Festivals and holidays related to the church are prime sources of community activity. It is on these occasions that Greeks from widely separated areas of the city unite to celebrate their particular religious and ethnic uniqueness. It is on these occasions that they witness and share the traditions which are passed on from generation to generation. Though change occurs, and variation and unique patterns are displayed, it is a common theme which unites the Greek-Americans of Philadelphia with modern Greece and the ancients. "The reason for this attitude toward the supernatural which persists through all three generations lies in the close intertwining of the Church with the daily activities of individuals and groups of all ages. From birth to death, the Greek Orthodox Church has many points of contact. These include baptism, confirmation, purifications, agiasmos, name-day celebrations, weddings, funerals, and church services of many kinds" (Buxbaum, 1967:346).

Food and festivals are intimately bound. A religious group is frequently identified with a particular food complex. Simoons points out the various taboos and the avoidances carried out in areas of the world regarding the ingestion of certain flesh foods. These foods are in some manner defiling, impure and unclean to the adherents of a particular faith or group. As a cultural geographer, Simoons has demonstrated the nature of abstinence vis-a-vis flesh foods which obtains in various areas of the world. These abstinences are usually related to religious belief systems though Simoons believes that they have as their basis antithetical ways of life, i.e., nomadic versus agricultural peoples (1961).

For the Greek Christian, the symbolism of the liturgy found expression in ritual food. "The words of the Last Supper have their meaning from looking backward over the centuries in which the analogy had held good and forward to the future celebrations of the meal.

This is my body...this is my blood. Here the meal and sacrificial victim, the table and the altar are made explicitly to stand for one another" (Douglas, 1973:76). This symbolism is in some measure repeated through all the ritual and festivities of the church. During the period of religious observance, either feasting or fasting, the unique complex of Greek-American food patterns is amplified. The meals are ordered. "The meal puts its frame on the gathering. The rules which hedge off and order one kind of social interaction are reflected in the rules which control the internal ordering of the meal itself" (Douglas, 1973:66). From the meal one can discern the distance and/or intimacy of the participants as well as the symbolic manifestations of the religious ritual.

The fasts and feasts of the church calendar mark a departure from secular time and a merger with the myths and the sacred. They are also social events which constitute and order the community. The choice of Greek cuisine and foodstuffs to mark these occasions is not with significance. At once an expression of religious piety and shared identity and community, the sumptuous and elaborate display of food in America is imbued with new meaning. That meaning involves the bond of a shared past and importantly a shared present.

Life cycle events are those which entail the passage of one status and role in the life cycle to another. These include birth, baptism, marriage and death. Each event is characterized by several stages: separation, transition, and incorporation. The individual is first singled out, he "passes" from one state to another, and is finally incorporated into the group invested with his new status.

Life Cycle Events

The food served at a Greek life cycle event is generally abundant and overwhelming. At the birth of a child a special pastry is made and presented to the child and its parents. It is a dough twisted into different shapes and deep fried, and then dipped in honey. The famous Greek buffet created in the New World is served at Baptisms, Weddings and Name Days. Name Days used to be celebrated in lieu of the birthday. Every child is named after a patron saint and the day of the child's birth is celebrated on the birthday of the saint rather than his own birth date. However, the celebration of Name Days, at least in this study, is almost non-existent. Only three of my respondents celebrated Name Days, and these were not the elaborate and sumptuous feasts they used to be. Christenings are still prevalently celebrated in the community and are given all the special attention of such festivities.

Preparation for such an event may begin two or three days in advance. Gizelis (1970) notes that the particular Greek way of preparing food is still con-

tinued into the second generation. A close relative or friend may aid the family in the preparation of the festive meal. Almost always a Greek buffet is served. This may include roast beef, turkey, ham, dolmades, keftides, tyropites, spanakopites, pasticho, shrimp salad, olives, feta, kourambiades, baklava, and always at life cycle events, koufeta are distributed. The koufeta are a gift to the guests which consists of Jordan almonds coated with a thin shell of sugar, usually white or another pastel color, wrapped in a veil. The number of almonds distributed is odd, usually five or seven almonds to a person. Sweet things are associated with Baptisms and are always served. Two other additions might be rice pudding made with goats milk and always soumada. Soumada is a drink made with the extracts of almonds and water. The Greek buffet almost always includes the above menu. Pasticho is a dish very much resembling lasagne. It is a layered casserole, consisting of pasta and a layer of meat in gravy. Very often a cream sauce covers the top. Moussaka, another layered dish, is never served at buffets since it is thought to be a peasant dish and not accorded the status of pasticho. The buffet is generally eaten later in the evening, around ten o'clock, after the priest has blessed the food.

The cold meal is characterized by roasted meats, sometimes lamb, and many layered sweets and casseroles.

Weddings have traditionally been celebrated with a Greek buffet, but today many of these events are being catered, and have become "sit-down dinners". The traditional Greek cuisine has been rejected in favor of capon, chicken, or roast beef. Also it may be added that many baptisms and funerals are being catered. One informant noted that in Greece, at least in her village, it was not customary for the bride's parents to serve any food after the wedding. Perhaps the guests would be offered a drink and be sent on their way. However, after returning from the honeymoon it was the newly-weds' duty to invite family and friends to their new home and prepare a meal for them.

Birthdays and anniversaries are not given too much special attention, with the exception of a twenty-fifth or fiftieth wedding anniversary. But a small cake or a few pastries or sweets may be served. Perhaps a special meal will be cooked in which the immediate family participates.

Funerals are characterized by the following meal which is served by family and friends. It is prepared by close relatives and given to the bereaved family; if not family, then a close neighbor or friend will prepare it. As mentioned above, caterers are now being hired to feed the mourners. It is also customary for those who mourn with the bereaved family to bring food to the home, which may be served to the group. The family itself still does not prepare any of the food. The sexton of the church may be responsible for preparing a small meal after the funeral; this might

consist of: Turkish coffee, zweiback, cheeses and wine.

The meal itself is always boiled fish, and boiled beans or vegetables. Chick peas, okra and a salad may be served. A piece of dry crusted bread called bachsima or zweiback, cheese and olives may accompany the meal. No sweets are served and no meat. The fish is often flounder or cod. Only one informant advised me that meat and rice could be eaten at funerals. However, his statement was the only exception to the suggested food requirements for a funeral meal. Because black coffee is served at funerals it is considered bad luck and is prohibited from the menu of engagements and baptisms.

Forty days after the funeral, and then again after one, three, and sometimes five years, a memorial dish is prepared for the deceased. It is called Kolyva and although the recipe varies from province to province it consists basically of the following items:

- Boiled wheat
- Raisins or currants
- Chopped almonds or walnuts
- Pomegranate seeds
- Parsley

This mixture is boiled, and heaped carefully in a mound upon a dish. Once the mound has been made, the top of the kolyva is dusted with powdered sugar and the initials of the deceased and a cross are formed on the top. The dish of kolyva is then taken to the church where it is distributed to the members.

When asked the meaning of the dish one woman suggested that the wheat was symbolic of the earth, hence the return of the deceased to the earth. One of the cookbooks circulating in the community, suggests that the wheat is symbolic of everlasting life, the raisins represent sweetness and the pomegranate seeds are symbolic of plenty.

At funerals no meat is served. The food is boiled. A pot and water mediate the cooking process. Once again man's relationship to nature through culture is expressed in the cooking process. The funeral meal is comparable to the meals served during Lent.

The forty-day period following the funeral may be considered a liminal period. A memorial is prepared only forty days after the death of the individual. Until that time the deceased is confined to an in-between interim state. Neither of this world nor yet part of the other, the state of the soul is symbolically expressed through a meal which is neither land food nor sea food but a mixture of both.

Calendrical Rites

In order to propitiate and herald a prosperous year, rites of regeneration are cyclical events celebrated by the community. Here again "eternal return," death and regeneration are marked by festivity and fasting, in this case through the Christian symbolism of the Greek Orthodox Church. Calendrical rites include Christmas, New Year's, Lent, Easter and the larger seasons

under which these are subsumed. Each season and the rituals of these are marked by a particular food configuration which is still largely conceived of by the Greek community.

Lent, the forty-day period which precedes Easter, is also a transitional period. The first and last week of Lent involves the most severe and strict fasts. During these two weeks no fish may be eaten at all. No olive oil is used to prepare a meal. No dairy products are consumed for they are procured from the body of an animal containing blood. During those periods of abstinence no flesh foods or products of flesh may be eaten. That is, no meat and fish, nor milk or cheese may be ingested, while shellfish, lobster, shrimp, etc., are allowed. This suggests that the food categories of the Greeks are delineated along lines different from the Roman Catholic and the Jew.

For the Greek, food categories are as follows:

Flesh Foods

Meat/Fish
(Restricted during
severe fasting)

Products

Milk/Cheese
Oil
(Restricted on
severe fast days)

Non-Flesh Foods

Shellfish
(Not restricted)

There are days when none of the above are permitted and only vegetables, greens, and water may be taken in.

The entire Lenten period is meatless; however on Wednesdays and Fridays fish may be eaten. On those days when neither fish nor meat may be eaten, shellfish are permitted. The exception to this is Holy Thursday and Holy Friday. Holy Friday's meal is sparse and consists only of lettuce, vinegar, and water. On Palm Sunday and the Feast of the Annunciation which is also Independence Day in Greece, fish is served. Lentil and bean soups are very often served during the Lenten period. Cheeses and eggs are served on the days permitted. The bean soups called Fava, Favia and Fasoulya are prepared with olive oil and vinegar. A popular Lenten dish is spinach and rice prepared with oil. It is called Spanokouzo.

Many of the families do not maintain a strict fast or even prohibit meat. Several families allow the children to eat as during regular periods, but will require a fasting period prior to communion. Different parishes enforce certain of the restrictions while others do not, hence the variation in prohibited foods.

During the Lenten period, in preparation for Easter, several traditions are observed. Eggs are dyed on Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday as well as the bread

which is baked on Holy Thursday. No food is prepared on Holy Friday. This day is a respite from activity.

On Easter day the traditional meal is lamb cooked on a spit out of doors, if possible. It is more often a baby lamb but it may also be a leg of lamb. Roasted potatoes or a pilaf are served as well as olives, cheese, salad, Tyropitas, and Spanakopitas. Margaritsa, a soup made with the heart and lungs of the lamb, perhaps the spleen and livers as well, is cooked with scallions and dill. It is traditionally eaten at Easter. Few of my informants either made or ate the Margaritsa. A few expressed repugnance at it. One household consumed Kokoretsi, a variation of the Margaritsa. Kokoretsi is made of the same ingredients, only it is not in the form of soup, but is rather roasted on a grill. Also served at Easter is the Easter bread called Kouloura, in which the red eggs are placed, or Koulourakia, little cookies made of the same dough. A sweet bread called Tsourekia may also be served. Feta and olives as always are part of the meal.

The Greeks attend Easter Mass at night, returning home in the early hours of the following day, the church attendance lasting about five hours. Several families will serve a breakfast of lamb chops, Avgolemono soup (chicken and lemon broth), Kouloura and hard eggs, or the Margaritsa. Later in the day they will eat the meal of roasted lamb. Any selection of sweets, a nut cake, almond and lemon cookies or Kourambiades (another variety of cookie), and Baklava may be served.

One of the women, a member of the St. George's parish, instructed me in the dyeing of Easter eggs which is carried out by the members of the church. Several large vats are placed on a stove containing the dye mixture. Large numbers of raw eggs are placed in a towel or table cloth and skewered with a broom handle. The eggs are carefully lowered into the vats and the broom handle suspended on the sides of the pot. In this fashion large numbers of eggs may be dyed. After dying, the eggs are wiped with olive oil to make them shine. Two thousand eggs are distributed at Easter Mass—another means of food distribution in the community.

Christmas and New Year's Day are celebrated with a roasted turkey, several starches in the form of potatoes, rice and Yemise, a stuffing of rice and hamburger. Several families make pork and sausage, while other may serve lamb. Predominantly, turkey was served with the usual Greek fare. Sweets of all kinds are associated with Christmas.

No special meal is served at New Year's; however, a special bread called Vasilopita is prepared. It differs from the other breads only in that it contains a coin hidden in one section. The bread is carefully cut and distributed; the person discovering the coin in his share of the bread is blessed and will have a successful and prosperous year.

Seasonal Change

Seasonal variation played an important role in the patterning of meals. At what time one ate and with whom often depends upon the season and the activities of the family. Similarly, seasonal variation occurs in the consumption of several kinds of food, and differences in preparation were also noted. Springtime evoked the holidays of Lent and Easter and the foods associated with those events and rituals. Fish, vegetables, and most frequently, roasted lamb were mentioned as being associated with the spring season. Some fresh fruits and vegetables such as artichokes and lentils were associated with spring but the most significant and frequent response was roasted lamb.

Melons, particularly watermelons, fruits, vegetables, cold food, and stuffed vegetables (particularly tomatoes and peppers) were associated with summer. Prohibitions include pork, sausage and "heavy foods" such as stews, while roasted meat in the form of shish kebob were acceptable. Autumn elicited very little response with the exception of bean soup and stuffed peppers.

Winter foods include pork, sausage, "heavy stews" and soups, boiled beef and vegetables and red wines. Soups and stews was the most frequent response to this question. It is noteworthy that the kinds of foods eaten do not differ significantly, with the exception of some meats. Lamb, although enjoyed all year round, must be roasted in the spring, while beef and other vegetables are boiled in the form of stews and soups in the winter. Easter, the celebration of rebirth and renewal, is characterized by the roasting of the lamb, the symbol of Christ. Levi-Strauss has noted the importance accorded the roasted meat, its central place at the table and its concomitant emphasis on luxury and waste, indicative of the elaborateness of the meal. It is fitting that such wastefulness symbolize a period of renewal and regeneration. To usher in an era of plenty, food is symbolically and literally wasted in order to propitiate a bountiful year.

The summer vegetables are used and stuffed in several ways. They can be baked or boiled in a sauce. Fruits and vegetables are also eaten raw in salads. Summer foods frequently combine land vegetables and meat.

Winter, like spring, reveals a change in food preparation as well as the kinds of foods consumed. Food is boiled in order to conserve the juices and prevent waste. Fish is served year round, although it is mostly associated with spring. Seasonal variation then involves changes in the varieties of food consumed and the method of preparation.

Conclusion

The concentration of this paper has been the ritual observances of Greek-Americans in Philadelphia in relation to their foodways. As Arensberg has suggested,

emphasis has been given to the rhythmic patterning and depth which gives expression to continuity and the quality of life that is transmitted. The food habits of this community have been explored and compared to those which exist in Greece. Points of contact and intersection have revealed a common theme largely perpetuated by the ritual and the symbolism of Eastern Orthodoxy. The continuity of a shared tradition has been expressed by the community through their use of particular foods identified by them as Greek.

Gizelis (1970-1971) has characterized Greek-American food habits as the blending of two traditions, the Greek and the American, in the creation of the unique Greek-American configuration. In his daily life the Greek-American must focus on the day-to-day activity from which he ekes out an existence. In this regard he differs not dramatically from his neighbor. Daily meal scheduling is flexible and consists of many American convenience foods which give expression to the demands of a fast paced urban setting.

On those occasions, however, in which he obliterates secular time, the Greek-American is periodically reaffirming and renewing his continuity with the tradition of his ancestors. Wider nuances through food and festival he expresses the continuation of a tradition which nurtures the spiritual and social aspects of his existence. The alternation of times exemplifies the attitude of the Greek-American as he continues to bring forth, recreate, and celebrate his unique identity.

Nuances and subtleties of meaning can be achieved through the use of the same configuration. By emphasizing a particular aspect of the same pattern different meanings emerge. During ritual and festive events the Greek community chooses to underline its communal and historical unity.

GLOSSARY

AVOGLEMENO: A soup prepared with chicken broth and lemon juice; often a beaten egg will be added.

BAKLAVA: A layered sweet pastry; sheets of paper thin pastry dough (phyllo) are brushed with melted butter and layered with ground nuts, sugar and cinnamon.

DOLMADES: Vine leaves stuffed with rice and/or ground meat, either lamb or beef.

FETA: A soft cheese made from goat's milk; either hot or mild, it is soaked in a salty brine and served as part of a meal or mixed to make other dishes.

KEFTIDES: Greek meatballs; ground beef flavored with oregano and mixed with bread crumbs and eggs.

KOULOURA: A sweet bread prepared for Easter.

KOURAMBIADES: Greek Wedding Cookies; prepared

from eggs, sugar and flour and flavored with vanilla or almond, the delicacies are rolled in powdered sugar.

MOUSSAKA: A layered dish consisting of alternating layers of eggplant, tomato sauce with ground beef or lamb and topped with a cream sauce.

PASTICHO: A layered dish consisting of flat broad noodles alternated with a tomato sauce and ground meat mixture.

PHYLLO: A paper thin pastry dough, often called strudel leaves; it is used for many of the sweet dishes and main dishes.

SPANAKOPITES: Triangular shaped little pies made of phyllo in which a mixture of feta and spinach has been stuffed.

TSOUREKIA: A form of Kouloura; a sweet bread prepared for Easter.

TYROPHITAS: Another triangular shaped "little pie" made from phyllo and stuffed with a feta and cottage cheese and egg mixture. These are served before, during or after a meal. If served for dessert, they are sprinkled with sugar and then eaten.

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PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY, XV: THE GRUBER-BAER ERA

LOUIS WINKLER

INTRODUCTION

John Gruber and John Baer played a unique roll in the history of German and English language almanacs in the Pennsylvania area. Each of these famous printers had outstanding German and English language almanacs, and in both cases, the almanacs survived many years after their printers' deaths. Gruber's surviving almanacs were the *Volksfreund und Hagerstauner Calender* and the *Hagerstown Town and Country Almanac*, and Baer's were the *Agricultural Almanac* and the *Neuer Gemeinnütziger Pennsylvanischer Calender*. The two English language almanacs still survive and are about as old as any continuously published almanacs in America.¹ Gruber's and Baer's almanacs were, and still are, circulated and used well beyond the limits of the states of Maryland and Pennsylvania where they were printed.

JOHN GRUBER (1768 - 1857)

A short biography of Gruber along with a sketch (Figure 1) of his likeness in the latter 18th Century appears in the *Hagerstown Town and Country Almanack* for 1897. The 1897 almanac also contains a sketch (Figure 2) of Gruber's home and printing shop in Hagerstown. A scholarly article by Cunz² covers the genealogy and personality of Gruber as well as some literary aspects of works printed by Gruber.

Before Gruber settled in Hagerstown it is apparent that Pennsylvania traditions had influenced him. Not only was Gruber born in Strasburg, Lancaster County, but he was an apprentice to the popular almanac printer of Philadelphia, Carl Cist, from 1783-1789. During

this period Cist published the *Americanischer Haus und Wirthschafts Calender* and the *Americanischer Stadt und Land Calender*. From 1793 to 1794 Gruber was also co-editor with Gottlieb Jungmann of the German language newspaper, *Neue Unpartheyische Readinger Zeitung und Anzeigs-Nachrichten*. Jungmann was also printer and co-printer of the noteworthy *Neuer Hauswirthschafts Calender*.

According to Gruber's obituary (Figure 3) appearing in the 1859 issue³ of the *Volksfreund und Hagerstauner Calender* his success in life had been signified by the arrangement of the planets at the time of his birth. Since Gruber's horoscope is given in compact astrological notation, in order to understand his horoscope one must reconstruct the arrangement of the planets for his birth date, October 31, 1768, by means of celestial mechanics. The astrologically beneficent planets, the sun, Jupiter, and Venus, are in astrological harmony because they are in conjunction⁴. Mars, which is maleficent, is in opposition to the three harmonious planets which is a desirable arrangement astrologically, to emphasize harmony. The moon is found in the sign of Cancer, another favorable indicator because Cancer is governor of the moon.⁵ Consequently, Gruber's horoscope is quite harmonious astrologically. It is most interesting that Cunz used the word "harmony," himself, in analyzing Gruber's makeup as follows: "Gruber was in complete harmony with God, with nature, with the world at large and with his immediate surroundings."

¹Although Gruber died December 29, 1857, his obituary did not appear until the 1859 issue. It is likely that the 1858 issue had been printed and mostly sold by his death.

²Conjunction means approximately in the same area of the sky. Opposition, used a bit later, means approximately in opposite parts of the sky.

³Just what the significance of Mercury is in the sign of Sagittarius is not clear to this writer. Further, for some reason, the planet Saturn has been omitted from the horoscope.

¹The *Farmer's Almanack* was first published for 1794, and according to C. L. Nichols, "Notes on the Almanacs of Massachusetts," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, N.S. 22, April 10, 1912, p.33, Webster of Albany began an almanac in 1787 which is still published.

²Dieter Cunz, "John Gruber and His Almanac," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XLVII (1952), No. 2, pp. 89-102.

This is a picture of the founder JOHN GRUBER, whose name is in the Middle and other States. It has when he was a young man—perhaps for he was twenty-nine years old

Mr. GRUBER was born in Strasburg, Pa., on the 29th of October, 1768, and died in 1857; therefore, he was in the of German descent and of highly records go back as far as 1555, and scendants. Many members of the and distinction. The first ancestor grandfather of JOHN GRUBER—John family at Philadelphia in 1726, and

It is a singular circumstance that been represented by only one male by each one in succession was that of manuscript are still in the possession ent divines—one of them being a verse.

Mr. GRUBER's father was a physician the same profession, but John pre the age of fifteen he was apprenticed to learn the art of printing. After his health being poor—his father ad he made arrangements to sail on the "Charming Sally," Captain Lillibridge, for San Domingo. He arrived safely upon the island, but in the midst of terrible scenes of rebellion which at that time resulted in the loss to France of the richest of the West India islands. During his stay here he engaged as a compositor on a French paper, and his health was much improved, but amid the terrible scenes of bloodshed and carnage he was obliged to escape in the disguise of a sailor, and he reached his native shore again after a prolonged and stormy voyage of many weeks duration.

In 1793 he went to Reading, Pa., and with Mr. Gotlob Jungman published the paper, "*Neue Unparteyische Readinger Zeitung und Anzeigs-Nachrichten.*" In 1794 he was married to Miss Catherine Alles, a daughter of Captain Henry Alles, of Revolutionary fame, and in the following year he removed to Hagerstown, where he continued to reside until his death.

JOHN GRUBER was in many respects a very remarkable man. His strict integrity was proverbial, and the same can be said in regard to the great regularity of his habits of life, to which, doubtless, he owed his general good health and the unusual length of his days, though he was naturally of a feeble frame.

Strictly industrious and attentive to his business, he was careful never to interfere with the business or characters of others. He was never known to speak ill of any one, and never had an enemy. He was devoted to his home and family, and for many years before his death never left them on business or pleasure. He was kind, charitable and humane. His life affords an example of virtue worthy of the highest emulation.

Fig. 1: Sketch of John Gruber, probably in his mid-twenties (From the Winkler Collection).



of the HAGERSTOWN ALMANACK—similar to many persons throughout been made from a *silhouette* taken before the Almanack was printed, when it was first published in 1797. burgh, Lancaster Co., Pa., on the Hagerstown on the 29th of Decem- ninetieth year of his age. He was respectable connections. The family are still preserved by one of his de- family were persons of great note who emigrated to America was the Adam Gruber, who landed with his settled near Germantown, Pa. up to this time the family had always member, and the profession adopted divinity. Many curious volumes of of the family written by these differ- translation of the entire Bible in

cian and he desired his son to adopt ferred a mechanical pursuit, and at to Mr. Charles Cist, of Philadelphia, the completion of his apprenticeship, vised a sea voyage, and accordingly 2nd of July, 1791, in the sloop

He arrived safely upon the island, but in the midst of terrible scenes of rebellion which at that time resulted in the loss to France of the richest of the West India islands. During his stay here he engaged as a compositor on a French paper, and his health was much improved, but amid the terrible scenes of bloodshed and carnage he was obliged to escape in the disguise of a sailor, and he reached his native shore again after a prolonged and stormy voyage of many weeks duration.

GRUBER'S ALMANACS

Gruber started printing almanacs in Hagerstown in 1797 with the *Neue Nord Americanische Stadt und Land Calender*. The same publication also went under the cover page name of *Neuer Hagerstauner Calender* for a period of time.⁶ In 1806 the cover page name became *Volksfreund und Hagerstauner Calender*, and it was only in 1816 that Daniel May became co-printer (Figure 4) and that the cover page and title page names both became *Volksfreund und Hagerstauner Calender*. Gruber continued this German language almanac for a quarter of a century before his first two English language almanacs appeared. In 1822 both the *American Farmer's Almanac* and the *Hagerstown Town and Country Almanack* appeared with May as co-printer. This partnership was preserved through 1839 with both English language almanacs, after which only the *Hagers-town and Country Almanack* was continued.

Gruber's German almanacs were apparently sufficiently popular to have other printer or publisher names appearing on them. Only the name Jacob D. Dietrich appeared on the 1805 issue of the *Neu Nord Americanische Stadt und*

Land Calender. The 1806 almanac of the same title appeared with Dietrich's name alongside Gruber's, identifying the former as a bookstore owner. The 1807 almanac appeared in three issues; one with Dietrich's name alone (Figure 5), a second with the bookstore owner, George Keatinge's name alongside Gruber's, and a third with Gruber's name alone. The 1807 issue with Gruber's name was special in that its cover page title was *Washingtoner und Hagerstauner Calender* and included a large folded pullout entitled "Anfangsgründe der ganzen Universal-Historie, von Anfang der Welt bis auf diese Zeit" (Figure 6). The 1819-1821 issues of the *Volksfreund und Hagerstauner Calender* were also printed by Schaeffer und Mound in Baltimore.

Only two other almanac titles are credited to Gruber. The first is an 1850 issue of *Hagers-City Town and Country Almanack* which was printed in Hagers City with Gruber's permission as William Stewart's edition. The second is an almanac which Phillips⁷ lists; namely, an 1844 issue of the *Stadt und Land Calender* printed by Gruber.

For the most part, standard astrological features of

⁶The 1897 issue of the *Hagerstown Town and Country Almanack* has facsimiles of the cover and title pages of the 1797 almanac.

⁷H. Phillips, *Catalog of the almanacs of Henry Phillips, Jr.*, Philadelphia, May 25, 1863.

THE HOME OF JOHN GRUBER.

We give here a representation of the home of JOHN GRUBER, where the Hagerstown Almanack was printed for many years.

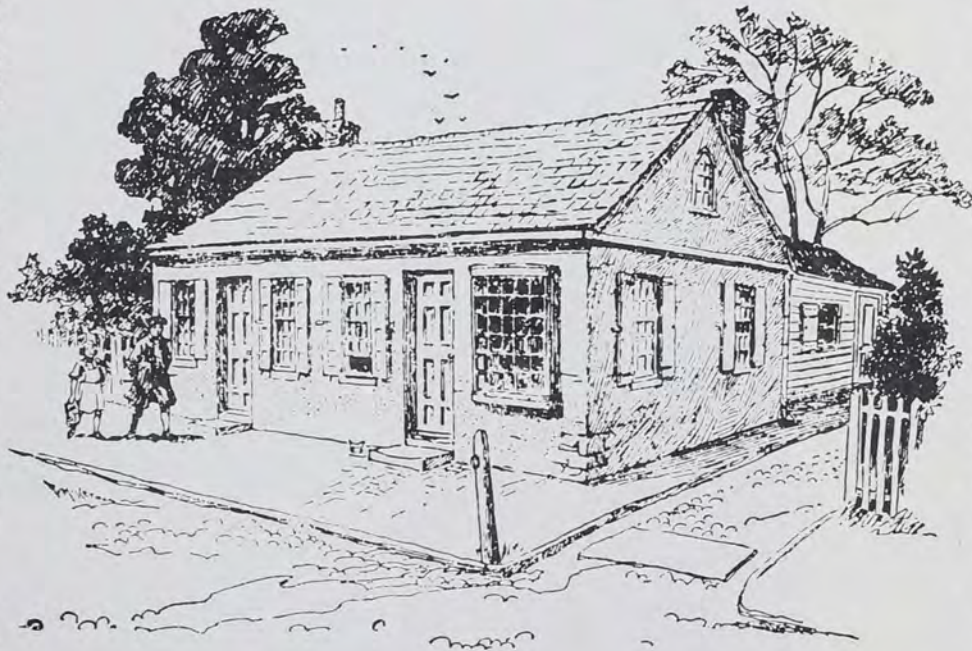
The house was located on South Potomac Street, on the corner of an alley, near the Public Square. The records do not tell us in what year it was built, but in 1798 John Heiskell, of Shenandoah Co., Va., transferred all right and title to the property to John Reynolds, of Washington Co., Md., for the sum of four hundred and pounds (two hundred and dollars) and sold it to GRUBER on the April, 1806. dred pounds and five hundred. It came into the present 1873 and was to make room building.

No doubt any residents town who nize the old the Gruber

The room with the how the room printing of which the Al sold as long ber lived, ioned hand used. We are informed that prior to the Revolution there were only about forty printing presses in this country, and the science and skill of today in printing was not dreamed of one hundred years ago.

What a contrast between the hand-press of that day and the cylinder and web presses of the present, that turn out from five thousand to one one hundred thousand papers in an hour.

Fig. 2. Sketch of Gruber's home and print shop (From the Winkler Collection).



twenty-five thousand two hundred and twenty-five he, in turn, JOHN GRUBER second day of for five hundred (two thousand dollars) possession of owner in torn down for a modern

there are many of Hagerstown will recognize the old homestead of family. on the corner window, was used for the office, and from manack was as Mr Gruber. The old-fashioned press was

the German and English language almanacs tended to remain constant throughout the time Gruber was printer. His German language almanacs contained substantially more astrology than the English versions. The German editions contained ruling planet designations, blood letting and cupping symbols among the monthly entries suggesting the appropriate times for these activities. The annual almanac man also contained traditional German advice concerning blood letting, cupping and wood cutting. Only the 1856-1859 German almanacs which appeared shortly before Gruber's death were essentially free of the standard astrological features. His English language almanacs only contained a simplified almanac man and a designation of the reigning planet for the year.

Both German and English almanacs contained a generous number of astronomical and astrological articles. For the years 1826, 1831 and 1849, essentially the same astronomical articles were used in two almanacs, one in the German, the other in the English language. In 1826 the article appearing in the *American Farmer's Almanac* and the *Volksfreund und Hagerstauner Calender* concerned technical data of the solar system members. The same two almanacs contained another article in 1831 which was a combination of astronomy and astrology

oder Jenner, hat 31 Tage.

Wochens Viertel.
Neumond den Aten, 12 Uhr 6 Min. Morgens.
Erstes Viertel den Aten, 2 Uhr 2 Min. Morgens.
Vollmond den Aten, 6 Uhr 26 Min. Morgens.
Letztes Viertel den Aten, 9 Uhr 24 Minuten
Nachmittags.

Wuchsmässige Witterung.
Den 1, 2 angenehm; 3, 4 trübe und Regen;
5, 6 veränderlich; 7, 8 angenehm; 9, 10 Regen
und Schnee; 11, 12, 13 veränderlich, kalt;
14, 15, 16 veränderlich; 17, 18, 19 Schnee;
20, 21 hell und kalt; 22, 23 trübe mit Regen
und Schnee; 24, 25 Nordwest-Wind, kalt; 26,
27 heiter und kalt; 28, 29 trübe; 30, 31 Regen
und Schnee.

Es ist am besten im Morgen mit der Sonne, über die ganze Nacht und in der Erde am besten.

Sonnennulle des Jahres 1859.

In diesem Jahre ereignen sich vier Sonnen- und zwei Mondfinsternisse.

Die erste ist eine theilweise Sonnenfinsternis am 2. Februar, um 7 Uhr 30 Min. Abends, hier nicht sichtbar, nur sichtbar in der Südsee.

Die zweite ist eine totale Mondfinsternis am 17. Febr., um 9 Uhr 31 Min. Morgens, hier sichtbar. Ende der Finsternis um 8 Uhr 10 Min. Morgens. Dauer der totalen Verfinsternung des Mondes 1 Stunde 37 Min.

Die dritte ist eine theilweise Sonnenfinsternis am 1. März, um 7 Uhr 17 Min. Nachmittags, nicht sichtbar in dem nördlichen Theile von Nordamerika. An der westlichen Küste von Nordamerika, Kalifornien und Oregon wird nur ein kleiner Theil der Verfinsternung sichtbar sein.

Die vierte ist eine theilweise Sonnenfinsternis am 29. Juli, um 4 Uhr 26 Min. Nachmittags, hier sichtbar. Dauer der theilweisen Verfinsternung 54 Minuten.

Die fünfte ist eine totale Mondfinsternis am 18. August, um 11 Uhr 18 Min. Morgens, hier sichtbar.



Die sechste ist eine theilweise Sonnenfinsternis am 28. August, um 12 Uhr 1 Min. Morgens, hier nicht sichtbar, nur sichtbar in der Südsee, nahe dem Südpole.

Der verstorbene Herr John Gruber.

Von Herrn des Hagerstauner Calenders wird es wohl wohl angenehm sein, eine kurze Skizze des Verstorbenen in diesem Jahresganze zu haben. Der Verstorbene starb am 29. December 1857 in Hagerstaun, Maryland. Er war der Gründer und erste Herausgeber dieses Calenders, der bereits zum hundertjährigen Jubiläum gelangt.

John Gruber, der Sohn von Dr. Jacob Gruber, eines berühmten Arztes und Schülers des berühmten Dr. Kuhn, wurde in Stafford, Stafford County, Va., am 31. October 1788 geboren. Er erreichte somit ein Alter von 69 Jahren. Ein feierliches Beerdigungsgedächtnis fand in der Zeit seiner Krankheit statt, als er eine Verheirathung seines ferneren Lebens sein, nämlich, daß die Plancie eine solche haben: O. V. 9. in net. 3 in 7. 3 in 8. 8 v. 2 in 2.

Herr Gruber war von heiliger Arbeit und von nicht achtbarer Familie. Sein Stammbaum geht bis zum Jahre 1655, welches von einem seiner Vorfahren ausgedrückt wird. Sein erster Besuch, dessen ich mich entsinne, war Andreas Gruber, ein berühmter Weidener in der Grafschaft Loudoun. Im Jahre 1802 darselbst Philipps Hermann Gruber in Hagerstaun eine Dame von dem Namen und Stillberg, Söhne, geboren. Der Hochzeitsabend war ein sehr feierlicher. Er wurde später in Hagerstaun bei seinem Onkel, Dr. John Martin, verheiratet. Seine Kinder der Familie waren Männer von großem Talent und Können. Der erste Sohn, welcher nach Amerika auswanderte, war der Weidener des Hagerstauner Calenders (John Adam Gruber), welcher mit seiner Familie im Jahre 1725 in Philadelphia landete und in Hagerstaun bei Hermann

Fig. 3. Gruber's Obituary from the 1859 "Volksfreund und Hagerstauner Calender" (Courtesy of Juniata College Library).

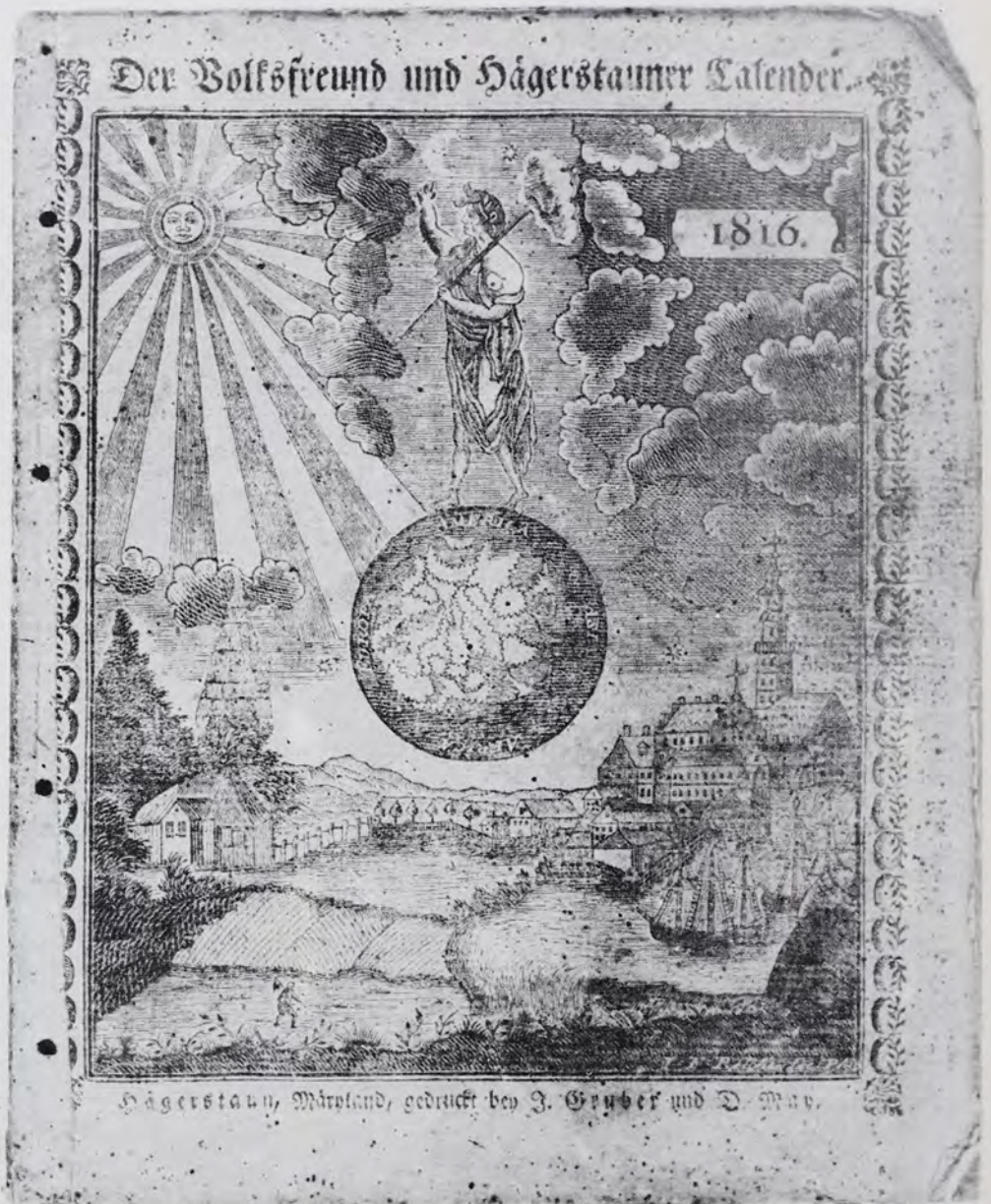


Fig. 4: "Volksfreund und Hagerstauner Calender" for 1816, with May as co-printer (Courtesy of Juniata College Library).

of comets. The article on comets, however, which appeared in the 1844 issue of the *Volksfreund und Hagerstauner Calender* was much more technical and astronomical in nature. In 1849 an article appeared in both the *Volksfreund und Hagerstauner Calender* and the *Hagerstown Town and Country Almanac* on the appearance of the planets that year since there was a better than average display.

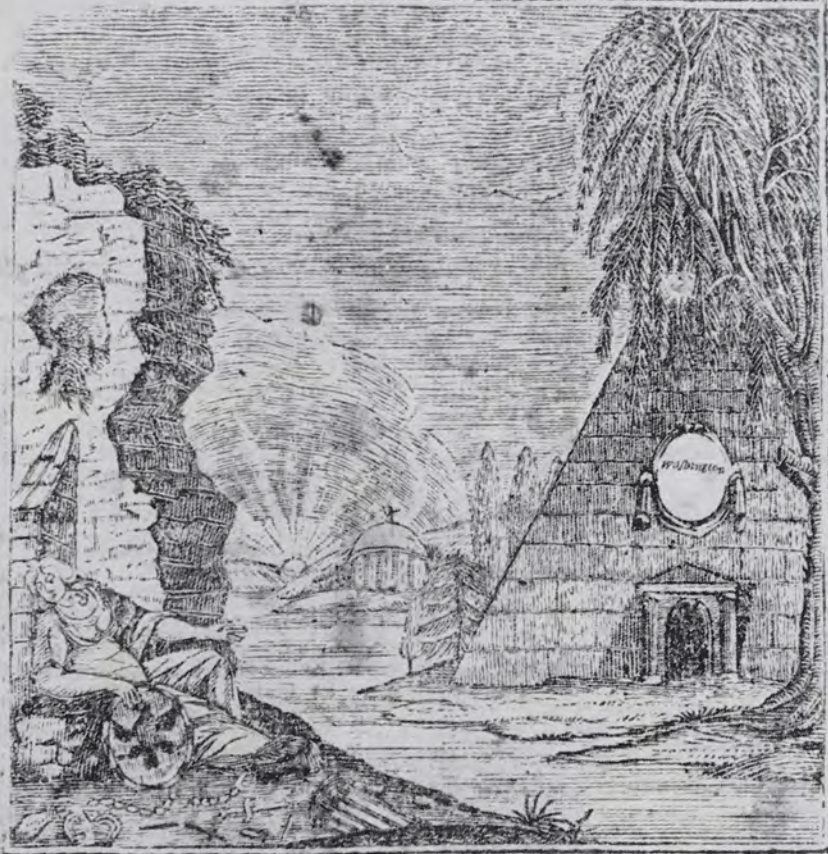
Blood letting was exclusively the material for Gruber's German audience and the attitudes presented to the reader were dichotomous. In addition to the annual advice, articles on the subject also appeared for the

years 1815 and 1825. Conditions and methods for blood letting were complex and apparently confused in the minds of many since a special clarification was given for the years 1824-1826 as follows:

Aderlassen soll (nach dem alten Gebrauch) nicht an dem Tage geschehen, wann der Mond in dem Zeichen ist, dem das kranke Glied urgeeignet ist.

The advice was to blood let according to the affected portion of the body rather than according to the position of the moon relative to the zodiacal signs which, through the almanac man, govern various parts of the body. This type of confusion is natural since traditional blood letting advice was placed alongside the almanac

[1807.]



Der Waschbürgtöner und Hagerstauner Calender.

Fig. 5: Dietrich's version of Gruber's "Volksfreund und Hagerstauner Calender" for 1807 (Courtesy of Juniata College Library).

man and advice for wood cutting. Further confusion existed since there was some question as to the validity of blood letting. A disclaimer based on current scholarly attitudes also appeared alongside blood letting advice in a number of issues as follows:

Wir haben obiges zufolge dem alten Gebrauch eingerückt, müssen aber unsere Leser berichten, dass die Gelehrten, in diesem erleuchteten Zeitalter, kein Zutrauen daran haben.

A hedging attitude was also noticeable in the *American Farmers Almanac* for 1828 with the article entitled "Influence of the Moon on the Body". The article explained how the moon really didn't have a direct

influence on the body as thought in more uninformed times . . . The influence was actually indirect! A straightforward disclaimer is found in the 1834 *American Farmer's Almanac* within an article entitled "The Dog Days". The article dealt with incorrectly supposed affects of the star Sirius in the summer months.

Whereas Gruber's earlier almanacs were calculated by John Flack⁸, the later ones were calculated by Carl Friederich Egelmann, the famous almanac calculator. When Egelmann made his debut in 1823 his name

⁸According to the 1897 issue of the *Hagerstown Town and Country Almanack*.

Jupiter ist dieses Jahr nach der alten, und der Mond nach der neuen Regel der regierende Planet . . . Die alte Regel hat 7 und die neue 9 Planeten.

The ninth planet may just refer to the brightest and largest of the minor planets, Ceres, which orbits between Mars and Jupiter.

The only remaining article of Gruber's which is noteworthy is one appearing in the *American Farmers Almanac* for 1830. Although the title of the article, "Nature and Properties of Air," does not concern astronomy or astrology directly, we are notified of an amazingly incorrect astronomical phenomenon ". . . air supports our globe, and keeps it in orbit. . ." In fact, our globe attracts the air, and orbits by virtue of an equilibrium between gravitation and orbital velocity. This should have been understood by 1830 since Newton's gravitational work had been done almost one and a half centuries earlier.

JOHN BAER (1797-1858)

A short biography of Baer by Ellis and Evans¹⁰ appeared in 1883, twenty-five years after Baer's death, while his portrait (Figure 7) appeared in the 1975 issue of *Agricultural Almanac*. Baer spent his entire life in interior Pennsylvania where he was a prosperous printer, and reputedly esteemed by all. He was born in Leacock Township, Lancaster County, in an area settled by Mennonites from Switzerland. His early experience as a printer was with William Green in Columbia, Lancaster County, and later with John Wyeth of Harrisburg.

Baer's early printing ventures were quite noteworthy. By the age of twenty-one he had formed a partnership with Samuel King to publish the *Volksfreund* newspaper, and then four months later became sole proprietor by purchasing King's interest. In 1819 Baer published the first German Bible in folio in this country. By 1834 he purchased the *Lancaster Beobachter* newspaper from Samuel Wagner and then combined that newspaper with the *Volksfreund* under the name *Der Volksfreund und Beobachter*. Both Gruber and Baer incorporated the word *Volksfreund* in their almanac and newspaper, respectively, for many years. According to Ellis and Evans, Baer's printing enterprises, involving miscellaneous moral and religious books, were remarkable.

The first almanac printed by Baer in Lancaster was the English language *Agricultural Almanac* for 1825. This almanac had been started by Solomon W. Conrad of Philadelphia in 1817 and continued by him until 1827. In 1825 the almanac was also printed in Philadelphia by Marot and Walter, Bennett and Walton, and Kimber and Sharpless. For the year 1828 no known copy of *Agricultural Almanac* appeared with Baer's name, only the issues calculated by John Armstrong and printed by James F. M'Carty in Blairsville and William Davis in Zanesville. In 1829 the almanac was



Fig. 7: John Baer (1797-1858) (Courtesy of Gerald Leszt of John Baers Sons).

printed by Baer in Lancaster and Thomas Desilver in Philadelphia. Except for the year 1840 when *Agricultural Almanac* was printed in Philadelphia by Prouty-Libby-Prouty, and J. Van Court, the family name of Baer is the only one to appear on the almanac.

Transition of printing duties from John Baer to his sons was gradual. From 1829 to 1854 John Baer was the only printer of *Agricultural Almanac*, except for 1840. For the years 1855-1859 the printing credits were given to John Baer and Sons. Only from 1859 onward was the printing done by John Baer's sons. John Baer died November 6, 1858. A change from the old almanac cover to the one basically retained today occurred in 1854, one year before Baer's sons began helping him (Figures 8 and 9).

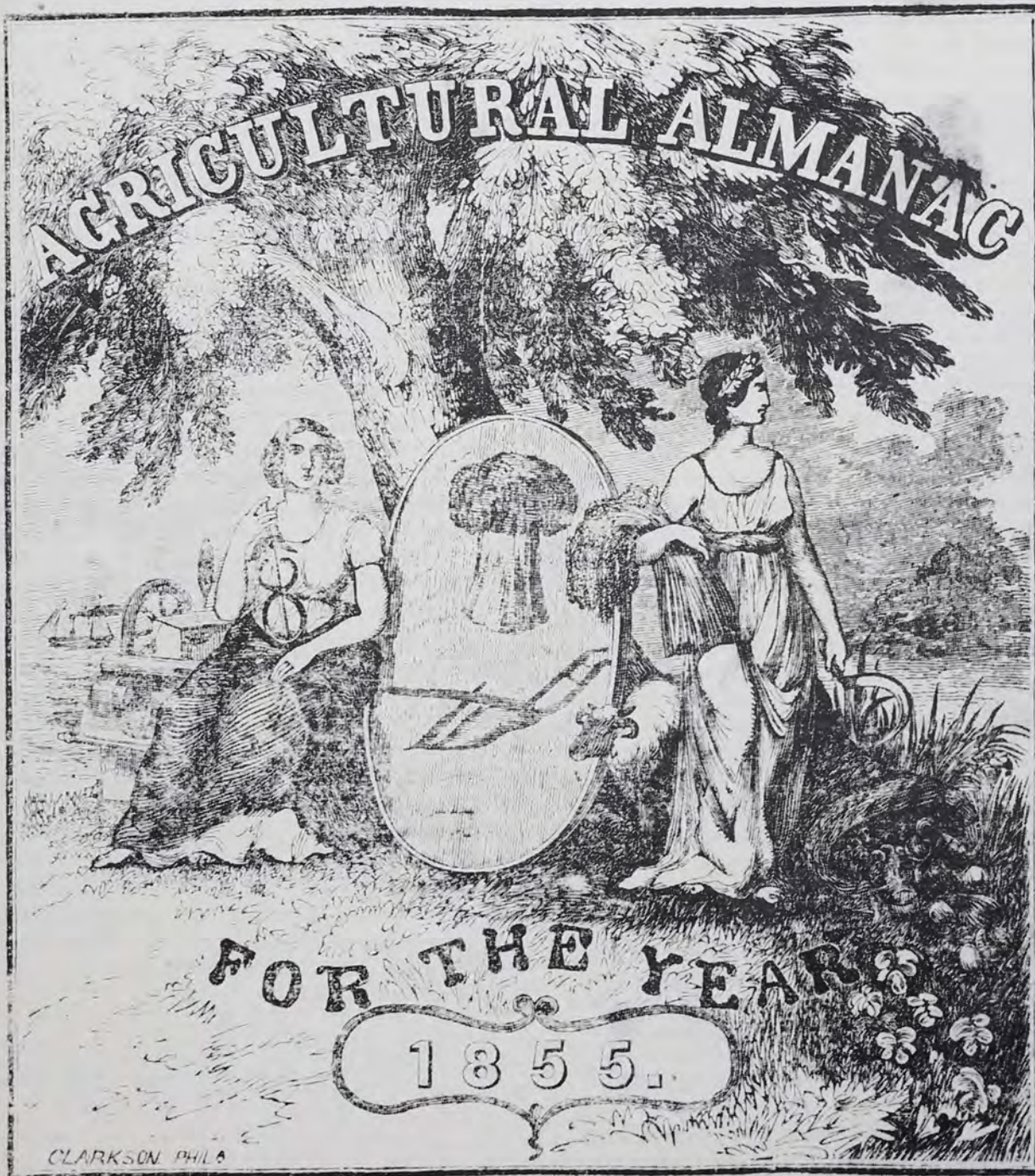
Printing credits for Baer's German almanac *Neuer Gemeinnütziger Pennsylvanischer Calender* was a much simpler matter. From 1831-1859 the only designation was John Baer of Lancaster. The only other German Almanac credited to Baer is the *Landwirths und Seidenbauers Calender* for 1840. This almanac was unique in that it was filled with articles directed at silkworm farmers. The almanac was calculated by Egelmann.

**AGRICULTURAL ALMANAC,
FOR THE YEAR 1835.**



LANCASTER, (PA.) PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOHN BEAR.

Fig. 8: Old "Agricultural Almanac" cover used until 1853 (Courtesy of the Pennsylvania State University Library).



LANCASTER, PA. :

Printed and sold by JOHN BAER & SONS, No. 11 North Queen Street.

Fig. 9: New "Agricultural Almanac" used since 1854 (Courtesy of the Pennsylvania State University Library).

The standard astrological data for the English and German almanacs remained rather constant throughout Baer's lifetime. His *Agricultural Almanac* contained a simplified almanac man and a designation of the ruling planet for the year. The *Neuer Gemeinnütziger Pennsylvanischer Calendar* had the traditional almanac man with blood letting, cupping and wood cutting advice. Ruling planet and extensive 100-year-calendar quotations, depending on the ruling planet, regularly appeared. As in the case of Gruber's almanacs, blood letting was reserved for the German readers.

All but one of Baer's astronomical or astrological articles appeared between the years 1833-1839. Articles appeared in *Agricultural Almanac* for the years 1838 and 1849 on the influences of the moon on agriculture. For the year 1833 an article appeared in *Agricultural Almanac* which was Herschel's table (Figure 10) for weather forecasted by the phases of the moon. As explained in the article, this theory of Herschel's was developed about twenty years prior to the 1833 appearance in *Agricultural Almanac*. This weather prediction table would appear in many future issues of the almanac. An article appeared in *Neuer Gemeinnütziger Pennsylvanischer Calendar* for 1836 on the structure of the universe. While most concerned with technical details of the solar system, the writer of the article confused the comet of 1769 with Halley's celebrated comet of 1759. The 1839 issue of *Neuer Gemeinnütziger Calendar* had a nice technical description of the planet Saturn under the ruling planet section.

CONCLUSION

The period in which Gruber and Baer flourished was the heyday of the German-style almanac in America by virtue of the number of almanac titles printed and Egelmann's extensive contributions. Four other almanacs overlapping in time with Gruber's and Baer's were the *Americanische Stadt und Land Calender*, the *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender*, the *Neue Americanische Landwirthschafts Calender* and the *Neuer*

Calender fur die Bauern und Handwerker. While Egelmann's name appeared on many issues of these almanacs, except for the *Americanische Stadt und Land Calender*, only the *Neue Americanische Landwirthschafts Calender* lasted into the 20th Century, until World War I. While Zentler's *Americanische Stadt und Land Calender* and Ritter's *Neue Americanische Landwirthschafts Calender* rivaled the *Volksfreund und Hagerstauner Calender* and the *Neuer Gemeinnütziger Pennsylvanischer Calendar* in standard annual astrological features, Mentz's *Neuer Calender fur die Bauern und Handwerker* and the tail end of the famous *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender* were less generous with annual material. None of the four noteworthy almanacs contemporary with Gruber's and Baer's could approach Gruber's frequent and wide range of astrological and astronomical articles. In this one aspect, their articles much more rivaled those appearing in Baer's almanacs.

With the death of Egelmann on November 30, 1860 the Big Three (Gruber, Egelmann and Baer) of the German-style almanac had died, all within a three year period. The poignant event was commemorated in the *Volksfreund und Hagerstauner Calender* for 1861 and the *Agricultural Almanac* for 1862. Calculations of both almanacs were credited to Egelmann's widow and the printing of Gruber's almanac to Gruber's widow, Catherina. For many years later the calculator for the two almanacs, Lawrence I. Ibach, referred to himself as the successor to Carl Friedrich Egelmann. John Gruber's and John Baer's names are still associated with the *Hagerstown Town and Country Almanack* and *Agricultural Almanac*, respectively.

After 1860, perhaps partly due also to our Civil War, the German-style almanacs became more diffuse in character. Features such as profuse advertising, grotesque drawings, changes in size, shape and thickness, and syndicated printings crept in. These diffuse features heralded the beginning of the sad end of the traditional German almanac.

¹⁰F. Ellis and S. Evans, *History of Lancaster County* (Philadelphia: Everts and Peck, 1883), pp. 500-501.

A Table

For foretelling the Weather through all the Lunations of each year forever.

This table and the accompanying remarks, are the result of many years actual observation; the table being constructed on a due consideration of the attraction of the sun and moon in their several positions respecting the earth; and will, by simple inspection, shew the observer what kind of weather will most probably follow the entrance of the moon into any of its quarters, and that so near the truth, as to be seldom or never found to fail.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. The nearer the time of the Moon's Change, First Quarter, Full and Last Quarter, are to MIDNIGHT, the fairer will the weather be during the seven days following.

2. The space for this calculation occupies from ten at night till two next morning.

3. The nearer to MID-DAY, or NOON, the phases of the Moon happen, the more foul or wet weather may be expected during the next seven days.

4. The space for this calculation occupies from ten in the forenoon to two in the afternoon. These observations refer principally to Summer, though they affect Spring and Autumn nearly in the same ratio.

5. The Moon's Change—First Quarter—Full—and Last Quarter, happening during six of the afternoon hours, i. e. from four to ten, may be followed by fair weather; but this is mostly dependent on the WIND, as is noted in the Table.

6. Though the weather, from a variety of irregular causes, is more uncertain in the latter part of Autumn, the whole of Winter, and the beginning of Spring; yet, in the main, the above observations will apply to those periods also.

7. To prognosticate correctly, especially in those cases where the *wind* is concerned, the observer should be within sight of a good *vane*, where the four cardinal points of the heavens are correctly placed. With this precaution he will scarcely ever be deceived in depending on the Table.

The above Table was communicated by the celebrated Dr. ADAM CLARKE for publication in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. Dr. Clarke says:—"About twenty years ago, a Table, purporting to be the work of the late Dr. Herschel, was variously published, professing to form prognostics of the weather, by the times of the change, full and quarters of the Moon. I have carefully consulted this Table

MOON. TIME OF CHANGE.	IN SUMMER.	IN WINTER.
Between midnight and two in the morning.	Fair.	hard frosts, unless the wind be s. or w.
2 and 4 morning.	cold with frequent showers.	snow and stormy.
4 and 6	rain.	rain.
6 and 8	wind and rain.	stormy.
8 and 10	changeable.	cold rain, if wind w.; snow if e.
10 and 12	frequent showers.	cold & high wind.
At 12 o'clock at noon and two P. M.	very rainy.	snow or rain.
Between 2 and 4 afternoon.	changeable.	fair and mild.
4 and 6	fair.	fair.
6 and 8	fair if wind n. w.	fair and frosty if wind n. or s. e.
8 and 10	rainy if s. or s. w.	ra. or sn. if s. or s. w.
"	ditto.	ditto.

A 2

Fig. 10: Dr. Herschel's table of weather prediction according to the phases of the moon (Courtesy of the Pennsylvania State University Library).



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& Confidential

ADVERTISEMENTS OF URBAN HEALERS

Since the Second World War there has been on the American scene a rapid growth of unorthodox healers. Chief among these are the so-called "Indian Readers" or "Healers by Prayer". In Pennsylvania these urban practitioners have taken their place beside the traditional Pennsylvania German powwower on the one hand and the old-fashioned fortune-teller on the other. While some of them appeal to the American Indian as symbol of magic healing powers, some of them are black and appeal to the charisma of the West Indies or of the voodoo traditions of New Orleans. Some are Puerto Rican or possibly Gypsy in origin; at least one appears to be Polish with a Polish clientele.

George Peterson, III, wrote the first analytical article on this phenomenon — "Indian Readers and Healers by Prayer". It appeared in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XVI:1 (Autumn 1966), 2-7. Since then the Editor has continued to collect the healers' advertisements, which are distributed on city streets, parking lots, and elsewhere.

These healers offer to "rid you of your burden," "remove evil influence and bad luck," "tell past, present, and future." They assure "health, happiness,

love, and business"; they advise on "courtship, marriage, divorce, and lawsuits". They promise "instant help," "same day help," "guaranteed results within 3 days". One promises that "the touch of her hand will heal you".

In addition to Indian Reader, the names for these healer-advisers include American Spiritualist Reader and Adviser, Palmist, Religious Holy Healer, and God Sent God's Messenger. Among their "titles" are "Madame," "Mother," "Mrs.," "Sister," "Reverend Sister," "Holy Sister," and "Licensed Bishop".

Among the material goods offered, to aid one in the healing or protective process, are "free lucky charms," "blessed candles," "lucky numbers," and other come-ons. In this regard they resemble some of our American radio evangelists, who advertise blessed handkerchiefs and amulets.

Most of the examples published here, all of which are from the Editor's Collection, are from the Philadelphia metropolitan area. Examples from other areas of Pennsylvania as well as from out of state will be appreciated, also any comments from readers on the growth of this phenomenon in their areas.—EDITOR.

MRS. LENA

AMERICAN SPIRITUALIST

Gifted Reader and Advisor
SOLVES ALL PROBLEMS OF LIFE

CALL GR 6-8461

5233 CHESTNUT ST. - - NEAR 52ND ST.



Religious Woman — Healer and Advisor

Friends, we urge you to see **MRS. LENA** the Religious Holy Woman healer, God's messenger who guarantees to heal the sick and the ailing, to remove all suffering and bad luck from your body. She will call your enemies by name and tell you who to keep away from. She is a religious and holy woman who will show you luck. What your eyes see your heart must believe, and then your heart will be convinced that this is the religious holy woman you have been looking for. The touch of her hand will heal you. **MRS. LENA** has the God-given Power to Heal by Prayer. Everyone welcome at **MRS. LENA** Home. Are you suffering? Are you sick? Do you need help? Do you have bad luck? Bring your problems to **MRS. LENA** today and be rid of them tomorrow. **MRS. LENA** is in this vicinity for the first time. She guarantees to reunite the separated and solemnly swears to heal the sick, and help all who come to her, and remove all evil spells. She has devoted a lifetime to this religious work. She guarantees to cure you where others have failed. Why go on suffering? — When just one visit to this woman will take God's sickness and pain away from you. One visit will convince you that she is God's messenger on earth. With God's help on this earth she'll show it to you. **MRS. LENA** has helped thousands and thousands and guaranteed to help you too have failed. If you suffer from alcoholism and cannot find a cure, don't fail to see this gifted woman who will help you. She also guarantees to restore you lost nature, and she guarantees her work. Through **MRS. LENA** prayers the cripple have walked and the blind have seen the light.

Open from 9 A.M. till 9 P.M. daily and Open Sunday's — Appointment Only



MRS. LENA
CALL - GR 6-846

5233 CHESTNUT STREET
1 Block From 52nd Street Subway Stop
PHILADELPHIA



MRS. HOWARD
LO 7-0863
2126 Walnut St.
FIRST FLOOR FRONT
PHILA. PA.



CORNER
22nd & Walnut

Mrs. Howard

AMERICAN SPIRITUALIST

Gifted Reader and Advisor
SOLVES ALL PROBLEMS OF LIFE

LO 7-0863

2126 Walnut St.

FIRST FLOOR FRONT
PHILA. PA.

Religious Woman — Healer and Advisor

One visit will convince you! Mrs. Howard has the God-Given Power to Heal by Prayer. Everyone Welcome at Mrs. Howard's home. What you see with your eyes, your heart will believe. Are you suffering? Are you sick? Do you need help? Do you have bad luck? Bring your problems to Mrs. Howard today and be rid of them tomorrow. She advises on all affairs of life. There is no problem too great she can't solve (how to hold your job when you failed, and how to succeed, word and reunites the separated.) Upon reaching womanhood she realized she had the God Given power to help humanity. Mrs. Howard has devoted a lifetime to this work. From the four corners of the world they have come to her, men and women of all races and walks of life. Guaranteed to remove evil influence and bad luck. There is no pity for those knowing they are in hard luck and need help and do not come for it — one visit will convince you. She gives lucky days and hands. Lifts you out of sorrow and darkness and starts you on the way to success and happiness. If you suffer from alcoholism and cannot find a cure, don't fail to see this Gifted Woman who will help you. Mrs. Howard invites you to her home. If you cannot find her, call her. Mrs. Howard guarantees to restore your lost nature problems. Open from 9 a.m., till 9 p.m., daily and open Sunday's — Appointment only.

REV. SISTER LUCILLE'S BOOKS

Dream, Astrology, Horoscope and Palmistry Books

All types of Reading Books

Buy a book and get a FREE Reading
\$1.00 Charge To See Rev. Sister Lucille

FREE LUCKY NUMBER AND CHARM WITH THIS AD
IF UNHAPPY, DISCOURAGED, A FAILURE IN BUSINESS OR
LOVE, THIS MESSAGE IS FOR YOU

REV. SISTER LUCILLE

First time in your city—She is well known throughout the South
She's one of the Seven Sisters born with a double veil, from New Orleans
Her Spiritual Power Is A Gift of God

LUCKY DAYS AND LUCKY NUMBERS

There's no problem so great she can't solve. Tells you how to hold your job, when you've failed and how to succeed. Calls your friends and enemies by name without asking you a single word. Tells you your troubles and what to do about them. Reunites the separated. Upon reaching womanhood and realizing she had God given power to heal she has devoted a lifetime to this work. Guarantees to remove evil influence and bad luck. One visit will convince you she's superior to any other reader you've seen. Gives lucky days & lucky hands. Lifts you out of sorrow and darkness and starts you on the way to success and happiness. You owe it to yourself to consult this gifted lady. There's no home so sad or heart so dreary that she cannot put sunshine and happiness into it. If you've been to others without success, don't fail to see her today. She succeeds where others fail.

Come today. Tomorrow may be too late.



I've had hard luck & been under evil influence for many years. I couldn't hold a job but one visit to Sister Lucille and I have a steady job and am feeling fine.



I was flat on my back suffering from an incurable disease. There was no hope until I saw Sister Lucille, the Indian healer, thank God for her, I am well.



I was unsuccessful in marriage & separated many years. One visit to Sister Lucille and we're together and very happy.

HI 6-9825

7523 WEST CHESTER PIKE, UPPER DARBY, PA.
4 BLOCKS WEST OF 69TH STREET TERMINAL

— DON'T STAY HOME AND SUFFER —

OPEN DAILY 8 A.M. - 9 P.M., SUNDAY 8 A.M. - 2 P.M.
KEEP ME FOR LUCK



HOLY SISTER SUPRENA

PALM READINGS

The God-given power to heal by prayer. Everyone welcomes at her Place. What you see with your eyes, your heart will believe. Do you need help? Do you have bad luck? Bring your problems to her today and be rid of them tomorrow. She advises on all affairs of life. There's no problem so great she can't solve (how to hold your job when you have failed and how to succeed, without asking a single word and reunited the separated.) Upon reaching womanhood and realizing she had the God-given Power to help humanity, she has devoted a lifetime to this work. From the 4 corners of the world they came to her. Guaranteed to remove evil influence and bad luck.

There is no pity for those who know they are in hard luck and need help and do not come for it—one visit will convince you. She gives lucky days and hands. Lifts you out of sorrow and dark — and starts you on the way to success and happiness.

By Donation Only
152 North 13th Street (1st Floor) Phila. Pa
PHONE: 563-5494

Open Daily and Sunday 9 am to 6 pm



Madame Jean

This Miracle Spiritualist Reader can help you with all of your problems. Are you sick, are you lonely, do you have bad luck following you around. Are you separated from your husband, wife or sweetheart? I can reunite you again for a full happy life. RESULTS IN 3 DAYS

Free lucky charm with a reading
SEND THREE DOLLARS
FOR READING

Come, Call or Write.
One free question on the phone

Area Code 215 — TR 7-4572
4723 CONSHOCKEN AVE PHILA. PA. 19131

CE 2-9857

SISTER ANN
1410 W. GIRARD AVE.
PHILA., PA.
THIS IS A SPECIAL MESSAGE THAT
COULD CHANGE YOUR ENTIRE LIFE
SPIRITUAL READER, HEALER & ADVISOR
She has God's Given Power to help humanity,
there is no pity for those who needs help and does
not come to **SISTER ANN**. **SISTER ANN** is from Holy
Jerusalem. See her today.
OPEN DAILY and SUNDAY - 9 A.M. to 9 P.M.



MRS. HOPE

33 Maplewood Avenue 2nd Floor Front
Call Anytime VI 3-5415

SPIRITUAL READER & ADVISOR

Touch of her hand will heal you. She has God-given power to heal by prayer. All are welcome. What you see with Your eyes, your heart will believe. Are you suffering? Are you sick? Do you need help? Do you have bad luck? **BRING YOUR PROBLEMS TO THE gifted healer today and be rid of them tomorrow.** Advise on all affairs of life. There is no problem so great that she can't solve. (How to hold your job when you've failed and how to succeed.) She calls your friends and enemies by name without asking you a single word, re-unites the separated. Upon reaching womanhood and realizing she had the God-given power to help humanity, she has devoted a life time to this work. From the four corners of the world they come to her, men and women from all walks of life. Guaranteed to remove evil influence and bad luck. There's no pity for those knowing they're in bad luck and need help and do not come for it. One visit will convince you.
She gives lucky days and puts you on the road to success, lifts you out of sorrow & darkness and starts you on the way to success & happiness. She is here for the first time. She invites you to her home.

SISTER KENNEY

Spiritual Reader & Advisor

Comes From India, Land of Miracles
The Miracle Lady who has helped Thousands of people
with ALL problems of life such as Love, Business,
Health, Marriage, Sickness, ETC.
Dear Friend, We ask for only a moment of your time
That moment may change your entire life and end all
miseries. This remarkable woman, the great divine
healer & advisor, who can heal by the power of prayer
guarantees to help you. No matter what the problem
might be, whether sickness, bad luck, or evil influences.
There's no problem so great she can't solve. Tells you
how to hold your job when you've failed and how to
succeed. Calls your friends & enemies by name without
asking you a single word. Will tell you your troubles &
what to do about them. Reunites the separated. Upon
reaching womanhood and realizing she had God given
power to heal, she has devoted her life to this work.

1904 Chestnut St., Phila., Pa.
Corner 19th St. 1st Floor Apt. 0

Open daily & Sun. 9am - 9pm

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AMERICAN READER AND ADVISOR

Readings Priced Within Reach of All!
(LUCKY DAYS AND NUMBERS WITH READINGS)

I will give you never-failing advice on all matters of
life, such as love, courtship, marriage, business, specula-
tions, and transactions of all kinds. I never fail to reunite
the separated, cause speedy and happy marriages, stum-
ble, the separated, rivals, lovers' quarrels, evil habits, stum-
bling blocks, and bad luck of all kinds; I will lift you out
of your sorrow and trouble and start you on the path of
happiness and prosperity; there is no heart so sad or
home so dreary that I cannot bring sunshine to; in fact,
no matter what may be your hope, fear, or ambition. Act
today, tomorrow may be too late. One visit will repay
you many times. "SEE THE WOMAN WHO KNOWS"
No Letters Answered. Private Waiting Room - ALL
READINGS PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL.

AVAILABLE FOR PARTIES & SEANCES
Hours: 10 A.M. to 8 P.M. Daily & Sundays

Conveniently Located at PHILA., PA.
3741 WALNUT STREET
For Information and Appointment CALL
MRS. LUKE at: BA 2-9075

I Am The ORIGINAL



MADAM MARIE

Other readers may have used my name or picture, but the
do not have my God-gifted powers of healing and advice.
See me with your eyes and believe me with your heart.
I will help on all problems. I will remove all evil influence
and bring sunshine, happiness, health, love, and luck into
your home. **QUICK RESULTS.**
Private Readings in my home - Daily 9 A.M. to 11 P.M.
Sunday 9 A.M. to 3 P.M. POLSKA WORSKAM.

3744 Germantown Ave.

(Near Corner of Locust & Butler)
"C" BUS STOP NEAR DOOR

LOOK FOR FLASHING SIGN IN GROUND FLOOR STORE WINDOW
ACROSS FROM PARKING LOT & CHURCH AT BROAD & BUTLER

Full Reading - \$1.00
ONE QUESTION FREE

BA 5-9141

SISTER MARY

AMERICAN SPIRITUALIST

Gifted Reader and Advisor

ALSO CARD READING

SOLVES ALL PROBLEMS OF LIFE

CALL - SH 8-7017

6121 MARKET STREET
WEST PHILA., PA.

RELIGIOUS WOMAN — HEALER and ADVISOR

Friends, we urge you to see **SISTER MARY** the Religious Holy Woman healer,
God's messenger who guarantees to help the sick and the ailing, to remove all suffer-
ing and bad luck from your body. She will call your enemies by name and tell
you who to keep away from. She is a religious and holy woman who will show you
with your own eyes how she will remove sorrow, sickness and pain, and all bad
luck. What your eyes see your heart must believe, and then your heart will be con-
vinced that this is the religious holy woman you have been looking for. The touch
of her hand will heal you. **SISTER MARY** has the God-given Power to Heal by
Prayer. Everyone welcome at **SISTER MARY** Home. Are you suffering? Are you
sick? Do you need help? Do you have bad luck? Bring your problems to **SISTER**
MARY today and be rid of them tomorrow. **SISTER MARY** is in this vicinity for the
first time. She guarantees to reunite the separated and solemnly swears to heal the
sick, and help all who come to her, and remove all evil spells. She has devoted a
lifetime to this religious work. She guarantees to cure you where others have failed.
Why go on suffering? - When just one visit to this woman will take the sickness and
and pain away from you. One visit will convince you that she is God's messenger
on earth. With God's help on this earth she'll show it to you. **SISTER MARY** has
helped thousands and thousands and guaranteed to help you too. **SISTER MARY** re-
moves all pain. This religious healer will help you where others have failed. If
you suffer from alcoholism and cannot find a cure, don't fail to see this gifted
woman who will help you. She also guarantees to restore your lost nature, and she
guarantees her work. Through **SISTER MARY** prayers the cripple have walked and
the blind have seen the light.

NO APPOINTMENT NECESSARY

DAILY: 9:00 A.M. to 9:00 P.M.
INCLUDING SUNDAY



SISTER MARY

CALL - SH 8-7017

6121 MARKET STREET
WEST PHILA., PA.

Open 7 A.M.
Till 10 P.M.

**GOD
SENT**



Open All
Day Sun.

**GOD'S
MESSEN-
GER**

SISTER FORBES

You've Seen Her on Television. Read About Her in the Papers,
Now See Her in Person

GOD SENT. ALL PRAYERS AND HEALING TO YOU

Power to Heal by Prayer - **SISTER FORBES** has the God-Given
SIS Home. What you see with your eyes, your heart will
believe. Are you suffering? Do you need help? Do you have bad
luck? Bring your problems to **SISTER FORBES** and be rid of them to-
morrow. She advises on all affairs of life. There is no problem
too Great she Can't Solve! (How to hold your job when you have fail-
ed, and how to succeed, calls your friends and enemies by name
without asking you a single word, and reunites the separated.) Upon
reaching Womanhood she realized she had the God-Given Power to
help Humanity. **SISTER FORBES** has devoted a lifetime to this work.
From the four corners of the world they have come to her - White
and Colored men and women of all races and walks of life. Guar-
anteed to remove evil influence and bad luck. There is no pity for
those knowing they are in bad luck and need help. There is no pity for
LITTLE you out of sorrow and darkness and hands do not come for
success and happiness. If you suffer from alcoholism and cannot
find a cure, don't fail to see this Gifted Woman who will help you.
SISTER FORBES invites you to her home. A free LUCKY CHARM WILL
BE GIVEN WITH EACH READING.

guarantees to restore your Lost Nature
Phone: GR 3-9715
☆ Bring this card. Her prayers are FREE by donation.

SISTER FORBES

1985 N. 63rd ST. — 2nd Floor — PHILA., PA.
3 Doors From Lancaster Avenue.
* GUARANTEED RESULTS WITHIN 3 DAYS *

ONE LIFE

Be amazed and blessed right away. The same day you visit you will be helped. Yes, this is guaranteed to work for you same day you come to see me.

He is a gifted advisor, born to do good on all affairs of life. See him now for all your problems. Bring your problems to me today and be rid of them tomorrow. Satisfaction guaranteed to give you help and results on the same day.

Now listen to this. Your best friend may become your worst enemy or your worst enemy may become your best friend. Don't fail to see him, so he can help you. He came a long distance to see you. For your own sake, don't fail to take a little time out to see him. Advice in all spiritual matters: love—health—law suits—natural or unnatural sicknesses.

HE IS OUR GREATEST CASEWORKER—SEE HIM FOR HELP!

Do you want the one you love back home with you? Get him or her back the same day you visit me. You can be helped. Be amazed and blessed right away, on the same day. As he has helped many from coast to coast, his work can help you, too. If you want something out of life, you must put something into life. If you are sick, disturbed, can't hold money, home broken up, marriage on the rocks, I say—come, don't fail to see me, and be helped.

THE SAME DAY YOU VISIT ME, YOU WILL BE HELPED!

The man who can solve any problem, will help you if you have any problem to solve.

LUCKY HANDS GUARANTEED TO HELP YOU!

SEE INSIDE FOR ADDRESS

HELPING OTHERS

Have you ever seen a miracle? Do you wish for relief from all your troubles? Bishop A. Woods of Columbia, S. C. is in Camden, N. J., to help you. He can help you turn sickness into good health, bad luck into good luck, your worst enemies into friends. BISHOP A. WOODS working with good faith, a miracle in his hands, will help you in all of your troubles. Don't fail to see him!

SPECIAL NEWS TO BALTIMORE, MD.

This is to let you in this city know that in the last four months, six people were lucky to buy homes, yes, they dreamed of the lucky number with the HELPING HAND on them they also were lucky in so many other ways. The doors of good luck was opened unto them with the wonderful HELPING HAND. They came in Camden, N. J., and got the HELPING HAND. A woman was lucky to get her husband back.

SPECIAL TO HARRISBURG, PA.

So many people in the last five months got lucky in your city with the HELPING HAND LUCK BAG.

LET ME HELP YOU IF YOU HAVE PROBLEMS OF ANY KIND!!

BISHOP A. WOODS
OPEN 2 DAYS ONLY EVERY WEEK

OPEN SUNDAY AND MONDAY ONLY
12 NOON TO 8 P. M.

721 BOYDEN STREET, CAMDEN, N. J.

(A Licensed Healer)
ONLY ONE MILE FROM PHILADELPHIA
Just off on corner of Boyden Street and Broadway.

BLESSING FOR YOU

This is without doubt the greatest and most versatile HELPING HAND product available anywhere. You will find hundreds of users for it. The HELPING HAND works in so many things to help you overcome anything. For it will save you hundreds of dollars, and will help you to get whatever you want. We firmly believe this product to be the best of its kind available today. The HELPING HAND LUCK BAG is so easy to use. It works in the things you want it to work in. This is without doubt the greatest and the best product available anywhere. The strength of the bond is unequalled, you will find it to work in so many ways to help you to better your life. The world's strongest HELPING HAND.

715 Union Station, Camden, N. J.
207 Market Street, Camden, N. J. (Just off on corner of Boyden Street and Broadway)
Come in Person. Don't Write. Mail Not Accepted.

P. S. A good dream a lucky number, money. A lady in Newark, N. J., with the HELPING HAND dreamed of a lucky number and was able to buy a new car and pay all her bills. Let the HELPING HAND LUCK BAG get you lucky.

Here is good news, a man came to see Bishop A. Woods and got a HELPING HAND. He was lucky to dream of a lucky number. He bought a home in Philadelphia, Pa.

The HELPING HAND is already priced within your means. P. S. Come prepared to take home the HELPING HAND LUCK BAG you will never regret it.

ALSO: 2 QUESTIONS ANSWERED FREE

DON'T FORGET: OPEN SUNDAY AND MONDAY ONLY

BISHOP A. WOODS, A Licensed Bishop

OTHER SIDE PLEASE

SAME DAY HELP

If you come to my office, you will be helped the same day. Yes, you will be surprised at the results you will see in the same day you come to my office. I will do more for you the first day you come to see me, than anyone ever did for you since you were born into this world. What I say here is guaranteed.

HELP ON THE SAME DAY

On the same day, you will be helped to solve any problem or any trouble; if you are sick you can be healed. So come, let me help you on the same day you see me.

IT IS THE TRUTH, THE SAME DAY YOU WILL GET HELP

Win the love of anyone you wish! If it is financial troubles, family troubles, health or love problems, he can help. No matter what your problems are, he can help you. This lucky helping hand is carried by many all over the deep South and has helped those in need of luck, love, peace, and health. Let it help you. If you have problems of any kind, this blessed helping hand is guaranteed to help you.

SEE INSIDE FOR ADDRESS

First Time In This Area SISTER MARTA From The West Indies Gives Facts - Gets Results Satisfaction Guaranteed



The Religious Holy healer, God's messenger who guarantees to heal the sick and the ailing, to remove all suffering and bad luck from your body. She will call your enemies, by name and tell you who to keep away from. She is a religious and holy woman who will show you with your own eyes how she will remove sorrow, sickness and pain, and all bad luck. What your eyes see your heart must believe. The lack of her hand will heal you. Sister Marta has the God given Power to Heal by Prayer. Are you suffering? Are you sick? Do you need help? Do you have bad luck?

See Sister Marta today and be rid of them. She guarantees to reunite the separated and solemnly swears to heal the sick and help all who come to her and remain in all evil spells.

GUARANTEES TO RESTORE YOUR LOST NATURE

and pain, away from you. One visit will convince you that she is God's messenger on earth. Sister Marta has helped thousands and thousands and guarantees to help you, too. Sister Marta removes all pain. This religious healer will help you where others have failed. If you suffer from alcoholism and cannot find a cure, don't fail to see this gifted woman who will help you.

ALL ARE WELCOME

Free Lucky Number goes with the reading.
Appointment not necessary.
29 SOUTH BROAD STREET
PENN GROVE, NEW JERSEY
Phone Area Code — 609-299-3304

DON'T THROW THIS CIRCULAR AWAY!
Someday you may need her help. Come today.

MRS. LEE

AMERICAN READER AND ADVISOR



Now see her in person. She is a truly born instrument of GOD. Thousands have come to see her to be blessed by prayer. Don't classify her with fortune tellers or false healers. She guarantees to help you no matter what your problem may be. She'll tell you what you want to know about friends, enemies or rivals how to overcome them, whether your husband, wife or sweetheart is true or false, how to gain the love you most desire & how to rid yourself of evil influence and bad spells. This great lady guarantees to help you. She succeeds where others fail. SHE IS NOT FALSE.

She has devoted her lifetime to help those who need help, if you have been to other and failed MRS. LEE asks a few moments of your time to prove that she is THE ONLY ONE who can help you with ANY PROBLEM that you may have, such as your health, happiness, love, business, courtship, marriage, divorce, lawsuit, etc. If you are suffering from disease, sickness or harmful habits, see her for help. She will tell your lucky days. She comes from the far corners of India. Just one visit will convince you this great lady is here to help you.

FOR APPOINTMENTS CALL: GR 2-4873
Open Daily and Sunday from 9 A.M. to 9 P.M.
4928 WALNUT ST. PHILA., PA.
Between 48th and 49th Streets
Available for Siances, Banquets and Parties

FOR APPOINTMENTS CALL GR 6-3292

Why go on suffering, when one visit to this woman will take sickness and pain away from you!

There's Only ONE MRS. DIAMOND

To Heal by PRAYER MRS. DIAMOND INDIAN HEALER AND ADVISOR



Touch of her hand will heal you. Mrs. Diamond has the God-given Power to Heal by Prayer. Everyone welcome to come and visit at Mrs. Diamond's Office. What you see with your eyes, your heart will believe. Are you suffering? Are you sick? — Do you have bad luck? Bring your problems to Mrs. Diamond today and be rid of them tomorrow.

She advises on all affairs of life failed, and how to succeed — calls your friends and enemies by name without asking you a single word, and reunites the separated.) Upon reaching womanhood and realizing she had the God-given power to help four corners of the world they come to her — white and colored — men and women of all races and walks of life. Guaranteed to remove evil influence and bad luck. There is no pity for those knowing they are in financial and need help and do not come for it. One visit will convince you. She gives lucky days and charms. Lifts you out of sorrow and darkness and starts you on the way to happiness and success. Mrs. Diamond is here for the first time. Mrs. Diamond invites you to her home. A FREE LUCKY CHARM WILL BE GIVEN WITH EACH READING. OPEN 7 A.M. to 10 P.M. Open 7 days a week.

MRS. DIAMOND
PERMANENTLY LOCATED AT
215 NORTH 52nd STREET
Philadelphia, Pa.
FOR APPOINTMENTS AND FURTHER INFORMATION CALL
GR 6-3292
Lessons is Welcome — No Appointments Only



MRS. LENA
HEALER BY
PRAYER

First time in this area — Comes from I

MRS. KING
Psychic Reader & Advisor
Astrology & Card Readings * Advice on
ALL problems. Don't compare her with
ANY other reader. A visit to her will be
of immense value to you. Also gives lucky
numbers & lucky days. Full life reading —
Special this week only with each appoint-
ment you make. Half price with this card.
645 N. PRESTON ST. — Phila., Pa.
Open Daily & Sunday 9 A.M. to 7 P.M.
Phone: BA 2-2592

MRS. MILLER

MIRACLE LADY FROM THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

GIFTED READER & ADVISOR
Gifted by God to advise & help People On
ALL problems of Life
Readings Private & Confidential

Asks no questions but tells you what you want to know giving dates & facts of business, love, health & family affairs. Tells whom you'll marry & when, if the one you love is true & what to do to be successful. Reunites the separated & locates absent friends & relatives. She causes happiness between man & wife. Makes up lovers quarrels. Tells if sickness or bad luck is natural. Does not tell you to please you but tells you the truth. One visit will repay you for the disappointment in all others. She not only reads your mind like an open book but also helps you out of your troubles. Come and see why you're so unhappy. Why everything seems to go wrong.

Why be sad and unhappy, sick & worried when you can be helped and everything made clear by consulting this gifted advisor. All Welcome. She'll prove that you can obtain your desires. Everything sacred and confidential.

1985 N. 63rd St. Phila.

2nd Floor — Two doors from Lancaster Avenue

PHONE: TR 7-9795

Hours: 8 A.M. to 9 P.M.



MADAM TOYNA
AMERICAN INDIAN
SPIRITUAL READER

This Gifted Woman can help and advise you on all matters of Love, Marriage, Business and in Health. There is no problem so great that this Gifted Woman can not solve. She will tell you what you can not know and what you should know.

Guaranteed Results in Three Days
Open 9 am to 8 pm — Ring Bell, Walk Up.

ALSO CARD READINGS
All Readings are Private and Confidential

For More Information CALL: RA 5-4216
7200 RISING SUN AVE. PHILA., PA.
Corner of St. Vincent St. — Take

or Bus S — Bus Stop — Take
MADAM TOYNA

You've Seen Her on T.V., Heard Her on the Radio,
NOW SEE HER IN PERSON

MADAM SALINA

HEALER and ADVISOR

She was sent here by the One and Only
to Help Humanity!

If blind, sick, crippled, mute, no matter what your
problem may be, *SHE CAN HELP YOU.*

If she does not help you, there is no one on earth
who can help you,

— Results guaranteed within 3 days —

She asks no questions but will tell you what you want to know. She tells you what to do to be successful in life. She will reunite the separated, locate absent friends, tell you if you will win your lawsuit and if you should dispose of your property. Do you want to know whether Sickness or Bad Luck is natural or unnatural. Do you have any problems concerning drink, love or family affairs? If so, see this remarkable woman. She has helped thousands. She will help you too.

Are you lucky? If not, why not? Do you want to win and be lucky? See this gifted woman. Are you filled with misery? Do you want to be yourself? See her before it is to late. No one in need of help turned away.

— HELP GUARANTEED —

1208 MASS. AVE. - CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

1st Floor - 2 blocks from Harvard Square

TELEPHONE: 354-8332 — Open 9:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m.



Harrisburg as seen from Brant's Hill. View from "Picturesque America".

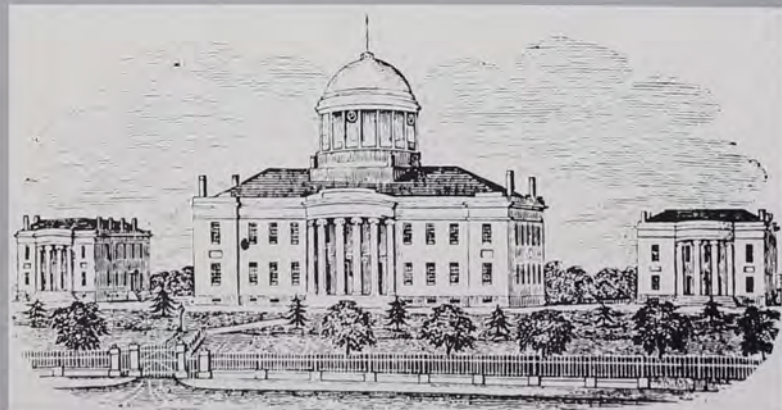
VIEWS OF HARRISBURG



The State Capitol in mid-19th Century, showing the Susquehanna River, with a raft and the Cumberland Valley Railroad Bridge.



*Trading Post of John Huetts, first settler in Harrisburg, now
but published by E. W. Smith, Philadelphia.*



The Old State Capitol Building.



July 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8,
1978

For The Folk Festival Brochure Write To:
PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE SOCIETY
College Blvd. and Vine, Kutztown, Pennsylvania 19530

The Festival and its Sponsorship

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

