

# *Pennsylvania* **FOLKLIFE**

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*Pennsylvania Dutch Quilts*

*Folklife Studies is a new discipline engaged in analyzing the folk-culture of non-primitive areas. It studies every phase of the culture, material as well as oral. The picture shows one of Pennsylvania's traditional basket-makers, Ollie Strausser, preparing willow withes for basketry.*



# The FOLKLIFE STUDIES MOVEMENT

By DON YODER

The folklife studies movement is a 20th Century addition to scholarship. The term "folklife," an English adaptation of the Swedish term *folkliv*, is building about itself a new and exciting discipline, which has already influenced research in the British Isles, from whence it has begun to make itself felt in the United States.

"Folklife Studies" or "Folklife Research"—Swedish *folk-livs-forskning*, German *Volkslebensforschung* or *Volkskunde*—is a total scholarly concentration on the folk-levels of a national or regional culture. In brief, folklife studies involves the analysis of a folk-culture in its entirety.

By folk culture is meant in this case the lower (traditional or "folk" levels) of a literate Western (European or American) society. Folk culture is traditional culture, bound by tradition and transmitted by tradition, and is basically (although not exclusively) rural and pre-industrial. Obviously it is the opposite of the mass-produced, mechanized, popular culture of the 20th Century.

"Folklife" is a term of Swedish origin, from *folkliv*, coined by scholars in the 19th Century, following the already established German term *Volksleben*. The term "folklife

research" (*folklivs-forskning*) was coined in 1909 at the University of Lund when Sven Lampa began lectures in *Svensk Folklivs-forskning* (Swedish Folklife Research). The term *Folklivs-forskning* is an exact equivalent of the German term *Volkskunde* and probably was coined with that intention.<sup>1</sup>

To those who are beginning to use it in Britain and the United States, the term "folklife" is intended to include the total range of the folk-culture, material as well as oral or spiritual. It is consciously intended to be a term of broader

<sup>1</sup> Information from the Folklivsarkivet, University of Lund, Sweden, Letter from Dr. Brita Egardt, 26 March 1963, which suggests that the earliest documented use of "folkliv" in Sweden came with Lovén's book, *Folklivet i Skytts härad* (The Folklife of the Jurisdictional District of Skytt), published 1847. In 1878 it was used in the title of a new periodical, *Svenska Landsmål och Svenskt Folkliv* (Swedish Dialects and Swedish Folklife), which is still in publication. Of "folklife research" (*folklivs-forskning*), Åke Hultkrantz's new dictionary, *General Ethnological Concepts* (Copenhagen, 1960), Volume I of the "International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore," says only that it was "coined in Sweden in 1909."



*Pennsylvania Dutch Fraktur (Illuminated Manuscripts) have attracted nationwide attention. Pennsylvania produced the most elaborate folk art tradition in the United States.*

range than the English word "folklore," which, as everybody knows, was coined in England in 1846 by W. J. Thoms, to express in "basic Anglo-Saxon" what the English at the time meant by "popular antiquities." Thoms' definition of his new word was "the study of traditions, customs and superstitions current among common people in civilised countries." Following the definition favored by the English Folklore Society, folklore has been, with a few exceptions which we will discuss later, limited in range to the literary aspects of folk-culture—the folktale, the folksong, the proverb and other oral literature—in other words, the "lore" in folklore.

In a sense "folklore" and the folklore movement represent a 19th Century discovery, in the English-speaking lands, of isolated bits of folk-cultural memoranda—in other words, a partially conceived folk-culture, basically oral tradition. In working on his specialties, whether they were folksongs, folktales, or "superstitions," the folklorist did discover the folk level of his culture, but in limiting himself to oral aspects of culture he very frequently missed the setting of the songs or tales themselves in the total culture of his area. He performed the valuable function of preserving the songs, or tales, of a culture, but was rarely concerned to relate them functionally, sociologically, and psychologically to the culture which produced them.

The Folklife Studies Movement is the 20th Century rediscovery of the total range of the folk-culture (folklife). Folklore is not so much its parent as is anthropology, especially what Americans call cultural anthropology and Europeans ethnology or ethnography. The cultural anthropologist studies *all* aspects of a culture—farming, cooking, dress, ornament, houses, settlements, handicraft, trade, transportation, amusements, art, marriage, family, religion—to list a few of the subjects included as chapter headings in any basic recent text.

The 20th Century rediscovery of folklife and the conse-

quent emergence of the academic discipline of Folklife Studies would seem to be a converging of several older academic disciplines. Basically, as we have said, it represents the application of the techniques of cultural anthropology—used so successfully with primitive cultures—to the folk levels of the literate cultures of Northern Europe, the British Isles, and now the United States. In addition to anthropology, geography, linguistics, religion, psychology, parapsychology, and sociology all have contributed to the creation of the new discipline of Folklife Studies. Scholars from all of these fields are involved.

Before looking at the emergence and progress of the Folklife Studies Movement, let us take a more detailed look at the vocabulary of the movement.

#### "Folklore" and "Folklife"

There are three terms which we must look at as background for the Folklife Studies Movement. These are "folklore," "folklife," and the German term *Volkskunde*, which antedates both.

The term "folklore" seems to have been coined independently of the already existing German word *Volkskunde* which had made its appearance in 1806.<sup>2</sup> In England the term "folklore"—originally hyphenated as "folk-lore"—was given widespread attention through the foundation of the

<sup>2</sup> For the history of the word *Volkskunde*, see Oswald A. Erich and Richard Beitzl, *Wörterbuch der deutschen Volkskunde*, 2d ed. by Richard Beitzl (Stuttgart, 1955), pp. 799-809; Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. R. Meisner, Bd. 12, II. Abt., 4. Lieferung (Leipzig, 1932), "Volkskunde," columns 486-487; Will-Erich Peuckert and Otto Lauffer, *Volkskunde: Quellen und Forschungen seit 1930* (Bern, 1951); Friedrich Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, 18th ed. by Walther Mitzka (Berlin, 1960), "Volkskunde"; Karl Meisen, "Europäische Volkskunde als Forschungsaufgabe," *Rheinisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, III (1952), 7-40; and Wolfgang Steinitz, "Volkskunde und Völkerkunde," *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, I (1955), 269-275.



Folk-Lore Society in London in 1877, and in America through the foundation of the American Folklore Society in 1888.

The creator of the term "folk-lore," W. J. Thoms, in 1846 described it as "that department of the study of antiquities and archaeology which embraces everything relating to ancient observances and customs, to the notions, beliefs, traditions, superstitions and prejudices of the common people."<sup>3</sup> The definition adopted by the Folk-Lore Society of Britain is "the oral culture and traditions of the folk, that is folk-beliefs, customs, institutions, pastimes, sayings, songs, stories, and arts and crafts, both as regards their origin and their present social functions."<sup>4</sup> The second of these definitions is broader than the first. It attempts to broaden "folklore" to include not only custom and oral tradition, but also something of material culture (arts and crafts).

There are of course as many definitions of "folklore" as there are scholars working in the field.<sup>5</sup> But basically there are two main trends in definitions of the term. One trend attempts to limit folklore to the spiritual folk-culture, the other attempts to stretch folklore to include both spiritual and material folk-culture. An example of the first is the Arnhem Congress definition (1955) of folklore as "the spiritual tradition of the folk, particularly oral tradition, as well as the science which studies this tradition."<sup>6</sup> An example of the second or stretched definition of folklore is Stith Thompson's, who would have folklore involve "the dances, songs, tales, legends, and traditions, the beliefs and superstitions, and the proverbial sayings of peoples everywhere," as well as customs, practices, *buildings, utensils*, etc., if these latter belong to the materials of culture in a literate society.<sup>7</sup>

The stretching of the term folklore to include the totality of folk culture would seem to be a recent trend, a belated admission of the insufficiency of the term folklore, as usually defined in the English-speaking countries, to deal with folk-culture as a whole.

<sup>3</sup>For the term "Folk-Lore," which first appeared in the *Athenaeum* for 22 August, 1846, in a letter by "Ambrose Merton" (W. J. Thoms), see the *Oxford English Dictionary*, IV, 390. For Thoms and his defense of the originality of his coinage against charges that it was borrowed from the German, see Duncan Emrich, "Folk-Lore": William John Thoms, *California Folklore Quarterly*, V (1946), 355-374.

<sup>4</sup>Lord Raglan, "The Scope of Folk-Lore," Presidential Address delivered before the Folk-Lore Society, 20 March 1946, in *Folk-Lore*, LVII (1946), 98.

<sup>5</sup>Compare the twenty or more definitions listed in Maria Leach (ed.), *Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* (New York, 1949), I; also Hultkrantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-141.

<sup>6</sup>The Arnhem Congress, which met at the Dutch Open-Air Museum at Arnhem in Gelderland, 20-24 September 1955, was called by Director Winfred Roukens of the Open-Air Museum for the specific purpose of determining upon international terminology for the folklore-folklife field of research. Roukens proposed the problem in his article, "Folklore. Ein Name und eine Gefahr?", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen*, XX (1955), 2-9. At the Congress, certain delegates favored "Ethnology" or "European Ethnology" for the international name of the science they were creating. However, the West German, Austrian, and Swiss representatives, who came from the highly scientific development of *Volkskunde*, opposed the merging of the term *Volkskunde* into Ethnology, which would have meant a serious loss of prestige for the *Volkskunde* movement. The Congress emphasized the pressing need for an international term corresponding to the Scandinavian *Folklivsforskning*. For the Arnhem Congress, see the *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, II (1956), 264; also *Volkskunde*, 56 (1955), 139-143.

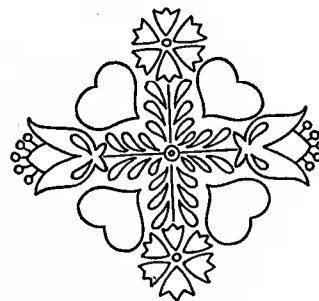
# Fourth Annual Seminars

on the

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July 1 to July 4, 1955

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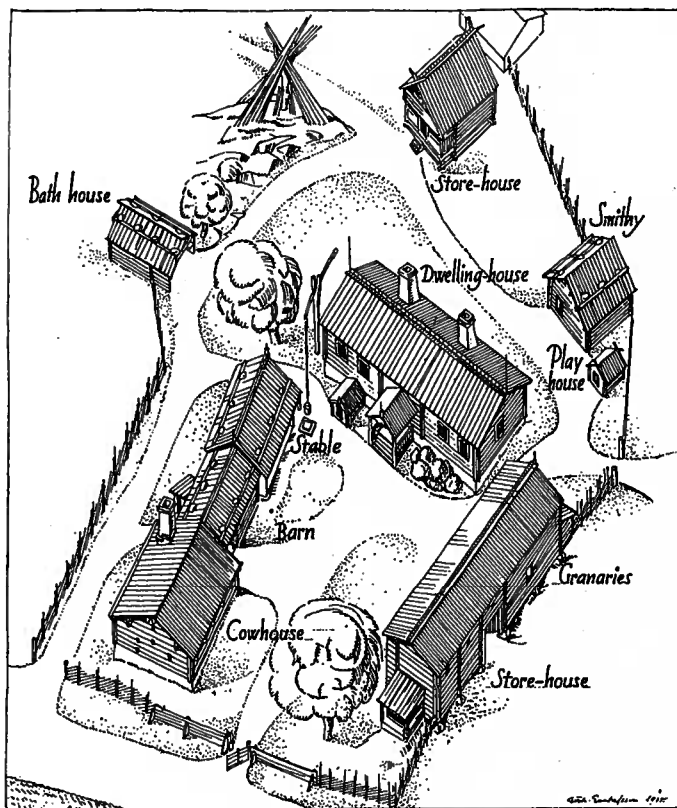
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*Seminars on Folk-Culture have been a feature of the program of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society since 1961.*

<sup>7</sup>Hultkrantz, *op. cit.*, p. 136. See also Stith Thompson (ed.), *Four Symposia on Folklore* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1953), for debates on the scope of folklore at the Midcentury International Folklore Conference, held at Indiana University in the Summer of 1950. This was perhaps the first national forum at which the term "folklife" was given attention in the United States, principally through the participation of Sigurd Erixon. However, as late as 1953 Stith Thompson complained that "both folklorists and ethnologists in America have failed to make adequate systematic studies of the material culture and customs of the dominant white groups, mostly of European origin. Folk-life in the sense in which the Europeans use it has seldom seemed to be the business of either, but it must be hoped that some of the problems now so well worked on by Swedes, Finns, Irish, French, and others who will be assembling in the Ethnological Congress in Vienna this summer may appeal to our own investigators. It matters little whether they call themselves folklorists or ethnologists or anthropologists" (Stith Thompson, "Advances in Folklore Studies," in A. L. Kroeber (ed.), *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory* (Chicago, 1953), pp. 592-593).



Layout of Alvros Farmstead, Swedish Folk Museum, Skansen, Stockholm. The Swedes pioneered in the open-air museum, reconstructing typical rural and town buildings in natural settings for comparative study. Skansen, the first open-air museum, was opened in 1891.

For instance, Lord Raglan, in his presidential address before the British Folklore Society in 1946 suggested that it was high time that the Society live up to its broadened definition of folklore.<sup>8</sup> While "arts and crafts" were included in the Society's definition of folklore they had at that time yet to make their appearance in the society's journal, "the contributions to which are almost entirely confined to superstition and what is known as oral literature." He goes on to suggest the need for study of the material culture—cart types and rural architecture, for two examples. "It should, in my opinion, be the task of this Society to collect, and publish in convenient form, information on all aspects of folk life, using that term in its widest sense, in the hope of enabling us to find out how and why changes in custom and fashion come about, and therefore developing a real science of folklore."

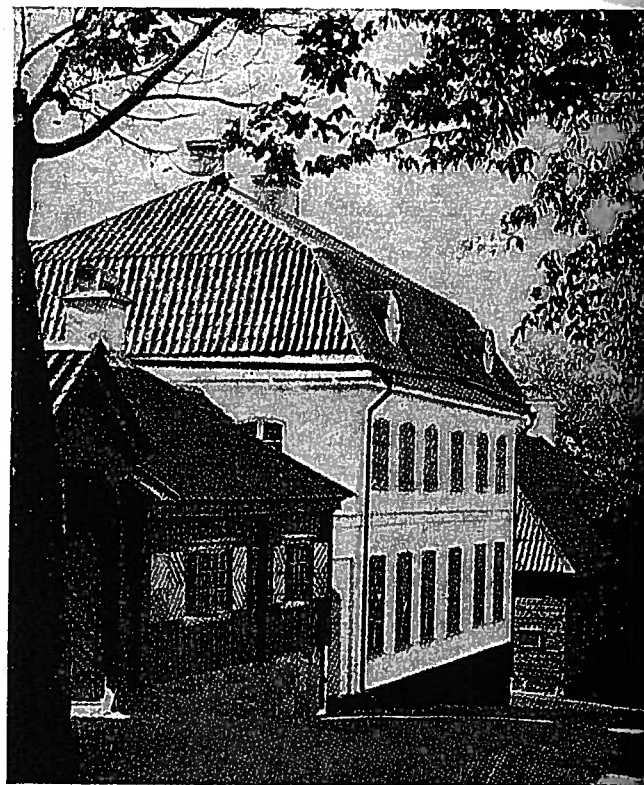
The American Folklore Society, like its British parent, has also wrestled with the definition of folklore and has tried to broaden its sights. The results have been disappointing. In a 1957 symposium, "A Theory for American Folklore," there is not a single reference to the "folklife" approach and its possible relation to the "folklore" approach. The key article by Richard Dorson pays lip-service to "folk-culture" and the contributions anthropologists can make to folklore studies, but the image of "folklore" that one retains after reading his suggestions is still limited to oral literature plus custom plus folk art (he does mention "Pennsylvania Dutch *fraktur*").<sup>9</sup>

In his "prepared comments" on Dorson's address, Melville J. Herskovits praises Dorson's "consideration of the

relevance of cultural anthropology for the study of American folklore" and then goes on to make two very interesting criticisms. The first is this one: "I have a friend who has a great interest in the barns found in different parts of the United States, particularly the migration to the Middle West of the type of barn where the upper level is reached by a built-up ramp that represents a survival of the New England structure which makes use of the hillside against which the barn is built for this purpose. In his studies of barns, is my friend doing folklore?" Obviously most literary or humanistic folklorists, as Dorson calls them, would say "no," most anthropological folklorists or folk anthropologists would say "yes." Seriously Herskovits comments that "what is sometimes alluded to as 'folk-culture' does enter into Dorson's paper, but it is given distinctly minor emphasis. If the amount of space devoted to this aspect of the subject is compared with the discussion of narrative and song and proverb and tall tale and legend, its relevance strikes one as no more than tangential."<sup>10</sup>

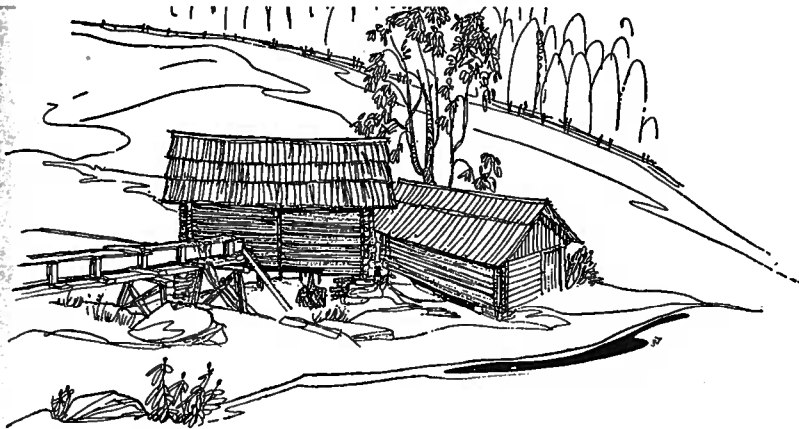
<sup>8</sup> Richard M. Dorson, "A Theory for American Folklore," *Journal of American Folklore*, 72 (1959), 197-215. Dorson's valuable suggestions as to the use of folk materials in immigration, frontier, and regional history have been further elaborated in his now standard American volume on the folklore approach, *American Folklore* (Chicago, 1959).

<sup>10</sup> Melville J. Herskovits, "Prepared Comments," *Journal of American Folklore*, 72 (1959), 216-220. Herskovits was more specific in an earlier article, "Folklore after a Hundred Years: A Problem in Redefinition," *Journal of American Folklore*, 69 (1946), 89-100, which does contain a brief mention of the "folk-life" or "Nordic Ethnology" approach in Scandinavia, and points out the fact that from the very beginning *Volkskunde* has had a far wider scope than folklore. See also William R. Bascom, "Folklore and Anthropology," *Journal of American Folklore*, 66 (1953), 283-290: "Folklore, to the anthropologist, is a part of culture but not the whole of culture. It includes myths, legends, tales, proverbs, riddles, the texts of ballads and other songs, and other forms of less importance, but not folk art, folk dance, folk music, folk costume, folk medicine, folk custom, or folk belief" (p. 285).



View of the Town Quarter, Skansen. The town section houses craft shops—glass factory, print shop and others—where tourists see authentic craft production.

<sup>9</sup> Lord Raglan, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 105. See also his "The Origin of Folk-Culture," *Folk-Lore*, LVIII (1947), 250-260, which regrets that the study of folklore has failed to attract the attention of leading British medievalists and social historians.



The Carinthian Folk Museum at Klagenfurt in Austria is one of the more recent open-air museums in Europe. The drawing shows the "Flodermühle" from St. Oswald. The word "flutter mill" was used on the American frontier for similar mills.

In more recent years, the symposium "Folklore Research Around the World," which fills the entire October-December issue of the *Journal of American Folklore* for 1961, shows almost total unawareness of folklife research. The one article that does mention several Scandinavian folklife research institutions makes no attempt to differentiate them in method and range from the earlier folklore institutions.<sup>11</sup>

May it be that, despite the American and British attempt—halfhearted at that—to stretch the term folklore to include material culture, scholarship in the English-speaking countries has been seriously hindered, is hindered, and will continue to be hindered by the psychological limitations of the word "folklore" itself, whereas European scholars schooled in the *Volkskunde* and *folkliv* concepts, have without embarrassment accepted material culture as well as oral culture as their natural field of study?

The German term *Volkskunde* is related to both "folklore" and "folklife." It is the oldest of the three. In fact "folklore" is an attempt—not a successful one, as time seems to be proving—to find an equivalent in English. "Folklife" (Swedish *folkli*) is a successful rendering which preserves the total range of interest expressed in the highly developed science of *Volkskunde*.

Perhaps the late Richard Weiss, the outstanding Swiss folklife scholar and one of the shapers of the contemporary folklife movement, can help to clarify American as well as British thought on the subject of the relation of folklore and folklife. According to Richard Weiss, "*Volkskunde ist die Wissenschaft vom Volksleben. Das Volksleben besteht aus den zwischen Volk und Volkskultur wirkenden Wechselbeziehungen soweit sie durch Gemeinschaft und Tradition bestimmt sind.*"<sup>12</sup> "Volkskunde" (which I would translate "Folklife Studies") is the science of folklife. Folklife consists of the mutual relations operative between folk and folk-culture, so far as they are determined by society and tradition."

<sup>11</sup> "Folklore Research Around the World: A North American Point of View," ed. Richard M. Dorson, *Journal of American Folklore*, 74 (1961), 287-460. The one article which makes specific reference to folklife research is Warren E. Roberts, "Folklore in Norway: Addendum," pp. 321-324.

<sup>12</sup> Richard Weiss, *Volkskunde der Schweiz* (Zurich, 1946), 11. Richard Weiss (1907-1962) has had deep influence upon folklife (*Volkskunde*) scholarship in the German-speaking lands, through his writings on *Volkskunde*-theory, principally the work cited, and his teaching at the University of Zurich. His untimely death last summer has deprived the folklife studies movement of one of its principal leaders. For a summary of his importance in the movement, see *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, Vol. 58 (1962), No. 4, 185-199.

Sigurd Erixon, a founder of "folklife research" as an academic discipline, defines it as "the science of man as a cultural being . . . Folklife research is essentially to be regarded as a branch of general anthropology or ethnology and may therefore be called ethnology . . . The subject of the folklife research we are concerned with is, in my opinion, a comparative culture research on a regional basis, with a sociological and historical orientation and with certain psychological aspects."<sup>13</sup> The regional delimitation has led Erixon and others to suggest the alternate name "Regional Ethnology" or "European Ethnology."

In the recent ethnological dictionary issued by Unesco, Prof. Hultkrantz of the University of Stockholm comments on Erixon's definition as follows. Folklife research focuses upon the whole range of culture—material, social, and spiritual. Hence it is not an equivalent to "folklore." It is best to say that folklife research *includes* folklore. In comparing it, however, with general ethnology, folklife research has a regional basis—its aim is to study folk culture in civilized countries. Hultkrantz suggests modestly that for the United States it may prove a better term than "folklore"—"it could (better than the vague or more limited term folklore) serve as a name for that discipline which studies the indigenous culture of the white settlers in its totality."<sup>14</sup>

The term "European Ethnology" has been proposed, and used by some scholars, for the discipline of folklife studies.<sup>15</sup> The advantage of the terminology is that it does set the discipline against its background in anthropology. A disadvantage is that while the term is useful in Europe, to "translate" it into "American Ethnology" brings confusion since ethnology in America has normally been associated with the study of primitive (Indian) cultures of North America, as for instance in the publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology, founded 1879 specifically to study the American Indian and his culture.

#### *Folklife Studies in Europe*

Among the institutions for research in folklife which have arisen in Europe are (1) the International Association for European Ethnology and Folklore, (2) regional folklife societies such as the Ulster Folklife Society (1956) and the Society for Folk Life Studies (1961), (3) the Folklife Archive, a research institute usually in connection with a university, and (4) the Open-Air Museum. Let us look at each of these phases.

<sup>13</sup> Hultkrantz, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

<sup>14</sup> Hultkrantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-134.

<sup>15</sup> On the varying uses of "ethnology" and "ethnography," see T. K. Penniman, *A Hundred Years of Anthropology* (New York, 1936).





Demonstration of Grain Cradling at one of the early Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festivals, Kutztown.

Out of the working together of Scandinavian, Continental, and British Isles scholars has come the International Ethnological (*Volkskunde* or *Folklivsforskning*) Association for Central, Northern and Western Europe—usually referred to as “The International Association for European Ethnology and Folklore”—which resulted from a conference at Lund in November, 1935. Its purpose is “to facilitate researches in cultural and folkloristic subjects over an extensive field, ultimately projected to embrace all Europe, by the exchange of information among constituent countries and by the co-ordination of research methods and results wherever possible.”<sup>16</sup>

At the Association's first international congress, at Edinburgh in 1937, Prof. H. Geijer of Uppsala, in the presidential address, suggested that the work with which the congress scholars were occupied “is devoted to sciences that are still young. These sciences are not yet in a satisfactory and definite state, in relation to the older sciences. Our studies are concentrated round human nature and the development of mankind, but from other points of view than those with which the older sciences mostly deal. The most usual and accessible men—that is, the men of our own countries—are the latest to be made objects of scientific interest and research. The exotic and the prehistoric races have occupied the minds of the scientists more than those nearer home.” Not only must science turn to the human cultures closer to home, i.e., the folklife approach—but the materials of folklore and folklife must be studied in relation to the culture as a whole. The Association adopted as its official organ the periodical *Folkliv*.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *The Proceedings of the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society*, Vol. II, No. 3 (October, 1937), p. 1. This society and its proceedings, Vols. I–V (1935–1956), were until 1956 one of the most active evidences in Britain of the folklife movement. Since 1956, however, the Society has been replaced by the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh and the proceedings are succeeded by *Scottish Studies*.

<sup>17</sup> Jan de Vries, in his Introduction to *Folk-Liv*, I (1938), 8–9, speaks of the amalgamation in the new journal of “the two sides of our activity, ethnology and folklore proper, together covering the whole domain of the material, social and mental life,” so that both are “assured of a platform.” Other European folklife journals are *Laos* (Stockholm, 1951 ff.), *Folk* (Copenhagen, 1959 ff.), *Folkkultur* (Lund, 1941–1946), and *Folklivsstudier* (Helsinki, 1945 ff.). Unfortunately the holdings of these important journals in American libraries are extremely scanty.

The regional folklife societies have arisen in Britain in particular as a conscious effort to interest scholars as well as lay collectors in the concept of folklife. In 1960 there was organized the Ulster Folklife Society, whose aim is “to encourage the study of local history and the collecting and recording of material relating to the folklife and traditions of Northern Ireland.” It grew out of the Committee on Ulster Folklife and Traditions which had been organized in 1952. The Society has taken over the publication of the Committee's annual volume, *Ulster Folklife*, founded 1955 and now in its ninth year. The first annual meeting of the Ulster Folklife Society was held in the Spring of 1961.

In the Fall of 1961 the first meeting of the (British) Society for Folk Life Studies was held at University College, London, with the second meeting at the University of Reading in September, 1962. Its purpose is “to further the study of traditional ways of life in Great Britain and Ireland and to provide a common meeting point for the many people and institutions engaged with the varied aspects of the subject.”<sup>18</sup> The first number of the annual journal of the Society, *Folk Life*, will appear in the Summer of 1963.

The basic unit in European folklife research, however, is not the international association or the national folklife society, but the Folklife Archive. These are national or regional institutions. There are many names for this type of institution: for examples, there are the *Folklivsarkivet* (Lund), *Instituttet for Folkelivsgranskning* (Oslo), *Volkskundliche Kommission* (Münster/Westfalen), *Institut voor Volkskunde* (Amsterdam), and the *Schweizerisches Institut für Volkskunde* (Basel). Some of these “institutes” and “archives” are connected with universities, others with national societies or academies of science, some are state supported and others are privately supported. But basically all these institutions have a common approach and a common set of research techniques. They house, first of all, research libraries which, with few exceptions, put American university “folklore” collections quite in the shade. Furthermore, sizable permanent staffs are engaged in collecting materials in the field and archiving these materials in the central archive. Most of these institutes are also involved in museum work, especially open-air museum work.

The common approach of these institutions is the folklife approach—whether it is called folklife, *Volkskunde*, or Regional Ethnology. The common techniques are the questionnaire, the local collector and informant, the Kartell indexing of the materials brought in from the field, and the cartographical method (Folk Atlas) with its distribu-

<sup>18</sup> At the organization meeting in 1961, Dr. Iorwerth C. Peate, Curator of the Welsh Folk Museum, and Mr. J. Geraint Jenkins of the same institution were elected President and Honorary Secretary. The papers read were all on the theme “Folk Life and Its Related Disciplines.” The papers were entitled: “The Study of Folk Life,” by Prof. Sigurd Erixon of Stockholm; “Language and Folk Life,” by Mr. David Murison, Editor, Scottish National Dictionary; “Archaeology and Folk Life,” by Mr. Basil R. S. Megaw, Director, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh; “Architecture and Folk Life,” by Dr. R. B. Wood-Jones, University of Manchester; and “Geography and Folk Life,” by Dr. R. H. Buchanan, Queen's University, Belfast.

tion maps of terms, customs, and types of material objects (house-types, barn-types, cart-types, etc.).<sup>19</sup>

The exciting thing about these institutions, apart from their revolutionary concept of the holistic approach to regional folk-culture, is that they are oriented in two directions. A great many of them are connected with universities—the *Folkliivsarkivet* at Lund and the *Volkskundliche Kommission* at Münster for two examples. The staffs are on the university staff and supervise research in this growing field.<sup>20</sup> In the past year, 1961–1962, for instance, five doctoral dissertations in folklife studies resulted from the work of the *Volkskundliche Kommission* in Münster. The second orientation of these institutions is that they are rooted in the population through the local informants who either contribute oral recorded or written answers to the printed questionnaires which are sent out on every possible subject in folk-cultural studies. Holland's *Institut voor Volkskunde* has, under the direction of Dr. P. J. Meertens, over 2000 local collaborators—school teachers and others—in every area of Holland, who are constantly sending in materials which they have collected in their home areas.<sup>21</sup> In some cases also the institutes are related to the public schools. An example: the Irish Folklife Commission has used reports on folktales written down on their request by school children in the *Gaeltacht*.

While the original folklife institutions are Scandinavian and Continental, the movement and its methods spread to the British Isles beginning with the creation of the Irish Folklore Commission in 1935 by Prof. James H. Delargy. Admittedly influenced by and based on Scandinavian, particularly Swedish, techniques for folklife study, the Commission has in turn influenced research in "these islands"—as the Scots and Irish are now somewhat over-tactfully calling what used to be known as the "British Isles." There are also the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh, the Welsh Folk Museum at St. Fagan's, Cardiff, and the Ulster Folklife Society and Ulster Folk Museum, connected through its leadership with Queen's University, Belfast, and now the latest offspring of the Swedish-Irish-Scottish chain of influence—the Folk Life Survey at the University of Leeds in Yorkshire, initiated in 1960 and headed by Professor Stewart F. Sanderson, who was trained in the School of Scottish Studies.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> For the questionnaire, developed in the 19th Century by Mannhardt, and the *Volkskundeatlas*, see Beitzl, *op. cit.*, pp. 804, 34–38; for the atlas method, see Walther Mitzka, "Die Methodik des Deutschen Sprachatlas und des Deutschen Volkskundeatlas," *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde*, XLI (1950), 134–149. The linguistic atlas technique has been applied to America by Hans Kurath, although so far the *Volkskundeatlas*, while it has spread to Switzerland, Holland, and Scandinavia, has no progeny in the United States.

<sup>20</sup> Brita Egardt, *Folkliivsarkivet i Lund: Historik och Vägledning* (Lund, 1957), 16 pp., gives the history of the archive, accenting von Sydow's work as head of the archive and Professor of Scandinavian and Comparative Folklife Research (*nordisk och jämförande folkliivs forskning*) at the University. At his death in 1946 he was succeeded by Professor Sigfrid Svensson.

<sup>21</sup> The Institute is a division of the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences and was initiated in 1934 by Prof. Dr. Joseph Schrijnen and other scholars. For the work of the Institute, see P. J. Meertens, "De Nederlandsche Volkskunde-Commissie," *Volkskunde*, N.S. I (1940), 60–63; also K. C. Peeters, "De Nederlandse Volkskunde-Atlas," *Volkskunde*, N.S. XIX (1960), 108–118.

<sup>22</sup> For the program of the Folk Life Survey, see Stewart F. Sanderson, "Yorkshire in a New Folk-Life Survey," *Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society*, Part LX, Volume X (1960), 21–34.

And so the influence continues. The research impulse and techniques generated in the *Volkskunde* movement in Germany and the *Folkliivs forskning* movement in Sweden, are applied to the British Isles and eventually to the United States.

### The Open-Air Museum

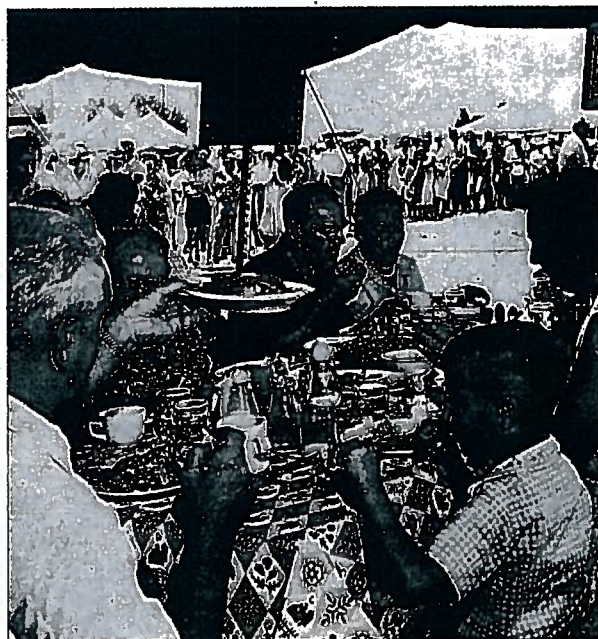
So far we have spoken only of research institutions of the library-archive-institute type. Most of these, however, have an adjunct institution, an annex called the "folk museum" or "open-air museum."<sup>23</sup>

To illustrate the material aspects of the folk-culture, a new type of museum was developed in Scandinavia beginning in the 1890's—the "open-air museum" or sometimes, simply, "folk museum."

American tourists are familiar with the oldest of these institutions, the Skansen Open-Air Museum located magnificently on a hilltop on one of Stockholm's wooded islands. Here, beginning in 1891 under the inspiration of the founder, Dr. Artur Hazelius, were rebuilt typical farmhouses, manor-houses, barns and other outbuildings and a magnificent folk-church brought from all parts of Sweden and representative of regional variant types. Hazelius had earlier founded the Nordic Museum (*Nordisk Museet*) to study Swedish peasant culture, of which Skansen is a public annex whose purpose is to display to the public, in their natural settings, rural and town buildings from all parts of Sweden.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> On the history and spread of the open-air museum, see Sigurd Erixon, "Nordic Open-Air Museums and Skansen," The Im Thurm Memorial Lecture (1937), *The Proceedings of the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society*, Volume II, No. 3 (October, 1937), 31–45. See also Douglas A. Allen, "Folk Museums at Home and Abroad," *ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 3 (1956), 91–120, plus plates. For "Regional and Local Museums" in Europe, see *Museum*, X (1957), No. 3; for "Regional Museums in the United States of America," *Museum*, XI (1958), 147–163.

<sup>24</sup> For the Swedish museum movement, see *Museum*, II (1949), No. 1, entire issue.



Pennsylvania Dutch food specialties are served each year at the Folk Festival by local church and grange groups.



With Skansen as model, the open-air museum has spread throughout Sweden and the rest of Scandinavia. In Sweden over 400 communities maintain open-air museums or smaller folk museums to display aspects of the regional culture. For instance, at Harnösand, an 80-building open-air museum deals with the Lapp culture. The Culture-Historical Museum (*Kulturhistoriska Museet*) at Lund is a town museum, with town houses and conventional museum buildings of exhibits.<sup>25</sup> Some small towns have parish museums, some estate owners have private open-air museums. And then there are the craft museums, as that for the glass-making craft at Växjö. This frenzy of museum activity—much, though not all of it, directed toward the study and display of the folk level of culture—has led in Sweden to mass collecting of objects of the material culture (how we need this drive in Pennsylvania!) and to the creation of an able corps of officially commissioned and university trained museum men.

From Sweden the open-air museum has spread to Denmark, Norway, Finland, and the continent, where it combines with the German museum movement in which *Volkskunde* scholars have long since united with regional historians in the highly developed German study of *Heimatkunde*.<sup>26</sup> Many small German, Swiss and Austrian communities have a *Heimatismuseum* which displays materials from the folk or peasant level of the regional culture along with emphasis on regional history, architecture, fine arts, costume. Most of these, however, are not open-air museums but folk museums of the more usual museum-building sort. The largest and best open-air museum on the continent of Europe south of Scandinavia is the 220-acre *Nederlands Openlucht Museum* (Dutch Open-Air Museum) at Arnhem in Gelderland, Netherlands, founded in 1912 and formally opened in 1918.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Den Gamle By* (The Old Town) at Aarhus in Jutland, begun in 1909, is also an open-air museum of the town variety, balancing the rural folk museum at Lingby near Copenhagen, the *Dansk Frilandsmuseet*.

<sup>26</sup> For *Heimatkunde* and *Heimatismuseum* concepts, see Beitzl, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-317; also Wilhelm Pessler, "Heimatismuseen of Germany," *Museum*, IV (1951), 95-103.

In the British Isles the first folk museum of the open-air variety was the museum of Highland culture begun by Miss Isabel F. Grant on Iona in 1936—since 1944 "An Fàsghadh" (The Shelter) at Kingussie, Invernessshire, Scotland.<sup>28</sup> In 1955 the management was taken over by the four universities of Scotland, in collaboration with the Royal Scottish Museum. Other folk museums in the British Isles are the Welsh Folk Museum at St. Fagan's Castle, Cardiff, opened 1946; Blaise Castle House, Bristol, opened 1949; the Museum of English Rural Life at the University of Reading, opened 1950; the Manx Museum at Cregneash on the Isle of Man; the West Yorkshire Folk Museum at Halifax, opened 1953; and the Ulster Folk Museum near Belfast in Northern Ireland, opened 1955.

In the United States the trend has been toward the "pioneer village" or "restoration village" type of open-air museum. The pioneer here was that for Norwegian-American life at Decorah, Iowa, founded in 1925—an example of Scandinavian influence. The most spectacular of the restoration projects is Colonial Williamsburg, begun in 1926. The Farmer's Museum operated by the New York Historical Society at Cooperstown, New York, deals with a wide range of folk-cultural subjects in its displays and annual seminars for research students. Old Sturbridge Village in Massachusetts and the Shelburne Museum in Vermont are open-air museums dealing with New England culture. The Dearborn Village at Greenfield, Michigan, is an open-air museum but on the historical-museum plan, with "association items" moved to the site.

It is through the direct inspiration of the open-air museums of Scandinavia and the British Isles—with emphasis on the folk culture and upon the museum as a research institution—that the Pennsylvania Folklife Museum at Lancaster is being developed.

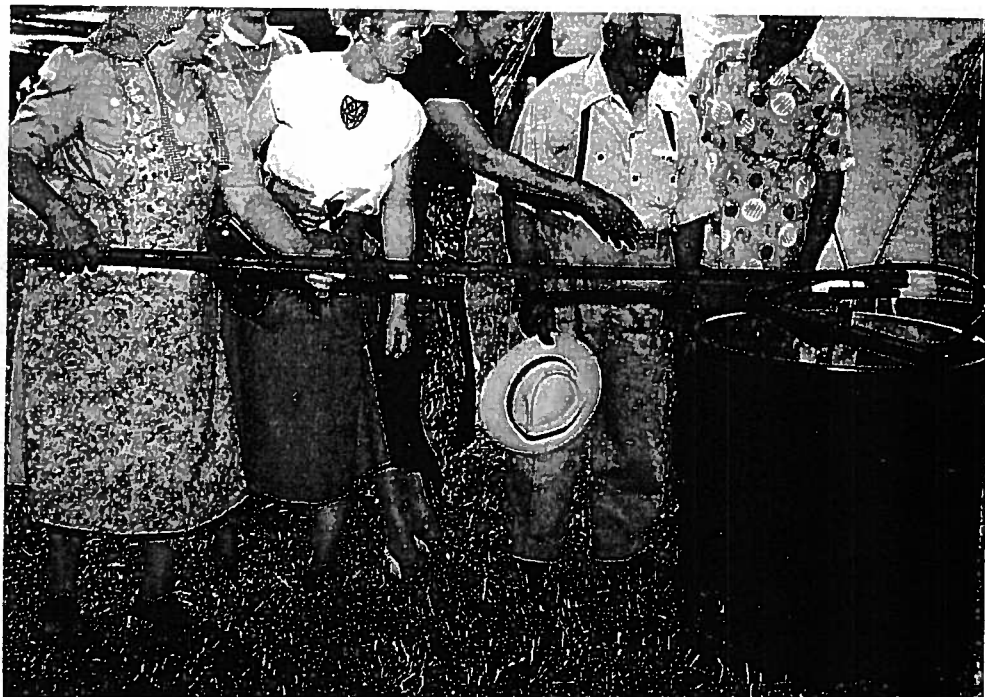
<sup>27</sup> Belgium has recently opened its first open-air museum, at Bokrijk in Limburg. See Josef Weyns, "Bokrijk: The First Open-Air Museum in Belgium," *Museum*, XII (1959), 18-22.

<sup>28</sup> See I. F. Grant, *Highland Folk Ways* (London, 1961).



Emphasis at the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival is on live demonstration. Baking of bread in an outdoor bake-oven is here shown by Viola and Herbert Miller of the Pennsylvania Folklife Museum staff.

Applebutter-boiling demonstrated to Festival visitors. Applebutter (Pennsylvania Dutch "Lotwarrick") developed in rural Pennsylvania and spread to other areas in the United States.



### *Regional Folk-Cultures in America*

In suggesting the possibilities for folklife studies in the United States, we must first point out that folklife studies is a very young discipline, and, like all new approaches to scholarship, it has to make its way amid the earlier and already established approaches to the study of American life. These already established approaches study American life on the national, regional, and local levels, and include (1) the old-line historical approach with historical societies and historical journals interested in basically military and political history, with some emphasis upon "social history" which begins to approach folklife studies. There is (2) the sociological approach which studies American civilization as a whole. There is (3) the folklore approach which has been crystallized into several academic schools and departments of folklore—those at the Universities of California, Indiana, and Pennsylvania being the principal examples. There is (4) the young and growing discipline of American Civilization, which has however basically concentrated on urban rather than on rural America, and on creative rather than folk-culture, leaving the rural field of traditional regional culture free for the development of folklife studies.<sup>20</sup>

Folklife Studies is a new approach. We in America who are concerned with the new discipline feel very much as Dr. Iorwerth Peate did when he stated, in 1958, in an address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, that "... the study of folk life is a new discipline and one so far unrecognized by all universities in

Britain."<sup>20</sup> So far this is true also of America. There are plenty of scholars working in the field, who look for inspiration to the organized movements in Scandinavia and the British Isles, but thus far there are no departments or schools of folklife studies connected with any American university. However, since Dr. Peate made his statement, a chair of Folk Life Studies has been founded at the University of Leeds in 1960. Possibly during the 1960's progress can be made also in the United States in the recognition of folklife studies as an academic discipline.

One of the difficulties is that one *can* study "American folklore"—basically folksongs sung or folktales told in America—but to study "American folklife" one has to divide the folk level of American culture into its regional components. There just is no "American folk-culture" as a whole, in the same sense that one can speak of a Swedish folk-culture, or a Welsh folk-culture, or a Highlands folk-culture.

New England with its Puritan-Yankee culture—its native types of farmhouse, barns, and meetinghouses; its baked beans and boiled dinners, its accent and folkspeech—is one of these. This regional culture has influenced Long Island, Central and Western New York, Northern Pennsylvania, and the Midwest, as well as the Maritimes in Canada. The area of Holland Dutch settlement (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware) can offer certain visible signs of a Netherlands-American folk-culture—the hay barrack being the best specific example.<sup>21</sup> The Upland South and the Deep South had and have differing folk-cultures.<sup>22</sup> The study of these American regions, and the others, can be aided greatly by concentration on folk-cultural concepts.

The Pennsylvania folk-culture is important to the nation for two basic reasons. Here the American process of ac-

<sup>20</sup> There is a fifth approach, regional rather than national and often amateur rather than academic—the filiopietistic ethnic-genealogical approach represented by the ethnic societies—which have stressed "Scotch-Irishness," "Huguenotness," or "Pennsylvania Germanness" rather than folk-culture as such. This approach is related to the D.A.R. approach to American history, which is highly selective in what it considers of value in the American heritage. The Pennsylvania Folklife Society is concerned not with genealogical heritage but with culture, principally folk-culture. For some of the problems raised by the ethnic approach to history, see John J. Appel, "Immigrant Historical Societies in the United States, 1880–1950," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in American Civilization, University of Pennsylvania, 1960. For the D.A.R. approach, see Wallace E. Davies, *Patriotism on Parade: The Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783–1900* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1955). Ch. III. "Blue Blood Turns Red, White, and Blue."

<sup>21</sup> Iorwerth C. Peate, "The Study of Folk Life: And Its Part in the Defense of Civilization," *The Advancement of Science*, XV, No. 58 (September, 1958), 86–94, quotation from page 87.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Alfred L. Shoemaker, "Barracks," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (Spring, 1958), 2–11. This was the first article in the United States on this important regional haybarn type.

<sup>23</sup> The best introduction to the cultural diversity of the Colonial South is Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker's *The Old South: The Founding of American Civilization* (New York, 1942).

culturation—the trading and adjusting of emigrant cultural gifts—was vastly more important than in New England or the South, with their more homogeneous populations. For instance, the Swiss and German settlers built two-story barns (Swiss, bank, or Pennsylvania barns) which were copied as early as the 18th Century by the Quakers, who called them “cellar barns.” House patterns went in the other direction—from the British Isles settlers to the settlers of Continental origin, so that by 1800 the Pennsylvania Dutch groups were building English-style Georgian houses. The influence of food specialties is an example of the same transfer. The Quakers, even in Philadelphia, made crocks of “pickled cabbage” and came to call it “sourcrout” like their Dutch neighbors; they made “scrapple” at butchering time and came to call it, some of them, “ponhors” or “ponhaws” like the upcountry Dutch. Pennsylvania is important folk-culturally because of this early acculturation process which can be so thoroughly documented in the 18th and 19th Century sources.

Pennsylvania is important folk-culturally to the nation for a second reason. Pennsylvania was the source of a great migration in the 18th and 19th Centuries. The main thrusts of this migration went (1) Southward as far as the Carolinas beginning in the 1740's and 1750's; (2) Northward through the Genesee Country, the Niagara Peninsula and Central Ontario after the Revolution; and (3) Westward through Ohio as far west as Iowa and Kansas, from the Revolution to the Civil War. This Pennsylvania migration has influenced all of these areas folk-culturally—Dutch dialect and Dutch-English expressions, barn and farmhouse and springhouse patterns, cookery habits (sauerkraut, smearcase, scrapple, etc.), all made their way South, North, and West with the migrating Pennsylvanians. With the exception of the three basic Pennsylvania contributions to the American frontier—log architecture, the Conestoga wagon, and the Kentucky rifle—these folk-cultural influences of Pennsylvania upon the nation have never been studied.

#### *The Pennsylvania Folklife Society*

The Pennsylvania Folklife Society was the first organization to use the term “folklife” in the American research world.

Something of the history of our society, which sponsors the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festivals, is therefore of importance here. In 1949 three young scholars from Pennsylvania, Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker and Dr. J. William Frey, both of Franklin and Marshall College at Lancaster, and Dr. Don Yoder, then at Muhlenberg College, Allentown, organized the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, Inc., with headquarters at Franklin and Marshall College. The Center was a research institute, with library and folklife archive—patterned on a modest scale after the European models of the Irish Folklore Commission in Dublin and the Folklife Archives at the Universities of Uppsala and Lund in Sweden, based on Professor Shoemaker's postwar studies and contacts there.

Immediately after World War II, Professor Shoemaker spent several summers studying the techniques of the European folk archives. In the summer of 1947 he spent three months working in the archive of the Irish Folklore Commission, with Professors Delargy and O'Suilleabhain, with several weeks observation of field methods with Joe Daly in the Gaelic County Kerry. The summer of 1948 was spent in Sweden studying methods of the Folklore Archive at Uppsala, under Åke Campbell, and in Stockholm working with Sigurd Erixon.

The “founding fathers” brought varied talents to the institute. Professors Shoemaker and Frey had Ph.D.'s in Germanics from the University of Illinois and were both intensely interested in the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect and dialect literature.<sup>33</sup> Professor Shoemaker had made studies of Amish life, German imprints and bibliography of Pennsylvania; Professor Frey had worked on Amish music and Amish folkspeech and Pennsylvania folksongs. The third member of the triumvirate brought a background of study in the history of religion, with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and two and a half years of study and teaching at Union Theological Seminary (1946–1948, 1950). Professor Shoemaker had taught at Lafayette College (1941–1942, 1945–1946), and Muhlenberg College (1946–1947), had served as Curator of the Berks County Historical Society (1947), and in 1948 was called by President Theodore Distler of Franklin and Marshall College to join the faculty to found and head the new Department of American Folklore—the first such department actually established in the nation. Prof. Frey had taught at Southern Presbyterian College in South Carolina and Lehigh University, and had joined the Franklin and Marshall faculty in 1946. I joined the faculty in 1949. All of us had “published” in the Pennsylvania Dutch field—Professor Shoemaker as editor of newspaper columns in the Reading and Lancaster papers,<sup>34</sup> Prof. Frey had issued the first popular Pennsylvania Dutch grammar of the 20th Century,<sup>35</sup> and I had published articles on folklore, folksong traditions, folk speech, and historical source materials on the 18th Century emigration from the Continent of Europe to America. The three of us also represented somewhat different regional backgrounds—Prof. Shoemaker from a completely dialect-speaking area of Lehigh County, Prof. Frey from the Susquehanna River area of York and Dauphin Counties, and I was rooted in the Allegheny Mountains of Central Pennsylvania. It was a good combination!

Our first step was to found the journal (now *Pennsylvania Folklife*) which we baptized *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*. The first issue appeared on May 5, 1949, as a weekly, in 8-page tabloid-format. We sprinkled it full of dialect as we hoped it would become widely read in the areas of Eastern and Central Pennsylvania where the dialect was still alive. We found, however, that the largest number of our subscribers were “ex-Dutchmen,” or nostalgic Dutchmen, who no longer lived in the dialect areas but were urbanites, or even ex-Pennsylvanians. We built up a large subscriber list (3500). The journal was folksy (in the better sense of this overused term) and it had definite appeal to those interested in the Pennsylvania Dutch and their folkways.

<sup>33</sup> Professor Shoemaker's Ph.D. dissertation was done in 1940, on the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect of the Arthur, Illinois, Amish community. Professor Frey's dissertation was done in 1941 on the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect of Eastern York County, Pennsylvania.

<sup>34</sup> This was Professor Shoemaker's first application of the European questionnaire techniques to folk-cultural problems. This was later continued in the opening numbers of *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*. These columns in the Reading and Lancaster papers elicited wide response from local residents in Berks and Lancaster Counties who contributed many items to the files of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society. Professor Shoemaker's dialect radio and TV programs in the 1950's also made use of direct questioning, asking for material on various subjects, to elicit answers from listeners.

<sup>35</sup> *A Simple Grammar of Pennsylvania Dutch* (Clinton, South Carolina, 1942). From 1943 to 1946 Professors Frey, Shoemaker, and Ralph Wood published an all-dialect periodical entitled *Der Pennsylvaniaisch Deutsch Eileschpiggel*, which readers referred to as *Eili*, which in a sense was the forerunner of *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*.





*Pennsylvania Fraktur made in Virginia. This baptismal certificate records the baptism of Philip Henry Axline in Loudoun County, Virginia, in 1789. Pennsylvania folk art traditions spread South, North, and West with migrating Pennsylvanians.*

In 1950 we held our first Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival in the small and typically Pennsylvania Dutch town of Kutztown in Berks County, halfway between Reading and Allentown. Kutztown is the heart of the dialect-speaking area and of the so-called "Gay Dutch" culture as distinct from the "Plain Dutch" culture of Lancaster and other counties. The festival, held the first year for 5 days, attracted nationwide attention, and has since grown steadily, attracting from 100,000 to 175,000 visitors in an eight-day period over the 4th of July national holiday. With the terrific interest the American tourist has in the Dutch culture—we were able to have on display or demonstration everything in the folk culture from cookery to witchcraft (*Hexerei*). The emphasis has been away from dead or static exhibits and is on live demonstrations, with stage programs on every subject, from water witching to funeral lore, with participation by all our demonstrators.<sup>36</sup>

Of folk festivals in America there are basically three types: (1) the National Folk Festival of Sarah Gertrude

Knott, which is principally a showcase for ethnic folksong and folkdance groups; (2) the craft fairs in the Carolinas and elsewhere, stressing local handicrafts; and (3) our own Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival which attempts to display and demonstrate all aspects of the regional folk-culture.

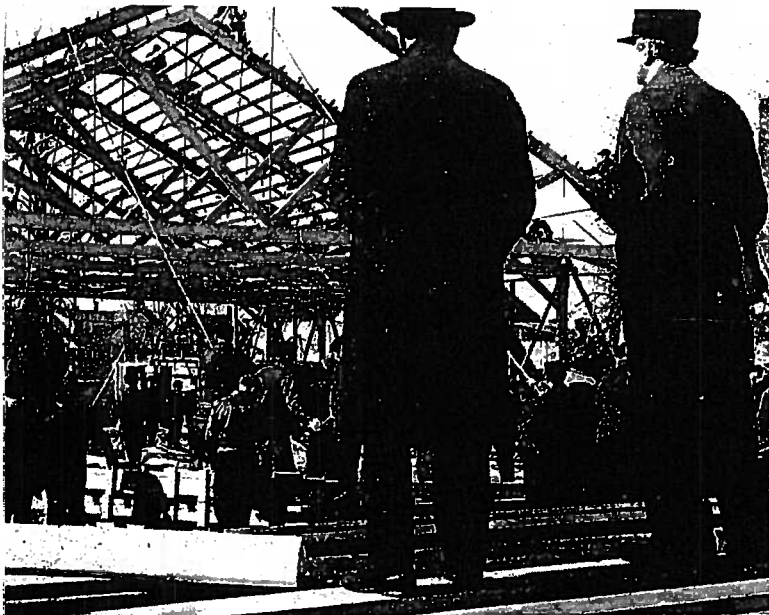
While the folk festival idea was borrowed from European originals,<sup>37</sup> Americans have made significant contributions toward widening its scope so that it can serve the folklife movement. America is folk festival conscious at the present time, and our Society is happy that it could influence other regional festivals, like the Pennsylvania Dutch Festival of Somerset County, at Springs in the Allegheny Mountains, and the Mennonite Folk Festival held among the "Low Dutch" Mennonites of North Newton, Kansas.

The folk festival has been the Society's chief means of financial support. Since it is not a state-supported institution, its funds for research purposes must be privately raised, and the folk festivals have provided the major part of them.

In 1951, after working with "Pennsylvania Dutch" folk-culture, we had come to the conclusion that we needed to broaden our sights to include Pennsylvania folk-culture in its totality—Scotch-Irish, Quaker, Welsh, 19th Century Coal Region and other sub-cultures—and Western Pennsylvania

<sup>36</sup> For the earlier history of our festival, see Maynard Owen Williams, "Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival," *The National Geographic Magazine*, October, 1952, pp. 503-516; Helen R. Coates, *The American Festival Guide* (New York, 1956), Part I, Chapter VIII, "Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival," pp. 72-81; and E. Estyn Evans, "A Pennsylvanian Folk Festival," *Ulster Folklife*, V (1959), 14-19. The last of these articles, by Prof. Dr. E. Estyn Evans of Queen's University, Belfast, who attended the 1959 Festival as the international guest of the Folklife Society, is most important, because it sets our work in the international setting of the folklife studies movement.

<sup>37</sup> The very name "folk festival" suggests its dependence upon the earlier German word *Volksfest*. The regional folk festival (*Volksfest*), stressing dialect, regional cuisine and wines, folk costume, folk-dancing and folk-song, was flourishing in the early part of the 20th Century in Germany.



An Old Order Mennonite barn-raising at Elmira, Ontario. Pennsylvania's "plain" traditions have influenced many other areas in the United States and Canada. This particular building is a horse-barn built to house the farmers' horses when country folk come to town to shop.

as well as Eastern and Central Pennsylvania. In accordance with this broader purpose, we finally changed the name of our journal, now a quarterly, into *Pennsylvania Folklife*, with the Winter 1957 issue—Vol. IX, No. 1. This was the first official use of the term "folklife" in the United States. At the same time we changed the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center into the present Pennsylvania Folklife Society.

The Pennsylvania Folklife Society, like its parent institutions in Europe, has a three-fold task—(1) the study of the folk-culture in its entirety, using the techniques of the folklife studies movement; (2) the study and archiving of the material collected, whether from field work or historical source-materials; and (3) making available the published results of the research, in book, pamphlet, and periodical form, to the nation and the world.

A few of the results:

1. 13 volumes of our periodical, now *Pennsylvania Folklife*.

2. 14 years of the most successful folk festival in the nation—the Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival at Kutztown, 1950–1963—which has become the largest event of its kind in the nation and in the world.

3. A series of pamphlets—*The Dutch Country*, *Dutch Folk-Stories*, *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* (reprints of 1873 editions), *Hex No*, *Pennsylvania Dutch Cook Books*, *Three Myths of the Dutch Country*, *Pennsylvania Dutch Grammar*, and the *Pennsylvania Dutch Tourist Guide*.

4. A series of scholarly books: *Christmas in Pennsylvania—A Folk Cultural Approach*; *The Pennsylvania Barn*; *Eastertide in Pennsylvania*; *Songs Along the Mahantongo*; and *Pennsylvania Spirituals*.

It has been gratifying to see the wider influence of the Society's work on research and public education. H. L. Mencken picked up our theory on why Pennsylvania Dutch family names are spelled as they are and used it in *The American Language*,<sup>38</sup> our folksong collecting has resulted in several discs of Pennsylvania Dutch folksongs and the inclusion (for the first time) of examples of Pennsylvania Dutch songs in American school texts on music. Several children's books have been written from material we published. The

zoo-barn at the Philadelphia Zoo was designed from an illustration of the "hex sign" barn in our periodical and our barn-book. Paul Hindemith used a Pennsylvania Dutch folk tune which we had recorded in the Mahantongo Valley as a theme in his latest symphony, the one commissioned by the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra for the Pittsburgh Bicentennial in 1955. The list could go on and on. The influence continues to spread.

The two largest research projects of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society are:

1. *The Personal Name Index of Pennsylvania Sources*—a card catalogue of over 200,000 cards, indexing all names in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, the 50-plus volumes of the Pennsylvania German Society *Proceedings*, the 20-plus volumes of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society. This unique research tool is now housed at the Fackenthal Library, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

2. *The Pennsylvania Folk-Cultural Index*—the Kartei of some 300,000 cards on the European folk-culture archive plan, constantly growing, indexing material from every source, field collection as well as historical materials, on every subject included under folk-culture.

The culmination of the program is the *Pennsylvania Folklife Museum*, founded in 1961 on the Society's museum farm on Route 30 five miles east of Lancaster. This is and will be the headquarters for our continuing broadening research program as well as the site of a permanent open-air museum, on the Scandinavian model, to illustrate the main aspects of Pennsylvania folk-culture: architecture, cookery, religion, costume, transportation.

#### Research Plans of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society

The Pennsylvania Folklife Society proposes to study the next ten years, as funds or endowments become available, the entire folk-culture of Pennsylvania, its Continental and British Isles roots, and its spread into and influence upon other areas of the United States. The following subjects will be surveyed from every possible source:

1. *Folk Agriculture*—agriculture as a way of life: house, farmstead, farm buildings, kitchen gardens, patterns, crops, animals. The seasonal rhythm of life. Marketing, droving. Farming tools: flail, windmill, etc.

2. *Folk Architecture*—domestic, meetinghouse, church architecture, the materials of architecture, Continental and British Isles patterns of house construction, types of roofing: thatch, tile, shingle.

3. *Folk Cookery*—seasonal, weekday, and Sunday meals; what was traditionally eaten for breakfast, supper; meals carried to the men in the fields—the o'clock piece, etc. Folk-cultural history of food dishes: scrapple, roldidge, sausage, mush, hominy, kraut, schnitz un gnepp, etc. The Pennsylvania folk-culture; Pennsylvania candy-culture; Pennsylvania cookie-culture. Bread and bake-oven.

<sup>38</sup> H. L. Mencken, *Supplement II: The American Language* (New York, 1956), pp. 410–411, picked up our article, "Fixed Surnames," which proposed the theory that the spellings of many Pennsylvania Dutch family names (for example, *Hirschberger* into *Harshbarger*, *Huber* into *Hoyer*, *Meyer* into *Moyer*) represent not an Americanizing of the names but rather a dialectizing of them. As German education dwindled in Pennsylvania through the 19th Century, Pennsylvanians came to spell their names as they pronounced them in the dialect.

4. *Folk Day and*  
day and  
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occult  
8. *Folk*  
songs,  
spiritual  
styles,

4. *Folk Costume*—"plain" and "gay" costume. Week-day and churchgoing dress. Men's, women's, and children's dress. Wedding and funeral dress.

5. *Folk Crafts*—all the traditional crafts of the rural community—weaving, spinning, basketry, quilting, blacksmithing, coopering, etc.—and the relation of the craftsman to the community.

6. *Folk Literature*—the oral literature (folktale, folk-song, folk-rhyme); the broadside and the broadside ballad; the *Volksbücher* of Pennsylvania; the will; the spiritual testament; the baptismal letter (*Geddelbrief*); the love-knot or valentine.

7. *Folk Medicine*—natural (herbal) folk medicine and occult folk-medicine (powwowing).

8. *Folk Music*—the folksong: children's songs, courting songs, canaller's songs, lumbermen's songs, camp-meeting spirituals, Amish folk-hymnody. The folk dance, fiddling styles, calling styles, sung play-party games. Instruments: fiddle, zither, fife, etc.

9. *Folk Recreation*—battalion, snitzing party, kicking match, log rolling, spinning party, singing school, quilting party, frolic. The place of the dance in rural society. The folk tale, jest, and folk humor in the folk-culture. The attitude of organized religion to these aspects of the folk-culture.

10. *Folk Religion*<sup>30</sup>—survivals of witchcraft (*Hexerei*) and occult folk-healing (*Braucherei*). Relation of the Church to the folk-culture in baptism, confirmation, marriage, communion, the funeral. Church and church customs. The relation of religion and folk art: religious folk art, *fraktur*, the tombstone.

11. *Folk Speech*—the languages and dialects of Pennsylvania and their relation to each other, especially English, High German, and Pennsylvania Dutch. Word studies—Pennsylvanianisms, Philadelphianisms, etc., in American speech. Pennsylvania Dutch, Scotch-Irish, Quaker and other name-systems, nicknames, etc. Pennsylvania place-names. Pennsylvania expressions, sayings, proverbs. Patterns of rural profanity.

12. *Folk Transportation*—the farm wagon, the market wagon, the ox cart, the Conestoga wagon, the sleigh, the sled, the stone boat, the bob sled. "Plain" transportation in the 20th Century.

13. *The Folk Year*—the calendar and the folk-culture. Almanac and church year: the relation of official church holidays (active or obsolete) to the folk practices and beliefs associated with them, especially Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, New Year's Day, and Halloween.

In addition we hope to enlarge our basic research tool, the Pennsylvania Folk-Cultural Index, by indexing every travel book about Pennsylvania, every county history, every significant 19th Century newspaper. We hope to add to this a companion research tool—a Pictorial Index of Pennsylvania Folklife, from every available drawing or printed illustration on every folk-cultural subject.

We hope to produce many significant pamphlets, at least

<sup>30</sup>"Folk religion," like the term "folklife" itself, is so recent a term that it did not get into *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language* (1961). Since 1957 I have been engaged in teaching, at the University of Pennsylvania, a pioneer course in "American Folk Religion," in which I apply the anthropological concept of "folk religion" to the folk-level of religion in America, dealing with such subjects as survivals of witchcraft and folk-healing, folk theology, the folk year, religious folk art and religious folk music.

one major book a year, and to continue and enlarge our periodical, *Pennsylvania Folklife*.

We hope to be in position in the future to aid graduate study in Pennsylvania folklife by grants to university students.

We have a small but devoted staff of workers. We need more full-time or part-time recorders and interviewers in the field. All this depends upon the funds that our Society will need to expand its pioneering work in the field of American folklife studies.

Thus far we have paid our own way, supporting our program mainly through the folk festivals. But for the continuation and enlargement of our research program, which is the heart of our work, the Society will need endowment.

#### *The Application of the Folklife Concept*

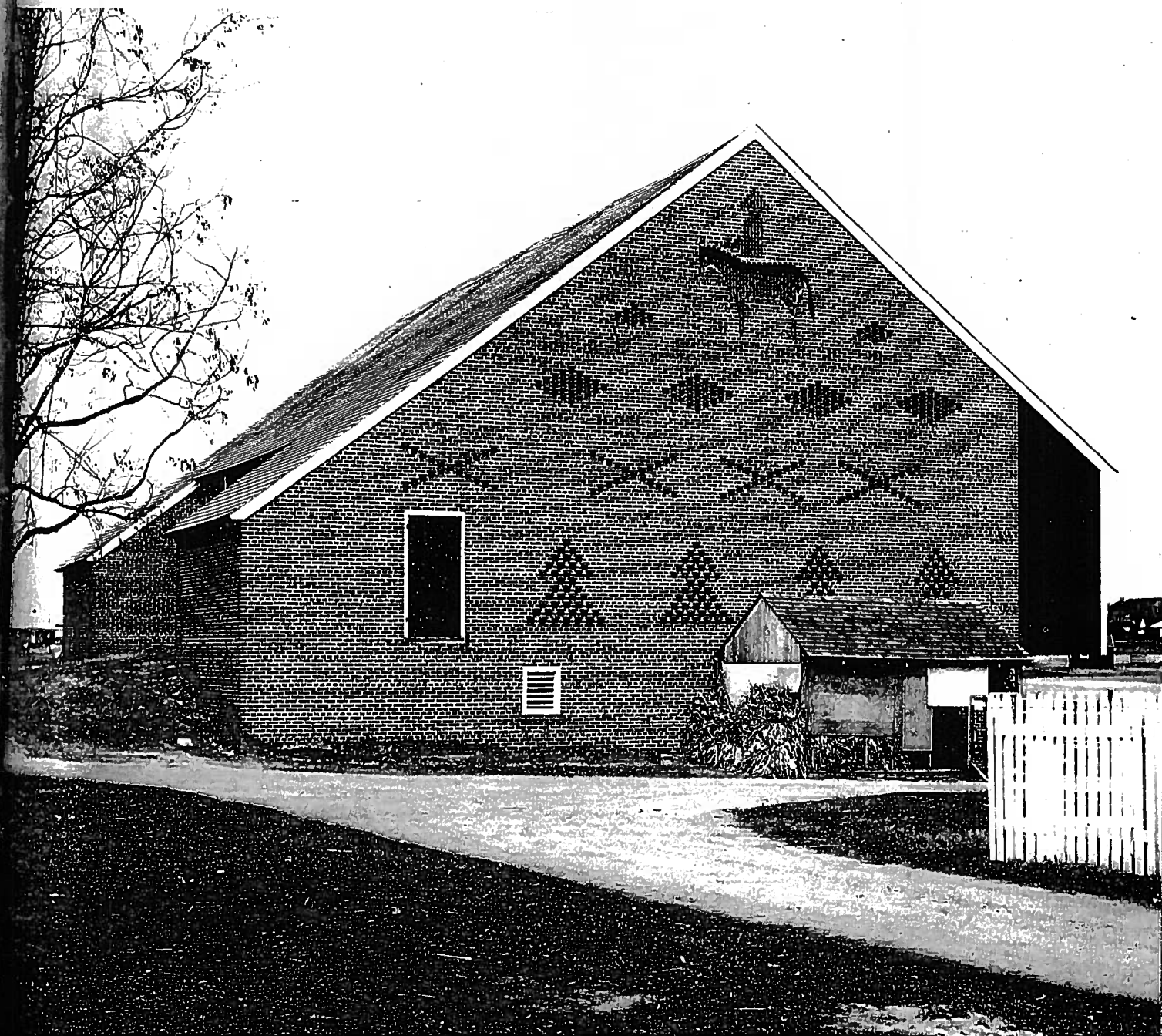
The application of the folklife concept in the United States could, first of all, provide the necessary corrective to the undisciplined or commercially-slanted "collecting" of "folk-art" and "antiques." In Pennsylvania and elsewhere the "collector" has set his sights on commercially valuable pieces—i.e., items which could be displayed decoratively in the urban home—and left the remaining aspects of the folk-culture behind to disintegrate. The "antique" collectors of the 19th and 20th Centuries ripped individual pieces out of their settings, the "folk art" collectors did the same. The collecting was valuable, as far as it went, and many collections are now in public institutions where, at last, proper attention can be given to their functional relation to the entire culture. Our hope is that in Pennsylvania, through the foundation of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society and its Folklife Museum, much more attention can be given to collecting realia for study and display, of every phase of the folk-culture.



*Pennsylvania Christmas traditions have influenced the nation, from the Christmas tree to "Kris Kringle."*



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### **BARN AT PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE MUSEUM**

*This reconstructed brick barn represents the brick-end decorated barn found principally in Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Adams, and Franklin Counties*