Authors
Winter 1981-82

Pennsylvania Folklife

...of fiddles, shears and nächtliche schiessen!
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CANDACE HEATH, while a student at Grove City College, wrote her treatise on play activities of the lone child under the supervision of Dr. Hilda Adam Kring; this manuscript carries her advisor’s approval. Heath represents obvious merits of a receptive, attentive and original student. Note the results. We are pleased to publish her first appearance in PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE.

LEE C. HOPPLE is Professor of Geography, Director of Institutional Planning and Assistant to the President at Bloomsburg State College. He has earned a B.S. from Kutztown State and the M.S. and Ph.D. from the Pennsylvania State University, with further specialized study at University of Washington. He is among the handful of lead researchers in the relatively new field of demographic geography. We welcome this newest of his series on Spatial Origins.

JOHN D. KENDIG holds a degree from the Pennsylvania State University in forestry, but has more recently been associated with printing as occupation. He recalls five decades of Lancaster County history and local customs, when the latter have changed almost as drastically as the machinery of his printing occupation. From his varied recollections of local events and customs, and from an abiding interest in people come his Country Dutch views of Winter Holiday Customs; he combines them well with newer contacts.

WILLIAM J. RUPP, late pastor at Jordan and Souderton (among others) of churches of German Reformed background in E & R and U. C. C. denominations, was a son of Lehigh County. He was active in the Pennsylvania German Society and the newer PGFS; in both his special forte was the dialect, its usages and shades of meaning. For a decade of readers of Town and Country, Pennsburg, PA, he was Der Busch Knibbel, dialect columnist and philosopher. He also offered occasional special church services in the dialect, preaching sermons auf Deitsch. He died in 1966.

TIMOTHY C. RUPP is a writer, researcher and copy writer, son of William J. Rupp, who took his B.A. at Ursinus College. He now lives in Allentown but works from Boston to Baltimore. He has shared in writing book copy and television scripts. With his mother, Tim has started to organize the mass of rough notes and partial research items left at the untimely death of William J. Rupp. We are pleased to present a modest first installment from that rich source in this issue.
WINTER 1981-82, VOL. 31, No. 2

CONTENTS

50 The Fiddle Tradition in Central Pennsylvania
R. RAYMOND ALLEN

56 A Polish Wycinanki Artist from Philadelphia
NEIL R. GROBMAN

64 Winter Holidays in the Dutch Country
JOHN D. KENDIG

69 Germanic European Origins and Geographical History of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Amish
LEE C. HOPPLE

87 Franklin's Lost Map of Germantown, Massachusetts
KARL J. R. ARNDT

90 Play Alternatives for the Lone Child: Commercialization and Innovation
CANDACE HEATH

94 A Weisenberg Reminiscence
WILLIAM J. RUPP and TIMOTHY C. RUPP

COVER:
A truly holiday atmosphere is presented through a variety of articles in this issue: country fiddling, Polish and Pennsylvania Dutch winter holidays, contrasting New World customs with those of the Old.

Layout and Special Photography: WILLIAM K. MUNRO
Nearly forty years ago Samuel Bayard pioneered the study of American instrumental folk music with the publication of *Hill Country Tunes*, a monumental work which to date remains the seminal study of American folk fiddling. In his preface, Bayard rebukes musicologists for their failure to recognize, collect, and interpret data concerning "one of our most vigorous and fertile traditional arts." Today the situation is only slightly improved. While there has been a sharp increase in the recognition and collection of American fiddle music during the post-war era, there remains a surprising dearth of published research offering useful descriptive and comparative data on the topic. Most research during the past twenty-five years has focused on southern Appalachian fiddling. This was due in part to the area's rich store of folk materials, as well as to the efforts of individuals like Mike Seeger, John Cohen, and Ralph Rinzler, those musician/collectors whose work was centered in the southern mountains. While the efforts of such researchers are certainly laudable, they have created, unintentionally, the misconception that fiddling is exclusively a southern tradition. It is unfortunate that other regions of the United States which possess rich fiddle and dance traditions have not yet been fully explored. Lip service has been paid to areas like New England, the upper Mid-
West, and certain parts of the West, while many regions, particularly the Mid-Atlantic States, have gone virtually unnoticed.

Ironically, Bayard's home state of Pennsylvania has been ignored almost totally by other researchers. One explanation of this is the popular myth that the religious convictions of the Commonwealth's early German settlers prohibited dancing and merry-making, thus negating the necessity for fiddle music. While there is some truth to this conviction, there is ample historical evidence to suggest that a tenacious fiddle and dance tradition did in fact exist among Pennsylvania's early rural settlers, including many of German extraction.

Don Yoder cites several 19th century references which attest to the popularity of fiddling among the German population of Berks and Schuylkill Counties. One of these, a firsthand account of a mid-nineteenth century dance, is especially poignant:

I was invited to go one evening on a sleighing-party. There were an equal number of men and girls, and at a village we took in two fiddlers. We drove several miles to a stone tavern or farmhouse (for the tavern-keeper is generally a farmer). The fiddlers sat in the window-seats, formed by the thick stone walls; and the dancers made a business of it, and went to work at will. The dances were called 'straight eights,' forward and back, and mostly shuffles. Although at a tavern, none got drunk.

The most thorough treatment of fiddling among Pennsylvania-Germans is found in a brief but informative article by Richard Raichelson. Through meticulous examination of newspaper articles, travelers' accounts, and other written documents, the author concludes that the fiddle was the most popular folk instrument among Pennsylvania-Germans during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The instrument was employed in a variety of social contexts, providing dance music and listening entertainment at frollics, sleighing parties, taverns, and barn dances.

Samuel Bayard's own work attests to the wealth of Pennsylvania fiddle music which has survived into the twentieth century. Most of Bayard's material was collected from English and Scots-Irish settlers in the southwest portion of the state, which probably accounts for his conclusion that German influences on style and repertoire were slight and difficult to determine. He reports hearing German fiddlers in other areas of the state, but notes that the music they played was predominantly of Anglo-Scottish and Irish origin.

There remains an urgent need for further documentation of Pennsylvania fiddling, particularly at this time when the last practitioners of the older, regional styles are still active. This present study examines the fiddle and dance tradition from the central portion of the state, focusing on Union, Snyder, and Montour Counties. Information was gathered primarily from oral informants whose recollections date back to the turn of the century. Interpretations will be presented as an analysis of the changes in social context, repertoire, and style which have taken place during this century. Special attention will be paid to the importance of fiddling among German residents, and the effects of German influences on repertoire. Although the results of this inquiry will be limited to a relatively small area of the state, they should prove useful for comparison with other regional studies.

Union, Snyder, and Montour Counties are located in the Susquehanna River valley of central Pennsylvania. The area was settled by English, Scots-Irish, and German frontier people in the mid and later portions of the eighteenth century, and has remained predominantly agricultural over the past two hundred years.

Several written histories make reference to the popularity of fiddling in the area. Charles Snyder's history of Union County refers to a White Springs fiddler named Charles Hummel, who played for dances at Sugar Camp in the 1870's. Snyder's work includes a picture of the Mifflinburg String Band which attests to the regional popularity of the fiddle, banjo, guitar, and mandolin by 1915. George Dunkelburger, author of The Story of Snyder County, notes that fiddling and old-fashioned square dancing were popular at sleighing parties held in homes and in hotels. He describes home square dances as lively gatherings which were common forms of recreation in many of the county's early Pennsylvania-German communities.

The most striking evidence of the fiddle's widespread currency in the region comes from oral testimonies of fiddlers and family members of deceased musicians. Lester Englehardt, a seventy-year-old fiddler of German descent, recalls a number of older musicians who once fiddled with his grandfather, George Englehardt. These included men with German surnames like Sauers, Oberdorfer, and Zimmerman, as well as Englishmen Mook and Biddle. Jim Scholl, another fiddler of German lineage from Selinsgrove, recollects hearing "Dutch" fiddlers Renalto Gamberling, Ralph Kratzer, Isaac Spenkle, and Ben Herman during his childhood. Two other fiddlers of German descent, Archie Miller of Lewisburg, and Ray Acor of Pottsgrove, were also located.

The two most active fiddlers in the region, Harry D'Addario and Marty D'Addario, were neither of German nor English extraction, but rather were the offspring of Italian and Irish parents. Both, however, report learning most of their older material from Calvin Walters, Earl Bingamen, and Clyde Kline, all of German lineage and native to the Middleburg-New Berlin area.

This brief survey suggests that the fiddle enjoyed widespread popularity among the region's German settlers by the turn of the century, and undoubtly earlier. The prominence of Germanic fiddlers, rather
than those of English or Scots-Irish descent, is probably due to the high concentration of German settlers in the three-county region, particularly in the outlying areas of western Union and Snyder Counties where rural isolation nurtured fiddling and other traditional ways of life.  

The significant role which traditional fiddling played in central Pennsylvania communities becomes evident upon examination of the social contexts in which the instrument was employed. During the early decades of this century, before the advent of television, radio, or record players, fiddling was an important mode of home entertainment. It was not unusual for a small group of family members and neighbors to gather in someone's home simply to listen to several fiddlers play.  

Home square dances were undoubtedly the most common social setting for fiddling during this period. Dances were held in the living rooms of large farm houses, usually during the winter months of the year. Most of the participants were neighboring farmers and their families who arrived by horse, foot, or sleigh, snow permitting. Family members of all ages would attend. Snacks and soup were usually served and often homemade beer, hard cider, and corn whiskey were consumed. Although the dances were characterized by an atmosphere of festivity and celebration, rowdiness and fighting were rare, for participants were all friends and neighbors from the immediate area.  

A dance area was prepared by removing rugs and furniture from the main room of the house. Most of the dancing was done in square formations which consisted of four couples each. The caller would lead the dance by rhythmically chanting or singing the commands as the dancers moved through their figures. "Eight Hands Across," "Birdie in the Cage," "Grapevine Twist," "Dip for the Oyster," and "Butterfly Swing" were among the most popular figures. There was evidently a close rapport between the caller and the fiddler, as each dance figure required a specific tune. Reels and breakdowns were most commonly played, and occasionally polkas or marches were used for certain dance figures. Schottisches and waltzes were also danced, but without the aid of a caller.  

The musicians at home dances were neighborhood players, for there were no organized bands travelling in the area at this time. The fiddle was the primary instrument, providing both melody and rhythm for the dancers. Harry D'Addario and Archie Miller recall attending home dances where two fiddles were the only instruments, but most accounts mention the use of the guitar, four-string banjo, and occasionally piano or pump organ as backtime instruments which provided a rhythmic accompaniment to the fiddle's melody. The mouth organ (harmonica) was sometimes used alone or in conjunction with the fiddle as a second melody instrument. The musicians were rarely paid, and often played in exchange for a meal. In some instances a hat was passed and the players might expect to earn a dollar or two for their night's work.  

At some point during the mid-1920's, square dances began to be held in public halls. According to informants, this was due in part to the widespread use of the automobile which increased mobility and the willingness of people to travel long distances to seek entertainment. By the mid-1930's, public dances had become so popular that the older style home dances were rare.  

Grange halls, fire company halls, and privately owned dance halls were common sites for large public dances. During the period following prohibition, beer gardens and taverns sometimes featured adjacent dance halls. Unlike the small, quiet gatherings at home dances, public hall dances drew large crowds, with up to twenty squares (160 people) dancing at once. The atmosphere was loud and boisterous. Many of the dancers showed a proclivity toward drinking, and occasionally fighting erupted. Fiddler and caller Jim Scholl recalls that it was not uncommon for him to halt the band in the middle of the dance to eject a rowdy customer.  

Public hall dances required a professional band that was confident enough to perform in front of large, demanding audiences. Music was thus provided by groups consisting of four or five musicians who played regularly together and whose repertoires included both square-dance pieces and songs. Jack's Mountaineers (New Berlin) and the Silver Run Rangers (Selinsgrove) were two such groups that entertained at events during the 1930's. These groups featured the fiddle as the...
lead melodic instrument, while the guitar, four-string banjo, and accordion played backtime.

Admission was charged at these dances, and bands might expect to make up to twenty dollars for an evening's work.

Live radio broadcasts had become popular in the area by the mid-1930's. Harry D'Addario recalls that Jack's Mountaineers performed regularly on Lewistown and Sunbury radio stations, playing traditional fiddle pieces and popular old-time songs. Such radio broadcasts as well as public dance hall performances reflected an important change in the social function of traditional fiddling. By the mid-1930's, fiddling was no longer simply a form of home amusement. It had moved into the domain of public entertainment and performance.

Fiddling and square dancing remained popular in the three-county area following the close of World War II. During the 1950's, groups like the Throstle's Orchestra (Mifflinburg) and the New Berlin Fire Company Band incorporated saxophone, piano, and drums into their ensembles which also included fiddle, guitar, and banjo. These groups entertained at public dances and community events, performing square dance pieces as well as fox-trots, waltzes, and polkas.

In spite of competition from television and movies, community square dances are still held in the region today. The Tumbleweed Troubadors (Milton), the Wagonaires (New Berlin), and the Rhytmnaires (Mifflinburg) provide square-dance and round-dance music at public halls, summer picnics, and festivals. These groups feature a modern, electric sound, using an amplified fiddle, electric guitar, organ, accordion, bass, and sometimes drums. While the fiddle maintains a prominent role, it usually shares the melody with other instruments. A variety of material including square-dance tunes, fox-trots, waltzes, polkas, country western songs, bluegrass breakdowns, and boogie-woogie tunes are played.

Examination of repertoires reflects the variety of sources from which fiddlers in the three-county area drew their material. Lester Englehardt recalls that fiddlers of his grandfather's generation, those active in the later part of the nineteenth century, played many old jigs, reels, and hornpipes. Although these pieces underwent distinct stylistic changes as they became Americanized, their origins can be traced back hundreds of years to Anglo-Scottish and Irish sources. Most of these older dance tunes were gradually dropped from the repertoires of younger fiddlers, but a handful were passed on and are still played today. Examples of these include “Fisher's Hornpipe,” “Rickett's Hornpipe,” “Soldier's Joy,” “Bummer's Reel,” “Miss McLeod's Reel,” and “Oh Mother It Hurts Me So.”

Fiddlers active at the turn of the century also drew on Germanic-derived material. Popular nineteenth century continental-European dances including schottisches, polkas, and waltzes enjoyed strong currency in the region. While most of these pieces originated from sheet music, by the close of the last century they had entered into aural tradition and were being transmitted without the aid of written sources. Similar to the British Isles dance pieces, most of the older continental tunes suffered a lapse in popularity, and only a few have survived in the repertoires of living fiddlers. These include the “Rochester Schottische,” “German Schott-
Jim Scholl fiddling demonstration on his back porch.

Marty D'Addario playing "Oh Mother."

Marching brass bands, a German tradition popular in many Pennsylvania-German communities by the late nineteenth century, proved to be another important source for fiddlers. Marching pieces like the "Repassed Band March" and "Under the Double Eagle" are still played today, and once were used as dance music for the "Country March" formation. The paramount influence of marches is borne out by the Mifflinburg String Band, a fiddle band that used a drum when marching in parades during the period just prior to World War I.

Active fiddlers like Englehardt, Scholl, and the D'Addario brothers occasionally fiddle the older British Isles and continental dance pieces, but the bulk of their repertoires consist of dance tunes indigenous to America. These pieces, commonly known as breakdowns, are played in a rapid 4/4 tempo and function primarily as square dance music. Some of the tunes still played in the area are "Flop Eared Mule," "Marching Through Georgia," "Arkansas Traveler," "Darling Nellie Grey," "Golden Slippers," "Old Kingdom," "Redwing," "Turkey in the Straw," and "Ragtime Annie." While most of these compositions can be traced back to nineteenth century American origins, they bear strong melodic and rhythmic resemblances to the older British Isles tunes. These American breakdowns were evidently quite popular by the late teens and early 1920's, when the abovementioned fiddlers learned them from older musicians.

By the mid-1920's, the radio and record industry were offering fiddlers exciting new sources for material. At first, musicians used these mediums to broaden their repertoires of traditional American breakdowns and hillbilly songs. Later, as rural listening audiences demanded more variety, fiddle bands responded by learning fox-trots, waltzes, polkas, and songs which were popular during the 1930's and 1940's. Occasionally, written sources were used, but the bulk of this material was gleaned from radio and records. In the period following the second world war, bluegrass and countrywestern fiddling gained popularity among younger musicians, and today fiddlers like David Bell (Lewisburg) and Marvin Kratzer (New Berlin) boast repertoires which consist primarily of bluegrass material learned from radio, records, and tapes.

Generalizations concerning changes in playing style are difficult to make, for no recordings of traditional fiddling were made in the area prior to 1970. Analysis of the playing styles of the D'Addario brothers, Scholl, and Englehardt, all fiddlers who learned to play in the 1920's and 1930's, when older, regional styles predominated, do yield several noteworthy patterns. Fiddles are kept in standard tuning (EADG), and nearly all dance tunes are played in the keys of D and G. Single string noting rather than droning (double stops) prevails. Melody lines tend to be clean and simple, with few ornamentations such as slides or triplets. Short, rapid bow strokes are preferred, and often a separate bow is used for each note in the melody line. Rhythmically, the bowing is straightforward and un-syncopated, lacking the shuffle stroke which is often found in Southern fiddling. There is, however, a distinct hop or bounce to the bowing, which produces a polka-like lilt to the music even when a rapid breakdown is being played. This suggests that certain rhythmic elements may have been borrowed from polka and march music which once enjoyed popularity in the region.
As previously mentioned, a number of younger fiddlers in the area have adopted modern bluegrass and country-western playing styles which have gained nation-wide popularity during the past thirty years. While these styles have incorporated complex rhythmic and melodic ornamentations, they tend to mask the stylistic elements which are characteristic of the older, regional ways of playing. A more analytical study of the music might show that some of these older stylistic elements have been retained in the modern styles practiced by younger fiddlers, but such an analysis goes beyond the scope of this present study.

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This brief inquiry indicates that the fiddle has indeed retained a strong popularity among central Pennsylvania residents well into the second half of this century. There remains no doubt that the Pennsylvania-German settlers of the region did, and still do today, enjoy fiddling and country dancing. While most of the music performed was of British Isles and American-British origin, fiddlers did incorporate continental schottisches, polkas, waltzes, and marches into their repertoires in response to local demand for German-sounding music. Fiddlers active in the early decades of this century thus played a variety of British Isles reels and jigs, American breakdowns, and Germanic polkas, waltzes, and schottisches.

The fiddle’s ability to adapt to changing performance contexts, repertoire demands, and playing styles has allowed it to maintain a prominent role in central Pennsylvania’s folk music. Once relegated to the domain of home entertainment, the instrument successfully moved into the realm of public performance through the advent of dance halls and radio. The fiddle was able to adapt to the American dance pieces which gradually replaced old-world material, and to the modern bluegrass and country-western styles of recent years. The outstanding versatility of the instrument undoubtedly accounts for its tenacious popularity, and today it remains one of the most important folk instruments in central Pennsylvania.

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ENDNOTES

8According to county historian Charles Snyder, the outlying areas of the Susquehanna River Valley were settled predominantly by Germans who arrived after the English and Scots-Irish had claimed the lands adjacent to the river. Personal communication, June, 1981.
9Harry D’Addario recollects that the tune “Jenny Lind Polka” was played when the “Three by Six and Waltz Around” dance figure was called. The tune “Repassed Band March” accompanied the “Country March Formation” dance figure.
10For further information on the area’s bluegrass fiddlers see Matthew Guntharp, Learning the Fiddlers Ways (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980): 112-133.
While doing field work in the Delaware Valley with segments of the Polish Catholic community on forms of ethnic and religious folk art, I came across several artists who practiced the ancient folk art of wycinanki (paper cutting). Although few people in the Wilmington, Delaware Polish community (where most of my field work was conducted) actually continued the paper cutting tradition themselves in this country, most of those who were knowledgeable about it were primarily collectors of Polish art during their trips to Poland.

The art of paper cutting in general had its earliest origins in China as forms for elaborate embroidery and later to decorate the interior and exterior of homes, weddings and spring festivals. The most ancient cuttings were made from patterns which would be used as stencils to reproduce many copies. Themes, symbols, and motifs were drawn from Chinese fairy tales and ancient myths as well as classical theatre. A combination of scissors-cutting and knife-cutting would be used, sometimes adding gouges and punches for small details. There is also a Japanese tradition of crest or emblem cutting called monkiri, in which designs are cut from squares of paper folded up to six times. In its more modern form it is called kirigami. The Japanese cutters were inspired by nature's symbols.

The Swiss-German tradition of paper cutting derived from the Middle Ages among cloistered societies (monks) which produced images of saints and religious scenes for special holidays. These cuttings were separate from but related to the tradition of medieval manuscript illumination which is known among the Pennsylvania Germans as Fraktur art. By the seventeenth century, village peasants were producing cuttings, and in the eighteenth century, Catholic Germany and Austria put both religious and non-religious cuttings in family bibles for safekeeping. They were produced to signify many important rites of passage in life such as births, marriages, and deaths or special occasions such as Valentine's day. In Switzerland, the art form flourished in the late 1800s and early 1900s to the point where certain Swiss cutters became known throughout Europe. There are several forms of this type of art today: Schablonenschnitte, (pattern cutting), featuring the use of stencils and sharp blade cuts as in the Chinese method; Schablonenmalerei (pattern painting), which adds the dimension of brushed on colors as in the Japanese technique; papierschnitte (paper cutting),

Valentine’s Day Theme.

Decorating walls of home in Poland with wycinanki.
saved and recycled; even the scraps were saved and reused. Even though paper is more plentiful and less expensive today, this tradition of economy still persists among Polish-American artists.

The earliest tool used was a sheep shears, one that almost all farm families had. Skilled craftsmen could make surprisingly delicate designs holding the shears close to the cutting ends. The earliest cutting was done by women partly because they had more time traditionally and partly as a way to entertain children during the long winter months. Thus, the tradition was passed on from one generation to the next. Many identifiable regional styles still persist throughout Poland.

Sheep shears used by Mrs. Batory

As a post-Christian phenomena, some themes were religious, but many motifs were drawn from familiar subject matter: plants (flowers and trees), animals (birds, horses, stags), stars, people, and village scenes. New themes and ideas continued to develop as the art work became more detailed, intricate, and adaptable to new and different events. This is still true today.

There is much evidence that the style of wycinanki changed with the seasons and that special ones were designed for Christmas and Easter as well as lesser holidays. Today, in Poland, despite its peasant origins the Polish paper cutting art also flourishes in urban centers, produced by talented specialists mainly for decorating the interiors of residential and institutional buildings.

There are a great number of traditional and repetitive motifs and designs, all cut out of paper using a variety of different folding techniques, rhythmically composed. The specially folded paper (not too thin or too thick) is still cut with the sheep shears, rather than the more delicate cutting tools from Chinese and Swiss-German tradition, to produce complete patterns in predictable geometric and symmetric forms. Among the oldest symbols are the spruce tree, symmetrical to its perpendicular axis, and the rooster, a common symbol of the Easter season. In fact, birds of all kinds, hens, pigeons, pheasants, peacocks, doves, flowers in general tend to predominate, often presented together. Although the present connection is often Easter, the roots for such symbols may go back to the Chinese spring festivals of more ancient times.

The Lowicz region of Poland (southwest of Warsaw) is famous for its multicolored papercuts in which separately cut smaller pieces and scraps in a variety of pastel colors are pasted atop a basic wycinanki design in patterned layers or set against a dark lacy background. Bird and flower designs are popular and, in some cases, birds are produced in three-dimensional form through the use of multi-colored paper shavings.

A single unit design or motif made for spring is called leluja (joy) which is usually cut from paper from a single square or rectangular fold. They often feature birds, trees, flowers, and dolls of all kinds, some framed in some variation of the popular "tree of life" motif, known throughout eastern European folk art. The leluja is popular in the Kurpie region (north-west of Warsaw), recognizable because the designs are cut out of glossy paper of a single color, usually folded lengthwise.

How to fold the leluja.

Geometric figures such as circles, polygons, stars, and snowflakes are all commonly called gwiazdy (stars). Here the geometric shapes themselves are the central focus, all cut from multi-folded paper. The Kurpie
style gwiazdy are single-colored and the Lowicz style ones are multi-colored.4 The Bicentennial inspired a new crop of Lowicz style originals. One very traditional type of ceiling decoration is the three-dimensional spider-like pajak, a Christmas ceiling decoration made out of paper, flowers, straw, beads, or a combination of these materials.

Mrs. Stephanie Batory of Philadelphia is quite an accomplished first generation Polish-American wycinanki artist who has learned the art form over the years by picking up information from others, but primarily by practice, repetition, and experimentation. She is self-taught and has become well-known as a promoter and demonstrator of the craft, often appearing in newspaper and magazine interviews. Since starting seriously on wycinanki in 1958, she has occasionally offered an evening art course in Mt. Holly, New Jersey and in Philadelphia, Pa. Always involved in Polish cultural activities, Mrs. Batory has served as an interpreter for the Berlitz School in Polish and other languages.
Mrs. Batory creates many different types of gwiazdy. Some look like snowflakes and others more like stars, varying greatly in the number of points due to the type of folding technique used. Some are done in one color (Kurpie style) and others are done in multiple colors (Lowicz style). Also among her repertoire are Kurpie style leluja designs. She will use whatever paper is available to her, whether that be Quaker sugar bags, newspaper, old envelopes, or John Wanamaker shopping bags. And, of course, all scraps from cuttings are saved. She makes the “tree of life” motifs, a special type for children at Eastertime which she calls wycinanki spiewanki, and also butterflies which are her own creation.

When she has entered competitions in wycinanki art, Mrs. Batory was listed as an amateur, however, even though she does occasionally sell some of her work at folk fairs and festivals, it is primarily done on a non-commercial basis. Since she works at it part-time and at her own leisure, she herself claims no more than an
Two wycinanki spiewanki for children at Eastertime.

amateur status. In terms of technique, Mrs. Batory believes that the folding of the paper is of utmost importance and claims that repetition is the best teacher. She uses any kind of paper that is approximately the weight of newspaper, but never irons her work after unfolding it because this is not traditional. Besides, for preservation purposes, ironing tends to fade and shrink some of the fancier papers used because of the moisture from the iron. Also, ironing makes it difficult to paste the work on a background later on. She even prefers to use the traditional sheep shears rather than a more delicate scissors. Some gwiazdy designs are folded up to sixty-four times because uniformity is very important. Intricately cut, busy designs are often considered the best, and yet, Mrs. Batory prefers, aesthetically, to leave the centers of her gwiazdy designs alone.

Another kind of wycinanki are the gwiazdy medallions, perhaps a sub-genre, popular in the Łowicz province, in which a square, circular, or medallion-shaped paper cut contains within its borders another design—usually a

Two butterflies from Mrs. Batory.

Kilczewski gwiazda medallion flower.
Rooster medallion, Lowicz-style, of Mrs. Larsen.

Two Lowicz-style roosters of Mrs. Larsen.

Larsen pieces: leluja, borders, kodra.

Kilczewski long floral design.

mixture of floral and bird motifs. This type flourishes in Poland and is popular among Polish-American artists as well. Trees, flowers, and bells can be made as single motifs for the larger design by cutting along a single fold (leluja style). However, single birds of all kinds can also be made Lowicz style without using a folding technique at all. They are either sketched out first, then cut, and later embellished with various cut scraps and patterns in different colors, or constructed completely from scraps and little pieces. From a distance, these Lowicz style wycinanki look hand-painted. Whereas wycinanki of this kind does not flourish in all areas of Poland, it thrives in the Kurpie and Lowicz regions where competitions and exhibitions have been encouraged by the government.

Less well known are the designs of the Opoczno area (southwest of Warsaw) which concentrate on trees; those of Lublin (southeast of the capital city), resembling the embroidery of their women’s blouses, so the design is called a “pasek” or belt design; the Sanniki region, which concentrates on a large peacock with its tail and wings made of several colors and the “klapok Sannicki,” which resembles the women’s headdress of the Poznan region (a round cap with two kinds of wide tie bands). The Sannicki region is also known for its wedding scenes (consisting of five women, three men, and two musicians dressed in regional costumes).

Another type of wycinanki is called kodry, long horizontal thematic papercuts which depict such things as balanced floral designs or combinations of bird and floral motifs. Other ones depict folk scenes of early village peasant life: village weddings, work being done inside and outside the home by peasant folk dressed in regional folk costume. The traditional work scenes include tasks such as churning butter, threshing the wheat, and bringing the water from the well. Although rarer in America because of the amount of time needed to complete them, many of the American kodry include more contemporary work scenes such as people mowing lawns. These modern scenes have also found their way into kodry now produced in Poland. Kodry are usually done in multi-colors, requiring lots of time and concentration, especially for those featuring peasants in brightly decorated regional peasant costumes.
A final type of Polish papercut is the ribands, vertical strips that look like streamers or paper ribbons which open scissorwise at the bottom. They are ornamental in character and belong to the very earliest of the Lowicz papercuts. Oftentimes they are joined at the top with an ornamental gwiazdy medallion and are finished off at the bottom with a fringe. These are called klapoki in the Sannicki region and either wstega or tasiemka in the Lowicz district. Mostly, these ribands function as designs on ribbons used for bridal wreaths, or they can also be used to decorate clothing and headdresses. When colorful Polish folk costumes were more fashionable, these ribands were quite common as decorative embellishments. However, among modern Polish-American folk artists, their function has gone through adaptation and change. Mrs. Batory makes single-strips which she calls “borders” in either single-color Kurpie style or multicolor Lowicz style. Rather than using them for decorating folk costume, she uses them as borders for larger kodry, or more likely, to decorate letters and postcards she sends to others or bookmarks which she creates to sell at folk festivals or fairs. Borders and Lowicz style birds or flowers are also used to decorate blown eggs which are made into miniature egg pitchers. In Europe, these decorative egg pitchers are commonly used as Christmas tree ornaments. At Easter time in America, they are interesting conversation pieces which rival the beauty of the pysanky.

As a creative folk art form, wycinanki can be displayed and exhibited in many different settings. Those who collect them today, generally hang them in picture frames on their walls. Mrs. Batory had a few framed in her own home, but admitted that this put the emphasis on the frame rather than the work itself.
Mrs. Helen Kilczewski, a collector, had one placed in a glareless glass frame which did, indeed, improve the visual effectiveness of the work, but still had a partially distracting frame. Mrs. Batory suggested many creative new ways to display Polish papercuts in the contemporary world: inside a ceiling light fixture (especially effective for gwiazdy); shellacked on placemats and trays; under the glass in glassstop desks; as decoupage with many coats of varnish to make them look like they were hand painted; or as decorations on stationery, postcards, holiday greeting cards, or bookmarks (especially borders). Of course, if any of these display arrangements become popular within the Polish community, they would qualify more as revitalization of the original tradition than as typical traditional ways of exhibiting wycinanki from the Polish cultural past.

In my professional opinion as a folklorist, if I were to advise a museum on the best and most effective way to present an exhibit, display, or demonstration of Polish wycinanki, I would stress the traditional natural contexts according to the origins and history of this folk art form in Poland. Some could be shown being preserved in books where they are being pressed; others would be pasted or varnished on freshly whitewashed walls as in the peasant days; some would decorate windows during the Christmas season (especially the snowflake gwiazdy designs); some would be hung in mobiles like the three-dimensional pajak; others would be attached to furniture as appliques using coats of varnish; and some might be pasted on blown eggs to serve as Christmas tree ornaments or as table ornaments for the Easter season. The important thing is that this is a seasonal art form so the designs would change with the appropriate seasons of the year and the various religious holidays. In Poland, they were changed regularly for this reason and also because as a paper art form many designs might fade or wither with age.

Rather than using glass cases with labeled items, I would suggest setting up "ethnic period rooms" according to the changes in the religious calendar. Rural and urban modern Polish and Polish-American rooms would show Polish style wycinanki displayed in ways which are most natural to the particular religious events, time periods, seasons, and the personal preferences of the inhabitants of regions being featured. A live demonstration by a local wycinanki folk artist in appropriate Polish folk costume could be arranged so that the craft is seen in-process.

2Jablonski, pp.9-11.
6Jablonski, p. 20.
7Gacek, p.1.
8Gacek, p.2.
9Gacek, p.29.
12Gacek, p.36.
13Gacek, p.34.
WINTER HOLIDAYS IN THE DUTCH COUNTRY
by JOHN D. KENDIG

SOME EARLY CHRISTMASES IN MANHEIM

Many years ago in the little Pennsylvania Dutch town of Manheim, Lancaster County, Christmas and New Year were celebrated in various ways. Often very simply but with a certain homespun charm. Often little public notice was given to Christmas. The early town newspaper carried little local news, so that in the December 26, 1848 issue of the Manheim Weekly Planet and Rapho Banner, we find only these slight items: "The intervention of the Christmas Hollidays, in which all hands desired to participate, will, we hope, be a sufficient apology for the lateness in getting out our paper this week. We have been favored by the Committee of the Female Teachers of our Sunday School with a Christmas Gift, in the shape of a slice of Pound Cake of the very best kind; and in return, therefore, we tender our hearty thanks, wishing them prosperity in their untiring devotedness of advancing the minds of their pupils."

A few years later the paper had become the Manheim Sentinel and Lancaster County Advertiser and in the issue of December 25, 1863 we note that "...there will be service this day (Christmas) in the Lutheran Church, in this place, in the afternoon in the German, and in the evening in the English language."

A year later, in the issue of December 23 we read that Our Mosey, a beloved local columnist "says that as Christmas is at hand, he presumes that it will be spent in various ways, both by young and old. Some will pass the time in reveling, some, from taking a super-abundance of turkey on board, will be troubled with dyspepsia; while others who can get nothing to eat—among whom are printers—will come off best in the end. What a blessing it is that all are not rich."

The Christmas story gradually develops as we read in the December 29, 1865 issue: "The Christmas holiday was observed in this place in a very quiet manner, and the town wore the aspect of a Sunday. The New Year's holiday is now at hand and we wish our patrons a Happy New Year, in every sense of the term. We had another fall of snow on Sunday, which brought out the sleighs on Christmas Day."

"Watch Meeting services, appropriate to the close of the year and the coming in of the new will be held in the Church of the United Brethren in Christ on New Year's Eve."

More public notice on Christmas day was found in 1866 as the Bank in the Borough was closed on Christmas day and on New Year's day. The Post Office was open on Christmas day between the hours of 6 and 7 a.m. and 6 and 7 p.m.

The superintendent and teachers of the Infant Department of the Manheim Union Sunday School put up a Christmas tree and decorated their room in a beautiful manner on Christmas day.

Christmas in 1906 was largely a religious festival with many special activities in the various churches, with their greenery decorations and Christmas trees. A general holiday was observed with the business places closed. Only the Post Office was open a few hours during the day.
Old time red cedar tree in the corner of the Fasig House, Manheim, 1977, with children's things.

Child's small tree of red cedar, with yard stocked with antique animals.

The old German custom of Bellsnickels appearing on the streets, on Christmas Eve was observed with numerous masqueraders—not as many as some years—but all appearing in gorgeous costumes and suits and masks, some grotesque and some quite funny. The Bellsnickels appeared again on New Year’s Eve and many rural people came to town to see the turnout and join in the fun.

One interpretation of the word Bellsnickel was that Bells stood for the bells on the costumes they wore and that snickel stood for Santa Claus. One of their assumed roles was to reward the good children and to punish the bad ones. As noted, some were quite beautifully dressed while others were almost frightful. They sometimes became quite rough and some imbibed too freely in holiday cheer. They seemed to be less prevalent as Prohibition came in. The name has been spelled in many ways: Belsnickle, Bell snickel, peltz Nickel, Bell Schnickel, for example.

Christmas in 1911 was a big one in Manheim. Toys, candies and Bellsnickel faces were on sale at local stores before Christmas, the store of Ira A. Brosey advertising “One Thousand Bellsnickel faces to select from.”

Items from the December 22, 1911 Sentinel tell us:

“There will be a matinee at the Victor Theatre on Christmas Day beginning at 2:15 o’clock. A fine program of pictures will be shown.”

“Christmas day, Rev. G. A. Knerr, Pastor of the United Evangelical Church will preach sermons appropriate to the Christmas season, in the morning and in the evening.”

I remember my mother telling of one Christmas morning, when she had been early at work, hanging out the wash, before daylight. While she was out in the yard, she chanced to look up and saw the lights come on in the Reformed Church for the early morning service. She heard the ringing of the church bell, followed by voices of the choir members (one of them my father) in an early pre-service rehearsal. It was a beautiful experience she was never to forget.

“The Christmas season of 1911, William Hossler and his family will never forget. Mr. H. had been in ill health for sometime past and his larder had been running low. On Monday evening, this was replenished and filled with a wagonload of good things—groceries, provisions, cash and a ton of coal.” This had been accomplished through kindly folk of the community led by Ira Brosey.

“The usual early dawn service will be held at 6 o’clock Christmas morning in the German Reformed Church. The service consists of familiar Xmas carols and responsive readings in which all take part. Pastor A. O. Bartholomew will deliver a short address. The Xmas service in which the church and Sunday School unite will be held in the evening at 6 o’clock.”

“At the United Evangelical Church, the church will be decorated with laurel and holly.”
Open, rangy Balsam Fir tree—Manheim Christmas tree with gifts and banner, 1952.

Miniature creche in center of a large wreath on front door of house, 1976.

And the following picture of a typical Christmas in Manheim at that time, I will never forget either. Stockings were hung in hundreds of homes on Christmas Eve by happy children who were tucked into bed to dream of the coming of Kriss Kringle and his toy-filled sleigh. Fond parents unearthed mysterious parcels from obscure corners and stole softly up and down stairs, as they essayed the role of Santa Claus and arranged presents about gayly bedecked Christmas trees. Clusters of holly and wreaths were suspended and a peep into the larder, to make sure the goodies were all provided for, was not forgotten. Then, after a long sleeping wait, came the careful, cautious trip downstairs, in the shadowy dawn for the first precious glimpse of the Christmas tree and the tired but happy faces of mother and father, overseeing all. Santa Claus had come! Christmas Day was here!

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Outdoor Scotch Pine Christmas tree at a store entrance, about 1970.

MEALTIME PRAYERS

In the heart of the Lancaster County countryside, out from Lancaster Junction and Salunga, I stopped to see the Elam Longeneckers, very good friends of mine in the Mennonite faith.

It was late in the afternoon and I found them in the kitchen, eating their supper. I said I would come back another time but they would not hear of that. I was welcome anytime and was to come in and talk with them while they finished their meal.

I sat back and watched this fine couple here, so happy in their home and farm on the good Lancaster County soil. We talked about crops and the trees and other things we were both interested in and it was a fine, homey experience.

Suddenly the conversation stopped and everything became very quiet as I saw them bow their heads in silent, reverent prayer. This lasted for a few minutes, in which time I also lowered my head and joined in the prayer. While they were thanking God for the blessed privilege of having their “daily bread,” I asked God to keep watch over them, to prosper their ways and to keep strong their true Christian beliefs.

This was an experience I was never to forget. Here were these dear people, praying twice at each meal; before the meal to ask God to bless the food and, again, after eating, to thank Him for providing the food. They can’t help but feel close to God, while some of the rest of us, so often, pray only once at mealtime and sometimes not at all.

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That reminds me of a child’s prayer in similar vein that I saw a bit ago in the hands of the editor, William T. Parsons, and which he agreed to share with the readers because it is likewise simple and good. The handwritten paper, shown below in facsimile, in transcription and in translation by Parsons, was probably the original composition of a twelve to fifteen year old Mennonite boy from Central Montgomery County. Although that child remains unidentified, the poem-prayer turned up in a gift to the Myrin Library, Ursinus College, donated about a year ago from the estate of Elwood Paisley, a longtime member of the College Board of Directors and former Treasurer of the College. Elwood’s father, Harry E. Paisley, former Treasurer of the Reading Railroad Company, had been President of the College Board of Directors for 50-odd years.

Dear (and) good God, I am still such a young man, and still so often so bad; You give to all us wicked people so much that is good. But I do not live at all properly, and you cannot be very well pleased with me. Hold firm thy promise to me, dear God, and help me that I may become better. Help me to be pleasing to you, that I may live as a friend to my Dear Parents and to all good people forever, and thereby be fortunate myself. Listen, O Thou Good God, to my childlike prayer, and give to me what is useful for me, if it be the will of Jesus Christ, Amen.


SHOOTING IN THE NEW YEAR

I loved to hear my Marguerite tell stories of her experiences in the Berks County hills, between Shartlesville and Hamburg in the early 1900’s, back from the main lines of traffic. In my Lancaster County Waysides I had told her tale of The Little Runt Pig and there are others of her childhood on that farm that deserve telling, too. But at this time, the shooting-in of the New Year has an especial appeal.

Just before midnight on New Year’s eve, the men would start out in their cars and, before daylight, would possibly visit about eight farms. There would be about 15 men with their rifles and some even used the old fashioned muzzle loaders.

As quietly and carefully as they could they would go in the long lane to the farm house. Once, fairly near it they would park their cars. Going closer to the house they would assemble in a straight line. The leader would start counting: “one, two, three shoot; one, two, three shoot” and so on down the line until he reached the end, each man shooting in his turn as it came, so there would be a few seconds between each shot.

It must have been very impressive as those shots rang out in the cold night air, echoing off through the valley and up against the hills, as the stars blazed out brightly overhead and the New Year came in. It was truly a rare music of the hills.

By this time the farmer and his family were well aware of what was going on and they would come out on the porch. Then the leader of the riflemen would approach them and recite a special New Year’s wish the group had for the people of the farm. This was given in rough German—a wish that existed from many years gone by, that most of them could say but could not write down, long memorized and remembered.
Then the folks of the house would open wide the doors and lead the riflemen into the warm light and hospitality of their home, where plenteous food and drink were provided. Sometimes this was quite elaborate as in the case at one home where a fine meal of venison was served.

Then it was out into the cold night air and on to the next farm. Very likely some of the men of this household might also take up their guns and go along.

Some nights they certainly had bad roads and possibly snow or rain but unless the weather was too bad, they'd go through with it.

After visiting the last place, about 4:00 o'clock New Year's morning, some of the group would end up at a local hotel, while others, who had had enough, went home.

It was a big night for all concerned, a bang-up start for the New Year—a picturesque and colorful custom of olden times.

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DOCUMENT #85 Concerning Shooting at Night . . .

Since His Electoral Highness has been most displeased to learn that, in conjunction with the recently observed New Years Day, nighttime shooting [as celebration] was still practised by the villagers; nor was the same [activity] encouraged anyless to take place at marriages and baptisms; as a consequence whereof, following this pernicious practice, great misfortune may easily result. And therefore His Most Gracious Excellency Himself, under date of the 4th Inst., This Most Gracious Ruler has ordained:

That under penalty of Five Imperial Thalers, and where such poverty exists that payment cannot be made, then to be placed under eight days' tower-punishment on bread and water; Such infraction shall be entirely forbidden and indeed additional punishment meted out in what proves to be a case of obstructing justice and negligence of the village mayor or the district attorney; but the other portion shall be forfeited to whoever brings official notice of the criminal to the principal punishment noted above, which one portion go into the account of His Gracious Excellency; but the other portion shall be awarded to whoever brings official notice of the negligence of the village mayor or the district attorney;

It then will be the duty of the district administration (Oberamt) to take all necessary further steps of prosecution.

Mannheim, 12th January 1752

Government of the Palatinate
F [redick] Count of Efferen
/s/ Heussler

transl. 23 August / 6 October 1981/
William T. Parsons
The Amish are one of three major religious sects of ethnic German ancestry presently comprising the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Community. The southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch are descendants from or are closely affiliated with the Anabaptist Movement which was established in early sixteenth century Germanic Europe (Figures 1 and 2).

INTRODUCTION

The Protestant Reformation burst upon Germanic Europe (Figures 1 and 2) in the second decade of the sixteenth century. In less than ten years, Protestantism was sharply split into three major divisions and already had convulsed much of the continent. The three principal branches of the Reformation, for purposes of convenience, can be classified as: conservative Lutheranism, liberal Calvinism, and ultraconservative Anabaptism. There also arose, in terms of permanence and/or numbers of adherents, an array of minor movements. Some of these smaller movements developed independently from the mainstreams of Protestantism, but many emerged as schisms from the predominant movements, particularly from Lutheranism.

The large number of major and minor branches of Protestantism clearly reveals that internally the Reformation was neither harmonious nor homogeneous. Much of the discord within and between the various divisions of Protestantism and between Protestants and Catholics had a dramatic influence on the development of Anabaptism.

Anabaptism was organized in the 1520's. Within little more than a decade, the movement consisted of three independently established branches, which emerged not because of internal dissension, but because of violent external religious, political, sociocultural and other forces. Approximately seventeen decades then elapsed between the development of Anabaptism and the establishment of the Amish Movement, a schism from one of the three original faiths.

An appreciation of the causes of origins and an understanding of the European spatial history of the Amish Movement has resulted in this study being divided
in two principal parts: 1) a brief overview of the origins and geographical history of Anabaptism to the beginning of the Amish Movement, and 2) a comprehensive examination of the origins and European spatial experiences of the Amish. Along with the foregoing introduction and the conventional summary and conclusion, the study is buttressed by eleven maps. Comments concerning the maps, some spellings, and certain religious terminologies are included in the end-notes.

**ORIGINS AND GEOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF ANABAPTISM TO THE BEGINNING OF THE AMISH MOVEMENT**

The Protestant Reformation marks its official beginning as October 17, 1517 when Martin Luther (1483-1546) presented his now famous 95 Theses for debate at Castle Church in Wittenberg, Saxony (Figures 2 and 3). Simultaneously, Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) was crystallizing his theological precepts and developing a reformation independently from Luther, at Zurich, Switzerland (Figures 2 and 3). Apparently however, Luther and Zwingli were aware of one another's activities (Figure 3). Following Zwingli's untimely death, his movement gradually transferred to Geneva in southwest Switzerland (Figures 2 and 3), where Zwinglianism was refined and formalized by a second generation reformer, John Calvin (1509-1561). Earlier in 1525 Anabaptism was founded as a direct schism from Zwinglianism at Zollikon just south of Zurich (Figures 2 and 3).

**ORIGINS OF ANABAPTISM**

Initially Zwinglianism was readily and rapidly embraced by the peasantry and many noteworthy churchmen and scholars. Zwingli, a fervent patriot, was both a religious and political reformer. Zwingli's goal was to establish a state church system, therefore, he refused to implement religious changes more rapidly than the political leadership was willing to accept.
sequently, within several years many of Zwingli’s ablest followers became disheartened with the scope and direction of his movement. This group was convinced that secular affairs were assuming greater importance than clerical issues. These dissidents accused Zwingli of developing a religious system based on legislation rather than Gospel preaching and teaching. Going a further step, the anti-Zwingli faction contended that Lutheranism which was confined almost exclusively to religious change, and Zwinglianism in which religious change was controlled by political acceptance, were only partial reformations.

Zwingli’s opponents insisted upon nothing less than the complete restitution of a New Testament-based Apostolic Christianity. Restitutionism which represented a form of Christian primitivism, in essence, rejected some fourteen centuries of religious thought and development within the Church. Even the most liberal-minded reformers, in this age of reform, considered restitutionism extremely radical, thus the term “Radical Reformation” was given to the peaceful Anabaptist Movement that soon was to arise from restitutionist thought.

A number of significant personalities guided the destiny of the restitutionist movement and hence of peaceful Anabaptism. However, Conrad Grebel (1496-1525) emerged as the preeminent leader. He established the peaceful Anabaptist Movement at Zollikon (Figure 3) in 1525, thus launching the “Radical Reformation.” Because the peaceful Anabaptists addressed one another as brothers, the original adherents of the movement were soon called the Swiss Brethren.

The peaceful Anabaptists strongly emphasized strict obedience to the proclamations of Christ as recorded in the New Testament. They subscribed to a church consisting of faith baptized adults, pacifism and refusal to bear arms or participate in physical violence, rejection of oaths of allegiance, separation from the impure evil world, and excommunication of offenders of the faith. These beliefs were articulated in the Schleitheim Articles which was published in 1527, the first written confession of faith by the Anabaptists.

Even before the peaceful Swiss Brethren Anabaptist Movement was officially organized, the restitutionists had spread the concepts of the “Radical Reformation” among the peasantry. During the years 1523-1527, the
movement obtained many converts and diffused across the cantons of Germanic Switzerland into the southern sections of adjacent south Germany provinces (Figure 2).

The immediate popularity of the Anabaptist Movement greatly alarmed Zwinglian state church officials and several meetings were conducted with the Grebel faction, but to no avail. Neither side was willing to compromise because the rift between them was absolutely antipodal. The point of discussion was infant baptism, as opposed to adult faith baptism. But baptism was little more than a ceremonial expression of the central issue, which was the Zwinglian state versus the Anabaptist free church concepts.24

The entire religious system of Anabaptism was opposed by Zwinglianism, Lutheranism, and Catholicism.25 Furthermore, converts to Anabaptism were obviously recruited from the three aforementioned churches.26 Considerable jealousy, bitter resentment, even deep hatred of the Swiss Brethren grew and intensified as the movement gained momentum; obtaining members and diffusing territorially. Therefore, troubles commenced almost immediately for the Swiss Brethren. The subsequent geographical history of the Swiss Brethren in general and of European Anabaptism in particular is a long story of torment, violence, grief, and sadness.

**EUROPEAN GEOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF ANABAPTISM TO THE BEGINNING OF THE AMISH MOVEMENT**

The Germanic European (Figure 1) geographical history of Anabaptism to the founding of the Amish Movement encompasses some seventeen decades of extremely brutal religious, political, economic, and sociocultural persecution interspersed with brief interludes of respite and tranquility. The most ruthless times of repression were during the numerous and often prolonged religious wars, and also when the political leadership of various German states (Figure 2) abruptly changed from one sympathetic to the Anabaptist inhabitants to one of intolerance.

Although there were many, three periods stand out as being most influential in shaping the course of the
European geographical history of Anabaptism and the eventual emergence of the Amish: 1523-1536, 1546-1555, and 1618-1648. Each was a time of religious strife, war, and merciless subjugation of the Anabaptists.

The period 1523-1536 was, for the Brethren, one of excessive brutality. Two distinctly separate, simultaneously occurring and interrelated sets of events, exerted a profoundly disastrous influence on the peaceful Swiss Brethren; they were—a Swiss exile decree and the development of Militant Spiritualism. Indeed, this was an age almost unparalleled in its savagery.

Alarmed by the growth in numbers and the geographical expansion of the peaceful Brethren Movement, in 1527 Swiss officials issued an exile decree against all persons refusing to present their infant children to be baptized in the state church. Obviously the Swiss Brethren could not and would not submit. Consequently, they were banned, and persecuted in other ways as well.

In the early 1520's a religious movement known as Militant Spiritualism, which evolved from a controversy with Luther, arose in Germanic Europe (Figure 1). The Militant Spiritualists publicly proclaimed that true religious reform required an immediate restitution of Apostolic Christianity as recorded in the New Testament. Although the Militant Spiritualists preached the doctrines of Anabaptism, no attempt was made to identify and exempt the Swiss Brethren from the persecutions when religious militancy was being destroyed.

Because of the exile decree and the failure to distinguish them from the militants when the violent spiritualistic movements were being obliterated, the ranks of the Brethren were likewise decimated. Confronted with the possibility of extermination, the Brethren frequently fled incognito to other areas of Germanic Europe (Figure 1). Flight to other regions, along with certain influences emanating from Militant Spiritualism (and Schwenkfeldianism mentioned later), caused the separate development of two other peaceful Anabaptist movements. However, before describing these peaceful movements, it is essential to at least name and locate the three militant movements.

The first Militant Spiritualist Movement was the Wittenberg Puritan Reformation organized by Thomas Muntzer (1488-1525) at Zwickau, Saxony (Figures 2 and 4) in 1521. In 1525 Muntzer was killed and the movement was destroyed at the Battle of Mulhausen.

Balthasar Hubmaier (1500-1528), a militant but originally a peaceful Anabaptist, escaped from Zwickau and transferred the concepts of the Puritan Reformation Movement to Waldshut in Baden (Figures 2 and 4). Hubmaier was quickly expelled from Waldshut and he moved to Nicholsburg, Moravia (Figures 2 and 4), where he fully intended to organize a Nicholsburg Militant Community-of-Goods Movement. He was soon imprisoned and martyred, thus concluding the geographical history of that movement.

Melchior Hoffman (1495-1543) also escaped the Battle of Mulhausen carrying the principles of religious militancy to Munster, Westphalia (Figures 2 and 4) in the late 1520's. Hoffman established what became known as the Melchiorite Mennonarian Movement which, because of its obnoxious, somewhat immoral beliefs and practices, was destroyed at the Battle of Munster in 1536. Somehow Hoffman again survived and fled to Strassburg, Alsace (Figures 2 and 4) where he remained until his death.

Many of the Swiss Brethren—to avoid persecution and death because of reprisals resulting from the combined effects of the exile decree and the failure to distinguish them from the Militant Spiritualists as those movements were being eliminated—migrated into the German states bordering the Rhine River as far north as the Palatinate (Figures 2 and 5). Others followed the course of the Danube eastward across south Germany as far as Moravia (Figures 2 and 5).

In Moravia (Figure 2) a conflict developed between the Hoffman militants and a group of Anabaptists whose not so docile leader, Jacob Hutter (1500-1536) was striving to build an economic system of consumptive communism. After Hutter was martyred, a peaceful Anabaptist movement based on productive communism, but which retained the name Hutterites was installed at Nicholsburg (Figure 5).

At Munster (Figure 4) a few years before the Melchiorite Movement was crushed, several members seceded, moved to the Netherlands (Figure 2), and organized a true peaceful Anabaptist movement. Menno Simons (1496-1561), a man of considerable intellect, strong organizing ability, and sincere conviction, became the recognized leader of the Dutch Anabaptists. In 1536 he formally established the movement at Groningen (Figure 5). The Dutch Anabaptists were first called Menists then Mennonites. The Swiss Brethren and Mennonites were soon interspersed across the Palatinate and northern Alsace (Figure 2). Because of this intermixing and their religious similarities, the Swiss Brethren were often mistakenly called Mennonites.

An understanding of the period of Anabaptist geo-
Figure 4: CENTERS OF ORIGIN AND DIFFUSION OF MILITANT SPIRITUALISM

graphical history just described, and those to follow, would be incomplete without mentioning the Schwenkfeldian Movement which was organized at Liegnitz, Silesia (Figures 2 and 5) in 1526. Caspar Schwenkfeld (1490-1561), a Lutheran convert, disagreed with Luther’s interpretation of the meaning of the “Lord’s Supper.” Schwenkfeld adhered to a mystical interpretation of the “Lord’s Supper” and developed a theology very similar to that of the Anabaptists. When Luther repudiated Schwenkfeld, a movement bearing his name was founded by his Silesian followers. The Schwenkfeldian Movement was never very large, and was generally confined to Silesia (Figure 2). Because of their similarities, Anabaptism and Schwenkfeldianism influenced each other in a positive, but indirect manner. Unfortunately, Militant Spiritualism had the same damaging influence on Schwenkfeldianism that it had on Anabaptism.

The next calamitous episode in the Germanic European (Figure 1) geographical history of Anabaptism was the war which erupted between Lutherans and Catholics with Luther’s death in 1546 and which lasted until 1555. Throughout this decade the nonresistant neutral Anabaptists were harrassed by the belligerents. The war was concluded by the Peace of Augsburg which recognized both Lutheranism and Catholicism as official religions and included a proviso stating that the ruler determines the religion of the state or province.

The final catastrophic incident in Anabaptist Germanic European (Figure 1) geographical history mentioned in this article is the Thirty Years War, a bitterly fought conflict between the Protestants and Catholics which broke out in 1618 and continued until 1648. Again the innocent, tranquil Anabaptists were mercilessly trampled, exploited and persecuted by the antagonists. The Thirty Years War was settled by the Peace of Westphalia which extended the provisions of the Augsburg agreement to include the Calvinist Reformed Church.

The Anabaptists obviously gravitated toward those states where they were tolerated by the ruler. Unfortunately for the Anabaptists, if an unsympathetic ruler came to power they were immediately terrorized and banished. Thus, wars changing governments and general intolerance motivated several centuries of severe maltreatment and repression of the Anabaptists.
In addition to the three previously described periods of exceptionally brutal oppression, most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries comprised an almost uninterrupted era of ruthless subjugation of the peaceful, defenseless Anabaptist sects by a multitude of extremely malevolent tormentors. The scope and ferocity of abuses inflicted upon the hapless Anabaptists was all but unimaginable. Yet the three major branches of the original Anabaptist Movement, Brethren, Hutterites, and Mennonites, (and the Schwenkfelders), somehow survived. It was in this traditional environment of clerical and secular intolerance that Jacob Ammann was born and reared in Germanic Switzerland (Figures 1 and 2) and where he became a Swiss Brethren Anabaptist "elder." Considering the prevailing mentality of those times, it is not impossible for a geographer to understand Ammann’s inability or at least unwillingness to respect the religious views of his fellow Swiss Brethren. Ammann’s behavior, which often bordered on tyranny when other elders disagreed with him, caused him to break away from the parent group and organize a new sect bearing his name.

**ORIGINS AND GEOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF THE AMISH MOVEMENT IN GERMANIC EUROPE**

Despite the disunity within Protestantism, the conflicts between Protestantism and Catholicism for religious dominance of Germanic Europe, and the savage persecutions Anabaptists suffered from the other faiths, Anabaptism proved remarkably cohesive and extraordinarily resilient through the generations. These various above-listed external forces caused the independent development of the principal branches of Anabaptism rather than a number of schisms produced by internal doctrinal quarrels until the sudden rise of the Amish Movement.

In the early 1690’s Anabaptism’s general internal homogeneity was rather abruptly challenged and rapidly destroyed, as a major doctrinal conflict developed among the ranks of the Swiss Brethren. This alternation, precipitated by one Jacob Ammann, quickly assumed crisis proportions, proved irreconcilable, and resulted in the first major schism among any of the original divisions of Anabaptism.
ORIGINS OF THE AMISH

In 1693 Jacob Ammann, then a Swiss elder from Erlenbach near Thun in Bern Canton (Figure 6) journeyed northward to Alsace where Brethren and Mennonites resided and became elder of Markirch (Figures 2 and 6). Probably while travelling through Alsace to Markirch and certainly after settling there, he visited Mennonite congregations, attended their religious services, and conversed with Mennonite ministers. The Swiss Brethren were primarily centered in the German cantons of Switzerland, particularly Bern (Figures 1, 2 and 6); secondary concentrations were found in Alsace; and tertiary numbers inhabited the Palatinate; with a wide scattering across Baden, other sections of Germanic Switzerland, and bordering areas of the south German states (Figures 1 and 2). The Mennonites were predominantly concentrated in the Netherlands (Figure 2); while Westphalia, the Rhine­land, the Palatinate, and Alsace were regions of secondary densities; and the north German states from the Netherlands to Prussia contained some Mennonites (Figures 1 and 2). Brethren population density decreased with increasing distance from Switzerland; and the number of Mennonites declined similarly with respect to the Netherlands. The Brethren then were centered in southwestern and the Mennonites in northwestern Germanic Europe, with interspersing of the two peoples in Alsace (Figures 1, 2 and 6). Therefore, it was perfectly natural that Ammann would become familiar with Mennonite religious beliefs following his arrival in Markirch (Figure 6).

Because of their independent origins, these two Anabaptist bodies subscribed to a different confession of faith. As previously mentioned, the Swiss Brethren adhered to the Schleitheim Articles of 1527, the first Anabaptist confession. The Schleitheim Articles is a brief document consisting of seven principles. The Dutch Mennonites subscribed to the Dordrecht Confession, a much more comprehensive document, written in 1632 containing eighteen articles of faith, and not mentioned heretofore. Obviously, if for no other reason than the length and scope of the confessions of faith, the Mennonites practiced a more structured form of Anabaptism than their Brethren counterparts. And as Ammann became increasingly familiar with the Mennonite creed, he asserted that the Brethren were practicing a diluted, impure type of Anabaptism. Successively and for reasons explained subsequently, Ammann insisted the Brethren adopt three Mennonite beliefs: semiannual communion, social avoidance (meidung), and footwashing. Whether Ammann truly endorsed the "purer" Mennonite system of Anabaptism or whether he initiated a crisis simply to satisfy personal ambitions never has been conclusively proven. Regardless, his motives are beyond the scope of the geographer's competence to evaluate.

Suffice it to say, neither the Schleitheim Articles nor the Dordrecht Confession discusses the frequency of conducting or partaking of the "Lord's Supper." However, footwashing and social avoidance are specifically covered in Articles XI and XVII respectively in the Dordrecht Confession.

During summer 1693, Ammann obstinately demanded the Brethren return to their former custom of observing communion twice a year rather than once. Brethren congregations throughout Alsace and Switzerland (Figure 2) were immediately confronted with the problem of accepting or rejecting Ammann's proposal. A conference of the senior Swiss elders circumvented the issue with an inconclusive, somewhat dangling response. They stated that for truly faithful, deserving persons annual communion was sufficient. Communion twice a year for those who could adequately prepare themselves was not too frequent.

The response by the senior elders, through Hans Reist their chief spokesman, neutralized Ammann's argument which was based solely on custom since, as previously stated, neither confession of faith prescribes the minimum number of annual communion services. Ammann then turned his attention to social avoidance and soon afterward to footwashing, probably because the Swiss Brethren did not adhere to these Alsatian Mennonite beliefs in their religious practices. Ammann, emphatically alleging that Swiss Brethren Anabaptism had grown too lax in comparison to Alsatian Mennonite Anabaptism, proceeded to open discussions on these questions with the Swiss elders. Ammann almost immediately succeeded in splitting the Brethren into factions called parties; the Amish Party and the Reist Party since Hans Reist was the senior elders' spokesman and Ammann's arch opponent from the beginning of the controversy. Whatever his reasons may have been, in less than a year Ammann had completely polarized the Swiss Brethren Church.

During midsummer 1693 Ammann, accompanied by several Alsatian Mennonite ministers, began visiting the various Swiss congregations. He requested an audience with the Swiss elders, but Hans Reist refused to attend. Ammann subsequently conducted several hastily called meetings. The first met at Friedersmatt, the next at Reutenen, the third at Habstetten, another at Eutigen, and the last at Eggwil. All were in Bern Canton (Figures 6 and 7).

At each meeting Ammann behaved in a similar manner. He asked the elders to immediately explain their position concerning the question of social avoidance (Meidung). Those agreeing with him were then asked if non-Anabaptists would be saved and if an Anabaptist found guilty of telling a falsehood should be excommunicated. Ammann became extremely irritated
if he was refused an answer and he became incensed if the response was contrary to his views. Each meeting proceeded according to this format until at Eggiwil (Figure 7), it was suggested that the entire ministry convene and develop a uniform rule.

Ammann quickly attempted to assemble all the ministers. However, the entire ministry did not attend the conference. Since the ministers would not commit themselves unless all were in attendance, the session can be described as a rather heated, but inconclusive debate. Enraged, Ammann demanded that another meeting be called forthwith.

Hans Reist refused to participate in either Eggiwil meeting, which provoked Ammann’s wrath. Reist also refrained from responding to Ammann in writing, further invoking the latter’s indignation. Ammann supposedly became so infuriated that he arbitrarily and summarily excommunicated Reist and several other Swiss Brethren ministers. Thus, the rift between Reist and his supporters and Ammann and his followers widened. Ministers and members of the faith petitioned Ammann to reconsider his actions. Continuing in his obdurate tyrannical behavior, Ammann simply issued a final ultimatum to recant.

News of the Meidung controversy between the Amish and Reist Parties quickly spread among the Palatinate Mennonites. The Palatinate ministers offered to mediate the dispute. A conference was arranged and held at Ohnenheim Alsace (Figures 6 and 7) on March 13, 1694. Predictably, Ammann was absolutely unyielding. The Palatinate ministers were unable to remain neutral and joined the Brethren group in issuing a joint statement explaining their opposition to Ammann. This action caused Ammann to become even more incensed and he immediately responded by excommunicating everyone who disagreed with him. The Ohnenheim (Figure 7) assembly was the final break between the two parties and, for all practical purposes, can be considered as the general date and location of the formal beginning of the Amish Movement. Between 1694 and 1700, several attempts at reconciliation and reunification proved unsuccessful.

The writer deems it important to interrupt the geographical history of the Amish at this point to identify a movement which was to emerge almost adjacent to the Amish homelands. During the first decade of the eighteenth century the peaceful Pietistic Brethren Movement was founded by Alexander Mack (1679-1735) at...
Schwarzenau in a small principality of Hesse Cassel\(^6^9\) (Figures 2 and 5). This movement is nearly identical to Anabaptism and similar bodies such as the Schwenkfelders, and its origins are traceable to early restitutionism. However, what is significant here is that a great deal of the impetus for the rather sudden official formation of the Brethren Pietist Movement after many decades of debate, disagreement, and even vassilation appears to have been provided by the nearby Amish and Mennonites. The Schwarzenau (Figure 5) based Brethren movement is the last of the chief Anabaptist-like movements to emerge in Germanic Europe (Figure 1).

This group was small in numbers and left for America in less than a generation.\(^7^0\)

**EUROPEAN GEOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF THE AMISH**

Approximately forty percent of the almost seventy ministers participating in the Ohnenheim debate (Figure 7) favored Ammann. Interestingly, though not surprisingly, nearly all the ministers concurring with Ammann were from Alsace, and the other few were from Bern Canton and the Palatinate\(^7^1\) (Figure 8).
Since Alsace was the region of interaction and the consequent exchange of ideas between the Dutch Mennonites and the Swiss Brethren (Figures 2, 7 and 8), that province early became his primary base of support.

That an individual such as Jacob Ammann should adopt and attempt to impose the religious practices of one of these two groups upon the other, and that group's refusal to accept the ideas of the other should result in schism, and the formation of a third group, is not uncommon in the chronicles of geographical history. Nor is it unnatural that the newly organized Amish sect was founded at Ohnenheim in central Alsace near the Rhine River, western Germanic Europe's natural north-south highway (Figures 5, 6, and 7).

Those ministers accepting Ammann's position at the Ohnenheim (Figure 7) conference diffused the new Amish movement through Alsace, the Palatinate, and a relatively large section of Bern Canton (Figure 8). The movement spread westward to Neuchâtel Canton and northward to Baselland from Bern Canton (Figure 8) because of forced migration, discussed later in this study. The movement also was extended eastward from Alsace to Lorraine (Figure 8). In addition some Palatine Amish emigrated southward into northern Alsace (Figure 8). Because of these developments at Ohnenheim and geographical expansion of the Amish Movement beyond the three states from which ministers subscribed to Ammann's beliefs; Alsace, Bern Canton, the Palatinate, Neuchâtel Canton, Lorraine, and Baselland (Figures 7 and 8) comprised the original homeland of the Amish. That some Swiss Amish might have emigrated northward from Baselland and others from Alsace and the Palatinate eastward into Baden is quite plausible. Alsace, Bern Canton, and the Palatinate possessed the highest Amish population densities with small numbers inhabiting the adjacent states. The following section discusses the Amish beginnings in greater detail.

GEOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF THE AMISH IN THEIR ORIGINAL HOMELANDS

Since Jacob Ammann resided in Markirk and many of his sympathizers were located around Ohnenheim, the first major congregations developed around these two communities (Figures 8 and 9). The movement soon spread southward to Colmar, Altkirch, and Birkenhof (Figures 8 and 9) and congregations were organized around these towns. Hence, central and southern Alsace became significant centers of Amish activity prior to the end of the seventeenth century. Most of the Swiss Amish were dispersed across south central Bern in the region extending from the Emme Valley to the Simme Valley. 72 The principal center of Amish activity in Bern was around Lake Thun, focusing on the town of Thun 73 (Figures 8 and 9). The Palatine Amish were widely dispersed and as a result of such a distributional pattern, congregations emerged around Essingen, Ixheim, and Kaiserslautern (Figures 8 and 9). However, some Palatine Amish moved southward across the border founding congregations in the vicinities of Weissenbourgh and Hagenau (Figures 8 and 9), and this area became a third center of Amish settlement in Alsace.

The Swiss Amish from their origins were cruelly maltreated by the established churches, especially the Calvinist. To avoid persecution many Bernese Amish moved into the remote mountainous hinterlands. Others migrated to Neuchâtel Canton where they constructed congregations around La Chaux de Fonds and Neuenburg, 74 (Figures 8 and 9). The Markirk Amish were banished from Alsace about 1712. Some moved to Mumpelgart 75 Lorraine, a few migrated to the Palatinate settling around Zweibrücken (Figures 8 and 9), but many refused to leave Markirk.

The first generations of Amish geographical history then (Figures 6, 7, 8, and 9) were times of particularly brutal repression. Living conditions were unusually lamentable for the Amish and all other Anabaptist groups in the region. They were subjected to all manner of religious, political, economic, and sociocultural torment. They suffered such atrocities as banishment, arrest, fine and imprisonment, branding and other physical tortures, bondage, destruction and confiscation of property, and even murder.

Conflicts such as the War of the Palatinate (1688-1697) and others of varying length and ferocity compounded the deplorable status of the Amish. Opposing armies deliberately burned and devastated their property. Wars brought famine and disease, making life even more miserable and existence more difficult for all the Anabaptist groups.

In order to survive, the Anabaptists (including the Amish) dispersed across the countryside, especially into the higher mountain valleys where they attempted to live incognito. Generally they interacted more frequently with non-Anabaptists than among themselves. Some sought refuge in principalities more tolerant at the particular time. The migration from Bern Canton to Neuchâtel Canton (Figures 8 and 9) is an example of this.

Because the Amish and other Anabaptists lived in seclusion, the rulers employed sectarian hunters 76 to identify them for purposes of arrest, fine and imprisonment, and other tortures. Consequently by the close of the seventeenth century, prisons were overflowing with Anabaptists of all persuasions.

The Anabaptist sects were willing to suffer any hardship or privation the caustic malicious minds of the various officials could conceive rather than compromise their religious beliefs. Accordingly, clerical and civil authorities were forced to seek common solutions to the gradually increasing prison population. There appeared to be three possible methods of reducing the number of
prisoners: freedom, emigration or deportation. The first was unconscionable, the second unpalatable, the third a possibility. Although superficially, emigration and deportation seem practically identical, the former permits freedom of movement while the latter involves bondage.

Freedom was impossible for two reasons: the state church could not tolerate the existence of any other faith, and the state government viewed the sectarians as prospective economic wealth. Emigration, as well as freedom, was frowned upon by the powerful ruling nobles because undesirable males could be sold to foreign governments to serve as mercenary soldiers. Freedom obviously removed the Anabaptists from the list of prospective mercenaries and legalized a competing religion. Consequently, the only solution acceptable to both state and church was deportation because deportees could be sold, providing wealth for the nobles while simultaneously ridding the church of undesirable nonconformists.

One example of the policies mutually acceptable to both state and church in Bern Canton (Figure 8) will suffice to illustrate the Anabaptists' dilemma. Recognizing an opportunity for substantial profit, several merchants devised a deportation plan and organized a maritime company. Just before the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century the Bernese government employed this company to deport a boatload of Anabaptists, which included a number of Amish, to America. The boat sailed down the Rhine from Basel (Figure 8) to the Netherlands (Figures 2 and 8). However, the Dutch government prohibited forced deportation and freed the passengers. The Amish returned as far as the Palatinate settling around Essingen, Ixheim, and Kaiserslautern (Figure 9).

One found a general atmosphere of expulsion, deportation and forced emigration, together with the normal ravages of persecution. It exemplified Ana-
baptist history from its beginnings. The Amish voluntarily began emigrating from their native lands (Figure 8) during the 1720’s. Consequently, most of the story of the Amish in the lands of their birth transpired within a generation of the founding of the sect.

GEOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF AMISH MIGRATIONS

The Amish migrated from their native lands to other parts of Germanic (Figure 1) and non-Germanic Europe, and to North America. Emigration to other European states and countries commenced during the second decade of the eighteenth century and continued aperiodically through the middle years of the third decade of the next century. Migration to the New World occurred in two explicit waves. One was in the eighteenth century, the other came in the nineteenth. The second wave was by far the larger. The geographical patterns of these Amish emigrations from Europe to American shores were distinctly different. The eighteenth century migration, encompassing the period from the 1720's
through the 1770's,\(^7\) was primarily from the native states and cantons (Figures 8 and 9) to Pennsylvania.\(^7\) Nineteenth century migrations spanning the era from about 1815 through the 1870's were characterized by emigrations from all European Amish settlements to other states and Canada.\(^8\)

**EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MIGRATIONS**

After the first boatload of Anabaptists was prevented from being forced to embark to America from the Netherlands (Figure 2), Dutch authorities began negotiations with the Bernese (Figure 8) government for the purpose of developing an emigration policy. After several discussions, a free emigration policy was developed and adopted by the two governments. In 1711 four boatloads of Anabaptists, including a number of Amish, sailed the Rhine for Basel to the Netherlands (Figures 2, 8 and 9). Some Amish left the boats in Alsace and the Palatinate joining their brethren (Figure 9), but many completed the journey. Upon arriving in the Netherlands the Amish established congregations around Groningen, Kampen, and Sappemeer (Figures 2 and 10). These were the first permanent Amish communities beyond their original homelands. However, in time they were gradually assimilated into Dutch Mennonite life, thereby losing their sectarian individuality.

These early migrations provided some of the impetus for the Bernese Amish to flee to the hinterlands and to resettle in Neuchâtel Canton and for some to leave the boats and remain in Baselland\(^8\) (Figures 8 and 9). Moreover, it was the apparent failure of these early migration programs which partially promoted the expulsion of the Markirch\(^9\) Amish from Alsace and the founding of the Mumpelgart\(^10\) settlement (Figure 9).

Alsatian and Palatine Amish emigrated to Hesse Cassel\(^11\) (Figures 2 and 10) about 1730. During the second and third decades of the century, some Alsatian Amish moved to Neuwied and to the Eiffel region in the Rhineland (Figures 2 and 10). In the 1750's Amish from Alsace and the Palatinate migrated to the Netherlands (Figures 2 and 10). French Amish from Lorraine emigrated to Volhynia\(^12\) (Russia) and to the Lemberg
region of Galicia\(^*\) in the 1790's (Figures 2 and 10). Migration to Russia and Poland was primarily to escape the horrors of the French Revolution.

Amish from Bern Canton, Alsace, and the Palatinate (Figure 8) slowly began filtering into Pennsylvania by about 1720.\(^*\) The number gradually increased for the next several decades. The wave crested between the mid-1730's and the mid-1750's, after which it gradually subsided and almost ceased by 1770 as the American Revolution drew near. However, a few continued to arrive until about 1780. The overwhelming majority of these immigrants were from Bern Canton and most settled in Pennsylvania forming the original nucleus of what is now the Amish segment of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Community.\(^*\)

**NINETEENTH CENTURY MIGRATIONS**

A significant migration of Alsatian and Palatinate Amish (Figures 8 and 9) to Bavaria (Figure 2) occurred early in the first decade of the century. Settlements developed around Ingolstadt, Regensburg, and Munich (Figures 2 and 11). The Bavarian migration was in response to the ravages of the Napoleonic Wars. The final intra-European Amish migration of importance from an original homeland area was from Alsace to Luxembourg (Figures 2 and 11) in the 1820's. Earlier near the turn of the century, some Palatinate Amish moved to Marburg (Figure 11).

Amish migrations from Europe to American shores resumed around 1815 after a lapse of some 35 years. The nineteenth century Amish immigrants arriving in America were from Alsace, Lorraine, the Palatinate, the Hesse Cassel\(^*\) states, Bavaria, Poland and Russia (Figures 2, 8, 9, 10, and 11). The Amish came in increasing numbers until near the beginning of the American Civil War at which time immigration practically ceased. Emigration from Europe resumed on a substantially smaller scale in the late 1860's and ended about 1880. Although some Amish set out for the New World, after the American Civil War, from all of the
above mentioned European states, particularly from the region around Hesse, they were few in number. Most of the post-Civil War Amish immigrants were from Poland and Russia (Figure 11). The Amish from these two non-Germanic countries arrived in the middle 1870’s. In general, however, Amish migration from Europe to America ended during the 1880’s.

The nineteenth century immigrants from the Germanic European states and French Lorraine settled in Maryland, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and the Province of Ontario. The Amish from Poland and Russia moved to Kansas and South Dakota. A few Hessians located in western Pennsylvania. Interestingly, very few nineteenth century Amish immigrants from any part of Europe settled in what is now the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Community.

Those Amish deciding to remain in Europe rather than emigrate to North America were gradually absorbed by the process of assimilation, into the particular culture of the province or country in which they were residing at the time. Only scattered remnants of Amish life were detectible by the close of the nineteenth century, and the last vestiges of the Amish with the possible exception of one or two localities, had completely disappeared by the outbreak of World War II.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY

The Amish are direct descendents of Anabaptism. Anabaptism was established in 1525 and is one of the three original components of the Protestant Reformation which exploded the status quo of early sixteenth century Germanic Europe (Figures 1, 2, and 3). The European geographical history of Anabaptism, and the Amish division as well, is an almost continuous story of misery engendered by brutal persecution resulting from religious, political, economic, and cultural intolerance. Savage maltreatment was motivated by an intense hatred of the Anabaptists and prompted by at least three principal factors: the fundamental contrast in religious precepts between Anabaptism and the officially recognized churches; the remarkable appeal of Anabaptism and the consequent conversion of members of the established churches representing the overwhelming majority of people; and the misunderstanding of the intrinsic differences between Anabaptism and Militant Spiritualism (Figure 4). It was the combined interaction of all these vicious external forces that three separate, though similar, divisions of Anabaptism and some significant related movements developed, and somehow survived (Figures 3 and 5).

About 1693 Jacob Ammann, a Swiss Brethren elder from Bern Canton, moved to Alsace where he became fully acquainted with Dutch Anabaptism. Following a number of unsuccessful attempts to persuade the Swiss Brethren to adopt certain Dutch Mennonite religious practices, he broke away from the Brethren and formed a new sect (Figures 6 and 7) called Amish.

Originally the Amish sect consisted of Brethren and some Mennonites but undoubtedly attracted converts from other faiths. The sect developed in northern Switzerland, the southwest German states, and adjacent sections of French Lorraine (Figures 2 and 8). A number of Amish settlements soon developed across this region (Figure 9). The greater part of the geographical history of the Amish in their homelands (Figures 7, 8, and 9) was brief, lasting little more than a generation. Although at first glance it appears to be an enviable site, the Amish homeland suffered several serious locational disadvantages.

The region was situated at the junction of contrasting cultures. Cultural conflicts precipitated, and made the area the battleground for, frequent bitterly waged religious wars between Protestant and Roman Catholic regions of Europe. Moreover, positioned astride the Rhine River (Figures 7, 8, and 9), western Europe’s main north-south thoroughfare, made the region readily accessible to belligerent armies which traversed and ravaged the land, and terrorized the Amish and its other Anabaptist peoples.

These conditions, compounding the normal cruelties inflicted by the state churches, made life excruciatingly harsh for the Amish and their sectarian cousins in these lands. Any hopes of personal or even group survival and possible domestic tranquility were pinned to and contingent on emigration to more tolerant peaceful lands in Europe or even abroad. Therefore, the Amish began migrating to other parts of Europe and to America. Migrations to other parts of Europe commenced around 1710 and continued until about 1825. The exodus to America from their native lands and other parts of Europe encompassed the period from approximately 1720 to the end of the 1870’s (Figures 10 and 11).

Eighteenth century Amish immigrants settled in southeastern Pennsylvania and are the ancestors of the present-day Amish segment of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Community. The overwhelming majority of the nineteenth century immigrants settled in other states and Canada.

CONCLUSIONS

The origins and geographical history of the Amish in general, and all the Anabaptist groups in particular, is one of the classical examples in world history of man’s inhumanity to his fellow man. This story is an equally classical example of professing Christian bodies behaving in a thoroughly un-Christian manner. This story
also constitutes a perfect illustration of the fortitude of a people to withstand and survive all imaginable forms of adversity, their only defense being the unquenchable power of their convictions. Survival of the Amish, as well as all the peaceful Anabaptist bodies, is ample evidence of the near impossibility of annihilating a righteous group of people.

European Amish geographical history encompassing some two centuries is exemplified by several distinctive features: the total European Amish population was never large; because of migration, Amish people resided in a considerable number of localities through the centuries; they were never concentrated in large numbers in any particular place including their native areas, nor did they inhabit a region for an exceedingly long time before they migrated again; because of the somewhat ephemeral nature of their settlements and the general sparcity of population in these settlements, the Amish Movement did not make a noticeable or lasting impression on the general culture of Europe.

It seems important to point out that the main text of this article may have lead the reader to the conclusion the Amish people reached American shores in vast numbers. The above comments clearly indicate that precisely the opposite was true. Since there never were many Amish people in Europe, certainly there could not have been many immigrants. Although accurate records were not maintained it is estimated that about 3500 Amish people reached this continent, approximately 500 in the eighteenth century and the remaining 3000 in the nineteenth.

Should all the Amish have remained in Europe, it is rather doubtful they could have developed a distinctive culture; indeed, they may have perished. Fortunately they were able to survive, prosper, and develop a distinctive culture in North America, which is most noticeable in southeastern Pennsylvania.

ENDNOTES

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- Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania);
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- Ezra Lehman Memorial Library, Shippensburg State College (Shippensburg, Pennsylvania);
- Lutheran Theological Seminary Library (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania);
- McPherson College Library (McPherson, Kansas);
- Millikin University Library (Decatur, Illinois);
- Oswego College Library (Oswego, New York);
- Temple University Library (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania);
- The State Library of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania);
- Ursinus College Library (Collegeville, Pennsylvania); and
- Mennonite Publishing House (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania).

Religious Terms


Spellings

Littell, The Macmillan Atlas History of Christianity, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1976); Littell, The Anabaptist View of the Church; Littell, The Origins of Sectarian Protestantism; Williams, The Radical Reformation; Hostetler, Amish Society, (3d ed.; and C. Henry Smith, The Story of the Mennonites, (Berne, Indiana: Mennonite Book Concern, 1941) are the chief sources of the spellings of place and proper names. The first four mentioned references are the chief source for the section on the origins and geographical history of Anabaptism and the latter two books are the primary sources for the part on the origins and European geographical history of the Amish.

The writer has attempted to preserve the spellings of the time period encompassed by the study except where several sources disagree, in which case contemporary spellings are used. In those instances where such disagreements occur, it is so stated in the footnotes and map notes. There are several exceptions where several place names are used interchangeably; these also will be clarified in the various notes. The spellings Basel and Bern are used in this article rather than Basle and Berne.

Map Notes and Sources

Map Notes

Because of the necessarily small scale required of the maps included in this article, the vast territory encompassed by the study, the extensive time frame involved in the investigation, and the numerous boundary changes involved during this long period, most boundaries are approximate and generalized. Moreover, the graphic limitations cause some localities to be shown only for general orientation, particularly on Figures 10 and 11. Furthermore, the various cartographic restrictions have resulted in the decision not to prepare revisions of Figures 1 and 2.

One community of central importance in this study was sometimes called Habsten but is consistently referred to as Thun (see Figure 6). The present-day cities of Montbéliard and Neuchâtel were respectively called Mumpelgart and Euenburg (see Figure 9).

Markich is now called Ste Marie aux Mines (see Figures 6, 7, and 9). Hesse Cassel has experienced many subdivisions and boundary changes such as Hesse Darmstadt, Waldeck, etc. (see Figures 2 and 10). For further information, see Hostetler, Amish Society. Boundaries of these subdivisions and several others are not shown.

Galacia, part of southern Poland, and Volhynia, across the border in U.S.S.R., are literally beyond the extent of the maps and no attempt has been made to show their boundaries (see Figures 10 and 11).

Finally, it should be noted that directional (diffusion) routes and Amish intra-European migration routes are only generalized directional lines. Because of the map scale and thus to avoid map cluttering and confusion for the reader, directional lines of Amish migrations to America are deliberately omitted by the writer.
Additional Map Sources


Footnotes

1 The other two major sects are the Brethren (Dunkards) and the Mennonites.
2 In the 18th century much of the Adams County area was densely settled by German settlers.
3 The origins of the Amish movement in America can be traced to the 18th century to the time of the American Colonies.

Additional References

From Philadelphia on September 27, 1750, Benjamin Franklin wrote his brother John in Boston: “We shall look over the Town Plan tomorrow (Mr. Etter and I) and if I can think of any Thing that may be advantageous, shall advise.” On November 26, 1753, John Franklin from Boston wrote to his brother Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia: “I can only Tell you that your Buildings Go on as fast as Can be Expected that a Tenant has spoke for one of them and that he designed to Write you about the Dutch stoves which will be wanted.” These two quotations from The Papers of Benjamin Franklin provide the initial evidence for the Franklin interest in almost forgotten Germantown, Massachusetts, with which I wish to deal here and for which I will provide some new descriptive material.

The Mr. Etter named above will be mentioned again as important evidence in connection with the town plan of Germantown, but at the beginning let it be known that, although he was a Tory during the Revolution and left Boston for Halifax with the British troops in March 1776, he had named a son born in 1752, Franklin Germanus, which is an indication of his unhappy later state of a divided love and loyalty. As a German Lutheran, for Massachusetts wanted only German Protestants to settle in the state, he favored obedience to the established British government, but as a resident of Boston he shared with others the great admiration held for the internationally highly respected Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia. Yet, how did it happen that Benjamin Franklin became involved in a locality named Germantown in Massachusetts?

On August 8, 1750, John Quincy of Braintree, Massachusetts, leased to John Franklin, Norton Quincy, and Peter Etter, all of Boston, and Joseph Crellius of Philadelphia, approximately 100 acres at Shed’s Neck, Braintree, with an option to acquire full title. The Bostonians and the Philadelphian planned to establish a glass works and to import German workmen to operate the same, and beyond that to lay out their property as a real estate subdivision which they called Germantown.
Benjamin Franklin acquired some lots in this town which was developed by his brothers and with his help especially to attract German immigrants to the Boston area, in part also to divert them from overpopulating Philadelphia.

The history of Germantown, Massachusetts, is relatively unknown to the historians of Massachusetts, although it is recorded under the history of Quincy and New Braintree rather than under the name of Germantown, but there was a map of the town which was on exhibit in Philadelphia to attract German immigrants there, which is unknown to Massachusetts historians and is lost. A detailed description of this map, however, was published in Die Lancanzerische Zeitung, the German-American newspaper at Lancaster, on March 25, 1753, and neither Brigham nor Arndt and Olson had located a copy when their books were published.

It was my good fortune to find a copy in the Württemberg Hauptstaatsarchiv in Stuttgart, the only extant copy. It had been sent there to attract Swabian immigrants to Germantown, Massachusetts, for the description is most inviting. This is the completed town plan mentioned by Benjamin Franklin above. From this rare copy I translate:

"Hereby everyone is informed that the new city Germantown, located 13 miles by water or land from Boston in New England, has now been fully surveyed and laid out. It lies between two navigable waters which meet at the end of the place, one is called Weymouth and the other Brandery River. These two rivers surround the place almost completely and at the time of ebbo tide or outflow there are 23 to 25 and at high tide up to 35 feet of water in the channel. The town is laid out and prepared for trade, crafts, and industry, for which it is as advantageously situated as any place can be. It lies in a straight line with all the cities and villages which lie south-east by south from Boston, such as Weymouth, Hanover, Plymouth, etc., yes until way out to the foothills called Cape Cod. It lies between Brandery, Abington, Weymouth, and Nantasket, which localities almost all were settled before Boston, Plymouth being the oldest settled place in all New England, and about 27 miles from Germantown and 40 from Boston. From this it may easily be seen how many people will be using this town, for only five miles around the town are 8 churches, and 1800 families are counted, all of which live very near. From this it can easily be estimated how many people must be living at a distance of 10 to 12 miles distance. The town lies five to six miles distant from the open sea, but in spite of this, one finds the best sweet water when one digs down 20 feet. And although the place is entirely flat and 120 years ago was a farmer's estate, various sweet springs have been found on it. The town has been laid out both for adornment and beauty as well as for comfort. All streets are straight according to the compass. The market place is almost in the middle, entirely square and contains about 4 acres of land. On the four corners of the market place there are two places for churches and two reserved for schools. Twelve streets meet at the market place, four 60 feet and eight 50 feet broad. Coming Spring these will be planted with linden trees which are hourly expected from London. All lots are laid out regularly. The corner lots are the shortest and 30 feet from the front, others 26 and 22 feet, the narrowest are 20 feet broad in front and 160 feet long. Everyone who gets one or two lots is obliged within a year's time to build a house which is worth at least 25 pounds Sterling, but in front at the street no one must build less than two stories high. And whoever is unable immediately to build a house, let him first build a kitchen, which will be figured as house. A lot pays 5 shillings ground rent."

The report about Germantown, Massachusetts, continues with the assurance that the deeds are absolutely and eternally safe. Eight houses were built the past autumn and during the coming summer a considerable number more will be built. Thirty-two water and 114 house lots have already been taken over, but the best lots are by no means taken, not even the half. A common wharf has already been built. Boards and stones are cheaper than in Philadelphia and masons, carpenters and tile masons are in demand, yes, all craftsmen will find help because the society is trying to help all crafts along. Those who are interested in obtaining lots can do so by applying to Jonathan Williams or Norton Quincy, merchants in Boston. Anyone who wants further information may obtain it at the German Book Printers in Philadelphia and there see the town plan and talk about it with William Franklin, who visited the town six weeks ago. Those who have difficulty with English should either write to or visit Peter Etter, stocking weaver in Boston, who can answer anyone in name of the Society. In New York information is to be had from the tanner Johannes Houtz living there, who also has seen the place.

offered 100 or 105 acres of land as a present in eternity, without ever having to pay for it. A single male of 21 years of age will be counted as a household. The land toward the east has already been settled in three different areas by Germans and is as good as the best land in America. These people will be given all kinds of further assistance as well. All further information might be obtained from the places mentioned above.

This tempting advertising of a town laid out specifically for German immigrants was but a token fulfillment of earlier German Massachusetts immigration propaganda which I found in the Württembergisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Stuttgart. In 1751 Massachusetts was actively interested in competing with North Carolina for the superfluity of German immigrants in Philadelphia. A broadside issued in German in this matter stated that the governments of New England working with various private individuals had decided to make several hundred thousand acres of land available for
German settlers at very acceptable conditions. It is pointed out that Boston is much nearer and offers a better market than North Carolina, and has a much better climate.

The land will be given settlers and their heirs free in eternity, because they figure that it is to their advantage to give away half of their land to settlers who will improve it and thus increase the value of that which they keep. The settlers will have to clear away the forests but that will be an advantageous income, because they can float the logs to Boston, thus making a good living until their farms can produce crops. As soon as 80 families of Germans have settled in a township, they immediately have the right to send a representative to the assembly. Each township will be allotted 200 acres of land for a minister of the Gospel and 200 for a school teacher, but otherwise the settlers must support them. For further information the Germans are referred to Mr. Joseph Crellius in Arch Street, Philadelphia. The closing sentence of this invitation to settle in New England extends the good hope that free transportation to New England will be provided to those Germans willing to settle in New England. This kind of Massachusetts advertising was not only distributed in Pennsylvania but also in Württemberg, then the main source of German emigration to America.

In March 1753 General Waldo made a well-planned propaganda tour of German lands to get Germans to emigrate to Massachusetts. In his well-published public statements he frankly attacked the dishonest schemes of other emigration agents and then gave his own carefully outlined and persuasively presented plans. From these A BRIEF CONTENT OF THE MAIN CIRCUMSTANCES AND CONDITIONS CONCERNING THE SETTLEMENT OF FOREIGN PROTESTANTS IN THE PROVINCE MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND AND ESPECIALLY BROAD BAY with an appended EXTRACT OF THE SEA CONTRACT OF 1751 are reprinted in German on page 50 of my book George Rapp’s Separatists.

German settlers are granted the same rights that others enjoy and as soon as 120 families have settled they may elect a representative to the government. The government only demands of these 120 families that they call a Protestant minister as their pastor within five years and support him. Liberal land grants are provided for individuals, the parson, the church, and the school. The weekly menu of the ship contract is outlined and the promise given that all passengers and their baggage are to be put on land in Boston. The presentation is very effective and the documentation most impressive.

In conclusion, a few observations which this research and life in Massachusetts have impressed upon me. One need but check the list of documents dealing with the history of immigration to Massachusetts in the Massachusetts State Archives to be impressed during the period of this research with the emphasis placed upon a desire for PROTESTANT German immigrants. There are even records covering charges for sending emigrants back to Ireland, who by some chance or design had failed to notice the PROTESTANT emphasis on immigration. Today, as you drive from Germantown, Pennsylvania toward Germantown, Massachusetts, you will, soon after leaving Connecticut, be welcomed by signs directing you to the Massachusetts Turnpike. Its symbol is the hat of the Protestant Puritans, whose descendants fought the valiant battle to keep Massachusetts free from Irish Popery, but the defeat of all their efforts is flashed at you constantly as you drive on by the fresh Irish Catholic green which has replaced the somber black on the old Puritan hat. Massachusetts is now run by the Irish Catholics, but before you reach Germantown or Boston, you will pass through or near Shrewsbury, birthplace of the anti-baby pill, the most serious threat that the Irish green in Massachusetts has yet encountered, despite the once incredible but much celebrated Boston visit of His Holiness Himself. As it was Irish Catholicism which simply outbred the wealthy but life-weary Yankee Protestants of Massachusetts (please read Santayana’s The Last Puritan, before you dispute me!) and triumphantly painted a cheerful and life-welcoming Irish green over the pallor of the Protestant Puritan hat, so the Shrewsbury pill is threatening to undo the rule of the Irish green in Massachusetts, and a future generation will probably see the original black restored to the Protestant Puritan hat by a joyous people, bred in hardship like the Irish and Germans, who refuse to accept either the pill or any other form of life-killing intellectualism, but who simply and very naturally want to live and propagate and out of this love of nature will restore the black on the Puritan hat “because black is beautiful.”

ENDNOTES

2Ibid., V 119.
5J.F. Wilson. Three Hundred Years of Quincy. Quincy, 1926.
8The entire description is reprinted in the original German in my book George Rapp’s Separatists; Worcester, 1980, pp. 56-58. Other Massachusetts German immigration propaganda is found on pages 43-56.
PLAY ALTERNATIVES FOR THE LONE CHILD: COMMERCIALIZATION AND INNOVATION

by CANDACE HEATH

London Bridge is falling down,
Falling down, falling down.
London Bridge is falling down,
My fair lady.

Streets and schoolyards have rung with the laughing voices of children singing this song-game for centuries; yet, what of the isolated child who has never had the opportunity to play among other children until starting school? While it may be inconceivable to most people that any five-year-old would not be familiar with this song and the game that accompanies it, such is indeed the case with many a rural child or an only child without access to groups of playmates to receive exposure to these traditional children’s games.

Is the “lone”* child deprived because of this lack of contact with other children and the oral traditions universally known and played? Or is it paradoxically an advantage in disguise for forming a more innovative and creative personality?

The next few pages will not try to prove or disprove either theory, but merely offer some ideas and personal experiences to spur the reader on to consideration of the effects on a child of solitary play environment.

Since Plato, man has recognized the need for play — as a form of release, relaxation, self-expression, satisfaction of cravings, and simple enjoyment. Many psychologists and folklorists have spent their lifetimes researching and theorizing about play and games. Five main theories have evolved from their findings: 1) the surplus energy theory, 2) the recreation theory, 3) the instinct-practice theory, 4) the recapitulation theory, and 5) the latest, the self-expression theory. Before explaining these theories and their relevance, it should be noted that play is not an isolated phenomenon, but an integral part of a person’s life, and therefore cannot be interpreted apart from other facets of life.

First, the surplus energy theory, advocated by Schiller and Spencer, claims that play is a release of the excess muscular energy that children possess because they do not have to struggle in the job world and be anxious over problems as their parents do. The apparent criticism of this theory is that it reduces play to an aimless expenditure of energy, which is certainly not the case. Also, it is characteristic of children that they would play from dawn into the night if they were permitted — even starving slum children, who definitely would not possess any “excess” energy.

The second theory is the recreation theory, first supported by Lord Kames and others. It claims that play “recuperates and restores the mentally and physically tired.”* This is somewhat the reverse of the surplus energy theory in that play is considered a form of relaxation for the weary, as opposed to a release of pent-up energy. The recreation theory points out the need for big-muscle activities after prolonged concentration, analysis, and monotonous repetition (e.g., mid-morning recess for children at school). This theory is lacking in that it does not account for the pleasure derived from intellectual play, such as crossword puzzles and card games.

The third theory, proposed by Karl Groos, promotes instinct as the motivating factor in play. This instinct-practice theory advocates that play is necessary for the development of higher intelligence. Mitchell and Mason, play researchers, state, “... play leads to a mastery of the physical self and develops the coordination which lead to general physical efficiency in adulthood.”* They also point out that the imitation of surrounding adults and also association toward them is a very important part of a child’s play.

Fourth, the recapitulation theory explains play as a result of biological inheritance. F. Stanley Hall theorized that each child passes through a series of stages that recapitulate the culture “epochs” of the history of man — animal, savage, nomadic, agricultural, and tribal life stages. Needless to say, this theory seems rather far-fetched and hard to prove.

The final theory of play is still evolving and reflects the seemingly progressive mores of our society. It has been coined as the “self-expression theory.” According to this school of thought, through play the child “seeks to live, to use his abilities to express his personality.”* It also notes the tendency of children toward compensatory play — imagination, daydreaming, and fantasy. This theory makes play mainly psychological and perhaps too introspective.

From the studies on play, it can be surmised that there are certain outstanding influences working on the child, both intrinsic and extrinsic. First, there are the instincts within the child to run, jump, throw, and climb. These are tempered by social pressures and adult influences. Another major factor in a child’s play program is his environmental limitations. An Eskimo child could not possibly know or attempt to play the same things as a Nigerian native could, and vice versa.

A final influence to consider is the universal wishes of each person, developed by W. I. Thomas, which

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*Used throughout to denote not a character trait, but a physical state — playing alone (or perhaps with one sibling) because of rural living or being an only child.
are manifested most strongly in childhood. These include the wish for new experience, for security, for response, and for recognition. There are also the wishes for participation and for the aesthetic or beautiful.  

Examples of these wishes can be seen by observing any children at play. And the lone child is no exception. He demonstrates the needs for pretty things and security. He has no problem with participation, but may have some problem finding new experiences and receiving a response or recognition. The lone child also has the instincts to run and throw and does these things without the permission or recommendation of anyone.

The lone child has, perhaps, more closely supervised adult influence which possibly compensates for the lack of social pressure. Mitchell and Mason claim that "through contact with the social group in which he lives, habits and attitudes are formed in an individual which cause his play activities to be of the same general type as those of others in the group." Then, what of the child that has no peer group to shape his play activities?

John Dewey found a solution to this problem in stating that "it goes without saying that original, unlearned activity has its distinctive place and that an important one in conduct." So, although the lone child may not have the average group environment, his play does not suffer as he has innate urges to do some of the same things others do; however, the lack of social interaction may affect the child's character formation and, later, his ability to function within society. In conclusion, then, self-expression, instinct, and biological theories are equally as relevant to the study of lone children's play as to the average group children's play.

Games and the Lone Child

Considering the theories on instinct and self-expression, is it possible for a child, lacking extensive contact with other children and the traditions they pass on orally, to develop the same kinds and types of games as those children?

Sarah Hunt and Ethel Cain, educators who have studied games, explain that "Folk games are traditional patterns of group behavior that have come through the ages... It is when we see him (man) in his pastimes, where no disguise is necessary, that we see him in his true state, and may best appraise his natural disposition." There are two thoughts here concerning the lone child. First, since group behavior and long evolution are necessary for folk games, the lone child has no form of folk games in his own stylized play. But, secondly, the quote states that a person is in his true, natural disposition when participating in games; therefore, it is not inconceivable that a child might instinctively mimic actions or movements of such folk games.

Hunt and Cain also point out that similar games (naturally with variations) can be traced around the world, and that these similarities are due to man's physical make-up, i.e., two arms, a torso, two legs, etc., while the differences are due to customs and belief and, in part, to climate and environment. So, perhaps if children playing virtually alone could be given the time, they would unconsciously create variations of games that began hundreds, maybe even thousands, of years ago, and would follow the pattern of all children.

The origins of games are dependent on exciting, tragic, or comic events; customs of applicable religions and politics; folk tales, customs, and common occupations. So, depending on the lone child's exposure to television and to what his parents have imparted to him about religion, folk tales, etc., his own specialized games will evolve.

Callow's Theory

Callow's Theory is that all games fall into four divisions: mimicry, competition, chance, and vertigo. These classifications are most comprehensive yet discerning, and have been derived from the works of men like Guts Muths, Groos, Froebel, Lange, Spencer, Lazarus, and Hetherington. They will be applied to our consideration of the similarities in development of group and lone children's games.

The mimicry classification is evidenced in the lone child's imitation of parents or other adults. From personal fieldwork on the part of the author, it was ascertained that as lone children, most of the people interviewed had dressed-up in parents' or grandparents' clothing or in purchased costumes — pretending to be superheroes, fairy tale and Märchen characters, or simply their family predecessors. Also, it was interesting to note that all of the interviewees had played "hospital," "school," "church," or "restaurant" — places and institutions of which they had either heard or seen.

Since the lone child may have only a brother or sister to play with, competitive games do not seem to be as evident or extensive as they are in group children's play. But they are certainly present, usually in the form of store-bought box games, where competition and victory are the main objectives. Also, the informants questioned usually had contests with their siblings to see who could run the fastest, catch the most fish, hurl a rock the farthest, etc.

Games of chance do not seem to be prevalent among non-group children, unless, again, one considers bought games and cards. The only hypothesis this writer can formulate for this phenomenon is that in the group environment there is pressure on a child to be the best or the winner, and of course there is not as much pressure on a lone child for proving himself or being daring. Perhaps this also accounts for the minimal interest in games of competition.
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**Sampling of Play Activities:** The above chart shows the distribution of play activities of the six "lone" children (all but Erik are now young adults of college age) interviewed. From these facts, it can be determined that most children who play alone seem to play the same things—these mostly being imitative activities or imaginative and creative ones. It may also be noted that the activities of the earlier generation (the first five subjects) lean more to the creative with less reliance on television, while Erik (age 3) has practically no imaginative play but relies heavily on commercialized play and television viewing. Further information on the informants may be found in the Appendix.

With regard to activities inducing vertigo, all children are alike. Rural children see a tree in the same light as an urban child—that’s the easiest way to get to the top and swing upside down on a branch! Lone children also go to fairs and carnivals where the rides spin them or shake them or whirl them until they are completely dizzy and disoriented. Even twirling in their own backyards accomplishes the same feeling.

Postulations concerning Callois’ division of games are that mimicry and vertigo play a major role in the rural and lone children’s play, while competition and chance are present, but to a lesser degree. Perhaps, then, this indicates that self-expression is of more concern to the lone child than competing and daring.

**Effects of Modern Commercialization**

In the past quarter-century, all our lives have been definitely altered by that peculiar American phenomenon, commercialization. Not a moment goes by that we are not assailed with the commercial effects of television, radio, magazines, etc. Naturally, this has had an effect on the lone child—an ever-increasing effect, as will be shown.

In colonial and pioneer days, children were usually very isolated and had to rely mainly on home-made toys and imagination. Their lives were hard and filled with chores and tasks from which a little time to relax and play was a welcome relief. Play in the microcosm of the farm consisted of exploring the animals and surrounding land and perhaps making up hero stories. Fishing and hunting were also forms of recreation, as well as vital to survival. For the girls, rag or corn-husk dolls were the main instruments of enjoyment. Also, “dress-up” was another pastime relying more on the state of mind of being a queen, or a beautiful debutante, than upon the actual outfit. Small boys would whittle whistles or guns or other miniatures of possessions of their fathers.

Even in our twentieth century, on the farms and in rural areas these same pastimes are often enjoyed. Of the rural informants questioned, fishing, catching tadpoles and fireflies, taking bologna and ketchup sandwiches on a safari to the wilds of Borneo in the backyard, and dressing up are still played frequently.

In the past decade, especially, television has had a terrific impact on the lone child. Television programs like “Capt. Kangaroo,” “Romper Room,” and “Sesame Street,” and the “Muppets” have taken the place of playmates for the lone child, and he can vicariously receive the benefits of play with other children. Whether this growing reliance on television is to the advantage or detriment of the child is dependent on the individual, but this writer feels that it is stunting the imagination and creative abilities of all children.

Commercialization and its effects on the lone child are also evident in the toys, games, and crafts being marketed yearly. Especially at Christmastime are the children deluged with TV commercials and advertisements trying to sell this now exciting action game, or the latest and greatest Super X-Ray Gun. And since parents are economically more affluent and perhaps want to compensate for the lack of other children to play with, they buy the toys. While such toys may not adequately replace the oral traditions of neighborhood children, they do provide an exciting means for spending time. Trolls, Barbie dolls, and play houses were popular fifteen years ago, while all sorts of gun and Batman and Star Wars equipment are presently the rage.

From the above, it might seem that commercialization is taking over and perhaps harming the lone child, but hopefully there is still opportunity for creativity and innovation on his part.

**Art and the Creative Child**

A personal theory developed through this present fieldwork is that those children who play alone or perhaps with just a brother or sister grow to be oriented toward the arts, i.e., painting and crafts, dance, drama, and other forms of communication and self-expression. (This does not mean that such is true of all lone children, or that all artistic people played by themselves; it just seems to be an indication from personal research that this theory holds true.) This may be due to the fact that the lone child has to rely on his own imagination and creativity, and these proclivities carry over into adulthood.
A cardboard-faced broom serving as dance partner or horse; painting rocks for gifts; innovating a car or a house from the sofa cushions; and imaginary friends with such intriguing names as Pungi, Chow Mein, Be, Behunk, and Sink are just a few examples of pastimes created by lone children.

Spencer believed that there is a close relationship between art and play and that, through play and art activity, the individual improves in ability to function. The previous information tends to uphold this conjecture; extensive art-play activities of the lone child seem to develop that part of his personality which makes him more able to function in the creative arts. To quote Goethe, it may well be said of the lone child that “Talent is produced in solitude.”

In summary, man has always realized there is a basic need for play and has always had urges to jump, run, throw, and hang; the reasons are not fully understood, but this is not really important to the child who is playing, unaware that there should be a reason. A child's games and activities are influenced by instinctive cravings, social pressures and adults, restrictions of the environment, and universal wishes.

For the lone child, for whom traditional folk games are unknown or impossible to play because of the lack of participants, original games and perhaps variations of older games are the alternative.

Commercialization, especially television, is having a greater and greater influence on today's lone children and may be destroying their desire and ability to pretend and create. Television programs and modern toys eliminate the need to be innovative by affording vicarious companionship to the lone child. Whether this recent trend will continue or children will return to the more nature-oriented activities of even a decade ago remains to be seen.

Art and play have a very close relationship; it seems that children who play without the influence of their peers tend to be more innovative and creative, probably because necessity forces them to develop early this facet of their character.

There may be drawbacks to this situation, though. Since the lone child is used to self-expression and is unaccustomed to being around and interacting with other children, the social side of his character formation may be adversely affected. Sportsmanship, generosity, extrovertedness, and like traits may all suffer to some degree because of this lack of interaction.

There is a belief that the rural child is better off than the city child because he has vast space in which to play. But he may be as badly off because, although he has space in which to play, he may not have anyone to play with. The rural/only child, according to Mitchell and Mason, needs some group play because of its social value. He is reticent, shy, and narrow-minded unless he can be brought into friendly contact with other youngsters of his age.

On the other hand, the lone child may realize he has to be more exertive to counter his previous lack of interaction and so becomes overly aggressive in peer situations. The reaction is relevant to the individual person and circumstances.

There are many conflicting thoughts surrounding the subject of the lone child. Some of these concern whether it is an advantage or a disadvantage, a burden or a blessing. From the preceding information and conjectures, each person must form his own opinion.

ENDNOTES
Ibid. p. 51.
Ibid. p. 56.
Ibid. p. 64.
Ibid. pp. 74-76.
Ibid. p. 71.
Ibid. p. 72.
Ibid.
Ibid.
Ibid.
Interview with Anita Greggs, Grove City College, 2 November 1977.
Interview with Larry Heath, Butler, Pennsylvania, 6 November 1977.
Interview with Myra Rusinko, Grove City College, 3 November 1977.
Interview with Jean and William Heath, Butler, Pennsylvania, 6 November 1977.
Interview with Erik Jesperson, Butler, Pennsylvania, 6 November 1977.
Interview with Jackie Hochard, Grove City College, 4 November 1977.
Interview with Myra Rusinko, Grove City College, 3 November 1977.
Interview with Carol Jerrehian, Grove City College, 2 November 1977.
Mitchell and Mason, Theory of Play, p. 52.
Ibid., p. 193.

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Books:

Informants:

APPENDIX

Informants
Anita Greggs, a student at Grove City College. Resides in Chicago, Illinois, age 21, of English descent.
Larry Heath and parents (Jean and William), ages 22, 54, and 59, respectively, and of English and German descent.
Jackie Hochard, a student at Grove City College. Resides in North Huntington, Pennsylvania, age 19, adopted, only child.
Carol Jerrehian, a student at Grove City College. Resides in Malvern, New Jersey, age 20, of Armenian descent.
Erik Jesperson, of Butler, Pennsylvania, age 3, of Ukrainian and Swedish descent.
Myra Rusinko, a student at Grove City College. Resides in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, age 20, of Russian descent.
This harvesting scene was recorded circa 1923 by Irwin L. Ebert at Ziegel’s Church in Weisenberg Township, Lehigh County. From 1919 to 1930 Ebert served Ziegel’s Church in a multiplicity of roles: organist, sexton, cemetery caretaker, gravedigger, and farmer of the church’s land. In this photograph he has captured, both implicitly and explicitly, the most profound of dramas: that of Nature, of life and death, of time and generations. A momentary pause from the heat and toil of early summer serves as a vivid reminder of how for more than two centuries both church and farm have been central to the culture of the Pennsylvania Germans.

The farmer pictured here, Clarence W. Rupp (1889–1957), had driven his team of horses and binder from his nearby farm to assist Ebert with the wheat harvest. An observer of keen interest that day, standing somewhere off camera, was William J. Rupp, then about twelve years old; he had come with his father to help Ebert and his wife with the shocking of the wheat.

More than four decades later, and only eight months before his sudden death, William Rupp put to paper for his children and grandchildren his reminiscences of that day in the wheat field, leaving us with the following nostalgic and almost plaintive documentary. TCR–1981.

... The horses were, from left to right, (1) Our old Prince, who was ours for as long as I can remember, until the day in the late 1920s when he fell in a field, could not get up, and had to be shot; (2) Our old Dick, our buggy horse, who was gentle and mild and faithful, always a reliable and steady worker, who died at home in the barn while I was away in college; (3) Ebert’s horse [Scot]. Prince was rather irritable at times and could be quite stubborn; he had a mind of his own and so got many a loud lecture from my father. He was big and strong, could do heavy work if he could be convinced that he should. He was easily excited and then became hard to manage. Still I managed to use him in the cultivator, working him singly. Dick was always friendly and kind, worked very hard, seemingly worked to be praised. He was “old faithful” himself. He was hitched into the yochi-slidda because he was steady and a good shtroosa-gou. Prince was too shusslich for that. Both were used in the heavy sleigh, the top spring wagon, and the heavy farm wagons. The way our two horses held their heads in this photograph is typical of their disposition, Prince up, Dick down!

My father was about thirty-four years of age at this time, twenty years younger than I am now [1966]! The straw hat is typical of those worn by him.

The binder was an old “Bonnie Johnson” which my father bought second-hand at the Sassaman sale in Seipstown where he bought Dick (“der Sassamans gou”), and on whose farm he became a tenant farmer in 1911, at the time I was born. This binder was used hard in our fields and in many neighbors’ fields planted in rye, wheat, oats, and buckwheat, until the late 1930s when my father hired others with a combine to do the harvesting and threshing in the field. It was my constant job to follow this binder, carry the sheaves, and help to erect it on its two removable wheels for transport from farm to farm. I knew every inch of that binder and its workings, as well as I knew the ways of the team.

Just over the head of Ebert’s horse one can see the roof of es dota-heisel, a little old shed on the old cemetery. Supposedly coffins were set in it to await burial or grave-opening during bad weather. To me it was always a fearsome thing although it then housed only tools and debris. It was razed many years ago.

Note the rail fences along the field and in the background along what is now the macadam road. In the background also are the two long rows of horse-sheds, one running from far left to far right, the other only half as long. In these we played while in school. Note the boxwoods and cedars in the newer cemetery, now all destroyed. In the woods one can see some tall dead Keshda-shtonga remaining. The blight had killed these some ten years earlier.... Note also the old toilets and an apple tree along the road. Over the head of Prince one can see the giant oak at the west end of the churchyard. ...

The church building is the fifth on the site, this one built within the burned out walls of the fourth. My parents were confirmed in the fourth church a few years before it burned down, and I was confirmed in this
building which still stands. Around it are the trees beneath which we children played at school and at church festivals. Not visible are the big clumps of old giant boxwoods in the corner of the old cemetery just behind the horses, the spot said to be the site of the original tile-roofed, log structure built in 1750. These boxwoods were destroyed prior to 1950.

Every bit of this photograph is full of meaning for me, and I know that you can appreciate why I would treasure it. All is gone now save a few trees, the tombstones, and the church building, and many happy memories!

WJR 1/24/66

ENDNOTES

1 A single, light, one-horse sleigh used for fast travel but subject to overturn easily because its shaft was offset to the driver's side to enable the horse to run in one path already made by two-horse sleighs. — WJR.
2 A street horse. — Ed.
3 Unsteady, nervous, or high-strung. — Ed.
4 Rupp also utilized custom binding and barn threshing as late as 1949. — Ed.
5 Literally "little house of the dead." — Ed.
6 The school building is located across the road directly opposite the church's facade, but it is not shown here. — Ed.
7 Chestnut poles. — Ed.
8 The fourth building was struck by lightning in 1907. The third building had been destroyed by fire in 1887. — Ed.

Baskemaker John H. Brunner (1845-1932), repairer of the old and maker of the new, was photographed with his schnitzelbank by Irwin L. Ebert, circa 1929, at Brunner's home near Ziegels Church, Weisenberg Township, Lehigh County. The photographer's brief caption described Brunner as "hale and hearty, . . . in his 85th year and next year in October it will be 50 years since he and his wife [Rosa] were married."

The Rev. William J. Rupp (1911-1966) knew John and "Rosie" Brunner intimately from his earlier years on his parents' nearby farm. The following handwritten instruction was found among his private papers several years after his death:

Take it easy! John Brunner took all day to clean and polish his gallon kerosene can, all day to walk to the mill with his two-wheeled cart, all day to find a suitable piece of white oak for baskemaking. It took time to do a thing right and well! Take it easy! Take time to do a job right!

THIS IS MY BIRTHRIGHT
The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage.

— Psalm 16:6

ON THIS LAND
by the REV. WILLIAM JAMES RUPP

On this land,—here is my heart and home!
The long meadow with its giant willows and the tall tulip poplar set against the western winds. . . . The lazy, winding creek with the alder thickets and elderberry bushes along the way. . . . The cat-tails in the lower swamp, the fish dams and the lily ponds. . . . The higher ground, retrieving from the meadows, where stood a long row of bee-hives. . . . The old orchard where once a boy filled his pail with Belle of Georgias before taking the cows to pasture in the uplands.

This is my land,—the land where my fathers died! The wild daffodils coming back every spring to show me the borders of an old garden which the ancestral mother tended two centuries ago. . . . The quince trees and a wild rosebush planted near an old log house by children of another generation. . . . On the slope above an ancient spring the remains of that log house, and of the blacksmith's shop, and of the old barn. . . . And under a lordly willow the log hut where once the weaver pounded his loom.

This is my native land! The red-headed woodpecker at home in the old Baldwin, and the sparrow hawks in the giant chestnut behind the barn. . . . The killdeer making his noisy flight from one hillside to another, and Bob White calling from a fence post . . . At the far end of a field a wild cherry tree toward which a boy once headed his team when turning the first furrow in spring plowing. . . . The old worm fences, shelter for the pheasant and the quail. . . . In every field the great old chestnuts, lonely sentinels against the sky. . . . Along every fence row the wild yellow apples so good for cider. . . . The woodchuck at home in the forsythia and ramblers along the lane, and the cotton-tail keeping house in the old rail pile.

This is my native land, rich and good! Land of the walnut and oak, stretching away to the blue hills in the northwest. . . . The rolling fields of buckwheat and rye, of wheat and corn and oats. . . . The old pasture bright with its goldenrod and Queen Anne's lace. . . . The woodlot, scene of labors through many a hard winter's day, bright with May apples and wild azaleas in the

95
The tall steeple beyond the trees, the church of my fathers, and my church. Close to it the one-room schoolhouse, and nearby the ancient oak neath whose sheltering shade we children played.

And now, father in the field with his team just as he was wont when we were young, but moving slowly and bent with the years. Mother, tired and worn, still in her garden with her flowers and peppers and beans and ground cherries. A better house now, with tall pines holding up the sky, and shrubbery over the spacious lawns. A new barn and new sheds, the high line coming in over the hills, and a broad highway running down the valley. New plantings of pine and chestnut set against the contoured hills. The heard waiting for milking time and the flocks anxious to be fed.

This land, this good earth is my mother, and the mother of us all, given to us to love, to dress and to keep! On this land, here is my heart, my home and my hope! This is my song and my joy!

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"On This Land" was written in 1955. It has appeared in the "Pennsylvania Farmer," in "Town and Country Church," and in other publications. It is now printed for the author's friends, and for the members of his parish, Zwingli Reformed Church, Souderton, Pennsylvania, and is dedicated to the memory of his father, Clarence William Rupp, 1889-1957.

Souderton, Pennsylvania
December, 1959

DER AIRSHT GRISHTDAWG

Luke 2: 1-20

(wie die alta es als fertzaelt hen (zu da kinner)
(as the old folks told it to the children)

Long, long tzurick im alta lond is es mol azeit so weit kumma os der kaenich g'sawt hut die gons welt misst getoxt werra!

So is alle mensh gonga fer sei nawsa awgevva, yaders hame noch en alta shteddel wuh's harrkumma wor.

Der Joseph is aw gonga, som shteddlicha Naazaret in Gallilea noch em David seinra shtadt, Bedlahame in Judea, so os er un die Maria, sei fraw, ihra nawsa awgevva kenta, mitdem os der Joseph fon da haemet un familia som alta Kaenich David kumma wor.

Now die Maria wor om worta fer ihr airsh t bayvi un ihr tzeit wor uff. So, die weil os sie in Bedlahame wora, hut sie ihr airsht kindt uff die Welt gebracht. Es wor en boo, un die mutter hut ihnh shae eigwickelt in longa glaeder un hut ihn in en fuderdrogw gelaegt drous in da shierer weil gore ken blotz wor fer die familia im grossa hous.

In sella nochbershopt, drous im lond, wora fon da monnsleit darrich die nocht in da felder om die shohe heeda. Uff ae mohl, gons unbehoft, is en engel kumma som Haerrgott un hut sich tzu ihna g'schtellt. Un en licht som himmel hut es gons feld uffgeleicht, un es is da monnsleit arrick bong werra!

Ower die engel som himmel hut shae tzu ihna g'sawt: "Seit gore nat bong! Ich hob guta neiichkaeta fer eich,—neiichkanta mit fiel fraeda fer all die leit in da gonsa welt! Heit, im alta Kaenich David seinra shtadt, Bedlahame, is der Heilond gebora fer eich all,—der Heilond Grishdus, eier Haerr. Ihr kent gae un's sehna fer eich schwert, denna waeg: Ihr kent es bayvi finna, eigwickelt in longa glaeder un om shlofa imma fuderdrogw in'ra sheier."

Un uff ae mohl sin all die engela im himmel bei kumma, bis alles full engela wor, un sie hen all mitnonner unser Haerrgott gelowbt un hen g'sunga: "Ehre sei tzu Gott im aller haechshda! Un in da gonsa welt unnich all da leit sei freeda!"

Wie die engela widder all fert wora, tzurick in der himmel nei, hen die shohe-heeder zu nonner g'sawt: "M'r wulla all grawd nivver noch Bedlahame gae un des ding sehna os g'shaena is un os der Haerrgott uns wissa hut lussa."

Un sie sin ob, sin g'shwind noch Bedlahame kumma un hen die Maria un der Joseph g'funna, un's bayvi os om shlofa wor imma fuder-drowg. Wie sie des g'sehna hen, hen sie all da leit fertzaelt wos die engel ihna g'sawt k'hotta hut fom bayvi. Yaders os es k'haert hut, hut sich mechdich ershtound iwwer alles os die shohe-heeder fertzaelt hen. Ower die mutter Maria hut gore nix g'sawt. Sie hut alles tzurick k'halta deef in ihrem hertz un hut fiel drivver gedenkt.

Noh sin die shohe-heeder widder fert hame, tzurick noch ihrem feld, un der gonsa waeg hame hen sie unser Haerrgott gelowbt un dedonkt fer alles os sie g'sehna un k'haert hen k'hotta, alles grawd os wie die engel g'sawt hut.

—Iwwersetzt beim Busch Knibbel.

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"Der Busch Knibbel"
[William J. Rupp]
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