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Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE

SPRING 1975



A STREET VIEW IN ECONOMY.



URSINUS COLLEGE STUDIES AT FESTIVAL



The Pennsylvania Folklife Society feels greatly honored to host a series of Pennsylvania Dutch Studies Programs to be given concurrently with our 26th Annual Festival.

We hope that this effort will mark the beginning of an even closer association of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society with Ursinus College. It will now be possible for students visiting the Festival not only to enjoy its wealth of Folk Culture but also to gain College Credits. The courses to be given at the Festival – only a portion of the Pennsylvania Dutch Studies offerings of the College during their summer session – are as follows:

PDS 431 – Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art

One credit. Symbolic motifs, craft items, architectural decoration, fraktur and broadside illustrations, will be covered in a course utilizing the many Craftsmen practicing on the festival grounds.

PDS 432 – The Country School

One credit. The course emphasis will be on the usage of the Pennsylvania Dutch Dialect and the functions and folkways of the one room school.

PDS – 433 – Powwowing and Hexerei

One credit. Black and White Magic, Powwowing and Hexerei all have a prominent place in the Dutch Culture. These and other aspects of Dutch folk belief and practice will be discussed and demonstrated.

For further information concerning these and other Pennsylvania Dutch Study Courses please contact:

Dr. William Parsons
Dept. of Pennsylvania Dutch Studies
Ursinus College
Collegeville, Pennsylvania 19426

Summer Program in Pennsylvania Dutch Studies at Ursinus College

The Second Annual Institute on Pennsylvania Dutch Affairs of Ursinus College, scheduled for a six-week period in the Summer of 1975, between June 25 and August 6, will present a variety of offerings to persons interested in the history, culture and folklife of the Pennsylvania Dutch (Pennsylvania Germans). The Institute serves as a focus for related activities throughout the Dutch Country during the Summer months.

Basic to the program are two college credit courses, one in Pennsylvania Dutch Culture and History, the other in *Pennsylvanisch Deutsch*, the dialect language. Either course may be taken for three-week or six-week periods. Dr. William T. Parsons, Director of the Pennsylvania Dutch Studies Program at Ursinus College, leads a teaching staff in the Culture and History course (PDS 401, 402) in which visiting lecturers, audio and visual materials, and field trips will supplement class offerings. The wealth of resources found in Southeastern Pennsylvania will serve as practical examples of today's heritage from the nearly three centuries

of German contributions on the Pennsylvania scene. In-service Certification approval from Harrisburg is pending.

Dr. Evan S. Snyder will teach the dialect course (PDS 411, 412) and will preside over certain specialties in the Culture and History course. From his own experience and from comparative studies of dialect variations, he presents the language as oral experience. Personnel and material resources are used to implement ordinary classroom situations. Folksongs, tales and dialect poetry illustrate the flexibility of the oral language.

Additional musical programs and other cultural attractions at occasional evening and weekend times, complement the formal program and offer further opportunity to view facets of Dutch Country life; Sunday Services and Special Events in the dialect, will likewise be available to program participants. In addition, Bicentennial Activities geared to ethnic and religious values, and especially pertinent in the Cradle of American Liberties, Southeastern Pennsylvania, will receive general support and assistance from the Pennsylvania Dutch Studies Program.

Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE



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*A Street View in Economy from Charles Nordhoff's,
"The Communistic Societies of the United States"
(1875).*

The Material Culture of the Harmony Society

By PAUL H. DOUGLAS

THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY

From John Humphrey Noyes, who published his *History of American Socialisms*¹ in 1870, to Michael Fellman, whose *The Unbounded Frame*² came out in 1973, observers of the 19th Century communitarian experience in America have, for the most part, focused on the religious attitudes, the social arrangements, and the economic systems of one or a number of communes. Only a few have looked analytically at the material culture of communal groups: most notably, Edward Deming Andrews and Faith Andrews, whose books

*Shaker Furniture*³ and *Religion in Wood*,⁴ and articles have related the simplicity of Shaker pieces to the group's aesthetic-religious philosophy of regularity, harmony, and order, and to the Shaker belief that these virtues must be manifest in every aspect of their lives, including their architecture and their furniture.

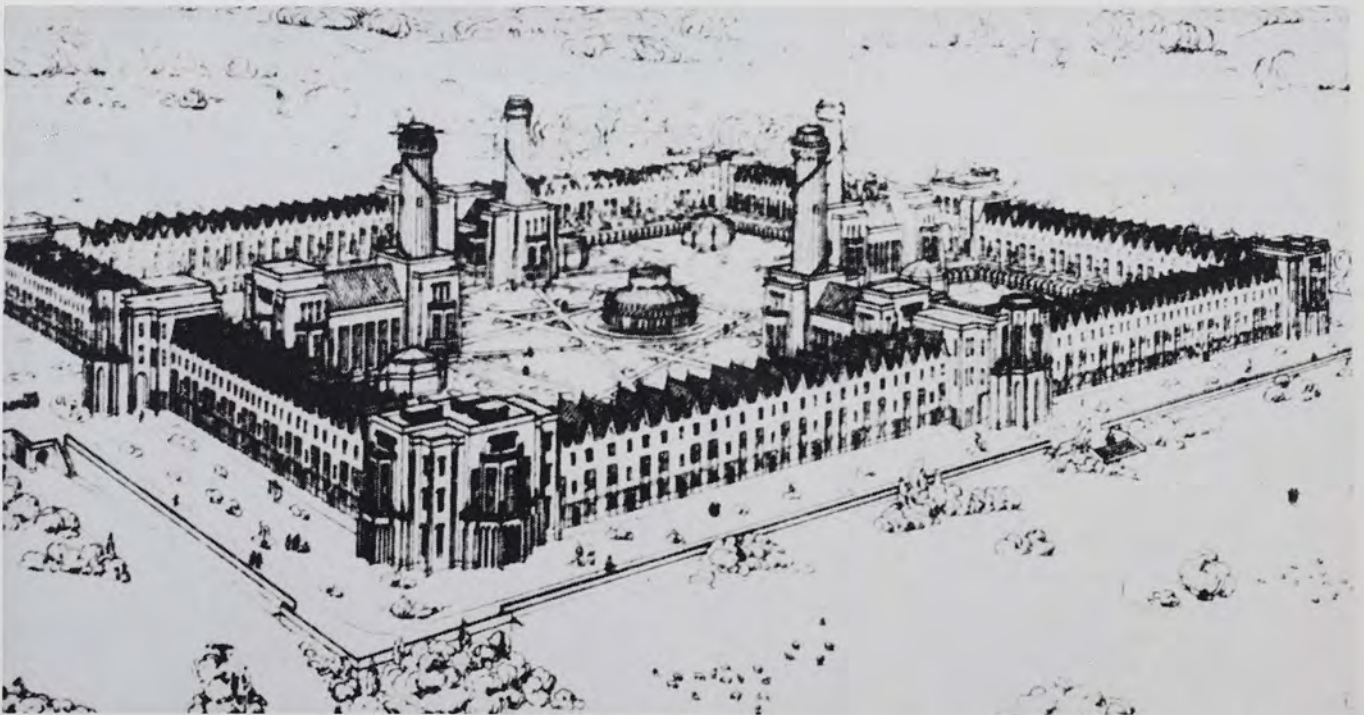
Although the relationship between material culture and philosophy is less striking in other communal societies in the 19th Century, it does exist and does provide heretofore unexamined source material for interpreting the social structures, living patterns, attitudinal changes, and cultural milieu of these groups.

¹John Humphrey Noyes, *History of American Socialisms* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1970).

²Michael Fellman, *The Unbounded Frame: Freedom and Community in Nineteenth Century American Utopianism* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1973).

³Edward Deming Andrews and Faith Andrews, *Shaker Furniture* (New York: Dover Books, 1950).

⁴Edward Deming Andrews and Faith Andrews, *Religion in Wood* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955).

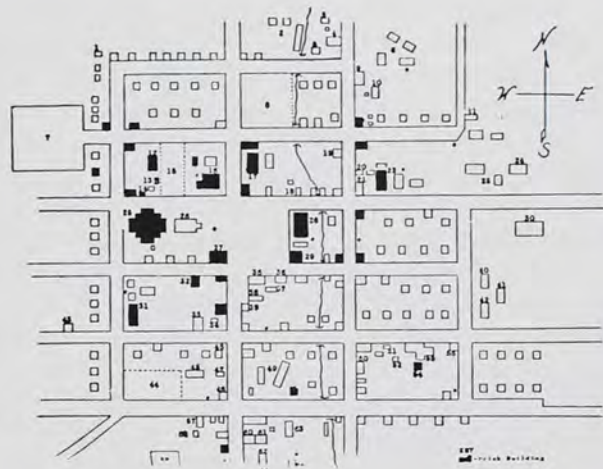


Robert Owen's proposal for a community at New Harmony, Indiana. Owen bought New Harmony from the Harmonists in 1824.



- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Doctor's Garden | 22. Frederick Rapp's Residence |
| 2. Sheep Stable | 23. Community Kitchen |
| 3. Hay House | 24. Hotel |
| 4. Cider Press | 25. Stable |
| 5. Sheep Stable | 26. Hatmaker's Shop |
| 6. School | 27. Rope-maker's Shop |
| 7. Soapmaker | 28. Cooper's Shop |
| 8. Wine Press | 29. Barns |
| 9. Old Distillery | 30. Shoemaker, Tailor, and Warehouse |
| 10. Bark House | 31. Machine Shop |
| 11. Slaughter House | 32. Distillery |
| 12. Dyer's Shop | 33. Blacksmith's Shop |
| 13. Tannery | 34. Small Barns |
| 14. Granary | 35. Hay House |
| 15. Barn | 36. Wagon Shop |
| 16. Carpenter's Shop | 37. Infirmary and Apothecary Shop |
| 17. Lime Storage | 38. Barn |
| 18. Stable | 39. Stable |
| 19. Weaver's Shop and School | 40. Cabinetmaker's Shop |
| 20. George Rapp's Residence | 41. Grave Yard |
| 21. Store | |

Harmony, Pennsylvania



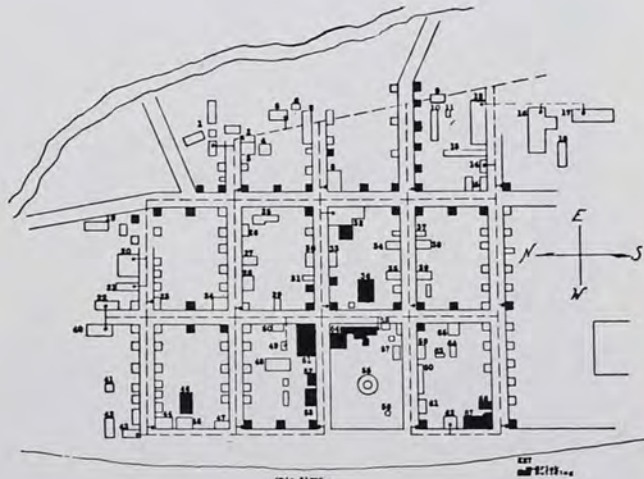
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|----------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Pottery Ovens | 23. Barns | 45. Stable |
| 2. Corn Yard | 24. Hay Shed | 46. Hatmaker's Shop |
| 3. Malt House | 25. Church | 47. Halmaker's Shop |
| 4. Brewery | 26. Old Church | 48. Wash House |
| 5. Wash House | 27. Hotel and Tavern | 49. Corn Yard |
| 6. Pig Sties | 28. Bruderhaus No. 3 | 50. Granary |
| 7. Grave Yard | 29. Shoemaker's Shop | 51. Weaver's Shop |
| 8. Orchard | 30. Cotton Gin | 52. Steam House |
| 9. Distillery | 31. Bruderhaus No. 1 | 53. Lime Storage |
| 10. Corn Crib | 32. School | 54. Dyer's Shop |
| 11. Stables | 33. Blacksmith's Shop | 55. Grist Mill |
| 12. Granary and Fort | 34. Wagon Shop | 56. Wash House |
| 13. Greenhouse | 35. Store | 57. Soapmaker's Shop |
| 14. Wine and Cider Press | 36. Tailor's Shop | 58. Tannery |
| 15. Garden | 37. Slaughter House | 59. Nursery (horticulture) |
| 16. George Rapp's Residence | 38. Apothecary | 60. Stable |
| 17. Bruderhaus No. 2 (Dormitory) | 39. Hospital | 61. Barn |
| 18. Saddler's Shop | 40. Machinery Barn | 62. Corn Yard |
| 19. Carpenter's Shop | 41. Food House | 63. Sheep Stable |
| 20. Cooper's Shop | 42. Granary | 64. Sheep Stable |
| 21. Carpenter's Shop | 43. Rope-maker's Shop | 65. Brick Yard |
| 22. Bruderhaus No. 4 | 44. Garden | |

Harmony, Indiana

The Harmony Society, a group of German Pietists who came to this country from the Southern German state of Württemberg in 1804, is a good example. The Harmonists, unlike any other communal group in 19th Century America, set up three successive villages, re-shaping them to meet their beliefs and needs. As a result, changes that appear in the philosophy of the group are more evident in the material culture than they would be if the Society had remained in the same village throughout its existence. A substantial amount of this material culture remains at their third village, Economy, Pennsylvania, which was taken over by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in 1905 and which is now a museum village.

The usual picture of the Harmony Society in the histories of the Community is that of a group of German pietists who left Europe to escape religious persecution, used their religious beliefs to justify economic communalism and celibacy as ways of meeting demands of the new land, and prospered as a result of the strong religious leadership of George Rapp and the financial expertise of his adopted son, Frederick Reichert Rapp. Yet such a view can explain only partly why this communal society thrived for almost a century while most 19th Century communes lasted less than a year.

My study of the material culture of the Harmony Society suggests additional reasons for the group's suc-



- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Hogs | 24. School | 47. Brewery |
| 2. Wash House | 25. Blacksmith's Shop | 48. Granary |
| 3. Distillery | 26. Wagon Shop | 49. Community Kitchen |
| 4. Older House | 27. Dormitory | 50. Cabinetmaker's Shop |
| 5. Soapmaker's Shop | 28. Old Church | 51. Music Hall |
| 6. Slaughter House | 29. Hatmaker's Shop | 52. Tailor's and Shoemaker's Shop |
| 7. Silk Factory | 30. Dormitory | 53. Store and Apothecary |
| 8. Tavern Stable | 31. Hospital | 54. The Great House, Residence of George and Frederick Rapp |
| 9. Hay House | 32. Hotel and Tavern | 55. Garden Pool |
| 10. Ox Stable | 33. Dormitory | 56. Meditation Grotto |
| 11. Dray Horse Stable | 34. Dormitory | 57. Bakery |
| 12. Stable | 35. Dormitory | 58. Greenhouse |
| 13. Wagon Shed | 36. Church | 59. Wheelwright's Shop |
| 14. Calf Stable | 37. Saddler's Shop | 60. Drying House (Woolen Mill) |
| 15. Horse Stables | 38. Dormitory | 61. Wool Storage |
| 16. Barn | 39. Dormitory | 62. Dyer's Shop |
| 17. Sheep Stable | 40. Granary | 63. Paint Shop |
| 18. Straw Shed | 41. Potter's Shop | 64. Weaver's Shop |
| 19. Hay House | 42. Bark House | 65. Old Wine Press |
| 20. Barn | 43. Tannery | 66. Wool Storage |
| 21. Stable | 44. Granary | 67. Woolen Mill |
| 22. Calf Stable | 45. Flour Mill | 68. Grave Yard |
| 23. Cooper's Shop | 46. Cotton Mill | |

Economy, Pennsylvania

cess: their architecture, town planning, and artifacts reveal that the Society was much more sophisticated and complex in its social, cultural, and intellectual environment than most histories relate, and therefore may have been a more attractive alternative to life on the outside than has been assumed.

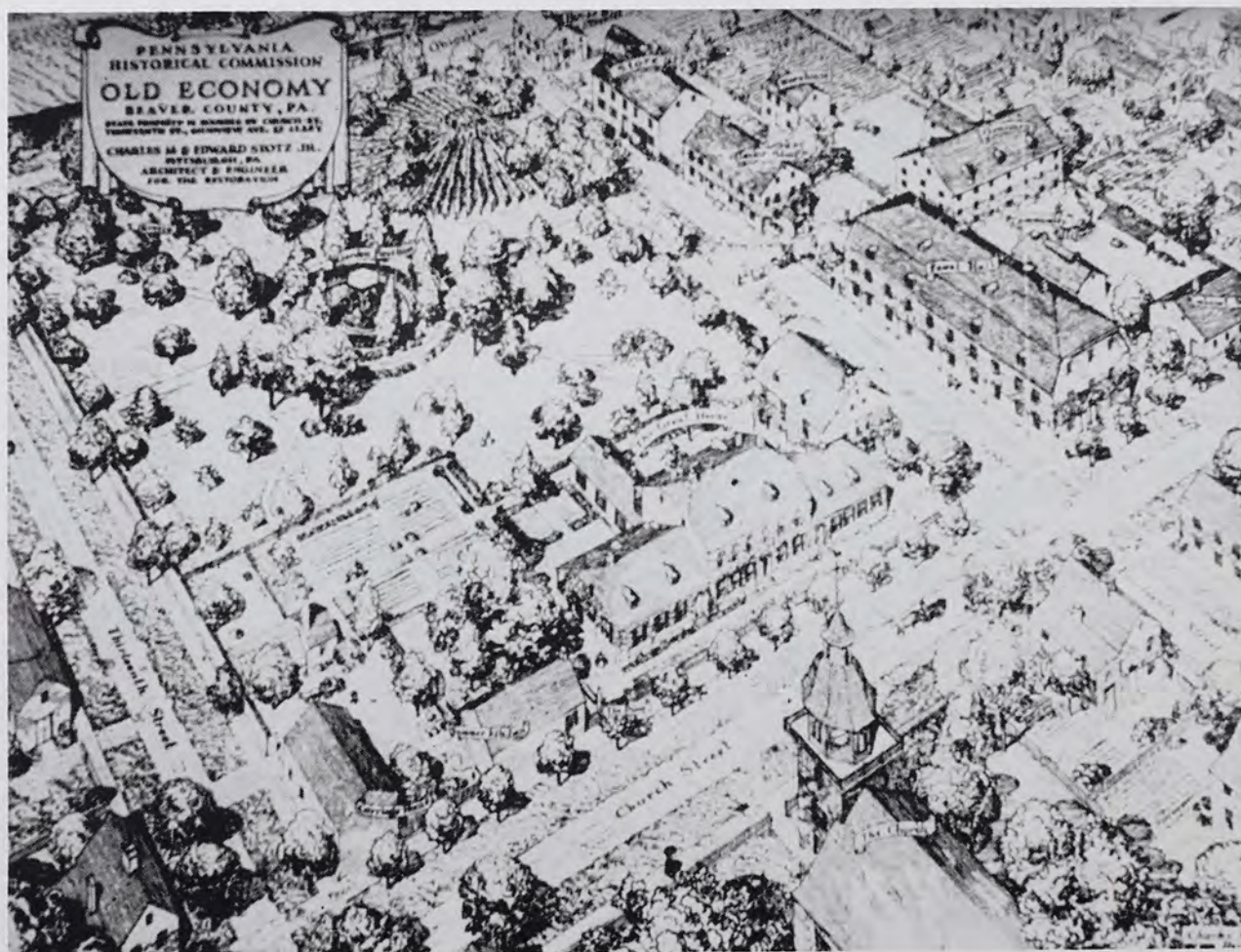
First, the Harmonists were not primarily conservative peasants with a reactionary concept of an ideal community pegged at a certain level in time, but instead were experimental and somewhat progressive, capable of changing to meet different conditions in time and place. The Society was in many respects fluid and flexible, providing for the intellectual and cultural needs of the members with schools for both the children and adults, a library, a band, botanical and pleasure gardens, and a museum. The Society achieved an astounding economic prosperity by changing from an essentially agricultural to an industrial community, and its leaders responded to changing conditions within the community by incorporating new material forms, abandoning old ones, and modifying others.

Second, the Harmonists were not isolated visionaries, blind to the cultures of the past and to those surround-

ing them, but were instead aware of and took from these cultures in the planning of their villages and in the style of their architecture and artifacts. They did not, as Donald Drew Egbert has said of the religious utopian communities, "show a fear of any kind of art or art theory that is in anyway pagan or worldly."⁵

The Harmonist concept of the physical form of the ideal village occupied a middle ground between the futuristic community proposed by Charles Fourier and the backward looking community of Ephrata, with its essentially medieval forms. The Harmonists created a community in many ways similar to those that the members had known in Germany. It included public gardens, vineyards, and a town hall, as well as a few medieval forms in architecture and furnishings. However, the Harmonists were not reactionary in their creation of the ideal community. Not only did they use the relatively new steam engine to power factories, laundries and wine presses, as well as to heat some buildings, but they included a number of elements in their material culture that reflected an enlightenment

⁵Donald Drew Egbert, *Socialism and American Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 5.



Village center of Economy.



Feast Hall at Economy, Pennsylvania. This large (54' x 120') building contained a museum, school for children and adults, library, music practice room, and meeting hall.

rather than a medieval aesthetic, and as such reveals the Harmonist imitation of the near, rather than the distant past.

This constituted a major element of the Harmony Society that has been overlooked: that is, the classical influence on the community (or on its major movers), and its expression in a number of aspects of the material culture.

A brief examination of the town planning, the buildings, and the artifacts at the Harmonist villages will give some idea of the nature of the Harmony Society and may suggest ways of examining other communal groups.

HARMONIST TOWN PLANNING

The three villages of the Harmony Society were situated for considerations of agriculture and trade, and for the changing concept of the communal good, which by the 1820's included a substantial amount of interaction with the outside world on economic terms. The adaptability and the practical nature of the Society are revealed in its willingness to twice abandon a settled village in America for a new one, to alter or discard some of the elements of the previous village, and to create new elements in the new village.

The locations of the three villages indicate changes in the economic orientation of the Society. Harmony, the first village, was located in western Pennsylvania on the banks of the Connoquenessing Creek. At Harmony the group planned to build a village with an economic base of agricultural production that would become a commercial center for the area. By 1811 the group had built grist, oil, hemp, and fulling mills and was providing the surrounding area with a variety of goods, including whiskey, shoes, and hats. However, the Connoquenessing was not a navigible river and could not be used to transport the increasing amount of goods being sent to agents in Philadelphia, Lancaster, and Pittsburgh. Thus, in 1814, to take advantage of the

growing Western market, the Harmonists moved to New Harmony, Indiana, purchasing over 20,000 acres on the Wabash, a river both navigible and easily accessible from the Ohio River. Although the Harmonists were dependent on the Wabash for transportation, their increasing use of steam engines to power the mills freed them from the seasonal changes in that river and allowed them to locate their manufacturing structures where they could be used most efficiently.

The frontier, however, appears to have been an unsatisfactory environment for communitarian societies. The Shakers at West Union, Indiana, not far from New Harmony, lasted for 17 years and the Harmonists stayed in Indiana for only 10 years. For the Harmonists the fluctuating economic market in the West was the major factor in their decision to leave, and there were positive economic advantages to be realized by relocating in a more settled and industrialized area of the country. For this reason the Society made its third home at Economy, Pennsylvania, 20 miles from their first village and 25 miles from Pittsburgh. Their location on the Ohio River placed them in a strategic spot to ship their manufactured goods to the major markets in the Ohio River Valley and to take advantage of the trade from the river. At Economy they purchased only 3,000 acres. While they continued with their farming and viniculture there, their woolen and cotton mills provided their means for success. Thus, the combination of an efficient communal system of production and a shifting economic market in America gradually increased the Society's economic interaction with the outside world and significantly influenced its choice of location.

Not only did the Society change locations in America, but it altered the layout of the towns as well. With the adoption of the grid, or rectilinear, street pattern at all three towns, the Harmonists abandoned the typical



The "saal," or meeting hall, is the Feast Hall building. The members of the community would meet here during special occasions. The women sat on one side of the hall, and the men on the other. Note the "trompe l'oil" columns at the end of the hall.



The church at Economy, Pennsylvania.

street pattern of the rural German village. Even though there are a number of practical and theoretical reasons for a communal society to choose the rectilinear pattern, the Harmonists were probably influenced by similar plans in Germany or Pennsylvania.

The systematized towns that evolved from the Renaissance seem to have been centered mainly in Württemberg,⁶ the area from which the Harmonists emigrated. Examples of southern German towns that took on a classical pattern in the 17th and 18th Centuries were Freudenstadt, Darmstadt, Karlsruhe, and Ludwigsburg. If the classical influence on town planning was centered in the Württemberg area, more than likely a stone mason such as Frederick Rapp would have been aware of it. And if the Harmonist town planner was not influenced by the rectilinear plan in Germany, he was obviously aware of its existence in Pennsylvania, where there were almost 100 towns, not to mention

⁶Frederick Hiorns, *Town-Building in History* (London: G. G. Harrap, 1956), p. 262.

Philadelphia, using the rectilinear pattern when the Harmonists arrived in America.⁷

The first two Harmonist villages centered around a square, which was appropriate for a society based on the idea of limited trade within the village and its environs; with the gradual expansion of the economy and its growing interaction with outside markets, however, the square was abandoned as unnecessary at Economy and a formal garden was created as the focal point of the village. By the 1820s the Harmonist economy had passed out of the village handicraft stage and into manufacturing on a large scale which depended on the markets in the Ohio River Valley. At Economy the Ohio River provided the Society with a major transportation route and strengthened its economic ties with the outside world.

Although the large formal garden behind the George Rapp house was accessible to the average member, and as such was a communal garden, it also functioned as a private garden for Rapp similar to the elaborate formal gardens of German nobility or the simpler ones that graced the homes of the clergy in German villages. From the piazza on the back of his house, Rapp, who might be considered as a combination German nobleman and minister, could admire his garden and could see the members of his community enjoying themselves during the periods of leisure.

At all three communities there was a core area at the center of town which provided basic services for the Harmonist and for the outsider who brought hard cash. Buildings there included the community kitchen,

⁷For a discussion of the rectilinear plan in Pennsylvania see Richard Pillsbury, "The Urban Street Pattern as a Cultural Indicator: Pennsylvania, 1682-1815," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, LX (September, 1970), 428-446.



The Pavilion at Economy. Within the Pavilion is a carved figure of "Harmonia," who, by the Economy period, represented the Harmony that the Society had achieved. The present statue is a reproduction of the one carved for the Harmonists by the Philadelphia sculptor William Rush and destroyed in the 1890's.



Dormitory at New Harmony, Indiana. By the early 18th Century variations of the mansard roof were common in Germany, especially in the public buildings of more than two stories where the architect wanted to emulate the classical style. The striking difference between the Harmonists' classically influenced dormitory and the medieval dormitory at Ephrata is indicative of the more sophisticated aesthetic philosophy of the Harmonist architect.

the store, the church, the inn, the warehouse, the doctor's office, and the homes of George and Frederick Rapp. At New Harmony, two communal dormitories, in addition to the above structures, were located in the village core, and at Economy there was a Feast Hall and a large granary. Surrounding this area at all three villages was a ring of family dwellings and shops, and beyond this the fields and buildings related to agriculture.

The location of a number of houses at the Harmonist villages reveals that in this communal society there existed a certain degree of social stratification. When the Reverend William Passavant visited Economy in 1840 he noted that the houses located near to Rapp's were inhabited by the "the most influential members, and those who originally invested the largest capital."⁸ A similar arrangement seems to have existed at the other villages. An examination of Harmonist maps reveals that not only did the influential have homes near the center of the village, but of the four couples who

had large families at New Harmony, at least two of them had houses on the perimeters of the town, a subtle form of community disapproval for their failure to practice celibacy.

Other elements of the town planning at Economy were the water system, the placement of buildings emitting noxious odors to leeward of the town center, the deer park, brick sidewalks, and the graded main street. There is no doubt that the Harmonist leaders were aware of the value of a planned community. Since the size of the Society remained stable, the leaders were able to visualize the ultimate shape of the community and to improve each subsequent village.

HARMONIST BUILDINGS

It is not surprising that there was no one architectural style common to the American communes that flourished in the 18th and 19th Centuries. Communitarian groups originated in different periods, had various national origins, and exhibited a wide variety of philosophies. The most famous of the communal groups in America, the Shakers, had an essentially rural Anglo-Saxon membership and a philosophy of aesthetics that stressed

⁸W. A. Passavant, "A Visit to Economy in the Spring of 1840," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, IV, 3 (July, 1921), 145.



Granary at Economy. Note the half-timber first story.

simplicity, regularity, and order. As a result, the typical architecture of the Shakers, whose first communities were in New York and New England, evolved from the simple dwellings, barns, and public buildings common in the Yankee countryside.⁹ On the other hand, the 18th Century German community at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, had a distinctively medieval architecture characterized by steep roofs, small windows, and shed dormers. Finally, there were plans for ideal villages by such reformers as Robert Owen and Charles Fourier who advocated radical social change and to that end proposed buildings combining contemporary and futuristic architectural styles.

The architecture of the Harmonists is unlike that of any of these groups. The Harmonist villages contained characteristics from the members' German medieval heritage, from the Georgian style that was prevalent in 18th Century America, and perhaps to a greater degree, especially in the public buildings, from the German renaissance style.

A study of the architectural forms used by the Harmonists in their villages provides a number of insights into the aspects of institutional persistence and change in the Society. The ways in which the Harmonists maintained, abandoned, or modified their German cultural traditions are illuminated in their building styles and functions. In addition, changes in the styles

and functions of buildings indicate changes that took place in the cultural, social, or religious thought of the community.

Harmony, Pennsylvania, the first village, was characterized by log dwellings, public structures with elaborately carved stone lintels and doorways in the medieval fashion, and arched cellars in at least two buildings for the storage of wines. Here, in short, the Harmonists reproduced many of the forms that they had known as peasants in Germany. Only the Georgian doorway of the house of Frederick Rapp, the architect, hints at the classical strain which became evident in the Society's later villages.

Indeed, at New Harmony and Economy much of the medieval German heritage was abandoned. A few exceptions were the truncated gables of a granary at New Harmony; and at Economy the truncated gables of the Great House, the carved stone lintel on a flax house, and the half-timber first floor of the Granary.

Simultaneously, the classical element was growing in prominence. At New Harmony one of the four dormitories had a gambrel roof, a style common to public buildings of the German renaissance. At Economy the Feast Hall had Georgian doorways, a gambrel roof, and a *trompe l'oeil* design on the second floor hall; the Great House had Georgian doorways; and the garden contained a classical pavilion.

The dwellings at the Harmonist villages show changes in the social structure of the community. Like most

⁹D. M. C. Hopping and Gerald R. Watland, "The Architecture of the Shakers," *Antiques*, LXXII (October, 1957), 335.

successful communitarian groups, the Harmonists modified the traditional nuclear family for social and religious reasons. The Harmonists were similar to the Shakers in their advocacy of celibacy; however, since celibacy was adopted as a tenet rather than a rule after the Society was formed by a large number of married people, the ultimate form that the Harmonist "family" took emerged gradually. The changes are reflected in the dwellings. Since celibacy was not promulgated until three years after the Harmonists began their first village, most of the houses at Harmony were one or two-story log, frame, or brick structures for the nuclear family. The only exceptions were the few larger houses occupied by the leaders and those who had brought a good deal of money into the community. At New Harmony, however, only the house of George Rapp was larger than the others, indicating a consolidation of his power and a waning of the influence of the others. A significant change in the social system is evident in the remaining dormitory at New Harmony, one of four built for the large number of young, unmarried members during the Indiana period. The experiment with the dormitory system was apparently unsuccessful, for it was abandoned at Economy. A remark by George Rapp suggests that he felt that the dormitories were potentially disruptive elements in the community, and it may be significant that there was a major schism a few years after the Harmonists moved from New Harmony.

At Economy all of the members lived in two-story brick or frame dwellings of virtually identical dimensions. In these houses some four to eleven members, both male and female, and often married but celibate couples, lived together. Thus, by the Economy period the nuclear family was transformed into a small house-

hold after the experimentation with the dormitory system. For the Harmonist, unlike the Shaker, a measure of freedom was available within the limits of his own household group. Although he was a member of a communitarian society in which each individual identity was submerged, he was also a member of an intimate group of people who lived in a semi-private dwelling. The institution of the household may have eliminated the exclusiveness engendered by the nuclear family, yet it provided a sense of belonging to a group smaller than the community as a whole.

The Harmonists also experimented with the size and style of their church buildings. Three of the churches at the villages were similar structures with clock towers and renaissance cupolas. At New Harmony, however, after building their first church, the Harmonists constructed a large and elaborate church in the form of a Greek cross with each two-story transept and two-story nave 120 feet long. One visitor said that he was told that George Rapp had seen the plan of the church in a dream and had therefore ordered that it be built. Another was informed that the first church, which was wooden, was too hot in the summer. Both of these explanations are plausible, but another is that by the New Harmony period George Rapp saw the need for a large structure with a floor plan which would serve both the religious and the social needs of almost one thousand members. When the Harmonists moved to Economy they abandoned this style and built a traditional church. Rather than combine the religious and social functions in the church building, the large and impressive Feast Hall was constructed to serve the social, cultural, and intellectual needs of the members.

It is the Feast Hall and the Great House which are the ultimate expressions of the Society. These structures are two of the largest buildings at Economy and are emblematic of two seemingly disparate strains which combined to make the group live and prosper for one hundred years: these were, first, George Rapp's strong and acknowledged leadership; and second, the Society's communal and basically egalitarian nature.

The reason that Rapp's power was generally accepted by the members may be evident in the Feast Hall. For the Harmonists the Feast Hall served as a community center, combining social, religious, cultural, and intellectual functions. On its first floor the members pursued lessons in drafting and handicrafts, practiced for the community band, used the library, and enjoyed the eclectic wonders of the museum which contained zoological specimens, items of historical interest, and religious and secular paintings. A visitor to the museum, which was open to the public, for a small fee, noted such non-religious paintings as "two tawdry French prints, representing Venus and Cupid, one as 'L'Amour supplicant' and the other as 'L'Amour triomphante'



Wine Cellar at Economy.



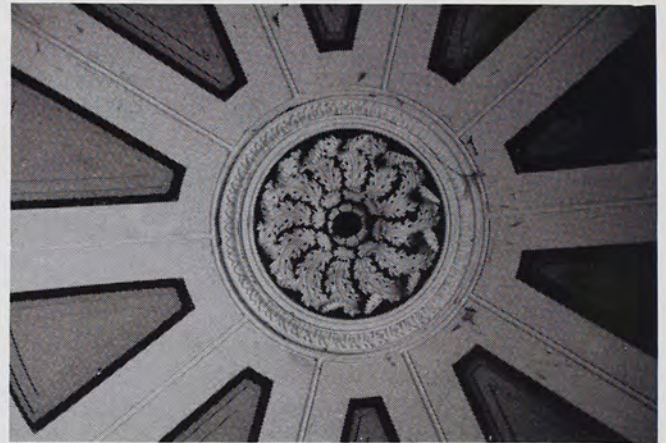
Carved stone lintel at Harmony, Pennsylvania, representing the Virgin Sophia.



The Virgin Sophia on a lintel at Harmony, Pennsylvania.



Carved stone lintel at Harmony, Pennsylvania.



Ceiling of the Grotto.



Georgian doorway of Frederick Rapp's house at Harmony, Pennsylvania. Indicates the emergence of the classical strain in Harmonist architecture. F. Rapp was the community architect and financial leader.

and a still more tawdry English caricature in the 'Portrait of Tim Bobbin'.¹⁰

On the second floor *Saal* the members met almost once a month for community feasts which served to remind them of their communal goals and nature. Here food was brought from a separate kitchen building and placed before the men seated on one side of the hall and the women on the other side. One historian more concerned with drama than fact said that the doors on either end of the hall and halfway up the walls were used by George Rapp to appear suddenly before the assembled members in the manner of a mad despot. However, the similar door in the church leading to a balcony indicates that balconies were planned for the Feast Hall but, perhaps for structural considerations, were never completed.

The Feast Hall, then, represents the element that balanced Rapp's power: that is, the weight given the needs of the members after the exigencies of physical survival and economic success had passed. It is quite

¹⁰James Silk Buckingham, *The Eastern and Western States of America* (London, 1842), II, 225.



The Feast Hall at Economy.

possible that the Feast Hall was built by Rapp at a time when there were demands by the members for more freedom and privileges.

The Great House stood as testimony to the Society's acceptance of Rapp's strength in the community and served to complement his position. In addition, the Great House was used as a kind of public relations device. Here influential visitors met with George or Frederick, shared food and wine, and perhaps heard Gertrude, George's granddaughter, sing or play the piano. The house actually consists of two structures: one was occupied by George, his family and friends, and the other by Frederick. It is interesting to note that in the 1870s, when the Rapps were dead and when the community was turning more and more to investments in the outside world, buying banks, railroads and the like, the Germanic truncated roof was changed to the more Americanized gable. Recent restorations have put it in its original shape.

In the Garden behind the Great House is the Grotto, with its rough bark exterior and elegant interior. Supposedly the exterior represented man's debased body while the interior, which is in the Greek Revival style, represents the beauty of his soul. The point I want to make here is that if one is examining the material culture of a pietistic group such as the Harmonists,



Drawing of the church at New Harmony. (Old Economy Archives)

he should not get too carried away with what appear to be mystical or symbolic elements. At least two writers have said that the "144 projecting blocks on the interior of the Grotto represent the 144,000 chosen souls in Christian theology."¹ However, the tedious job of counting the blocks shows that there are only 142 and quickly disproves that theory.

A structure in the garden with a strong classical precedent is the Pavilion, which is a variation of the classical rotunda found in many renaissance and later landscape gardens. The Petite Trianon at Versailles, by the way, contained both a grotto and a pavilion. The Pavilion at Economy indicates the growing prosperity of the community by the 1830's. As a focal point for the garden and as a band platform for the Harmonist musicians who gave concerts periodically to the members and to outsiders, the Pavilion served social and aesthetic needs. At neither Harmony nor New Harmony did the community have the time to indulge its aesthetic sensibilities with such a structure. In no other communitarian village in 19th Century America is there a structure which so obviously reflects the high European culture of the renaissance and enlightenment. If, as some have suggested, the ascetic nature of the Shakers is revealed in their unadorned furniture and architecture, it is equally apparent that the strong classical strain in the Harmony Society as well as its concern for aesthetic needs is made manifest in the Pavilion.

HARMONIST ARTIFACTS

The furniture of the Society was mainly a combination of German and American folk styles, but in addition there were a number of pieces at Economy in the high or "cultivated" tradition. The most obvious indication of the German heritage is the plank chair, or *Stuhl*, which is a simple German folk piece. It seems likely that the Harmonists had a number of these chairs at Harmony, but with a few exceptions gradually abandoned the medieval style by the Economy period. The Harmonist kitchen tables are further indications of the German heritage of the community, although the basically folk piece shown here with its low skirt has rather elegant Queen Anne feet—an indication of the combination of the folk with the cultivated tradition.

The numerous cane-bottom ladderback chairs at Economy show the American vernacular influence. The ladderbacks usually have three slats, turned stretchers, and back post finials that often differ from chair to chair, indicating that the cabinet maker, unlike his counterpart in a Shaker community, had no rigid pattern that he was required to follow. Also, the chairs have variations in the distance from floor to seat, sug-

gesting that they were made for individuals or households rather than for the community as a whole.

A third style of furniture that was used at Economy reflects the cultivated tradition. The growing involvement of the Society with the outside world by the 1820's seems to have influenced the form of their material culture. At Economy there are pieces in such styles as Heppelwhite, Federal, Empire, and there is even an Egyptian revival wine cupboard. In addition to paintings and prints in the Great House, there are extant a silver tea service, a set of Hitchcock chairs with a stencilled design, an Empire gateleg table, and a mahogany *Schrank* with inlay. Some of the fine pieces were made by Harmonist cabinetmakers, others were commissioned by the Society, and still others were purchased by Frederick or George Rapp.

The various styles of Harmonist furnishings and interiors are not so significant in themselves as is the contrast between those pieces found in the Great House that I have just mentioned and those in the typical dwelling. Just as the Great House is larger and architecturally more sophisticated than the other dwellings, so is the furniture in that building more elegant. One example is the bed used by George Rapp with its elaborate turnings, compared with the beds of the average members. Obviously Rapp's authority in the community was acknowledged and his position honored.

There are certain items which reflect the communal or celibate nature of the Society, including the similar single-width beds, the side tables that were probably in each household, similar blanket chests, the stoves and large kettles in the community kitchen, and the benches and tables in the Feast Hall. There is also the virtually identical clothing which served to create



German sun dial on dormitory at New Harmony.

¹See, for example, George A. Hays, *The Grotto at Old Economy* (Ambridge: The Harmony Press, 1959), p. 2.



Egyptian revival style wine cupboard at Economy.



The symbolic golden rose on a newel post in the Great House.

what Rosabeth Kanter calls “insulating boundaries”¹² between the community and the outside world, and which gave a sense of uniqueness as a community to its members. The uniform dress was also a means of discouraging individual vanity and the importance of the self, and it was cheap and efficient to make.

The Harmony Society had an element of mysticism in its religious philosophy and some items at the three villages have symbolic reference reflecting deeply held beliefs of the members. However, since the Harmonists were breaking away from the established church, which they felt was corrupted and encumbered by an over-

¹²Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Commitment and Community* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972).



Bed of a member of the Harmony Society.



*Harmonist
“stuhl.”*



George Rapp's Bed.



Harmonist kitchen table and chairs. This basically German table with its low skirts has rather elegant Queen Anne feet.

abundance of religious artifacts having little or no relationship to true religion, the symbolic motifs had a general rather than a specific purpose in reminding the members of their special role. Since the village as a whole was an exemplum of the true church, specifically religious objects were unnecessary.

The most commonly used motif by the Harmonists was the Golden Rose which had long been associated with the beauty and majesty of Christ. For the Harmonists the rose was the symbol of the risen Christ who would reign during the millennium. Since their community was built in preparation for that period, the rose was their inspiration. At Economy the rose is found not in the church, but on such practical items as a newel post in the Great House, some flat irons, and ladies' shawls.

One also finds the Lily, which indicated longing or hope for redemption, on a lintel at Harmony, and on the same lintel is the Virgin Sophia, who represented the wisdom that Adam had abandoned. The Society believed that it was pursuing a course of spiritual wisdom guided by Sophia.

Finally, the Pelican, a common symbol for Christ in medieval and renaissance Europe, is seen on a slipware pie plate and on a drinking glass that was probably made for George Rapp.

Objects at the community which indicate the intellectual climate at Economy include the line drawings by members of the drafting classes, the paintings of birds by one of the members, and the large collection of books in the library. These items and others serve to dispel the idea that the Harmonists were, as one traveler said, "an ignorant and priest-ridden set of people," and instead show that opportunities for self-development were available for the members.

Thus, the material culture of the Harmonists reveals certain things about the Society that standard histories have not. It is hoped that my comments will stimulate inquiry into the material culture of other 19th Century communes.

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German Script Course, 1974

By VERNON H. NELSON

Twenty-one students spent two weeks at the Archives from June 10 to 21 at the fourth German Script Course offered by the Archives' staff. The first course was offered in 1971. The 1974 enrollment was the largest so far.

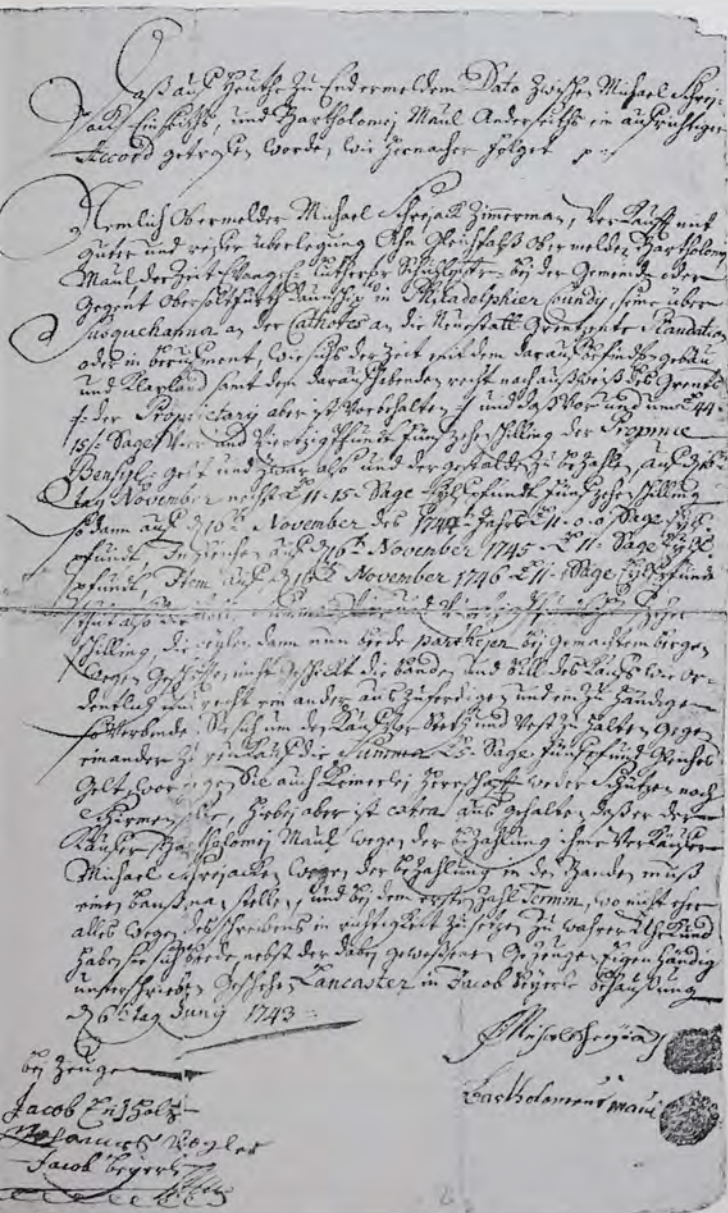
The instruction was presented by Vernon H. Nelson, Archivist, and Dr. Lothar Madeheim, Assistant Archivist, as in past years.

Most of the samples of German Script read by the class were taken from the 18th and 19th Centuries. Actual documents were used, in xerox copies, including letters of August G. Spangenberg and Peter Boehler, a travel diary by John Ettwein, several *Lebensläufe* or memoirs, and other items. As a special treat near the end of the course a letter from 1571 was read, and the students found little difficulty with it (the earlier documents often are easier to read due to a more orthodox letter *e* and the existence of very capable scribes).

The mornings were devoted to instruction, except for the coffee break. The instruction was intensive and often consisted of small group work. Students were asked to spend each afternoon or evening preparing a selection for the next day. The selections became more difficult as the days passed.

The students came from a wide geographical area; some were preparing to travel to Europe shortly after the course. There were two students from Salt Lake City who came the furthest. Most of the students had Ph.D.'s, were working on their doctoral degrees, or had completed their formal education. They all had very specific reasons for studying German Script. The largest number of participants were historians. There were also German professors, archivists or librarians, musicologists, and theologians. No formal tests were given, and no credit was earned for taking the course. Each student will receive a certificate that he has completed the amount of work. All participants had to have a basic reading knowledge of German before enrolling.

As a change of pace from the tedious and physically tiring work of deciphering German Script, brief lectures were given on subjects closely related to German Script. Dr. Madeheim lectured on "Abbreviations found in German Script." Dr. John R. Weinlick, the Moravian historian and biographer of Zinzendorf, spoke on the life of Count Zinzendorf. Four minilectures were given by persons actively using German Script, all entitled: "How I Use German Script." Robert Steelman and Richard Claypool, music researchers employed by the Moravian Music Foundation to work with the Bethlehem music, spoke on "How I Use German Script:



Sale bill of 1743, for plantation in what is now York County. Editors Collection.



THE ARCHIVES OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH
BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA

OFFICE OF THE ARCHIVIST
1422 MAIN STREET, BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA 18016
Telephone: (610) 866-1255

GERMAN SCRIPT COURSE, 1974

In June, 1971, the Archives presented its first German Script course. Devoted entirely to training in reading German Script, the course lasted two weeks. Similar courses were presented in 1972 and 1973.

The main reason for developing a German Script course was to accommodate researchers who came to our Archives with little or no knowledge of German Script. The course also appealed to individuals working in other places where German Script is involved. People of all ages and of diverse backgrounds have taken the course. They have utilized their knowledge in many different projects in libraries and archives in Europe and America.

We believe one of the best ways to learn to read German Script is with a group. Our course is apparently the only one of its type available in America. The Foundation for Reformation Research in St. Louis offers a summer institute at which paleography is taught, including Latin, some German and other languages.

The Method of Study. The course consists of reading German Script for two weeks, progressing from simple to more difficult handwriting. The examples are chosen from the 18th and 19th centuries, both from German and America. After two weeks of intensive study the individual should be ready to read Script of considerable difficulty and to make his way on his own. He will also be able to handle 20th Century materials or materials older than the 18th century with fair facility.

No attention is given to the German language as such—grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation—except as it relates to German Script.

Instructors. The Rev. Vernon H. Nelson, Archivist of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pa., and Dr. Lotbar Madehain, Assistant Archivist. Plus special guests.

Class Schedule. Mornings, Monday to Friday, June 10-14, 17-21.

9:30 to 10:30 First Session
10:30 to 11:00 Coffee Break
11:00 to 11:15 Mini-Lecture
11:15 to 11:30 Discussion of Mini-Lecture
11:30 to 12:30 Second Session

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Afternoons and Evenings. Normally afternoon and evening hours are left free for study. At times there will be special events for students, their wives or husbands. Since the special events are not directly related to German Script, they are optional. Events which may be scheduled, according to the interests of the class, include:

- Walking tour of historic Bethlehem area
- Moravian Historical Tour, covering the old Moravian buildings
- Visit to the museum of the Moravian Historical Society, Whitefield House, Nazareth.

The Mini-Lectures. The mini-lectures deal with subjects related to German Script, such as: History and Bibliography of German Script; Names, Abbreviations, Latin Script, other details in reading German Script; German Printing; German-Language repositories in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, etc.

Prerequisites. We assume that no student has had significant experience in reading German Script, so we start at the beginning with the handwritten alphabet. Students should, however, be able to read simple printed German, before taking this course. It is not necessary to speak German or understand spoken German; the sessions are conducted in English.

Examinations. There are no formal examinations connected with the course. Overnight assignments are made and the results are reviewed in class sessions. All the assignments consist of reading or deciphering different samples of German Script.

Registration. There are no special registration forms. Prospective students should write to the Archivist signifying their intent to take the course. In the letter please include information on your level of German ability. The Archivist will confirm your registration by letter.

Financial. Costs are \$125 for tuition and \$15 for materials, making a total of \$140. This amount may be paid in advance or during the first week of sessions. Checks should be made payable to "The Moravian Archives."

Public Transportation. Bethlehem is served by Allegheny Air Lines, United Air Lines and several commuter lines. (A NE airport.) The Reading Railroad runs commuter service between Bethlehem and Philadelphia, and there is frequent bus service between Bethlehem and Philadelphia (both from Trailways and Greyhound terminals). There is fairly frequent bus service to and from New York City (Fort Authority). Bethlehem itself has public transit and there is a bus stop outside the Archives.

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Housing in Bethlehem. The Hotel Bethlehem is within walking distance. The hotels are several miles away: Howard Johnson's and Holiday Inn, among others. Men can stay at the YMCA in Bethlehem. We are also able to put you in contact with individuals who will rent rooms at reasonable rates. There are reasonably-priced restaurants within easy walking distance of the Archives.

The Weather in Bethlehem. The weather in Bethlehem in June is warm, but usually quite pleasant. Later in summer the weather becomes hot and humid.

Illness. In case of illness requiring immediate doctor's assistance, it is best to go directly to the Emergency Ward at St. Luke's Hospital, where rapid service is available.

Preparation for the First Session. Bring paper and pencil. We will supply all the educational materials.

Arrival in Bethlehem. If you have any trouble when you arrive in Bethlehem, please call the following:

(215) 866-1255 Archives
(215) 866-1907 Home of Archivist

Vernon H. Nelson

Musicology." Albert Jordan, a local amateur historian, spoke on "How I Use German Script: Handwriting Identification." He referred to his recent experience in reading and identifying the handwriting of various Bethlehem architects. Karen Zerbe, Researcher at Historic Bethlehem, Inc., spoke on "How I Use German Script: Historic Restoration." Donald Lineback, German professor at Hollins College, Hollins College, Virginia, spoke on "How I Use German Script: Doctoral Research." Lineback was on his way to Herrnhut, Germany, to do further research on Henry Miller, prominent as a printer in Philadelphia at the outbreak of the American Revolution. Both Miss Zerbe and Mr. Lineback had also taken the German Script Course in previous years.

Two major lectures were given by Mr. Nelson on "A Brief History of German Handwriting and Printing," and "German Script Resources." German Script is an evolution of the Gothic scripts which first appeared in northern France in the 11th Century. There are millions of pages of original manuscripts written in German Script in the United States and Canada, plus millions of pages of photocopies.

Most of the students were able to visit some of the historical sites in Bethlehem during their stay. There were several social events, including a class picnic at Monocacy Park on the last Thursday.

The Moravian Archives is the only institution offering a German Script Course in this country, except for professors who tutor their students or teach small classes. The Foundation for Reformation Research in

St. Louis includes some German in its 16th Century Paleography Course.

Since the Moravians generally wrote in *Hochdeutsch* and had represented in their midst many varieties of writing—from that of the scribe to the poorly trained writer—the Moravian Archives is a good place to study German Script. Through the years the Archives had acquired many of the major works on German Script printed in Germany.

Very few of the students taking the German Script Courses have intended to do research in Moravian records. Some have been interested in turn-of-the-century German literary figures, or Austrian politics, or the impact of Germans in America, or possibly in a Moravian subject. Nevertheless, the presentation of this course has in four years produced over forty students with some facility or promise of facility in German Script, and in the long run it is expected that the Moravian Archives will be helped considerably—as well as all places with German records. In fact, it was the realization that so many researchers came to records in Bethlehem completely unprepared to read them that gave the impetus to start a German Script Course.

The Moravian Archives occupies a three-story stone structure on the Moravian College campus in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The building and its contents are owned and operated by the Moravian Church. The staff is now preparing for a major renovation and expansion to take place probably in 1975. A fifth German Script Course will be held in June, 1975.



THE SLEIGH RIDE.

Play in Philadelphia

By CAROL WOJTOWICZ

INTRODUCTION

Games have been an integral part of life for innumerable years. Before the 16th Century work did not occupy as much of the day as it later did and games were a principal activity of adults as well as children. They were a means of unifying the society.¹ In colonial America they took the form of holidays for adults with special celebrations for each day. Children, however, played in much the same manner as they do today. "Even in districts distinguished by the severity of moral doctrines, it does not appear that any attempt was made to interfere with the liberty of youth. Nowhere have the old sports (often, it is true, in crude rustic forms) been more generally maintained than in localities famous for Puritanism."² We have accounts of Samuel Sewall having to climb out onto his roof and fix his rain spout which was clogged by a trap-ball. He also records the playing of football

in his diary. Boston City Documents record fines imposed for those who play foot-ball within the town streets or throw firecrackers or snowballs.³ This proves that such activities must have been very common in this Puritan town.

It seems even more likely then that in Quaker Philadelphia the children played freely both in the streets and in the parks that William Penn set aside when he planned the town.

Franklin in his proposals on education stressed the need ensuring the physical fitness of students. "That, to keep them in health, and to strengthen and render active their Bodies, they be frequently exercis'd in Running, Leaping, Wrestling, and Swimming, &c."

Children played, however, regardless of adult sanction or organization. Some of their early games are recorded by Newell in his collection of *Games and Songs of American Children*, first published in 1883. Newell

¹Phillippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, trans. Robert Baldick (London, 1962), p. 67.

²William W. Newell, *Games and Songs of American Children* (New York, 1883), p. 2.

³Index of American Culture, Massachusetts Records, 1625-1700, file nos. 857 and 524, compiled by Dr. Anthony Garvan, University of Pennsylvania.

used informants of all age groups and from all parts of the country. Most of the games he described were universally played but there were regional variations. Tag was one of the most popular games and in Philadelphia there were several unique versions. One was "Tag, Tag, Tell a Body," which was played in the usual fashion, the difference being that all players were forbidden to reveal the identity of "IT," on penalty of replacing him. Another variation of this was "London Loo" which used the following song:

"1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 - London!"
"Loo!"
"I'll try to catch one of you!"⁴

In the 19th Century children also played circle games, hiding games, marbles, hop-scotch, mumblety-peg, drama games and numerous others. Flower oracles were popular such as chanting "He loves me, he loves me not" while stripping the petals of a daisy. Some of these oracles are now used as jumping-rope rhymes such as "Rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief, doctor, lawyer, Indian chief." Counting-out games were also popular. One exclusively from Philadelphia was "Engine No. 9, Out goes she".⁵ This too (in an altered form) is now a jumping rhyme:

*Engine, engine No.9
Going down Chicago line
If the train goes off the track
Do you want your money back?
Yes, no, maybe so . . .*

Children played wherever they could, but children largely seemed to play in the streets. Educators and moralists began to worry about the harmful physical and spiritual effects this had on the city's youth. They felt that "unguided play and sociability" could ruin their lives and characters.⁷ They saw playgrounds as a supplement to the schools and churches in guiding the training of children's minds and bodies. In 1893 the movement was begun with the formation of the Culture Extension League. They sought first to utilize the existing school yards and vacant lots, and by 1894 the first playgrounds were opened. These were funded by private subscriptions and staffed by volunteers.

In 1895 the trolley system was inaugurated in Philadelphia and the children playing in the streets were injured by numerous traffic accidents. This added impetus to the playground movement. Great support by the Board of Education was largely responsible for its success; they contributed the schoolyards, equipment and teachers. City Council granted funds and twenty-three such playgrounds were opened. The Cul-

ture Extension League then turned its attention toward procuring and converting vacant lots. This was the beginning of the present Department of Recreation.⁸

This paper is an attempt to trace the evolution through time of where children in Philadelphia played and what they played. The emphasis is on exploring in particular the play habits of the last three generations. The information was largely collected by interviews with numerous persons of each generation who grew up and played in Philadelphia. It is supplemented by magazine articles of the time describing the activities and play areas. I have restricted accounts of games to those played in the schoolyard and on the playgrounds. It would be too massive a task to attempt to describe street games. Moreover a further attempt of this paper is to examine the influence of play areas upon play. The activities described are strictly those of the elementary school level.

I.

The first group of people from whom I collected information either by a personal interview or by a questionnaire were those who attended elementary school in the pre-World War I era. These people were all of a white, middle-class background. They lived in various sections of the city. They were growing up in the early days of the playground movement yet none can recall ever going to one. There were still only a few in proportion to the city's population and size, and apparently were not located near the homes of any of the informants. Consequently these children played either in the schoolyards or near their homes.

Schoolyards were small in comparison to more modern school yards. They were all concrete areas with no surrounding fields and with little or no equipment. Consequently games were played that required only a small amount of space and required either no equipment or that which children could bring. The most games seemed to be Tag, Dodge Ball, Volley Ball and Shadows. Shadows was played with two people in the sunshine (one advantage of a schoolyard without trees was that there was always sun). The object was for the pursuer to try to step in the other person's shadow and naturally the other person had to keep moving to prevent this. Jumping Rope and playing Jacks were favorite past-times of the girls and the boys played marbles. Ring games were also popular such as Loopty-Loo. This was a dance done in a circle with all players holding hands and moving in a clockwise direction while singing the following words and carrying out the instructions.

*Here we go loopty loo
Here we go loopty ligh
Here we go loopty loo
All on a Saturday night.*

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 128-143.

⁴Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography and Other Writings*, ed. L. Jesse Lemisch (New York, 1961), p. 212.

⁵Newell, p. 159.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁷Stoyan Vasil Tsanoff, *Educational Value of the Children's Playgrounds* (Philadelphia, 1897), p. 127.

You put your right foot in
(all players stick right foot in circle)
You take your right foot out
You give your right foot a shake, shake, shake
And turn yourself about (all drop hands and turn)

The chorus is sung again and then the left foot substituted for the right and then in the following order: the right arm, left arm, right side, left side and finally the whole self.

You put your whole self in
You take your whole self out
You give your whole self a shake, shake, shake,
And turn yourself about
(repeat chorus)

A variation on this is Hokey Pokey which is done to the same tune with approximately the same words.

One woman reported markings for End Ball in her schoolyard; and this was a much enjoyed activity there. This was a variation of Volley Ball; the group was divided into two teams. Each team then divided itself in half and half of each team was on either side of the net. The object of the game was to hit the ball back and forth over the net, but to keep it in the hands of your own players.

Therefore team A who stood in the front would try to hit the ball to their players who were in the back of the other side. Meanwhile team B which was in the front would try to capture the ball.

For the most part games did not appear to be organized by the teachers; they were entered into spontaneously by the children.

II.

The second group of persons I interviewed were those who attended elementary school in the late twenties and thirties. They were also of a white, middle-class background. By this time the playground movement was well established and many more of my informants reported having used them. There were still not nearly as many as there are today and many of the women did not use them as much as the men because of the distance involved. Their mothers preferred to have them playing nearby where they could watch them. Those women who did go, however, delighted in the summer arts and crafts programs. Moreover the playgrounds and community centers had quite a few toys that these children of the depression years did not have, and they often went to play with them. The men I spoke with used playgrounds primarily as areas in which they played Football, Baseball, and Soccer. The equipment in most of these areas consisted of the traditional swings, sliding boards, maypoles, and monkeybars. While they enjoyed using the equipment at some times, it was never the principal reason for going to the playground.

There was one playground, however, which was famed for its equipment: several persons recounted their trips there. This was Smith Memorial Playground. It had a huge sliding board (approximately 12 feet by 12 feet), enclosed in glass, which was for adults as well as for children. There were also swings, see-saws, a merry-go-round, and a nursery for mothers to use in caring for young children. An article which appeared in the April 1953 issue of *Recreation* described a program which had been conducted at the Smith playground for the past thirty years. Twice each week a village was set up for the children who played there, using folding stores, houses, furnishings and assorted goods. Children came and acted out real life situations of caring for families, tending businesses, teaching school, etc. The program was so popular that it was extended to other playgrounds.⁹

It seems for the most part, however, that children of this period still played primarily in the schoolyards, streets, and vacant lots near their homes. There still were not enough playgrounds for them to be readily accessible.

Schoolyards differed little from those described by the previous group. They all consisted of concrete yards with no grass or trees, fenced in on all sides. Most had no equipment although a few had swings and monkey bars. These were utilized but the traditional games of Jumping Rope, Hop-Scotch, Tag, etc., seemed most popular.

Games seemed to be organized more frequently for the girls than the boys. Such games would include Volleyball, Dodge Ball, Relay Races, and Baby-in-the-Air. This is a game in which one person gives all players a number including the person who is IT. The person then throws the ball into the air and calls out "Baby in the air number[-]," picking a number at random. The person holding that number runs to catch the ball while the remaining players scatter. When he catches the ball he yells for them to stop and then taking three steps toward the person closest to him would try to hit him with the ball. If he succeeded that person was IT and received the letter "B". If he failed to hit him he was IT again and he had "B". The first person to receive "B A B Y" lost the game and suffered dire consequences.

Circular games were also popular such as Cat and Mouse. In this game all players but two (the cat and the mouse) formed a circle with the mouse on the inside and the cat on the outside. The object was for the cat to capture the mouse and to avoid this the mouse ran in and out of the circle as the cat pursued him.

⁹Thatcher N. Bowers, "A Children's Village," *Recreation*, 46-A (April 1953), 11-14.

Another favorite game was a variation of Drop-the-Handkerchief. Again all players except IT formed a circle with their hand held palms up behind their back. IT walked around the circle chanting:

*Had a little dog
And he won't bite you
And he won't bite you
But he will bite you.*

At this point he drops the handkerchief into the hands of the person he is standing behind. That person then attempts to catch IT as he races around the circle and tries to slip into the vacated spot. If he succeeds the person with the handkerchief is IT; if he is caught he is IT again.

Simon Says, a game in which all persons playing imitate Simon (but only when Simon prefixes his directions with Simon Says), and Statues were favorite games of both sexes.

One woman reports playing Jelly Roll. This was organized by a teacher and as many as a hundred children played. The children would form a long line holding hands and the teacher would start winding the beginning of the line into a tight circle much like a jelly roll. After the children were tightly wound, they would begin the unwinding process.

Marbles were still a favorite of the boys and they shot them in all types of weather. They also shot bottlecaps; this was known as Deadbox.

The object was to shoot the bottlecaps from one consecutive number to another being sure to avoid dead-box (the center). Dodgeball, Stickball, Hide and Seek, and Tag were also favorites. One man records having played five-step which was played with a football and two teams. The ball was kicked by one side and if caught by the other, that team got to take five giant steps toward the opposing team's goal. The object was to kick the ball over the other team's goal line by a drop kick which consisted of dropping the ball and while it touched the ground kicking it.

Mumblety-Peg was another favorite. The object of this was to throw a pen-knife with its blade straight into the ground by flipping it from a series of different positions, such as from the palm of your hand, the back of your hand, your knuckles, etc.

Several men remembered playing Peggy at Recess. This was done with a broomstick which was divided into a long part and a short end which was whittled into a point. This short end was placed on the ground, hit at the point with the longer stick and when it flew into the air the longer stick was used as a bat. The rest of the game was played like baseball.*

*See Denis Mercier, et al., "Nipsy": The Ethnography of a Traditional Game of Pennsylvania's Anthracite Region," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XXIII:4 (1974), 12-21. Ed.

Buck-buck was a variation of Leapfrog and frequently seen in Philadelphia schoolyards. One boy anchored himself against the wall and the remaining members of his team bent over in a long line and held on to each other. Members of the other team would then turn one at a time and jump on the backs of the members of the first team. The object was to try and collapse the team underneath. If this didn't occur then the leader of that team would decide upon a number from one to ten and place that many fingers against the wall. The members of the opposing team would then try to guess the number; if they lost they became the bottom team.

These were all games that required little or no equipment. The children used what they had and seemed to have a wide variety of games from which to choose.

III.

The third group that I dealt with were those of my generation who attended elementary school in the late

Types of Apparatus and Rules for Their Use in Philadelphia Playgrounds

SCHOOL playground activities are outlined in the Annual Report recently issued by the Board of Public Education of Philadelphia. The system of this city, which is under the direction of William A. Stecher, Director of Physical Education of the Department of Superintendence, consists of 128 playgrounds located in three districts. Since the establishment of the first playgrounds (four in number) in 1895, they have met with marked success, illustrated by a total attendance, for ten months in 1914-15, of 619,881.

The experience in Philadelphia has shown the wisdom of adopting certain rules which, it has been found, children not only live up to, but see to it that others also obey. The following are some of the rules for the prevention of accidents and preserving the general moral tone of the playground:

RULES FOR USING PLAYGROUND APPARATUS

To prevent accidents, always look for the danger zone. (These are either lines painted on the ground, or ropes stretched near some dangerous places.)

- Swings**—It is against the rules:
1. To stand up on the seat to swing or to start the swing.
 2. For two children to occupy one seat.
 3. To push and run under the swing, or to push by holding on to the feet of those who are swinging.

Sliding Boards—It is against the rules:

1. To slide down in a standing position.
2. To walk or crawl up the slide.

Giant Stride—It is against the rules:

1. To take a twist.
2. To push anyone around.
3. To tie the ropes together.

Baseball with a hard ball and a bat is positively prohibited. A light ball and bat may be used in very large yards, if permission is granted by the office.

Smoking is positively prohibited.
Toilets—Children are forbidden to play games around toilets. All persons are warned against using near or in the toilets.

Of further interest to those who desire to keep in touch with playground development are the recommendations as to playground equipment. Supervisor Philip Lewis, in his section of the report, advocates the following: a four-seat swing frame, giant stride, seesaw (two board sand bin, sliding board, a double horizontal bar, some balls, ring toss and rubber quoits). The cost of equipment of this character is approximately \$200. Mr. Lewis notes their certain "Improvements in the Apparatus," as follows:

Swings—Iron rods have been equipped with a special "turn," thus acting as a locking device at the end of the ring on the cross beam.

Safety Zone Standards—These are iron bars support a rope stretched around any apparatus to the children of danger.

Giant Stride—Filling the upright pipe with mallets to deaden the sound of the chain knocking against the pipe is a great improvement.

Sand Bin—The bin is now made collapsible, malleable iron side and corner fittings. The bin can be put together and taken apart without any screws or tools.

Baseball—The outer seam ball is reinforced with a patch on that part of the ball where the ends of the seams meet. The result is that last year's used less balls than in the several seasons previous.

Junior Baseball—This ball is now being made the outer seam also with a much heavier hole, outer seam enables the teacher to repair the ball in a much shorter time and with much less difficulty formerly. This ball lasts much longer than the lar seam ball.

Repair Kit—The necessity of constantly repairing balls prompted the idea of a repair kit to contain following articles: Six 2 1/2 inch round-point nails; 6 yards of rawhide lacing, 3/16 inch source laces wax; 1 tube rubber cement (small rubber for patches for mending bladders); 100 of linen thread for sewing balls. Much money has been saved by the introduction of this repair kit.

Pioneer article on schoolground equipment for Philadelphia, from "The American City," May, 1916.

fifties and sixties. Theoretically children of today are within this generation but there are differences in the way they play and the way we played which I will attempt to deal with a little later.

In 1952 playgrounds in Philadelphia began to be revitalized. Before that they were more often than not high fenced lots of concrete with little equipment. Frederick R. Mann then became the first Recreation Commissioner for the city and he brought with him numerous changes. The Department of Recreation was enlarged, trained personnel employed and all types of cheerful new equipment was purchased and installed in the playgrounds. This work was continued by Robert Crawford, the next Commissioner of Recreation.¹⁰ Crawford believed that children must crawl and climb and for that purpose he purchased all types of equipment one could climb over, under and through such as igloos, cactus trees, turtles, trains, spiral slides, climbing nets, and castles with moats. "There are even magic carpet, wing-ding and hinky-dink climbers."¹¹ These changes were taking place as my friends and I were growing up and by the time we were old enough to go to playgrounds alone they were delightful places to visit. During the summer we would go several times a week and stay for long periods using the equipment for a spiral slide was infinitely more exciting than a plain slide and castles in the sand provided a greater outlet for our imaginations than a sandbox. The boys still went primarily to use the fields and the pools while the girls went to use the apparatus. This seemed to be a set pattern for all the persons I interviewed.

Playgrounds during the summer at this time competed with the schoolyards for children's attendance. The Department of Recreation in co-operation with the Board of Education set up summer playgrounds in the schoolyards where they had trained personnel who organized games, songs, and arts and crafts. Those persons who lived near the schools which had this usually said they were there almost daily. Children then, were definitely using playgrounds more than any previous generation. It does not mean that street games were abandoned, simply that playgrounds were more utilized for they offered activities and opportunities the streets could not. They gave one a chance to explore movement through means of the equipment and offered imagination a wider scope. We often played house at home, but we never played castle as we did at the playground.

Schoolyards were still a big center for play activities, however—before school, after school, during lunch and recess. A few more persons reported having

some equipment in their schoolyards such as swings or monkey-bars or markings for broad jumps or hopscotch courts, and these were utilized. I can recall that in my school we did not have stationary equipment but when we were in kindergarten at each recess we would bring different objects out and construct our play apparatus making things like slides from boards leaned against wagons. We then spent recess either in playing with the equipment or in playing games organized

by the teacher such as the farmer-in-the-dell or ring-around-a-rosy. In later grades games were not organized and this seems to be true for all persons with whom I spoke. Games were begun spontaneously by the children and included the traditional Hopscotch and Jumping Rope for girls while boys played Dead-box, Tag, and Buck-buck. Flipping base ball cards seemed to be a new innovation at this time. Boys would collect the baseball cards you got with packs of bubble gum and during recess would, in turn, flip a card onto the ground. Whoever managed to flip one directly on top of another got to keep all that had already been thrown. This was a chief means of increasing one's collection.

There were numerous variations of Tag. One of these was Fox in the Morning. It was played with two teams who stood in lines 25 to 50 feet apart: one person (IT) stood in the middle. When all players yelled "Gold Rush" they rushed to the other team's line and IT tried to tag whomever he could. Anyone who was tagged had to remain in the center with him and tag others. The object was to get everyone into the center.

Another popular game was Man Hunt. The players were divided into two groups. One group tried to capture the other; any players they caught were placed in an area designated as the "jail." The only way they would be freed was if an uncaught member of their team managed to slip into the boundaries of the jail and yell "Free." If he was caught before entering the area he too was imprisoned.

Spring was particularly apropos for Philadelphia schoolyards. A player would begin by standing about twenty-five feet from the wall and then run towards it. Upon reaching it, you placed your foot as high up the wall as you could and then you stretched your arms and the rest of your body as high up against the wall as possible.

Girls' games were more sedate. This was still an era when girls had to wear dresses to school and "behave like ladies." Hoola hoops were popular then and several persons recalled actually taking them to school. Most games, however, were ones that required small equipment such as Jacks or Mimsie. Mimsie was played with a small ball; a formula was chanted and one suited one's actions to it.

¹⁰Margo Tupper, *No Place to Play* (Philadelphia and New York, 1966), p. 74.

¹¹Hugh Scott, "From Wing-Ding to Hinky-Dink," *Recreation*, 55 (May 1962), 250.

A mimsie (throw ball up in the air)
A clapsy (clap hands while ball is in air)
Twirl my hands (while ball is in air)
To bapsy (touch shoulders with hands while ball is in air)
My right hand (throw ball up with right hand)
My left hand (throw ball up with left hand)
High as the sky.. (throw ball up high)
Low as the sea (throw ball low but catch it before it touches ground)
Touch my knee (with right hand while ball is in air)
Touch my heel (with right hand while ball is in air)
Touch my toe (with right hand while ball is in air)
Under we go (throw ball under leg)

After completing this one pairs up the motions and the series is built up. If you miss at any point you have to start at the beginning of that series. Variations on this game included throwing the ball against the wall while performing the motions instead of in the air.

Clapping and motion games with partners or in circles of girls were also popular. Two of the most common were: A Sailor Went to Sea and Who Stole the Cookie from the Cookie Jar? A Sailor Went to Sea was done with two people facing each other. They alternated clapping their own hands together and then they would clap the right hand of one and the left hand of the other together and vice-versa, all the while chanting this rhyme:

A sailor went to sea-sea-sea
 (here they pause and touch eyes)
To see what he could see-see-see
 (here they pause and touch eyes)
And all that he could see-see-see
 (here they pause and touch eyes)
Was the bottom of the deep blue sea-sea-sea.
 (here they pause and touch eyes)

Different parts of the body were then substituted for the eyes, for example, a sailor went to ankle, ankle, ankle, or knee, knee, knee, and when one came to this part of the rhyme you would pause from clapping and touch the appropriate body part. As many parts as you wanted to include you could. This was apparently played by a few children of the previous generation but seemingly not to the same extent as we played it when we were young.

Who Stole the Cookie from the Cookie Jar? was done in a circle. While chanting the rhyme all players first clapped their own hands together and then their neighbors'. All players had an assigned number. They then began the chant:

(all) *Who stole the cookie from the*
 c-c-cookie jar?
 (it calls) *Number 3 stole the cookie from the*
 c-c-cookie jar.
 (No. 3) *Who me?*
 (all) *Yes, you!*

(No. 3) *Couldn't be.*
 (all) *Then who?*
 (No. 3) *Number 1 stole the cookie from the*
 c-c-cookie jar.

And then it repeats itself. There were numerous other variations of these games. They were quite popular because they did not require a great deal of room in which to play them. They were popular waiting games as well, a pleasant way to spend time in line waiting to go into the school room.

Jumping rope, Double-Dutch and Chinese Jump Rope were also favorites as was Hop-Scotch and variations on that. Yo-yos were also seen in abundance. Games varied depending upon the size of the schoolyards and the number of children. Where there was a lot of room running games were most popular; if it was extremely crowded the more confined games were played.

In talking with teachers and my own younger brother and sisters and from my own observations it seems that children today play fewer games in the schoolyard. They still play Tag and Spring, Handball and Jump-Rope, but there are fewer circle games. This may be because teachers are not transmitting them. The role of teachers in schoolyard play is often overlooked, but they do have a strong influence. One informant of my generation told me that he and his mother played nearly the same games at school, because they had the same teachers, although thirty years apart, who organized the games.

Children, however, do utilize the playgrounds to the same or even greater extent than we did. The equipment today is even more exciting than it was ten years ago and children enjoy it so much more than the traditional equipment. They still seem to enjoy most, however, the equipment that moves and this seems to be a theory that has withstood the passage of time, for they were always most popular.¹²

CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions can be drawn from this study. Playgrounds are becoming an increasingly important area in which children play. The first generation I questioned played at school, at home or in the vacant lots. The second generation began to use the playgrounds but primarily for their organized sports or arts and crafts activities. Now children are using playgrounds for all of those reasons, but also simply to use the play equipment. Playgrounds have also played a large role in introducing sports of different types to children such as Soccer, Ice-Hockey, Street Hockey, and Tennis. Many of these games are then taken by them into the streets and into the schoolyards.

¹²Hal Zion, Department of Planning and Construction, Department of Recreation, interviewed by Carol Wojtowicz, November 9, 1973.

Schoolyard games themselves, however, seem less formalized than they were thirty years ago. Circle games are no longer played as frequently as they were and games today seem more concerned with running and free movement. Moreover the schoolyards themselves are changing. Few of the old Philadelphia schoolyards had any type of equipment. There has been a growing cooperation between the Board of Education and the Department of Recreation. In some cases the Department of Recreation is installing tot lots on schoolyards. In another instance the school and playground are adjoining and they share facilities. The school board itself is looking into creative equipment for its schoolyards as a means of instructing its students in areas such as movement exploration, obstacle courses and dramatic play. Experimental pieces of apparatus have already been installed in four schoolyards. Such equipment does influence schoolyard play.¹²

Many of the old games seem to have completely disappeared; Peggy and Mumblety-Peg never seem to be played now and Marbles seldom are. The traditional games and variations of them such as Tag, Hide and Seek, Jump-Rope, Ball, Sledding and Snowball Fights, etc. still remain, however, which makes me tend to believe that Newell's claim made in 1883 still holds true, that is, that "the feelings and tastes of children have not been changed by time, they are little altered by civilization."¹³ They have been altered somewhat, but basically the children of Philadelphia are still playing many of the same games wherever they possibly can.

PLAYGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

I used this questionnaire to collect information from those persons I was unable to interview personally.

Public Playgrounds

- 1) Please describe the public playground you used when you were small (under twelve). Was it near your home? What type of equipment did it have? Was the surface concrete or grass? Was it fenced in?
- 2) Did you have special games you liked to use the equipment for? What was your favorite piece?
- 3) Was there any organized play by playground supervisors? Did you usually participate in it?
- 4) What types of games did you play there?

School Yards

- 5) Describe your schoolyard. Did it have playground equipment? Were there playing fields? Did the

¹²Mr. Brodic, Department of Physical Education, Board of Education, interviewed by Carol Wojtowicz, November 13, 1973.

¹³Newell, p. 29.

The descriptions of playgrounds, schoolyards, and games were furnished by interviews with approximately ten to fifteen people in each age group. Further information was obtained from talking with three teachers and recording their observations on differences in the way children play.

yard have basketball hoops or hopscotch courts or any other markings?

- 6) Did you have recess in the mornings and afternoons? What types of games did you play? If there are any that children do not seem to play today please describe them for me.
- 7) Were games organized by teachers or students?
- 8) Have you noticed changes in children's games over the years? If so please go into more detail. Do you recall your parents talking about certain games they played? Please describe them if possible.
- 9) Do you feel that children were more or less creative before than they are today? Do you believe that playgrounds and playground equipment has affected this?

Personal Data

Did you attend a private, parochial or public school? Did you live in an urban or rural area? In which section of the country was it? What were the approximate years when you attended elementary school?

Your Sex—male or female

Thank you so much for all your help.

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Education, Occupation, and Economics Among Old Order Mennonites of the East Penn Valley

By THEODORE W. JENTSCH

1. EDUCATION

As with any society which considers its way of life worth preserving the Mennonites of the East Penn Valley are concerned with the socialization of their offspring. The four one-room schoolhouses supported by the community are a powerful vehicle for the transmitting of the knowledge, norms and values together with the orientational and motivational underpinnings requisite to the Mennonite way of life.

In answer to this researcher's questions concerning the stated goals of the community's schools the response of the bishop is significant:

Well, we of course want obedience. We want an education that we feel is necessary in our way of life. This includes reading and writing in English because we are in an English world, and arithmetic so that we can handle our business affairs. Our schools must teach history because we are a Christian people and believe in Scriptural history, also the history of the country and we should learn about geography to learn about our neighbors. But

we don't care much for science and things like that. We do not teach about sex and other subjects that are being taught in public school.

A teacher competent to do so will also add high German to the list of studies in order to assist the child¹ in learning to read the German hymns sung during the church services.²

An important portion of each day's schooling is devoted to Bible reading, the singing of hymns (mostly English language, revival type), the Lord's Prayer, and memorizing Bible passages.

ACCOMMODATION WITH THE STATE

All instruction, in accordance with the state law, is done in the English language, but the writer has ob-

¹School children are universally referred to by members of the community as "scholars" rather than "pupils" or "students."

²Numerous Mennonites have confided to the writer that they cannot understand or at best are unsure of many of the high German words of the hymns sung at Sunday worship.



Old Order Mennonite Farmhouse with many additions.

served that all conversation outside the classroom is in the dialect. Indeed, it is in the classroom that most members of the community encounter their first, and perhaps only, systematic use of English.

School is in session 180 days a year, the minimum allowed by Pennsylvania law. The school year runs roughly from 1 September to the middle of May. Classes are conducted Monday through Friday. There are no vacations except for Christmas Day, Thanksgiving Day and Good Friday. Classes are also suspended the day of a funeral in the community and the day of some special religious activity such as the ordination of a new minister or the visit of a minister from another community.

Adherence is made to the compulsory attendance law of the state which allows no more than three consecutive days absence for reasons other than illness. Attendance records are regularly forwarded to the state's Department of Public Instruction, the agency charged with the oversight of all instruction in the state, public, private, and parochial.

Most children begin first grade at age six. All new scholars submit to vaccination requirements. Schooling ordinarily ends at grade eight which is usually attained at age fifteen. A ninth grade or "vocational class" meeting one day a week (on Fridays) is required of those who have finished eighth grade and are not yet fifteen years of age. Young people leave this class the day after their fifteenth birthday, thus having fulfilled the absolute minimum imposed by the state. This vocational class is devoted largely to arithmetic and spelling. In an accommodative gesture the state has merely required that those enrolled in this class keep a diary of their week's work activities and that this diary be kept on file should the state ever require an examination of them. One of the original settlers of the community has collected these diaries over the years but reports that state authorities have never asked to see them. The teacher uses these diaries as a device to teach grammar, spelling, and language usage. At the beginning of each Friday session the scholar submits the record of his week's activities on rough tablet paper. The teacher makes corrections as necessary. The scholar then copies the polished report in a cardboard-covered composition book which, as indicated above, becomes the diary on file.

FACILITIES AND PERSONNEL

The first settlers of the Old Order Mennonite community arrived in the Kutztown area in the Spring of 1949. Their school-age children were enrolled in the Kutztown elementary school until 1956 when the community was able to purchase, at public sale, an abandoned one-room township schoolhouse. This building

served, although awkwardly because of location, until 1964 when it was sold⁷ and the Oak Haven and Pleasant Hill schools were erected in areas more accessible to larger numbers. The growth of the community has necessitated the erection, in 1969 and 1970, of two additional buildings; the Willow Creek school at the southwestern and the Hidden Valley school at the northeastern extremities of the community. The distance between these schools is eleven road miles. There are 114 children currently enrolled in these four schools: 32 at both Oak Haven and Pleasant Hill, 31 at Willow Creek and 19 at Hidden Valley.

Until most recently all teachers were products of and recruited from the local community and its schools. But the teacher turnover is rather rapid as the most positively sanctioned female role in the community is still that of wife/mother, and the development of a four school system has overtaxed the local teacher resources. Currently, the teacher at the Willow Creek school is a Horning (Black Bumper) Mennonite from a neighboring county but who is living with a family of the East Penn Valley community during the school year. This is her first year in teaching. The teacher at the Pleasant Hill school is a married woman, a member of the local community and mother of three. Two of her children attend the school at which she teaches and the third is now beyond school age. The size of this family is quite a typical as is the situation of a mother engaged in teaching. The teacher of the Hidden Valley school is the eighteen-year-old daughter of one of the community's ministers. She attended the Fleetwood area public school⁸ due to the fact that during her school years the community's schools were not convenient to her place of residence. The Willow Creek school now serves her residence area. The teacher in her second year at the Oak Haven school is the longest in service, previously having taught at the Pleasant Hill school for four years following her education in the Kutztown area school system as well as the community's schools.

Recruitment is primarily on the basis of a person's "interest in teaching" as a member of the school board told this writer, and individuals are hired by the board at a rate ranging from \$8.00 to \$10.50 daily depending on size of class and experience of teacher. The folk character of this community is evident in the lack of written contract. All arrangements between teacher and school board are "understood"—a clear evidence of a status-based rather than a contract-oriented society.

The school board is comprised of five men each elected for five year terms. The term of one member

⁷To one of the few members of the community engaged wholly in nonagricultural work. It has been converted to a hardware store and bicycle repair shop.

⁸Fleetwood is a small town four miles southwest of Kutztown.

expires each year. Elections are conducted in the Fall immediately preceding the school year. All married members of the community are invited to participate in the election, including those who have no children in school. There are no nominations; those participating in the election simply place the name of their choice on a slip of paper. The person receiving the largest number of such votes is declared elected.

The newly elected member of the board serves as a director for two years. The third year of his term he fills the position of secretary. During his fourth year he is treasurer and completes his final year in the office of president. Board members are eligible for unlimited re-election.

Board members are involved with securing teachers, obtaining supplies, seeing to building maintenance, periodic visits to the schools and adequate financing. Originally, parents of school aged children were assessed a specific amount for the operation of the school system but currently all financing is done on a voluntary basis although it is understood that the yearly contribution should be \$150 for the first child and \$50 for each additional child in school.

A TYPICAL DAY AT OAK HAVEN SCHOOL

At 6:45 A.M. Miss M. slips a black bonnet over her prayer cap, throws a shawl over her shoulders and walks the several hundred feet from the farm house that provides her room and board to the 27 by 35 foot frame building in which she teaches 32 children in grades one through eight. On Friday of each week this number is swelled by five young people who are involved in the ninth grade vocational class described earlier in this chapter.

Miss M. is the longest in service (this is her sixth year in teaching), the highest paid (\$10.50 per day plus room and board), and the best educated (grades one and two in the community school, grades three through eight in the Kutztown public school, grade nine in the community school and a correspondence course leading to a high school diploma) of the four teachers in the system.⁵

After preliminary chores, which in winter include stoking up the wood-fired hot air furnace (probably in semi-darkness as the building has no electricity), Miss M. makes final preparation, usually including some blackboard work, for the day's academic activities.

At 8 A.M. the scholars begin to appear, barefoot in summer, some having walked more than a mile from home. By 8:30 all are in place and the day's activities begin with hymn singing, Scripture reading, sharing of memorized Bible verses and the praying of the Lord's Prayer.

⁵Miss M. is the only person in the community to hold a high school diploma.

Today all grades begin with arithmetic: drill in multiplication, blackboard work in addition, counting buttons for the first graders to introduce number concepts. Recess from 10 to 10:15 provides the day's first recreational break.

Spelling now occupies some of the children's attention (practice on the new words introduced yesterday and having sentences assigned for tomorrow) while grammar is the hurdle for others: sentence structure and short paragraphs written on rough tablet paper to be handed in and checked by the teacher.

Lunch from 11:30 until the teacher swings her hand bell at 12:15 provides an outlet for exuberant youth. The swing set is covered with rosy-checked, braided-hair girls while barefoot boys in wide-brimmed straw hats interrupt their softball game to cluster excitedly at the door as the by this time rather familiar figure of "the Jentsch" appears on the scene to arrange for an interview with the teacher.

Following lunch grades three through eight engage in social studies (a combination introduction to history and geography) while grades one and two are immersed in more English studies; grade one in phonics and grade two in reading. Grade one will begin reading later in the term. Grades three and four are reading about rural and urban homes and schools and how they have changed in appearance and activities through the years. Grades five and six are studying United States history with the current unit concerning the revolutionary war. Grades seven and eight are studying world history and geography with current emphasis on the life of early man. Upon questioning about possible conflict between creation and evolution points of view the teacher strongly indicated that no teaching was done concerning the origins of man. This is evidently left to the instruction class, conducted by the bishop, that the young people attend prior to their baptism if indeed the point is raised at all. The teacher, in a subsequent short conversation with the writer, did not seem to quite understand what was meant by evolution, evidence that the Biblical account of creation is literally accepted as is the case with all other content matter of what the community views as God's holy and immutable Word.

Final recess is from 1:45 to 2 P.M. after which the lower grades are now concerned with health and hygiene practices while the seventh and eighth grades are completing work that should have been covered in the morning's English session. Assignments are made and preparations begun to go home. Paper is picked up and desks are cleared off and straightened in their rows. Older children (boys) burn the waste paper and (girls) wash the blackboards. Younger children "clap" the erasers outside.

By rows the children file to the rear of the room, collect lunch boxes and outer wear and return to their seats for a moment of absolute quiet. After an exchange of "good night" between teacher and pupils dismissal takes place at 3:15 and Miss M. spends another hour or so correcting paper and preparing for tomorrow.

CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

There are always a few families within the community who elect to send their children or some of their children to public school.⁶ This decision may stem from a variety of reasons:

1. The public school system provides services for mentally and physically handicapped children that the community's schools cannot.

2. In some cases accessibility to the public schools and the inconvenience of travel by foot or buggy to the community school is a factor.

3. Economics plays a part in some instances as public education is already paid for by school taxes (which every land owner pays) and attendance at the community's schools requires financial support over and above taxes paid to the state.

4. Some parents seem to prefer that their children get at least some exposure to the outside world through attendance for a year or so in the public schools. This situation causes some interesting cultural interaction where, for example, the Mennonite child may sing during rehearsals with the school chorus but not be allowed to sing at a public evening performance or, in another example the Mennonite girl will be excused from physical education activities because of her refusal to wear the skimpy "gym suit" required. These situations seem to be handled amicably on the few occasions in which they arise.

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

The Mennonites of the East Penn Valley have been extremely tenacious in their stand against high school education or school attendance after fifteen years of age, while at the same time being quite accommodative to the state in the realm of record keeping and adherence to attendance laws. They want to retain the one-room school. They see their system of education as adequate for their way of life if not superior in many ways to the public school system. There are no members of the community on welfare, none unemployed, no delinquency, no drug problem, no alcoholism. All these the Mennonites see in the public school oriented society around them. Public school means contact with many of the worldly forces and activities rejected by the community: radio, television, motion pictures, musical in-

struments, automobiles, jewelry, gaudy clothing, values and morals foreign to the Mennonite mentality. The principle of nonconformity to the world and separation from it both requires and is reinforced by the community's parochial school system. This writer also sees in the one-room school an important training ground for the mutual aid principle. In the one-room school the teacher often delegates responsibilities to children on the seventh and eighth grade levels by having them assist children at lower grade levels with difficult problems or assignments. Such a system stimulates cooperation rather than competition and a cooperative spirit is essential to the Mennonite way of life.

The rationale behind the Mennonite parochial school is perhaps best expressed in the following:

The reason that Mennonites want parochial schools or private Christian day schools in our day is the same reason for which they came to America. They wanted then to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, without civil interference.

The secular world is fundamentally selfish and often dishonest. The earlier guileless simplicity of the Lancaster County Mennonite furnished fertile soil for misrepresentation. The agrarian mind lent itself to separation and simplicity and fundamental honesty.

The secular social citizenship emphasis in the public schools is far from satisfactory to a personally converted Christian individual. The civil influence of our day is so completely and entirely pragmatic that the national philosophy is satisfied with the theory of relativism which disregards all revelation from Jehovah and wholeheartedly accepts the notion that truth is what the majority wants.

The typical, secular, behavioristic, materialistic, social, economic American public school curriculum has been an underlying cause of the political and social unrest, juvenile delinquency and general moral breakdown so prevalent in our country. The sturdy solid mores of our past have been up-rooted by the rationalistic relativity of pragmatism and the moorings of our civilization have been swept away by the resulting flood of social and moral anarchy. This too has alarmed the peace loving, conservative, rural-minded Mennonites.⁷

Education as provided by the East Penn Valley community is designed to meet the increasing problem of the impingement of the surrounding secular and materialistic world. The community is largely suspicious of public education. It is seen as a vehicle for the erosion of basic Mennonite principles; the teaching of science leads people away from reliance on God and the teacher in the secular school tends to undermine parental authority. In contradistinction to this the community's schools provide a milieu in which its children can be engaged in intense and mutually sup-

⁶At the present time there are 26 children from eleven of the community's families attending public school.

⁷Quoted from Silas Hertzler's *Mennonite Parochial Schools*.

portive interaction and communication, thus minimizing the impact of outside cultural values.⁸

Separation from the world is a fundamental tenet of Mennonite faith. The East Penn Valley's Mennonite schools are functional in the maintenance of separation and, through this isolation, the avoidance of many of the temptations of the outside world. My informants, without exception, view the community's educative system as a major bulwark of defense against assimilation into the surrounding culture. I view the community's educative system as a major vehicle whereby the old values are transmitted and reinforced, values which tend to contribute to community stability and negate change.

This research reveals the Mennonite school as an important medium for the promulgation of common beliefs and practices which increase the cohesion of the ground.⁹ This homogeneity of experience is a source of strength as the community struggles to maintain its identity, its distinctive way of life, in its collision with the dominant society surrounding it.

2. OCCUPATION

*"Farming and our way of life just go together. You feel closer to God on the farm when you work with animals and crops than you do in the city."*¹⁰

The tilling of the soil is a major value within the East Penn Valley community. The almost exclusive dependence on farming and farm related work is illustrated in the following:

1. Occupation by head of family	Number
<i>Farming</i>	46
<i>Owner of hardware, farm equipment and bicycle store</i>	1
<i>Owner of coach works repairing and building buggies, carriages and sleighs</i>	1
<i>Owner of mower and saw shop, tree trimming and agent for Amway home products</i>	1
<i>Cabinet maker</i>	1
<i>Employed at Fleetwood applejuice factory</i>	3
<i>Farming for wages on a Horning farm</i>	1
<i>Jack of all trades (silo filling, crop picking, tobacco spearing, cultivating)</i>	1
<i>Operates very small farm plus part time work at coach works, trimming trees, Amway sales</i>	1

Of the 46 heads of family engaged primarily in farming the following receive additional income from the sources indicated. One man operates a welding shop; one does bulldozing; one repairs implements; one man operates a harness repair shop as well as being an agent for fertilizer, paint and seed corn; five are

⁸For a discussion of the importance of interaction and communication in the development of group cohesion and thus, in the context of this investigation, to the defense of a community's values, see Emil Durkheim in *Suicide*, p. 208 ff.

⁹*Op cit.*, p. 170.

¹⁰Informant BA.

engaged in carpentry; one works, as time permits, at the hardware store and another at the mower shop owned by members of the community. One is engaged in horseshoeing and two do tobacco steaming in the Springtime. Two work one day weekly at a nearby auction receiving and driving cattle. Numerous of the farmers sell at the roadside as various crops come into season. One has a permanent roadside stand and does a substantial amount of regular and repeat business. Another operates a greenhouse on his property selling a wide variety of plants and flowers. Two serve as janitors at the church houses for small salaries.

Of the three remaining heads of households, two are retired and one is serving his conscientious objector (1-W draft classification) time as a handyman and attendant at a home for the aged in the central part of the state. One of the retired men, a widower, works twice weekly at auctions receiving and driving cattle. He also does occasional unloading of lumber at a local firm and cleans out mushroom houses. The other retired man does considerable buying and selling of steers at auctions for his sons and nephews.

The community also contains two widows, one of whom gains some income by supplying a local drygoods store with quilt patches and finished quilts. This woman, although she lives with a married son maintains her own room and engages in independent meal preparation.

2. Family members engaged in income producing work off the farm

<i>Full time</i>	
<i>Teaching in community school system</i>	1 married woman, 2 girls aged eighteen and twenty-two
<i>Housework</i>	1 girl aged 20
<i>Fleetwood shirt factory</i>	2 girls aged 20 and 21
<i>Kutztown knitting mill</i>	3 girls all aged 21
<i>Fleetwood applejuice factory</i>	1 boy aged 20
<i>Part time</i>	
<i>Housework outside of community</i>	7 girls aged 16 to 19
<i>Working for Kutztown carpenter/contractor</i>	3 boys aged 17, 18 and 20
<i>Tending cattle at auction</i>	2 boys aged 18 and 19

Up to age 20 or 21, depending on family custom, any income gained by an individual goes to the family in return for full support. In some families the child may be allowed to keep a small portion for personal use. A few families have this arrangement only to age 18. At the age specified by the family, money

earned by the individual may be retained by the individual but then board must be paid for in cash or in services to the family.

It is clear that the basic endeavor open to the youth of the community is farming, following in the footsteps of father and grandfather. At present all 59 heads of family come from families that are now or were engaged in full time farming.

THE FARM

A fattening pen for beef cattle and pigs is characteristic of the majority of farms in the community. Tobacco is a primary cash crop and provides year-round work for the family. There are a few dairy herds, fewer than in the past because of more stringent controls imposed by state health authorities. Nondairy farms always have a cow or two to provide the family with milk. In recent years tomatoes and pickles have been raised by some of the families on a contract basis for large processing plants outside the immediate area. Most grain crops such as corn, wheat, rye and oats are utilized within the community for feed purposes but surplus crops, when they occur, are sold on the open market. The farmers raise their own silage and grass for hay.

The community's farms are small in size, ranging between fifteen and 203 acres and averaging about 74 acres.¹¹ This is in contrast with an 122.8 acre average for Berks County, in which the community is located, and an 159 acre average for the state of Pennsylvania as recently reported by the agricultural extension service of the Pennsylvania State University.

In the United States the trend over the years has been that the number of farms has decreased while the size of the farm has increased, as shown in Table 11, following.

Table 11. Number and Average Size of Farms in the United States, 1930—1970.

	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970 (est.)
Number of farms (in 1,000s)	6,546	6,350	5,648	3,962	2,895
Average size	151	167	213	297	387

Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1970, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

The reverse of this trend is evident among the Mennonite and Amish people in general and within, specifically, the East Penn Valley community. Existing farms are being divided among surviving sons. Land has been taken by the state for a four lane high-speed highway and additional land will be claimed in the near future

¹¹Farmland acreage refers to all land under the control of a farm operator and considered as part of his holdings including land not actually under cultivation or used for pasture or grazing.

for the widening of an existing main road. The electric utility company has recently cut a power line right-of-way through the valley.

FARM AND FAMILY

While technology makes the large farm possible and indeed economically necessary for the nation as a whole, the small farm reinforces the family-centered culture of the East Penn Valley community. The Mennonite family can be correctly called farm-centered and the Mennonite farm can be correctly termed family-centered.

The occupation of farming helps to unite all members of the family around a common activity. And the small farm provides the environment where each member of the family, however large that family may be, is engaged in useful work. Many hands require less investment in machinery and hence less dependence on the outside world. Hard work and long hours at common tasks tend to increase the solidarity of the family by postponing the condition that has enveloped many in the outside world, i.e., "increased household leisure that has often contributed to divorce, desertion and other rising symptoms of family disorganization."¹²

Farming in the East Penn Valley community is a family affair in which members of the family are accountable to and supportive of each other. This value of interdependence in daily work is another avenue through which relative independence is maintained from the outside world.

Farming as a year-round family affair is illustrated by the work involved with the tobacco crop. The first activity of the yearly cycle takes place in April when the seedbeds are cleared of Winter debris and steamed to kill weed seeds. This steaming is done by a very old wood-fired engine which is pulled from field to field on its large iron wheels. The occasional release of the steam pressure through its whistle relief valve evokes nostalgic visions of the age of the iron horse as the sound echoes across the valley. Then dry seed or sprouted seedlings (seeds which have been placed in a jar of water and gently agitated several times a week) are spread in the sterilized seedbed, covered with sheets of muslin and watered regularly until they are large enough to be transplanted to the fields, usually in late May or early June. Before the plants are set, an arduous hand operation, the fields must be carefully plowed, harrowed, disked and rolled.

Cultivation by hand hoe between the plants and by horse drawn cultivator between the rows provides work for many hands and keeps the fields free of weeds while the plants are young. The children, both boys and girls,

¹²Herbert Black, *Disorganization*, p. 55.

are set to the task of plucking suckers from the plants and "topping" the plants to prevent seeding. (Seeds are allowed to develop on two or three plants to provide seed for next year's planting. Enough seeds are produced by two or three plants for many acres. The seeds are so fine that they are spread on the original seedbeds mixed with water applied from a watering can.)

The crop is harvested in late August or early September, the leaves being cut from the plant by the men and older boys with a long-handled shears and speared on four foot poles which in turn are hung on racks in the specially designed barns with their hinged and slatted sidings which allow for the free circulation of air.

After the drying process during which the leaves turn from their light green to a rust brown hue, usually by late December or early January, the crop is taken to the tobacco cellar under the barn. Here throughout the winter months all members of the family can be found, at various times, preparing the dried leaves for shipment: sorting into two grades, top leaf or wrapper grade and lower leaf or filler grade; stripping the leaves from the stalks; tying the leaves into bundles; placing the bundles into a paper-lined baling device; operating the device and finally tying the bale with heavy cord. The farmer must then arrange for the bales to be delivered to a warehouse in the city of Lancaster, some 45 miles to the southwest of Kutztown. There are numerous people in the area who do trucking for these people and those in Lancaster County who do not own or operate motor vehicles.

The tobacco crop is functional in relation to both family enterprise and financial necessity. It provides the cash that the community needs in its dealings with the outside world. It provides work for all members of the family except the very youngest. It calls for differing skill levels. It provides a great deal of activity for the otherwise quiet Winter months thereby keeping hands and minds occupied at a time when other farm activities are at a minimum.

IMPLICATIONS FOR STABILITY

The multiplicity and distribution of occupations is a measure of change in a nation or a subculture. For example, in 1870 about one half of the workers in the United States were engaged in agricultural occupations. This ratio consistently decreased until by 1920 only about thirty percent were so occupied. By 1957 the farm population had dwindled to ten percent of the total population. And by 1969 the figure had plummeted to five percent.²³

Those once engaged in agriculture are now redis-

tributed in new occupations. This redistribution process is rapid and ongoing in a technological society for each new invention requires a reallocation of workers. The increase in the number of occupations is accompanied by specialization, division of labor, which is a prominent characteristic of the techno-bureaucratic form of social organization. This, in turn, inevitably produces a segmentation of interests in a culture and segmentation of interests is a powerful impetus toward social change.

The specific value of farming, that is, the conscious effort by parents to stimulate their children's interest in and develop their skills for farming, has been a major deterrent to social change in the East Penn Valley community. There simply has not been that degree of occupational change which would result in the modification of the original social organization. The original cultural homogeneity has been maintained, partially at least, as the result of the absence of occupational differentiation.

The patriarchal family organization is greatly enhanced when son follows in father's footsteps. Father serves as model and in the East Penn Valley community the close ties between father and son, strengthened by common occupational interests, are abundantly evident.

Occupational differentiation increases standard of living and status "spread" and enlarges opportunity for associative relationships with persons of differing values and interests. The almost completely homogeneous occupational activity of the Mennonite community largely precludes the development of these kinds of relationships. The usual vertical mosaic of class, status, wealth, power, is virtually absent in the community. There is, of course, a certain degree of stratification in the East Penn Valley community as there is in all human collectivities, but from the viewpoint of the observer it assumes much more a flat, linear shape than a pyramidal shape. Equality rather than prestige is the norm. This value is greatly enhanced by common dress style, common mode of transportation, common house structure as well as common occupation. Even the bishop, who significantly has been chosen for his office by the Holy Spirit²⁴ rather than by political means or through his own desires, when addressing his flock stands on floor level with them. He is, of course, also one of them by virtue of his farming occupation.

It remains for another study of the community, in another twenty years, to discover whether or not occupational change, if it does occur to any great extent, will result in decreasing community cohesion and solidarity. What little has occurred to this date has not done so, although there may be a few isolated hints of erosion. One of the nonfarming minority spoke to me during an interview rather disparagingly of those

²³Report of the United States Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, 1970.

²⁴See Chapter V, Section 2.

who did not use electricity and therefore thought they were better than those who did use electricity. A more severe evidence of erosion may be the fact that the hardware store owned by a member of the community was open for business as usual on the Saturday on which the annual baptismal service was conducted. The demands of the secular society which affords this man much of his business were apparently more pressing than the demands of the community, evidence to the writer of the process Nisbet calls "individualization" evoking social change.¹⁵

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

Although the community is essentially a collectivity under divine rule it is surrounded by and becoming increasingly dependent upon a materialistically based culture.

The simple fact of the matter is that the farmer of the East Penn Valley community is not self-sufficient. He must relate to the cash economy of the outside world. Although, as will be seen later in this study, there is much in the form of mutual aid and intra-community lending of money without interest, the member of the community needs cash to pay taxes, buy cloth, purchase equipment, erect silos and, increasingly, pay telephone and electricity bills. Livestock and tobacco must get to market. Pickles and tomatoes must get to the processor. The horse and wagon are no longer able to accomplish this on the expanding network of express highways. Members of the community must therefore hire trucks and drivers from outside the community. Tractors are being used increasingly. Electricity is installed in order that the convenience of refrigerator and freezer may be enjoyed. Complicated machinery must be serviced by factory experts. The whole family, and through it the network of families that make up the community, becomes increasingly dependent upon the outside world for fuel, electricity, and various other artifacts and services.

The interactions which develop in situations such as these may, in time, destroy the social isolation so necessary to the perpetuation of the closed community. Increased dependence on the larger economy may indeed subvert the existing network of intense inter-relationships and force an exchange which, in the long run, may destroy the East Penn Valley community's way of life.¹⁶

LAND PRESSURE

A most significant and pressing problem that must be increasingly dealt with by the community is the

problem of land pressure. In earlier Mennonite communities large farms were often divided into smaller units for the surviving sons. Today what appear to be clusters of small farms (in long established Mennonite communities, such as in the Lancaster County area) were at one time a single large farm which had been divided and subdivided with each succeeding generation. Thus it is not uncommon to find father and sons living close to each other on adjoining farm properties. Such a patrilocal practice serves to strengthen family solidarity and kinship ties, and so knit the community into a functioning whole.

The contemporary situation in the East Penn Valley is somewhat different. The original settlers in 1949 had to purchase already existing farms, none of which was very large, the original farms purchased averaging about 150 acres. Today the average farm size within the community is 74 acres making it impractical to divide the farms among the sons as the divided acreage would be too small to support the families.

The solution has been to continue to purchase existing farms and therein lies a mounting problem with several facets: availability of land, cost of land and the enlargement of the area of the community.

Farmland in the immediate area of the community is constantly being encroached upon by housing, light industry and highway construction. In Berks County alone loss of farmland to nonagricultural use totals 700 acres monthly. The statewide average loss of farmland is 3,450 acres a month.¹⁷

Decreased supply and greater demand has forced the land prices to previously undreamed of heights. Land which sold at \$150 an acre twenty years ago¹⁸ is now bringing up to \$2,000 an acre. Farm income does not warrant the expenditure of this much for land. Farmers in this area must pay less than \$1,000 an acre to expect a reasonable return on their investment. A parcel of 63 acres from a large non-Mennonite holding in the immediate area covered by the community was recently sold to a local light industry for \$3,000 an acre. Undoubtedly some of this land will be held for speculative purposes, awaiting development, while part will be used for the industry's expansion program. The total effect is that this once productive farmland has been taken forever from agricultural use, further diminishing land available for the maintenance of the Mennonite way of life. My informants unanimously point to this problem as one of the most serious they are facing.

As land within the immediate area of the community becomes less and less available and higher and higher in price, farms on the periphery of the community are sought after. The community has already expanded to

¹⁵See Chapter I, p. 20.

¹⁶For a discussion of the minority group vis-a-vis the mass society see Calvin Redekop's *The Old Colony Mennonites: Dilemmas of Ethnic Minority Life*, which is a study of a branch of the Mennonite persuasion with settlements in Canada, Mexico, and British Honduras.

¹⁷Source: Agricultural Extension Service of the Pennsylvania State University.

¹⁸A typical price per acre paid by the original settlers.

an area covering approximately 72 square miles running roughly 11 road miles from northern to southern extreme and 15 road miles from east to west. Most recently, for example, B. A., father of eight boys and two girls, has purchased a farm some six miles away from his present farm. For the near future this new farm will provide for the eldest son when he marries. But how far away will he be forced to go for the next farm? By horse and wagon or bicycle even six miles becomes a test, and a rather severe one in winter's ice and snow.

The gradually increasing size of the community, if projected for another twenty years, will result in such a large geographical area that the horse and buggy mode of transportation will make the kinds of interaction now practiced within the community impossible. How long will the young people be able to travel by bicycle to an injured or ill member of the community for a "singing?" Will the automobile become a necessity? And we know the automobile is a powerful agent for social change!

Only a limited number of solutions are possible in dealing with this problem.

The high birth rate creating the population pressure could be reduced through a policy of birth control. But this seems impossible in light of a major value which would consider this as interference with the will of God and therefore unacceptable.

Another possibility would involve the farming tradition. There is a seeming contradiction in bringing up young people to desire and to expect to be farmers and farmers' wives without land being available to fulfill this goal. Even with a shift off the farm a rural tradition could be maintained. That is, there could be continued residence in open farm country with people finding work as carpenters, contractors, painters, shopkeepers, and in similar occupations. There is now in the community a very slight trend in this direction against the grain of a continued resistance to life off the farm. As even the wife in one of the families engaged in full time nonfarm work remarked to me during a brief conversation, ". . . the farther one gets away from farming the farther one gets away from the church."¹⁹

Another possible solution to the problem is migration and the establishment of new settlements. Although this solution has the disadvantage of disrupting the solidarity of the family it seems to be the option most acceptable in the life history of the whole group. It was this option that brought the original settlers to the East Penn Valley in 1949. Settlements have more recently been planted in Missouri and Indiana and Virginia as well as in some of the more sparsely pop-

ulated counties of Pennsylvania where land pressures are not as great. Canada continues to offer opportunity for settlement to originally Lancaster-based families.²⁰

As of this date five families once members of the local community have engaged in this solution, all five joining the community in Union County, Pennsylvania. In all, since its beginnings 22 years ago, the community has lost only 14 families via migration, a pointed manifestation of residential nonmobility hence an indicator of community stability. The remaining nine households have all returned to Lancaster County. Six of these nine were young families taking over farms or portions of farms made available through the death or retirement of parents. Two cases were those of older couples moving back into closer proximity to married children left behind when they decided to participate in the East Penn Valley experiment. The final case was that of a nonfarmer, a tailor specializing in the custom made men's suits required by tradition. Business was not good enough in the new community so he returned to Lancaster County where the demand for his specialty was greater.

It appears at this time that the land push/pull that sparked the original migration from Lancaster County to the Kutztown area is beginning to, and will more rapidly in the future, influence the East Penn Valley community. Several of my informants have indicated the inevitability of this course of action.

3. ECONOMICS

The Scriptural injunction to "bear one another's burdens"²¹ strongly influences the community's economic interactions. The idea of sharing one's earthly possessions with fellow members of the faith also has precedent in the teachings of Menno Simons. As members of the body of Christ, believers are bound to each other in a community of mercy and love where each serves his neighbor with money and goods.

All those who are born of God, who are gifted with the Spirit of the Lord, who are, according to the Scriptures, called into one body and love in Christ Jesus, are prepared by such love to serve their neighbors, not only with money and goods, but also after the example of their Lord and Head, Jesus Christ, in an evangelical manner, with life and blood. They show mercy and love, as much as they can. No one among them is allowed to beg. They take to heart the needs of the saints. They entertain those in distress. They take the stranger into their houses. They comfort the afflicted; assist the needy; clothe the naked; feed the hungry; do not turn their face from the poor; do not despise their own flesh.

Behold, such a community we teach. Christ says, "Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is

¹⁹Informant PA.

²⁰See Appendix B.

²¹Galatians 6:2.

merciful. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." Again, this mercy, love and community we teach and practice.²²

The Mennonites of the East Penn Valley through their economic behavior prove the effectiveness of both Scripture and Menno Simons in enhancing the cohesiveness of the group and protecting it from the outside world.

BORROWING AND LENDING

Borrowing and lending of money within the fellowship, often without interest charges, decreases dependence on commercial banking institutions although it is common for members of the community to have checking accounts to facilitate payment of bills to outsiders. Credit buying and charge accounts are, to the writer's knowledge, not utilized by any members of the community.

Investing for interest is not proscribed by the religious faith of the community but little of this kind of economic activity is engaged in because of the demand within the community for whatever excess cash is available. There are many young married couples getting established who look to their immediate families and the community at large for financial assistance. In this context it is common for the young girl, about to be married, to receive from her family cash enough (to add to whatever earnings she may have accumulated for herself) to cover the initial cost of home furnishings, linen, cooking utensils and the like, in addition to the usual noncash gifts of a cow, some chickens and perhaps a pig or two. The young man at the point of establishing his own household receives aid in the form of land and no interest or very low interest loans. It is usually not necessary for the young married couple to go deeply into debt to the outside world. To do so would violate the norm which requires maximum separation from the world surrounding the closed community. Borrowing and lending within the community is important to its cohesiveness and acts as a barrier to outside influences which might precipitate change. Not too much money is ever available and therefore individuals are prevented from acquiring the frills which mark a materialistic society.

SUPPORT OF CHURCH AND SCHOOL

Excess money is also plowed back into the community in the form of church and school support. Church expenses for coal, janitor services and material for minor repairs are met by an offering deposited in a receptacle at the door following the preparatory services conducted prior to the twice yearly communions. The expenses are always met, indeed exceeded, by this completely freewill method. The excess is applied to the general church treasury for the aid of members of

the community in need, for example to help pay for the long-term residence of a member in a mental hospital. There are no charity patients in outside institutions from within this community. The Mennonite way of life rejects this kind of dependence on the outside world.

The erection of the church house in 1970 illustrates this kind of economic activity. The cost of material was shared by several members without interest charge until an offering was solicited among the members of the local group and the other Wenger Mennonite communities. The lenders were then paid back and the excess offering placed in the general church treasury to be applied as the next need arose. Labor for the erection of the building and the construction of benches, singing table and preaching table was entirely donated.

The schools are supported in much the same way. Labor for construction and repairs is donated. Cost of material is covered by noninterest bearing shares of \$100 bought by members of the community. Theoretically the shares can be converted to cash on demand but it seems that no one who buys a share ever demands its conversion. A case was reported to me of a member leaving the local community who wanted to "cash in" on his shares. Another member of the community bought them from him. The original donation thereby remained intact.

Running expenses for the schools (salaries for teachers, supplies, material for painting and minor repairs) are met by freewill offerings collected twice during the school year. There is a suggested minimum contribution for families with children in school as discussed earlier in this chapter. All four school buildings and the two church houses serving the community stand on land either donated by members of the community or sold by them to the community at a fraction of the market value. The reader will recall that the original school building and the land on which it is situated (the building now used as a hardware store) was purchased at public auction with community funds, therefore no donation of land was involved in that transaction.

INSURANCE

Attitudes toward insurance and Social Security reflect the community's use of economic factors to maintain its closed character.

No member of the community owns fire or life or health insurance. "The Lord will provide" is sufficient answer to the question, "What happens when tragedy strikes?" And for these people the Lord does provide, through the concept and practice of mutual aid as illustrated further on in this study. A slight erosion in the strong no-insurance sentiment may be evidenced by the fact that a few farmers along the main highway have purchased liability insurance not (strongly emphasized

²²*The Complete Writings of Menno Simons*, p. 558.

important by my informant) for possible personal gain but to "protect the other fellow in case some cattle get loose and cause an accident on the road."²²

All the self-employed farmers have filed waiver papers with the local Social Security office exempting them from paying into this federally operated system and, of course, thereby eliminating any benefits to them from the system.

For those working at the Fleetwood applejuice factory no such exemption is possible. The federal law requires a deduction from employee wages as well as requiring the employer to make contributions to the wage earner's Social Security account. Those members of the community involved in such wage earning situations, although required by law to have deductions taken from their wages for Social Security purposes, have not claimed and assure me that they will not claim any benefits due them under Social Security.

This steadfast avoidance of dependence on the outside economic system by refusing benefits legally available to the individual through his enforced participation in the Social Security payment procedure is an example par excellence of rejection of external entanglements and continued reliance on the community to care for its own. And so the norm of nonconformity to the world and separation from it is maintained. Some possibly deleterious effects on community solidarity by off the farm employment are thus negated.

MUTUAL AID

A discussion of the East Penn Valley community's economic interactions must include an understanding of mutual aid. As indicated earlier in the historical portion of this study the concept of mutual aid is a primary characteristic of the Mennonite way of life. How this concept is put into practice in the local community is illustrated in the following series of vignettes in which the author seeks to capture, on paper, the underlying concern which members of the community feel for each other.

AN ACCIDENT

They are returning from a family outing to the Philadelphia Zoo. Two brothers and their wives along with twelve of their nineteen children in a van-type vehicle rented from and driven by a Horning Mennonite. Just a quarter of a mile from home a grinding collision with a small truck. Two dead: the driver of the van and a six-year-old girl. A teenage girl and one of the mothers are among the most seriously injured. (The girl lay in a coma for three weeks. The mother was hospitalized for three months.) Immediately following the accident the community springs into action. At the home of

the dead girl preparations are made for the funeral including housecleaning and the preparation and serving of a meal the day of the funeral for the convenience of relatives and friends travelling from distant places. Regular visits are made to the hospital to braid and pin the hair of the girls while they are recuperating. (Custom requires this hair style for the girls and the nurses are not able to do the braiding because of the press of other duties and their inexperience with this hair style.) One of the families operates a roadside stand from which it gains a substantial portion of its income. With so many injured who will do the work? Members of the community do the housework, tend the stand, harvest the crops, weed the vegetable patch. The pea crop is ripe and in one day a group of teenagers pick, shell and prepare for freezing the whole crop. No great financial assistance is needed in this case as the driver of the van carried appropriate insurance. Would there have been bills to be paid which the family could not have met the community would have fulfilled the obligation.

A HOUSE FIRE

Smoke! Fumes! Fire! Run to the nearest telephone. By the time the firemen extinguish the blaze the interior of the house is badly burned out. Early next day help pours in. The women of the community sort out clothing and other salvageable dry goods. Usable items are washed and repaired. Men and older boys begin cleaning out the house. By early afternoon more than 40 workers have arrived and the interior of the house is stripped. The owner of the house has decided on interior alterations. Some walls are to be relocated and rooms enlarged. Over the next month work progresses rapidly. Money is borrowed at no interest for the immediate payment of material needed. Each day some crew of volunteers put aside their own farm work to help this brother in need. The deacon appoints three men to draw up an estimate of damages and cost of repair and/or replacement. Each man lists his estimate. The three lists are added together. The sum total is divided by three. The resulting figure is made known in the immediate community and in other Wenger settlements. Collections are conducted. Payment is made. In little over a month from the date of the fire this family of twelve (father, mother and ten children) all of whom have been cared for by kin and neighbors, move back into the house. Cost of the fire in dollars to family? Zero!

A BROKEN LEG

Welcome opportunity for added income to the young farm family by way of a few hours work at a cookie factory in a nearby town. A chain snaps and whips across the loading platform. Broken leg and long period of hospitalization and convalescence. Harvest time.

²²Informant H.

Fortunately the silage has been cut and the tobacco is in the barn but the corn must still be picked and the fields plowed and the barley planted. The children are too young to do this work. The community to the rescue. All work required is completed: picking, plowing, planting. The men know that this young farmer had planned to enlarge his barn by erecting a cattle shed. They would have all come together anyway to do the final raising but now some of them even do the preparatory work; the gathering of materials and clearing of the construction site. And an especially large "party (barn raising) is planned because he can't do *any* of the work himself."²⁴

A BARN FIRE

The lightning bolt strikes late one Sunday afternoon and within a few hours the neighbors build makeshift pens for the pigs. Fortunately the cattle and horses have been out in pasture and only one calf is lost in the fire. But the equipment is a total loss as are the entire contents of the barn and the barn itself.

The next morning 50 men converge on the scene. Still smouldering hay is removed, charred timbers thrown aside, debris carted away and by that very evening digging has begun for the new foundation. By the end of the next day, Tuesday, the entire foundation has been laid and on Wednesday work begins on the superstructure. These first days, when many men and boys are on the scene, numerous wives and older girls came along to prepare the meals served the hungry workers, especially that strength-giving favorite, chicken corn soup!

It is Spring planting time so members of the community do the victim's plowing and tobacco planting and early hay gathering so that he is freed to supervise the rebuilding of his barn.

For seventeen days men add to their own farm chores at this especially busy time of year by volunteering their services and in this incredibly short time the new barn is ready for its roof.

On the eighteenth day after the fire over 100 gather, including a bus load from the sister community in Lancaster County, to raise the roof and to engage in the fellowship at the long tables set under the trees laden with refreshments for the occasion. All the labor has been donated, all material paid for by the community, some new hay, fresh from a neighbor's farm, is already in the barn.

Two days after the raising of the roof added drama. Several men are still at the scene putting on some finishing touches. An emergency call. Hot hay in the barn of a member eight miles away. Get it out before another barn goes up in flames. One of the men helping to finish up is a member of the Horning group

who came in an automobile. Pile into the car. Gather up as many men along the way as can fit into it. Ivan, Ammon, Weaver drop everything as the car approaches their fields and they hear the shouts for help. In time some 25 men converge on the scene and successfully remove 4700 bales of hay. "Bear ye one another's burdens."

SUMMARY

Mutual aid is an established, expected and accepted ingredient of the community's way of life. Indeed, it is essential to the simple, natural, separated from the world existence of these people. As the bishop's wife related to me during an interview, "Our church is based on a brotherly love and these things are just tokens of love."

A few parenthetic observations conclude this chapter. Mutual aid on a small, individual scale is often afforded secretly; an anonymously placed basket of fruit, a package of clothing, by those who may note a neighbor in need.

There seem to be no very rich or very poor in the community. There are few external measures of wealth. Regardless of economic resources all members dress alike and ride in look-alike carriages and buggies. Theirs is no "use it once and throw it away" society. Frugality is the norm. The frequent auction sales in the area provide many opportunities to purchase household furnishings and farm equipment at bargain prices. Because something is new does not make it especially attractive or desirable. The typical home in the community contains very little that is new.

Individuals do not seem to be much interested in the financial situation of other individuals except in time of need. As one informant expressed it, "I don't know of any millionaires or paupers, but if you want the facts you would have to go down the line and ask each individual. We don't know who is really rich and who is really poor unless we live close neighbors."²⁵

Money and the things that money can buy are of little concern to the residents of the East Penn Valley community. One quoted to me the well known Paulism that "the love of money is the root of all evil."²⁶

It is quite clear to this researcher that economic matters are not usually the subject matter of conversation among the members of the community; by this I mean economic matters of a personal nature, as increasing taxes and the high cost of land are certainly topics frequently discussed. In this connection an informant told me, "There are much more important things to talk about than how much I have. It can go so quick. Something can happen and you wouldn't have it after all . . . so why feel big about it?"²⁷

²⁵Informant H.

²⁶I Timothy 6:10.

²⁷Informant HA.

²⁴Informant L.

Pennsylvania German Architecture: Bibliography in European Backgrounds

By WILLIAM WOYS WEAVER

As a result of the vast destruction of the last war, the Europeans have come to appreciate the pressing need for recording their architectural heritage. This interest has not only confined itself to the great works of academic architecture, but has spilled over into purely ethnic studies as well, studies which have great value to the American scholar of Pennsylvania-German folk architecture.

But the Germans—the Swiss and Austrians too—have always been interested in their folk forms. Indeed this interest acquired special significance under the label of *Volkskultur*, a term indicating a kind of social force, the creative power of the folk milieu on society as a whole. *Volkskultur* provided the Germans in particular with an outlet for activities in architectural history which far surpass our productions in scope and quality. Therefore, we should not feel reluctant in looking to German-language sources for our models.

Some of the first scholarly works dealing with folk architecture were published during the 1800's. Mention should be made of Johann Friedrich Wagner's *Ansichten sämtlicher Burgen, Schlösser und Ruinen der Schweiz* (Bern, 1840 ff.) which touches on vernacular sources; or even an earlier work in the same genre: G. Landau's *Die hessische Ritterburgen und ihre Besitzer* (Cassel, 1836) in three volumes. Other later works, such as Carl Fraas' *Geschichte der Landbau- und Forstwirtschaft seit dem 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1865) and Georg Ludwig Mauerer's *Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe and der Hofverfassung in Deutschland* (Erlangen, 1862-1863), provide fairly technical treatments with historical emphasis. With G. G. Kallenbach's *Chronologie der deutsch-mittelalterlichen Baukunst* (Munich, ca. 1850), we see the development of works with evolutionary perspective and a growing emphasis on the importance of historiography. Of course, before this time, there were innumerable carpenter's handbooks, most of which are now valuable and much sought after primary sources. David Gilly's *Handbuch der Land-Bau-Kunst* (Braunschweig, 1818), perhaps one of the best, ran through many editions in its day.

Though much less scientific or methodical than modern architectural studies, the works of the pre-unification period provided an impetus for considerable

activity in research from the 1870's until the First World War. The Bismarckian Age witnessed the arrival of architectural history and its related folk studies as respectable sciences, something which has developed in this country only since World War II. One outstanding and ever useful source from this period is August Meitzen's *Das deutsche Haus in seinen volkstümlichen Formen* which was published as an off-print from the *Deutschen Geographen-Tages* (Berlin, 1882). This work has already been mentioned several times in past issues of *Pennsylvania Folklife*.

During the inter-war period (1918-1939), some of the basic texts for the study of folk-architecture ap-



Loewe Schlesische Holzbauten

Werner-Verlag

Loewe's book, richly illustrated with line drawings, is one of many valuable sources for studying the Silesian origins of Moravian and Schwenkfelder architecture in this country.



Schilli's "Das Schwarzwaldhaus" covers many Alemannic features also found on rural Pennsylvania-German buildings.

peared. One can attribute part of the activity to rising German nationalism, which fostered many folk studies, but the state of scholarship at this time was such that specialization had become inevitable. Thus one sees the appearance of numerous regional studies, such as *Vom Bauernhaus in Württemberg und angrenzenden Gebieten* by Max Lohss (Heidelberg, 1932); and E. Wolfrom's *Das Bauernhaus im Magdeburger Land* (Magdeburg, 1937). Regionalisms, of course, introduce one to structural variants and different building techniques. So naturally, there was a flowering of interest in such specialized areas as construction, roofing, interior decoration, heating systems and general farmstead patterns, Hermann Phleps' *Holzbaukunst: der Blockbau* (Karlsruhe, 1942) is one of the most thorough treatments of Germanic log construction to come out of this period. Other writers, such as Rudolf Hoferer and Bruno Schweizer, issued first-rate articles touching upon thatch, cast-iron stoves, and specialized out-buildings.

Today, the appreciation of how much was lost during the last war, and the surrender of many German cultural areas to other nations and other causes, have given the Germans new energy in recording and preserving their cultural remains. The Swiss and Austrians are not far behind. All of this has heralded a veritable renaissance of publishing activity in the field of ethnic architecture, which is opening up new areas for comparative research in this country. One need only mention the huge contributions of Hermann Phleps and Hermann Schilli, both of Germany, or Richard Weiss

of Switzerland, whose works ought to be standard source books for Pennsylvania-German studies. But these are only three of many respected scholars who have worked in this field.

In selecting the books for this bibliography, I have attempted to choose works most representative of nearly a century and a half of scholarly development in German-language architectural studies. However, I have placed primary importance on utility, on the published materials most relevant to Pennsylvania-German architecture. Although pruned from a roster of well over a thousand titles, the list provides a certain degree of variety in subject matter. Most aspects of rural Germanic architecture are covered: houses, barns, interiors, out-buildings, carpentry, construction, planning, and such technical aspects as load, structure and systems of heating.

Although this bibliography will be most useful to bi-lingual scholars, in many cases the drawings and illustrations tell much of the story. The reader unfamiliar with German should not despair, for I have rendered each entry into English bibliographic form for easier reference, and have provided an English translation of each title. Many of the books and collections of articles are available in larger university libraries. The University of Pennsylvania has acquired an extensive collection on this subject, and many of the books are readily available through inter-library loan.

Unfortunately, books of this kind are printed in small numbers and go out-of-print very quickly. This should not deter the collector or librarian from seeking them out, for it is important that we establish our research on a foundation of the best sources available. Without this, we shall lack ground rules for approaching one of the most interesting branches of American ethnic architecture; we will surely fail to understand how *our* Volkskultur fulfilled its role in promulgating such ethnic forms as the log cabin, the "bank" barn, the corn crib, and a host of other features familiar to the American scene.

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H a n d b u c h
der
L a n d - B a u - K u n s t

vorzüglich in Rücksicht
auf die
Konstruktion der Wohn- und Wirtschaftsgeläude

für angehende
Kameral-Baumeister und Oekonomen

von
D. G i l l y
Königl. Preuß. Geheimen Ober-Bau-Rath.

Vierte
mit einem Anhange
über die
Erfindung, Konstruktion und Vortheile
der Bohlen-Dächer
vermehrte Auflage.

In zwei Bänden.
Mit fünfzig Kupfertafeln.

Erster Theil.

Braunschweig, 1818
bei Friedrich Vieweg.

Of Huguenot origin, David Gilly was an important architect for the Prussian monarchy when he wrote this rare classic on rural German architecture. Compiled as a how-to-do-it encyclopaedia, the "Handbook" provides valuable information on everything from barns and brickmaking to the proper way for thatching a house. This copy, originally in the Erbach-Schonberg Collection, was recently purchased in Berlin by the author.



Anyone studying early Mennonite architecture in Pennsylvania will find "Hauser und Landschaften der Schweiz" a helpful reference for Swiss building-types. Nachtigall's monograph (right) discusses methods for identifying master-builders according to timbering designs.

Baumgarten's survey (right) is a useful study of actual construction techniques employed by rural carpenters for building barns and similar outbuildings.

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JOSEPH SCHEIDL

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Pennsylvania German Astronomy and Astrology X: Christoph Saur's Almanacs

By LOUIS WINKLER

PUBLICATION DATA

In spite of the leading position of Christoph Saur (1694-1758) as a printer the only article devoted exclusively to his almanacs is by Cassel.¹ Reichmann's annotated bibliography² has a number of noteworthy comments regarding all of Saur's publications.

¹Abraham H. Cassel, "The German Almanacs of Christopher Saur," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, VI (1882), 58-68.

²Felix Reichmann, *Christopher Sower, Sr., 1694-1758* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1943).

Saur published the *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender* (see Figures 1 and 2) for the years 1739-1759 in Germantown, while others published various issues in Philadelphia, Lancaster, and "Neuyorck". It was the first sustained, German-style almanac to be published in America. Only the *Teutsche Pilgrim*, which was published in Philadelphia by Andreas Bradford, preceded it for the years 1731-1733.

Drake³ lists three English language almanacs with the name Sauer appearing on them during the life span of Christoph Saur. These are the *American Almanack* for 1747, the *Pennsylvania Town and Country-Man's Almanack* for 1754-1759, and the *South Carolina Almanack* for 1755-1758. All three almanacs were published in Germantown, with the *Pennsylvania Town and Country-Man's Almanack* also being published in Philadelphia and the *South Carolina Almanack* also being published in Charleston. While the publisher of the *Pennsylvania Town and Country-Man's Almanack* is listed as C. Sower, jr., the publisher of the *American Almanack* and *South Carolina Almanack* is Christopher Sower. Since the names Saur and Sauer only appear on the square or German-style almanacs, *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender*, and Sower or Sower, jr. only appear on pocket-size or English-style almanacs, it is presumed that the English language almanacs were published by the son. These English almanacs will be discussed in addition to the *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender* since they were undoubtedly influenced by the father and there were some indirect connections with the father.

The appearance of the *South Carolina Almanack* in that unlikely southern state results from the residence there of two important German-Swiss cultural leaders. One of them was the Reformed clergyman, John Joachim Zubly, for whom the father published two religious works.⁴ Both works were written by Zubly, the first in German in 1751 and the second in English in 1756. The other person was a noteworthy almanac-calculator, John Tobler. Tobler is the calculator for the mentioned issues of the *Pennsylvania Town and Country-Man's Almanack* and the *South Carolina Almanack*.

³M. Drake, *Almanacs of the United States* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1962).

⁴Entries number 133 and 178 of Reichmann.



Figure 1. Title page from Saur's first Almanac.

A measure of the great popularity of Saur's *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender* is the great number of copies still extant even though they are about two and a half centuries old. Their popularity appeared to be still on the rise at the time of Saur's death in 1758. Not only had his almanacs increased from 24 pages to 48 pages, but Saur's last almanac was published in Germantown, Philadelphia, Lancaster and "Neu-yorck". Much of the popularity was due to the varied and interesting, lengthy narratives found in the back of the almanac, but also the instruction presented on how to write German script from 1753 on. Reichmann⁵ estimates that the annual circulation of his almanac was about 10,000 and also indicates that it was read as far north as "upstate New York" and as far south as "Georgia". It is interesting to note that Saur's outstanding almanac and newspaper, the *Hoch Deutsch Pennsylvanischer Geschichtschreiber* first appeared in 1739 and included *Hoch Deutsch* in the title.

ASTRONOMICAL CONTENT

While the computer is not listed for the *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender* he is for all the English language almanacs. John Tobler made all the computations for the *South Carolina Almanack* and *Pennsylvania Town and Country-Man's Almanack*, and John Jerman for the *American Almanack*. Since Tobler indicates⁶ a capability in both the English and German languages it may be that he is the calculator for the *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender*.

Tobler makes remarkable statements in the *South Carolina Almanack* for 1755 regarding himself as an almanack calculator. He stated that, "I was in my native country (Switzerland) the first Calculator of Almanacs, and for what I know the first also in this Country, and certainly the first also, who has calculated so many for two parts of the World, and sent them from America into Switzer-Land." His being the first calculator in America is certainly not true as Drake lists dozens of calculators before Tobler started making calculations. Another interesting statement made by Tobler was that he had made almanac calculations as much as thirty years in advance. This is considerably longer than the one to three years indicated by other almanac calculators mentioned in this series of articles.

One of the rare bits of information found in any common almanac are specifications regarding accuracy of the astronomical entries. In spite of the fact that Saur never demonstrated any astronomical competence or had any credentials outside of his almanacs, he was willing to discuss the accuracy of some entries. In the 1746 issue of the *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender* he indicates that the maximum error in the rising and

⁵*Op cit.*

⁶*South Carolina Almanack* for 1755.



Figure 2. A cover page from the 1758 issue of *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender*.

setting times for the sun was a minute or so. The maximum error for the rising and setting of the moon was a quarter of an hour while the phases were accurate to within several minutes. The greater accuracy regarding the sun is due to the fact that the orbit of earth about the sun was much better known in the middle of the 18th Century than was the orbit of the moon about the earth.

The appearance of a monthly page (see Figure 3) of computations from the *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender* is a somewhat simplified German style. Principal missing material includes high tide occurrences, the equation of time, and an abundance of astronomical data in the miscellany column. Although information concerning the weather was found under the *Hundertjährigen Calender* in the developed German-style almanac, Saur's almanacs included short statements concerning the weather in the miscellany column.

One of the important changes in the German-style almanacs is found in the issues of the *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender* from 1752 on. This is the simultaneous inclusion of the Gregorian and Julian Calendars (see Figure 4). Since England only adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1752 and Protestant Germany in 1777, the leadership position of Saur is once again demonstrated. The simultaneous inclusion of the two

September oder Herbstmonat hat XXX Tage.

Woche	Tage welche	der D	des D	des D	schein, Aspecten der	☉ aufgang	Alter
Tag	l bemerkt werden	l geht	l zeichen	l Planeten und	Witterung.	☾ und Unerq	Augusti.
sonst	1 Egidius	unter	☾	4 Hundst.	Tag Ende.	ju m. ju m.	21 Amelia
12 S. Tr. Ev. Vom Pharisäer und Döllner Luc. 18. T. L. 13 st. 52							
Son	2 Ludwig	9 41	☾ 18	* ☉ ♀	Regen und	5 34 6 26	22 Sebald
mont	3 Rebecca	10 23	☾ 1	♀ g. a u. 5 m.	Wind	5 35 6 25	23 Bernhard
dinst	4 Paulinus	11 16	☾ 14	☾ den 4	Sonnen	5 36 6 24	24 Bartholo
miw	5 Absalon	morg.	☾ 26	☾ H g. u. 12 u.	schein	5 38 6 22	25 Hardwich
donn	6 Mansuetus	12 10	☾ 8	☾ H neben D	Wet-	5 39 6 21	26 Symphor
freyt	7 Moses	12 54	☾ 20	☾ ☉ ♀ ☉	cken	5 40 6 20	27 Zachäus
sonst	8 Mr. Geb.	1 50	☾ 2	der hunde * g. a. 2 u. 24 m.		5 41 6 19	28 Augustinus
13 S. Tr. Ev. Vom Tauben und Steine Marc. 7. T. L. 13 st. 34 m							
Son	9 Nathanael	2 48	☾ 14	☾ ☉	sonnenschein	5 43 6 17	29 Joh. Ent.
mont	10 Magnus	3 48	☾ 26	☾ Erd fern H B	vermuth-	5 44 6 16	30 Severinus
dinst	11 Regina	4 37	☾ 8	♀ g. a 2 u. 5 m.	tet Ne-	5 45 6 15	31 Gebhard
miw	12 Gordianus	der D	☾ 20	☾ den 12	gen und	5 47 6 13	1 September
donn	13 Costhenes	geht	☾ 2	☾	Winde	5 48 6 12	2 Ludwig
freyt	14 Erhöhung	auf	☾ 15	☾ ☉ ♀ g. a. 2 u.	Oschein	5 49 6 11	3 Rebecca
sonst	15 Hyacinthus	7 39	☾ 27	♀ g. a 9 u. 1 m.	Wine	5 51 6 9	4 Paulinus
14 S. Tr. Vom barmherzigen Samariter. Luc. 10. T. L. 12 st. 16							
Son	16 Otilia	8 14	☾ 9	7 * g. a 8 u. 30 m.	des	5 52 6 8	5 Absolon
mont	17 Christlieb	8 57	☾ 22	☾ ☉ 7 * sud 4 u.	mit	5 53 6 7	6 Mansuetus
dinst	18 Nicodem.	9 43	☾ 5	☾ mit ☉ geht	Son-	5 54 6 6	7 Moses
miw	19 Euphemia	10 37	☾ 18	☾ auf 9 u. 30 m.	uen	5 56 6 4	8 Mr. Geb
donn	20 Lambertus	11 39	☾ 2	☾ den 20	schein	5 57 6 3	9 Nathanael
freyt	21 Matth.	12 41	☾ 16	☾ ☉ ☉ ☉ ☉ H Tag		5 58 6 2	10 Magnus
sonst	22 Titus	morg.	☾ 0	☉ in 5/2 u. Nacht gleich		6 0 6 0	11 Regina
15 S. Tr. Ev. Von den 10 Aussätzigen Luc. 17. T. L. 11 st. 58 m							
Son	23 Faustia	1 44	☾ 14	☾ ☉ ☉ ♀ neben D		6 15 59	12 Gordianus
mont	24 Micleta	2 53	☾ 29	Regen		6 25 58	13 Costhenes
dinst	25 Mauritius	der D	☾ 14	☾ ☉ ☉	und	6 45 56	14 Erhöb.
miw	26 Tecla	g. unt	☾ 29	☾ den 26	Wind	6 55 55	15 Hyacinth.
donn	27 Gerhard	6 30	☾ 14	☾ fir. g. a 11 u 12.	auch	6 65 54	16 Otilia
freyt	28 Cleophas	7 0	☾ 29	☾ ♀ g. a 1 u 30 m.	Son-	6 85 52	17 Christlieb
sonst	29 Michael	7 39	☾ 13	☾ ☉ ☉ g. a 8 u 32.	nen	6 95 51	18 Nicodem.
16 S. Tr. Niemand kan zween Herren d. Mat. 6. 24 T. L. 11 st. 40 m							
Son	30 Cyprian.	1 8 23	☾ 23	☾ ☉	schein	16 10 5 50	19 Euphemia
Der D wird voll den 12 zu Mittag.				Das erste Viertel ist den 4 um 9 uhr Morg.			
Das neue Licht ist den 26 um 8 uhr Abend.				Das letzte Viertel ist den 20 früh Morgens			

Figure 3. Page from the 1753 issue of Hoch Deutsch Americanische Kalender.

calendars from 1752 and on is also found in the only other German language almanac, the *Neu-Eingerichteter Americanischer Geschichts Kalender*, which was published by Benjamin Franklin.

Astronomical data could be found in many parts of the almanac. One of the fresh ideas of Saur's was to intersperse poetry, weather prognostications and lunar data as shown in the *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Kalender* for 1748 (see Figure 5). The idea of including astronomical poetry in almanacs was discussed in Article VII of this series in connection with C. F. Egelmann.

Although the three English language almanac titles by Saur's son are pocket-size rather than square, the astronomical content of the two types does not differ

markedly. It is this similarity in astronomical content which leads this writer to suspect that that same calculator (Tobler) was used for the almanacs of the father and son. Just from economic expediency the two of them would be expected to hire the same calculator.

ASTROLOGICAL CONTENT

Some astrological beliefs of Saur were discussed in Article VI of this series in connection with Conrad Beissel and Christopher Witt. Saur's astrological interests are also quite well exhibited in his almanacs.

Not only did Saur's *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Kalender* contain the information regarding the Almanac Man, blood-letting, cupping and wood-cutting

found in later German style almanacs, but his monthly entries contain special symbols indicating preferred times for the activities of blood-letting, cupping and wood-cutting. The symbols for blood-letting and cupping, respectively, are found in Figure 3 for the September 30 entry in the miscellany column. The symbol for wood-cutting was a hatchet.

The old European practice of including selected astronomical or astrological entries in red ink with the other entries in the usual black ink is found in a number of Saur's almanacs. Which entries were chosen and for what specific reason is not certain to this writer. It may be that the red entries, especially planetary alignments, were considered fortunate. Cassel suggests that almanacs with red ink appeared from 1748 to 1754. However, not all of the issues for each year had red ink. Since they were printed in Germantown and Philadelphia it is suggestive that only Saur's printing shop in Germantown had the red ink. Cassel indicates that Saur ceased using the red ink almanacs as an economy measure to compete with other almanac publishers. Issues up to 1754 cost 1 shilling 1 pence per dozen and only 1 shilling per dozen thereafter.

One of the unique astrological articles found in almanacs examined by this writer is found in Saur's 1755 issue of the *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Cal-*

Merz hat

Monds = Viertel, mit ihren
Witterungen.

Der Vollmond erzeiget sich den
3ten um 11. Uhr 49. m. Abends, ver-
spricht ziemlich feines Wetter.

Ein falsches Hertz vermeint / es
werde ihm gelingen
Dass über Redliche er dürfte fröh-
lich singen.
Allein der Himmel will sich ihrer
nehmen an /
Und zeigen / dass dennoch Falsch-
heit nichts richten kan.

Das letzte Viertel haben wir den
11. um 1. Uhr. Morgens, deutet wi-
derum auf Schnee und kalte Witte-
rung.

Der Handlung wills zur Zeit gar
nicht nach Wunsche glücken.
Doch wird der Himmel bald der
selben Glück zuschicken.

Das Neue Licht bekommen wir
den 17ten um 10. Uhr 41. m. Abends
ist zuvermuthen noch kalt und frostigs
Regen = Wetter.

Ihr Freund seyd mir getrost an-
setz bey diesen Sachen /
Auf GÖtze allein vertraut / er wird
es gar wohl machen.

Das erste Viertel ist den 25sten um
7. Uhr 20. m. Nachmittag, anfangs
deutet es auf Regen, zu Ende aber ver-
spricht es ziemlich gute Witterung.

Figure 5. Page from the 1748 issue of *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calendar*.

ender (Figure 6). Here Saur relates some of his astrological philosophy via a fictitious dialogue. While it is mostly conventional in character these sorts of beliefs are seldom explicit, especially in almanacs.

Although it is probably impossible to determine the principal early influences on Saur in the field of astrology some clues are found here and there. Strangely enough he may be influenced by the world-famous English astrologer William Lilly (1602-1681). Saur's astrological style as indicated in the 1755 issue of the *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calendar* is not too different from Lilly's, and Saur mentions Lilly by name in the 1740 issue of the same almanac (see Figure 7). Further, in the 1750 issue of his German almanac he includes a special table of planetary alignments which is the foundation of horoscopy which is the type of astrology wielded so adeptly by Lilly (see Figure 8). English influence in German astrology is also evident in the *American Almanack* for 1747. Here, Jerman offers a defense for astrology with Sir Christopher Heydon's "Judicial Astrology".

September oder Herbstmonat hat XXX Tage.									
Woche	Tag	Welche	der	des	des	des	des	des	des
Tag	bedeudet	wird	geht	geht	geht	geht	geht	geht	geht
dinst	1	Egdius	unter	16	Q	m	17	Regen oder u. m. u. m	1
mitw	2	Abalon	9	37	Q	2	trübe Wolken	5	47 6 13
donn	14	Erhöhung	10	24	Q	13	Der Neuen Zeit Anfang	4	8 6 12
freit	15	Nicodem	11	17	Q	26	den ersten	5	10 6 10
samt	16	Euph. ma	12	7	Q	7		5	11 6 9
15 S. Tr. Niemand kan zween Herren d. Mar. 6. 24 C. L. 12 st. 16 m.									
sonn	17	Lambertus	12	9	Q	19		5	12 6 8
mon	18	Titus	1	5	Q	1	warm	5	14 6 6
dinst	19	Kausla	2	5	Q	13	o Oor Donner, Blig.	5	15 6 5
mitw	20	Micela	3	0	Q	25	vielleicht Regen dazu	5	16 6 4
donn	21	Matth.	4	0	Q	7	o in 23 auch Krancheiten	5	18 6 2
fr ve.	22	Mauritius	der	20	Q	20	Tag und Nacht gl.	6	0 6 0
samt	23	Tecla	nicht	31	Q	23	windig	6	15 6 12
16 S. Tr. Ev. Von der Wiewen Sohn. Luc. 7. C. L. 14 st. 16 m.									
sonn	24	Gerhard	auf	16	Q	16		6	25 6 8
mon	25	Cleophas	7	4	Q	29		6	35 6 7
dinst	26	Cyprian	7	43	Q	13		6	35 6 5
mitw	27	Eof. Dam.	8	29	Q	17	o o f fürmig, trübe	7	5 6 3
donn	28	Wencesl.	9	25	Q	11	Wolken, wane	8	5 6 2
freit	29	Michael	10	25	Q	25	nicht regnet.	6	10 6 10
samt	30	Hieronim.	11	30	Q	9	C. 30 * B 2 verändert	6	11 6 4

Nach dem der Zweyte tag im September vorbei ist so ist der Calendar mit der Alten Zeit zum Ende, welche zeit 11 tage langamer oder später fällt in ihrer Rechnung als die meiste Nationen in Europa haben; und die Neue Zeit fängt da an; und sind die 11 Tage da heraus genommen und anstatt 3. höher 24. Daher handier Monat September nur 19 Tage; aber in den nachfolgenden Jahren wird er wiederum seine ordentliche Zahl haben.

Das erste Viertel ist den 25 um 2 uhr Morgens.
Der voll D ist den 23 um 2 uhr Morgens.
Das letzte Viertel ist den 30 um 10 uhr Morgens.

Figure 4. Page from the 1752 issue of *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calendar*.

Although most of Saur's publications were religious in nature two of them concern astronomical subjects. A broadside appeared in 1746 which was entitled "Vom Cometen". An advertisement regarding the sale of the broadside appeared in Saur's Hoch Deutsch Pennsylvanischer Geschichtsschreiber. According to a handwritten entry in Saur's bibliography the broadside was sold for 3 pence. Since no extant copies of the broadside are known one can only speculate as to its nature. It is possible that the broadside reflected some of the interest in the Pennsylvania German community at that time in the comet of 1743. Article III of this series briefly discussed the involvements of this comet with Saur's friend and fellow Pietist, Christopher Witt, and the Ephrata publication of 1745. Although Ephrata might seem far from Germantown it is to be noted that Saur's wife left him for the austere religious life at Ephrata offered by Beissel.

This is based on this writer's examination of the American Almanack for 1747, the Pennsylvania Town and Country-Man's Almanack for 1756 and 1759, and the South Carolina Almanack for 1755 and 1758.

Neukommer: Ist das würdlich ein Widder, ein Stier, ein Krebs, ein Löwe, eine Jungfrau, ein Waage, ein Scorpion, ein Schin, ein Steinbock, ein Wasser-mann, und Fische am Himmel?
Einwohner: Die alten Heiden haben den Stern Erdis, worinnen die Sonne durchs ganze Jahr auf und abläuft, den Tier-Erd, genant nicht als ob solche Thiere dreyen wären, wie herantzen; sondern sie haben den Erdis in 12 Theile getheilt, und sie nur so genant, weil die Thiere etwas von solcher Thieren Art und Beschaffenheit haben, oder vielmehr weil die Thierische Naturen ihren elementarischen Ursprung daher haben, und in denselben leben. Zum Exempel: Da ist ein Erd-Erd, das heisset die Erdschafft, den namenten sie den Löwen und einen hüben und wüßigen Ehel des Kees, den namenten sie die Fische. Ein-Erd, welchen sie vor unrichtig hat ansetzen, und erkant, den namenten sie die Jungfrau. Einen Luftigen Theil namenten sie Waage, und einen irdischen Theil namenten sie Steinbock. U ist so halten sie 3 Feuertige, 3 Luftige, 3 Wasserige, und 3 Erdische Zeichen. Nach dem dan die Planeten in den Zeichen stunden, so schlossen sie die Würdungen in die Natur dieser untern Welt.

Neukommer: Ich bestine mich, Ich hab in Deutschland in einem Kalender gefehen solche Worte: Ein Kind in diesem Monat geboren, ist lebenslich, holdselig, geschick, verständig, ist gern des Beschlusses, unbekandta intensat Vornemene. Das wird wohl die Ursach seyn weil die Sonnenselben Monat im Frich ist?
Einwohner: In Deutschland bekomt der Bauer keine gründliche astronomische oder astrologische Bücher unter Hände, da haben nur die Bäckerten solche Sachen in Kauf, und die lesten Diakon oder hat all ihre Bücher von Wissenschaften in ihrer eignen Mutter-sprach: Als, das Corpus Juris, oder die Gesetz-Bücher, die medicinsche Bücher, die astronomische oder Sternsche-Bücher, und die astrologische, oder die Wissenschaft zu lernen was die Sterne würden.
Wann nun ein englischer Astrologus über solchen teutschen Kalender käme, und läse so ein unverständiges Ding, so würde er es verachten, oder verachten; dan was des menschen natürliche Meinungen, und Eigenschaften sind, und wie ein Mensch von Angesicht gestaltet oder formirt wird, das hat seinen Ursprung nicht nur davon, in welchem Zeichen die Sonne geht, auch nicht nur, in welchem Zeichen der Mond geht; sondern auch wie die Zeichen oder Häuser stehen, und wie die ibrige Planeten stehen, wie sie zuzeiten vorwärts oder rückwärts gehen; und über das, fomen es viel darauf an, wie die Zir-Sterne in der Geburts-Minute stehen; und weil der Himmel beständig Veränderungen machet, und nicht eine Minute steht, wie die andere, so entlehret daraus die merckliche Ungleichheit der menschlichen Angehöriger, so das man ein paar Zwillinge in einer Minute oder ploßlich auf einander zur Welt kommen, so sehen sie einander so gleich, das man kaum eines vor dem andern erkennen kan; fomen aber eines nur eine Stunde oder Viertelstund, so nur etliche Minuten nach dem andern in das Lughelich, so wird das leste ein Wunderlich und überige Meinungen dem ersten nicht ähnlich seyn.

Neukommer: Was thun und vermögen dan die 7 Planeten in dieser untern Welt?
Einwohner: Erstlich hat alles, was sich in der Erden befindet, an Erden, in Gold, Silber, Kupfer, Zinn, Eisen, Blei, und Quecksilber, samt allen andern Mineralien nach der weischen Regierung und Ordnung Gottes nach dem Fall seinen Anfang, Wachstum, Reife und Farbe durch die Wirckungen des Selenitas und der Elementen. Also alles, was auf der Erden machet, hat seine Ursprung, Kraft, und Macht, und Gehalt aus dem Selenita und Elementen. Und, ach leider! die Mensch en nach den Selenitischen und Elementarischen Theil bezeugen, (so lang sie natürliche Menschen sind, und heissen) das sie ihre Form, Gestalt, Meinungen, und Eigenschaften haben nach dem Selenita, darin, in sie in diese Welt gebracht sind, und in welchem Zeichen die Planeten gehend, und ausgenommen, was die Imagination der Weiser mit befragen hat; hat aber die Natur dem Kind nichts angeordnet, so kan ein Mensch von den Astrologie in Pennsylvania fuchen wie das Kind oder der Mensch gestaltet ist, das in Nürnberg geboren wird, was er vor seine Kräfte hat, wo zu er genent ist, oder nicht, obgleich mit Augen zu sehen.

Neukommer: Ich werde wohl mein lebenslang kein Sternsche werden, noch die Würdungen des Weltens gründlich erkunden lernen; aber ich möchte doch ein klein wenig Bericht davon haben; wann ich würde das es mir nützlich wäre.
Einwohner: Ich möchte mir nicht die allergeringste Mühe damit machen, mit einem wichtigen Dacunter verbergen läge, welches groß

The other publication of Saur's dealing with an astronomical subject is another example of Saur's leadership position. This was a publication written by Theophilus Grew concerning trigonometry which appeared in 1753.⁸ According to Karpinski⁹, this was the first trigonometric treatise published in the New World. Grew was a professor of mathematics at the Academy in Philadelphia and made almanac computations for the Virginia Almanack for many years. Since Saur had this important association with Grew it also was possible that Saur employed Grew for his German language almanac calculations. Not only were Grew and Saur sufficiently prominent to attract one another, but Grew is known to have made computations for the 1735 issue of Benjamin Franklin's Almanack.

It appears that Saur's position in the area of German almanac publications influenced Franklin in the same

⁸"The description and use of globes, celestial and terrestrial: with variety of examples for the learner's exercise . . . chiefly designed for the instruction of the young gentlemen at the Academy in Philadelphia . . . added rules for working all the cases in plain and spherical triangles without a scheme."
⁹Louis Charles Karpinski, "Bibliography of Mathematical Books Printed in America Through 1850 (Ann Arbor, 1940).

fen Augen haben kan; darum will ich dir ein wenig und so viel dir nöthig ist, sagen; wilt du dies zu Nutzen machen, so thues es; wo nicht, so habe ich nichts dabei verlohren. Mein Haupt-Zweck soll seyn, das ich dir darlege, was ein Nürnbeger Mensch ist.
Neukommer: Wie geht es dan zu! das ein Astrologus in Deutschland oder in Frankreich oder in Englande, wissen kan, wann allemal in dieser Minute ein Kind in Nürnberg oder in Berlin/ oder in Philadelphia geboren wird, was dasseibige vor eine Natur und Gestalt hat und bekomt, ob es ein rund Gesicht, oder lauges Gesicht hat, ob es ein groß Maul oder klein Maul hat, ob es schwarz, blau, grau, oder braune Augen hat, ob es eine kleine niedrige oder lange Person geth werden, und was es lust haben werde.
Einwohner: Der Astrologus siehet in seinem Buch, wie diese Minute die 12 himelische Zeichen oder Häuser stehen, und wo die 7 Planeten sind; welche davon über der Erde stehen, und welche davon unter der Erde sind, welche aufsteigen, und welche untergehen: Wenn nun die Gestalt des Himmels ist, wird das Kind von aussen begehret und der Wille und Begierden setzen sich zu dieser oder jener Kunst, Handwerk, Ackerbau, Herrschaft, Freiheit und dergleichen. Zum Exempel: Wann ein Kind geboren wird, und es geht auf der

mieder ein Ziegler-Haffner oder Tischler, oder Schmied-Färber, sonst ist er auch müßig und geultig zum Ackerbau. Seine Krankheiten sind schwarze Gek-sucht, Zahn-weh, Kalte-Fieber, lauffende Gicht, Haupt-schm, Schwindel-Zucht, Zittern der Glieder, eitele Furchen und dergleichen. Ein solcher Mensch liebet besonders was sauer und schätz schmeck, und man er die Wahl hat, so ist ihm die bleyfarbe oder grau zu seinen Kleidern am liebsten.
Wann aber Jupiter aufsteigt, in der Ger-kurtes-Stunde, und ist noch dazu in einem von seinen eigenen Häusern oder Zeichen, das ist im Schützen oder Fisch, und hat gute Aspetten, so ist der Mensch warm und feucht, mäßig, gerecht, nüchtern, großmüthig, gut, verständig, schamhaftig, edelbar, begehret jederman guts zu thun, hält viel auf seine Religion, er ist sonderlich seinem Weib und Kindern geneigt, er ehret das Gesetz, ist den Armen behülfflich, mitleidig, gutthätig, dankbar, reichlich, in Reden und Gebarden jählich und doch nach-denklich.
Siehet aber Jupiter nicht wohl, so wird der Mensch das Geizige vernehmen, er wird ein Ehemmer, Prafer, So-geloh, in Religionen-Sachen wird er aberaläubisch, und fleißig in schriftliche Meinungen zu erkalten, er wird leichtlich Irriker der Spaltungen, achet seine Freunde nicht, sondern sollet einen Koff. Wann Jupiter wohl aufsteigt, so bekomt der Mensch eine gerade aufrechte Statur, ein lieblich röhlich Angesicht, etwas sanftlich und nachsichtig, mit einer hohen Stirn, schönen Augen, weiß Haar, viel Bart, stark wohl proportionirte Weine, reine Haut etc. Die Krankheiten solches Menschen sind: Schwachheiten der Leber und Rippen, Rück-schmerzen, Windflucht und Fieber, welche von Ueber-fluß und Säure des Geblüts herrühren. Wann er die Wahl hat, so wählet er sich zu seinen Kleidern violet, braun, grün, purpur und aschenfarb. Er hat gern sauses, und was delicaat schmeck, und reich.

Gehet Mars auf, in der Geburts-Stunde, und wird von andern Aspetten nicht sonderlich be-hindert, so wird der Mensch hitziger und trockener Natur, und also auch am Gemüth, er ist ein Ueber-dee des Rades, Waders und Härigkeit, er unterwerft sich keiner Nation, beut sich unter niemand, ist lüth, verwohen, ist oeren geblit, und verachtet den der ihm drückt, er liebet den Krieg, und alles was dazu gehört, was sich leid in gefahrt,

Figure 6. Page from the 1755 issue of Hoch Deutsch Americanische Kalender.

fehlt der Babel in den Kalender kommen. Da aber, in Pennsylvania und andern Englischen Grenzen dem Papsst und alle seinem Anhang abgeschworen wird, so sollte man kaum wissen wovor solche Namen in Kalender gesetzt werden, wann es nicht die alte Gewohnheit dahin gebracht hätte, daß man sie kaum sich einreden könnten, wann dieser oder jener Saamen gefähet, oder gepflanzet werden soll, oder diese und jene Haus-Geschäfte verrichtet werden sollte, so hat man es gelassen als eine Sünde des Gedächtnisses, und eine Sache die nicht von Ewigkeit her, auch nicht ewig bleiben wird.

Die Planeten samt deren Eigenschaften und Wirkung.

Der Planeten sind eigentlich 7 benammet worden, als H, J, S, Q, L, P, S, die werden auch Irre-Sterne genennet, zum theil deswegen, weil sie hiemalen rückwärts, hiemalen vorwärts gehn. Die Alten haben ihnen Namen gegeben nachdem sie ihre Eigenschaft erkant, und was sie verursachten: daraus ist entstanden, daß, nach langer Untersuchung, sie ihren Rück- und Fortgang jährlich in acht genommen. Aus der Zusammenkunft der Planeten und Irre-Sternen wird auch vorher erkant, nicht allein die Finsternisse, Veränderungen des Wetters, die Fruchtbarkeit und Unfruchtbarkeit, Aufkommen großer Häupter, und deren Tod oder Abgana: sondern auch die Veränderungen im sogenannten geistlichen oder sichtbaren Kirchen Wesen, dann dieses gehöret auch zur Natur- und Sternen- Geburt. Daher hat der große Astrologus, Juno in England, vorher geschrieben von einem sonderbaren Licht in der Kirchen, welches seinen Anfang nehmen werde in Nord-England, und bestimmet die Zeit wann es geschehn sollte. Da aber die Zeit kam und der sogenannte Quaker, Georg Fox aufftund, mit einem baldigen großen Anhang, wolte er ihn doch nicht davor erkennen: dann er meinte es würde in seiner eigenen Religion (weil sie die beste war,) noch viel größere Heiligkeit durch einen tapferen Mann sich hervor thun: (so gehet wann man sich und seine Meinung, die man von anderen gesogen, so gar sehr liebet.) Es wuchs aber diese Gemeine so sehr, daß sie sich gegenwärtig über sechs mal hundert tausend zehlet. Aber von dem Rück- und Fort- was es sey, so wohl überhaupt, als in einer Ecke in Specie, davon weiß der beste Astrologus s. v. nichts, er seye dann selbst aus G. O. T. geböhren, und so daß erkennets G. O. T. und nicht der Astrologus.

Was weiters von den Planeten und Aspecten zusagen wäre, was sie in der Erden, in Steinen und Metallen, auch auff der Erde in Kräutern und Saamen, und in Thieren, und Menschen wircken, wie sie die Gestalten formiren, und gleichsam das Gewebe an diesem großen Ubrwerk der irdischen Geschöpfen, und wie man sich daraus möge erkennen lernen, ob man in der alten oder neuen Geburt stehe, und durch die Erfahrung des Mangels Pöme verursachet werden darnach zu trachten, wie der Mangel ersetzt werden möchte: ist man mittels Kunst, eigin bezzufügen, so weit die Erfahrung reicht.



Coenten

Figure 7. Page from the 1740 issue of Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender.

area. From the years 1739-1746 Saur's German almanac was the only one being printed in America. By 1747 Franklin became sufficiently interested in German-Americans that he published a German version of his "Plain Truth" and the *Neu-Eingerichteter Americanischer Geschichts-Kalender*. Gotthard Armbrüster, who was a journeyman for Saur, helped Franklin in the two mentioned German publications. This writer wonders if Saur's death caused Franklin to cease his German almanac publication because the year of Saur's death is the same as the last issue of the *Neu-Eingerichteter Americanischer Geschichts-Kalender*.

GERMAN STYLE ORIGIN

One of the interesting questions which arises regarding the *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender* is, which of its interesting features that appear in later German-style almanacs were originated by Saur? As was mentioned previously the only known German language almanac printed in America before Saur's is the *Teutsche Pilgrim* for 1731-1733 (see Figure 9). This writer was able to examine the only known extant copies of this almanac at the Long Island Historical Society. The 1731 issue included a red and black ink title page as well as red and black entries (see Figure 10). The 1732 issue included only a red and black title page while the 1733 issue was all black. The basic square shape, monthly format, and eclipse information used by Saur was similar to that of the *Teutsche Pilgrim*. While Saur does not include separate information on the weather alone, the *Teutsche Pilgrim* includes a section like this which appears to be a forerunner of the quotations from "Centennial Almanacs" regarding the weather which becomes a standard entry in German-style Almanacs. While the *Teutsche Pilgrim* does have advice regarding blood-letting and cupping in its monthly entries as do Saur's almanacs, the *Teutsche Pilgrim* does not have the astrol-ogical advice regarding wood-cutting or even the almanac man which appears in Saur's almanacs and becomes a standard entry in German-style almanacs. Both the *Teutsche Pilgrim* and Saur's almanacs had separate sections associating the moon and weather which was included in some later almanacs read by the Pennsylvania German community.

CONCLUSIONS

Although the periods during which C. F. Egelmann and Saur flourished were separated by almost a century, an interesting similarity is found in the character of their stimulation. It was shown in Article VII of this series that the quantity and quality of Egelmann's astronomically related work showed a distinct peak around the second predicted apparitions of Halley's comet. For Sauer the quantity and quality of his astronomically related work occurs when he introduces the Gregorian calendar in his 1752 almanac.

Die Stände der Planeten in den 12 himmlischen Zeichen. Der 1. 6. 11. 16. 21. und 26ten Tag in jeden Monat: 1750.

Monat	Tag	☉	☽	♃	♄	♅	♆	♁	♂	♁	♂	♁	♂
Januar	1	23	0	24	0	9	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
	6	28	0	25	3	14	28	28	28	28	28	28	28
	11	☽	0	26	7	19	37	37	37	37	37	37	37
	16	8	1	27	11	23	45	45	45	45	45	45	45
	21	13	1	28	14	28	53	53	53	53	53	53	53
Februar	26	18	1	29	18	32	61	61	61	61	61	61	61
	1	24	2	☽	21	36	69	69	69	69	69	69	69
	6	29	2	1	25	41	77	77	77	77	77	77	77
	11	☽	4	2	28	43	85	85	85	85	85	85	85
	16	9	2	3	☽	45	93	93	93	93	93	93	93
März	21	14	2	☽	5	16	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
	26	19	2	6	9	17	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
	1	24	2	7	11	18	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
	6	27	2	8	14	19	27	27	27	27	27	27	27
	11	☽	2	9	17	21	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
April	16	7	2	10	21	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43
	21	12	2	12	24	49	51	51	51	51	51	51	51
	26	17	2	13	28	55	57	57	57	57	57	57	57
	1	23	1	14	☽	3	29	29	29	29	29	29	29
	6	28	1	15	3	32	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
Mai	11	☽	2	17	8	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43
	16	7	1	18	12	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	51
	21	12	0	19	15	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57
	26	17	0	20	18	61	61	61	61	61	61	61	61
	1	22	0	21	22	65	65	65	65	65	65	65	65
Juni	6	27	29	22	25	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71
	11	☽	1	23	28	77	77	77	77	77	77	77	77
	16	6	29	25	☽	21	83	83	83	83	83	83	83
	21	11	28	26	☽	25	89	89	89	89	89	89	89
	26	16	28	27	☽	29	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
Juli	1	21	27	28	32	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101
	6	26	27	28	35	107	107	107	107	107	107	107	107
	11	☽	1	27	39	113	113	113	113	113	113	113	113
	16	6	26	☽	21	119	119	119	119	119	119	119	119
	21	10	26	1	25	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125
August	26	15	26	2	28	131	131	131	131	131	131	131	131
	1	20	27	3	31	137	137	137	137	137	137	137	137
	6	25	28	4	34	143	143	143	143	143	143	143	143
	11	☽	0	4	37	149	149	149	149	149	149	149	149
	16	5	26	5	40	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155
September	21	10	26	6	43	161	161	161	161	161	161	161	161
	26	15	26	6	46	167	167	167	167	167	167	167	167
	1	20	27	7	49	173	173	173	173	173	173	173	173
	6	25	28	7	52	179	179	179	179	179	179	179	179
	11	☽	1	29	55	185	185	185	185	185	185	185	185
Oktober	16	4	1	0	58	191	191	191	191	191	191	191	191
	21	9	2	☽	1	197	197	197	197	197	197	197	197
	26	14	2	29	16	203	203	203	203	203	203	203	203
	1	19	3	☽	2	209	209	209	209	209	209	209	209
	6	24	0	2	5	215	215	215	215	215	215	215	215
November	11	29	1	1	8	221	221	221	221	221	221	221	221
	16	4	29	3	11	227	227	227	227	227	227	227	227
	21	9	29	3	14	233	233	233	233	233	233	233	233
	26	14	29	3	17	239	239	239	239	239	239	239	239
	1	19	30	4	20	245	245	245	245	245	245	245	245
December	6	24	0	2	23	251	251	251	251	251	251	251	251
	11	29	1	1	26	257	257	257	257	257	257	257	257
	16	4	1	0	29	263	263	263	263	263	263	263	263
	21	9	2	☽	1	269	269	269	269	269	269	269	269
	26	14	2	29	16	275	275	275	275	275	275	275	275

Diese Tafel ist nur vor diejenige die wissen wollen wie die 6 übrig Planeten alle Tage durch die ganze Jahr stehen und wie sie vorwärts oder rückwärts wandern. Diejenige welche es verstehen, können sich einen natürlichen Nutzen daraus schöpfen.

Figure 8. Page from the 1750 issue of Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender.

The year 1752 not only occurs during the red-black almanac period (1748-1754) but just precedes both his major astronomical publication, Grew's treatise, and the first appearance of German script. The year 1753 also marks the appearance of his son's first sustained English language almanac.

While the *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender* was not the first German language almanac in America it was a leader. The almanac set standards for subsequent German style calendars including the simultaneous appearance of Julian and Gregorian calendars, and the richness of the content, especially the astronomical and astrological data which characterizes the German-style almanac.

One of the interesting characteristics of the *Hoch Deutsch Americanische Calender* is that it was continually changing in some aspects. Changes included number of pages, inclusion of new items, exclusion of old items, appearance and disappearance of red ink, and rearrangements of materials. These continual changes indicate a vitality and result from the fact that there was a whole year between issues to reflect on their contents.

¹⁰Figure credits are due to the courtesy of the following groups: Figures 2-6 and 8, the Rare Book Room of the Pennsylvania State University; Figures 9 and 10, the Long Island Historical Society; Figures 1 and 7, the Juniata College Library.

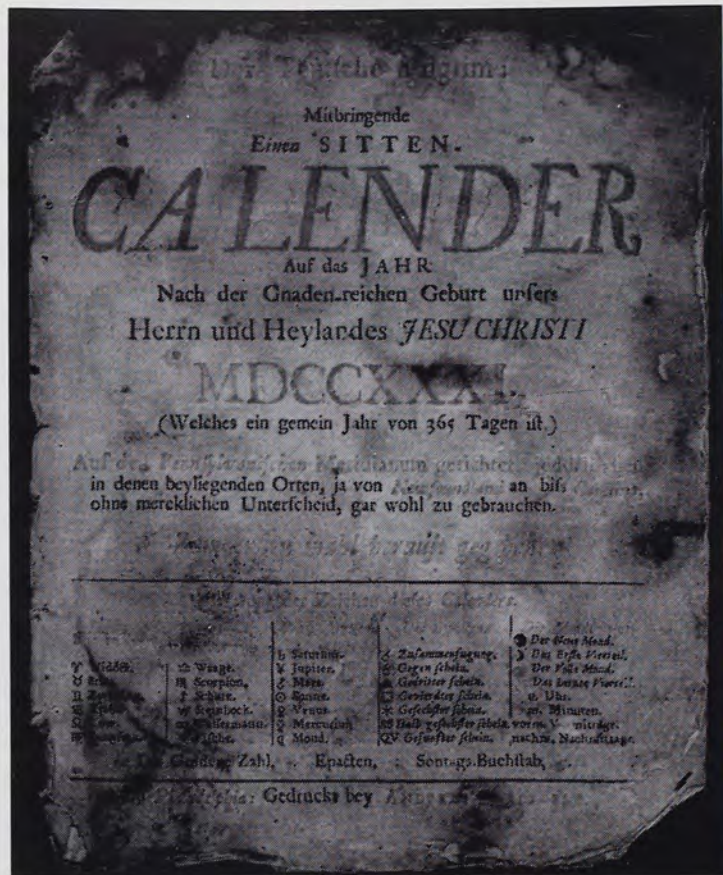


Figure 9. Title page from the 1731 issue of *Teutsche Pilgrim*.

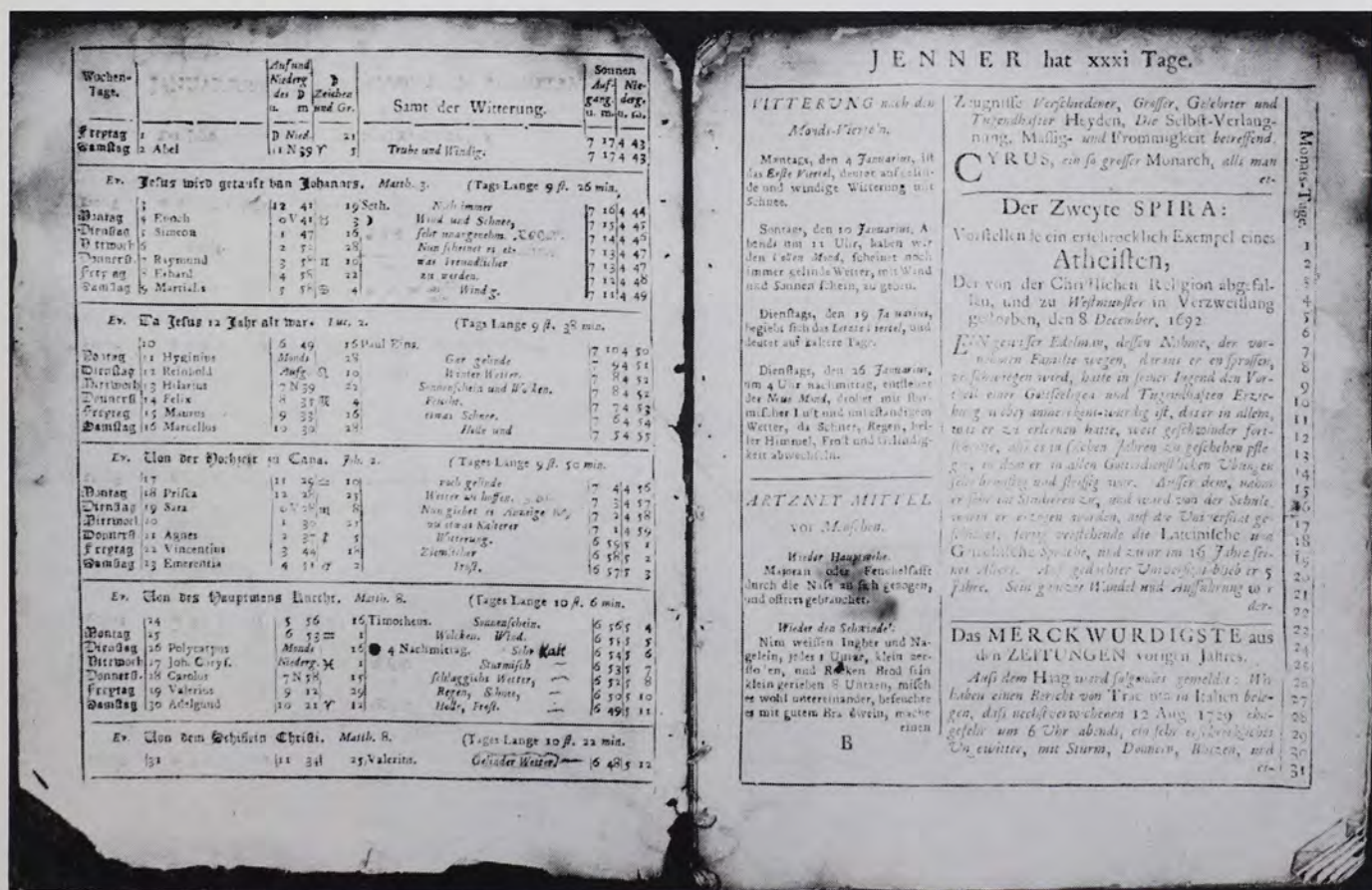


Figure 10. Two pages from the 1731 issue of *Teutsche Pilgrim*.

Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 38

READING MATTER IN THE PENNSYLVANIA HOME

In a culture that is (or was) print-oriented, books, newspapers, and periodicals have had wide influence on all of us, especially in those childhood years when we are discovering the world around us. This questionnaire is designed to elicit materials on the reading matter that was available to you, particularly in your childhood home, so that we can compare its range with the range of materials available in the average (TV-oriented) American home of today.

1. *Almanacs.* Every Pennsylvania home in the past had its almanac. What almanac did your family receive? Where was the current one kept in the house? How and for what purposes was it consulted? Were the old ones thrown out or kept? If the latter, where and why were they kept?

2. *Newspapers.* Most Pennsylvanians subscribed to one or more newspapers in the past as well as the present. What newspapers were read in your childhood home, in the homes of your relatives? Were they dailies or weeklies? English, German, or other languages? What departments of these earlier newspapers of your childhood days do you most remember?

3. *Periodicals.* What periodicals were read in your childhood home, in the homes of your relatives? Was their orientation religious or secular? Were there in the past special children's periodicals as today?

4. *Religious Books.* Every home had a Bible, usually the monumental family Bible. Where was it kept? Was it honored by being read aloud? If so, when, and where? What hymnbooks, prayerbooks, religious story books, and other publications of a religious nature did your household have? What do you best remember about them?

5. *Secular Books.* What non-religious books were available in your childhood home? Schoolbooks? Formularies for letters and legal documents? Medical works? Story books? Novels? Scientific books? Books of travel and description? Historical works, in particular books on county and local history? Did you read any of the latter when you were growing up? What did they mean to you at the time?

6. *Children's Books.* Were there special children's books in your childhood home? Did you have personal volumes given you as gifts? When were gift volumes usually given, and by whom? Which of your children's books do you remember best now? Why do you remember them? Were any books forbidden to children, dime novels, penny dreadfuls, etc.?

7. *Books in the House.* Where were books kept in the house? In special bookcases, in desks, in cupboards, in the attic?

8. *Atmosphere for Reading.* Was reading encouraged in your childhood home; or was much of it considered an idle pastime? When did you find time to read? Where was reading done? Was Sunday an allowable reading day, for religious or secular items?

9. *Influential Books.* As you look back over your early years, which books had the most influence in your development? Why? Would you recommend them to children today?

10. *Books in Past and Present.* (a) Looking back into the past beyond your childhood home, can you describe the differences, as you remember them, between the range of reading matter in your home from that available in your grandparents' homes? (b) Coming back to the present, what types of reading matter are available at the present time that are different than those available to you in your childhood home? Is there gain as well as loss involved? Is there actually less reading now because of the domination of the TV in the living room?

Send your replies to:

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Contributors to this Issue

DR. PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Baltimore, Maryland, is a member of the English Department at Towson State College in Baltimore. He received his doctorate from the George Washington University in 1973, with a dissertation on "The Material Culture of the Communities of the Harmony Society". His article in this issue is an introduction to this subject for our readers.

VERNON H. NELSON, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, is Archivist of the Moravian Church in North America. His article in this issue describes the German script course offered by the Archive in Bethlehem to students interested in achieving proficiency in reading German scripts of the 18th and 19th Century.

CAROL WOJTOWICZ, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is a student in the American Civilization Department at the University of Pennsylvania. A native Philadelphian and a product of its schools, her paper describes her fieldwork done with representatives of three different generations of school students, on the subject of playground games at the public schools. The article is one of a series on games in Pennsylvania contexts that we have been publishing, the latest of which was the Symposium on Games, *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XXIII:4 (Summer 1974), 2-30.

DR. THEODORE W. JENTSCH, Kutztown, Pennsylvania, is professor of sociology at Kutztown State College. His contribution to this issue is Chapter IV of his doctoral dissertation, "Mennonite Americans: A Study of a Religious Subculture from a Sociological Standpoint". The section on family life from the dissertation appeared in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XXIV:1 (Fall 1974), 18-27.

WILLIAM WOYS WEAVER, West Chester, Pennsylvania, holds a master's degree in architectural history from the University of Virginia. A native of Chester County, he has published articles on Pennsylvania German history and genealogy. His bibliography on European backgrounds of Pennsylvania German architecture will, we trust, prove helpful to those Pennsylvania scholars working on restorations of house and farmstead architecture in this country.

DR. LOUIS WINKLER, State College, Pennsylvania, teaches astronomy at the Pennsylvania State University. His article on the almanacs of the colonial printer Christoph Saur is the tenth in his series on Pennsylvania German Astronomy and Astrology.



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