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*THE WORD IN THE WILDERNESS: POPULAR PIETY AND THE
MANUSCRIPT ARTS IN EARLY PENNSYLVANIA*

(University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2020)

CHAPTER 3: “WORSHIP ALWAYS THE SCRIPTURE”: TEACHING LITERACY AND
PIOUS WISDOM IN GERMAN PENNSYLVANIA

ONLINE APPENDICES

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ONLINE APPENDIX A: PENMANSHIP SAMPLE TEXT LAYOUT CATEGORIES

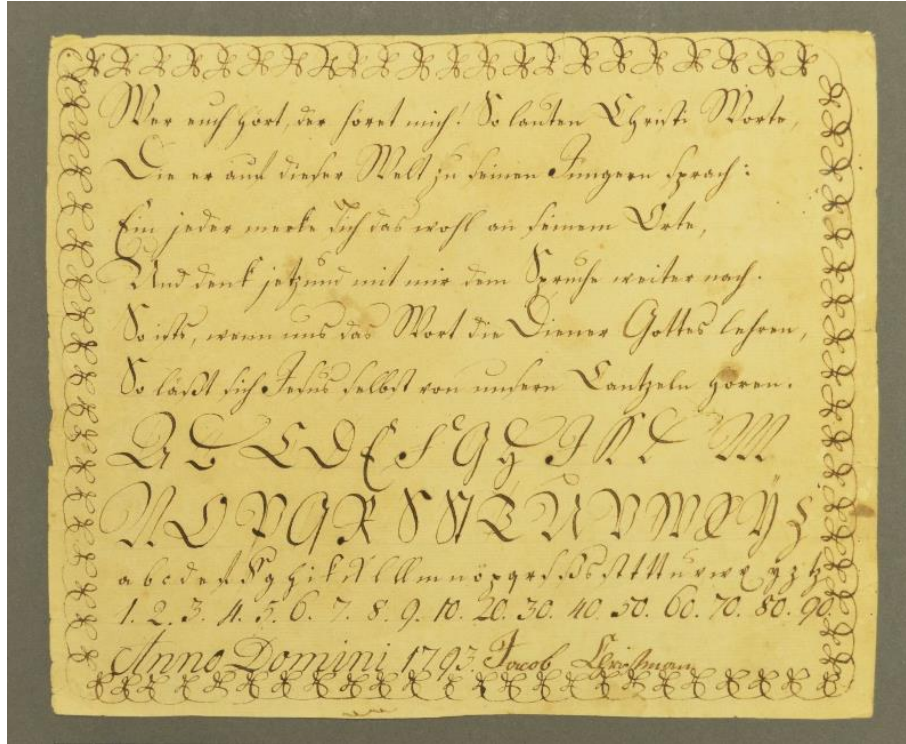


Fig. A1. Free Text – One Script. Penmanship sample by/for Jacob Christman, 1793. Ink on paper; H. 6 9/8", W. 8". (Winterthur Library, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, col. 320, acc. 87x166; photo by the author.)



Fig. A2. Free Text – Script Variation. Penmanship sample for Catarina Niszle, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1795. Ink and watercolors on paper; H. 6 1/8", W. 7 1/8". (Winterthur Museum 2013.31.63; photo by the author.)



Fig. A3. Circular centered. Penmanship sample for Magdalena Staufferin, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1763. Ink and watercolors on paper; H. 7 6/8", W. 12 5/16". (Winterthur Museum 2013.31.95; photo by the author.)



Fig. A4. Bifurcated with borders. Penmanship sample, possibly Bucks or Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, 1814. Watercolor and ink on paper; H. 7 7/16", W. 12 1/4". (Winterthur Museum 1969.62; photo by the author.)



Fig. A5. Block Arranged. Johann Adam Eyer, penmanship sample for Jacob Seidler, 1782. Ink and watercolor on paper; H. 8 3/16", W. 13 3/8". (Winterthur Museum 2013.31.78; photo by the author.)

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ONLINE APPENDIX B: PENMANSHIP SAMPLE CONTENT ANALYSIS STATISTICAL

METHODS AND RESULTS

The large number, variety, and complexity of penmanship samples poses challenges to their analysis. Statistics provide valuable research tools to address these obstacles. The construction of a quantitative framework for aggregate analysis of the manuscripts results in an empirically validated vocabulary for description and interpretation of individual pieces. While currently a relatively small number of manuscripts figures in the analysis, the project has established an infrastructure to support inclusion of increased numbers of penmanship samples in future iterations of the study.

Data Collection

This study is based on a random sample of penmanship samples. A penmanship sample collection at the Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center in Pennsburg, Pennsylvania, lent itself to random sampling, and a sample was conducted there in October, 2013. The term “penmanship sample” connoted a variety of historic document types. For inclusion in the random sample, documents had to meet three primary conditions: each had to be handwritten and illuminated, model proper handwriting style, and be contained on one page. In addition, documents had to meet at least two of four secondary conditions: the document must be highly decorative, must have been intended for use by a specific student, must communicate moral or religious lessons; and must hold ceremonial value.

A fixed progression through the institution’s manuscript holdings was established under the guidance of Schwenkfelder Library Curator of Collections Candace Perry. Fifty penmanship

samples were selected for inclusion using a random number list.¹ The penmanship samples range 90 years in date of making, from 1754 to 1844.

Modeling Penmanship sample Layout, Design, and Style

The first stage of analysis centered on assessing the basic characteristics of, and changes to, Pennsylvania penmanship sample design aesthetics between ca. 1750 and 1850. While it relied on the random sample as the basis for its conclusions, its observations were rooted in qualitative study of manuscript forms. This study resulted in the development of the four design categories described in *The Word in the Wilderness*.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variable of interest in this study, adherence of Pennsylvania manuscript penmanship samples to baroque European design aesthetics as seen in printed writing manuals, is very abstract. To operationalize the variable required consultation of period printed writing manuals and development of a list of their stylistic characteristics. During October and November, 2013, eighteen European writing manuals published between 1615 and 1784 were consulted at the Winterthur Library (Winterthur, Delaware) and Newberry Library (Chicago). Comparison of plates from these writing manuals to Pennsylvania manuscript penmanship

¹ The study was originally designed to encompass fifty randomly selected penmanship samples, but an error in sampling resulted in the double-counting of one manuscript while proceeding on a fixed progression using the random number list. At a later date, a fiftieth penmanship sample was randomly selected to complete the sample. The sampling error did not impact the randomness of the entire sample.

samples resulted in a list of twenty stylistic characteristics—or variables—the presence of which suggest gothic-baroque design.²

One independent variable—year of penmanship sample production—figures in this portion of the study. The variable is operationalized as are decade-long date range categories as well as the design categories described above.

Most penmanship samples included in the study were dated by their makers. Sixteen of the fifty penmanship samples, or 32% of the entire sample, were not. To compensate for this absence, Schwenkfelder Library curator Candace Perry used qualitative evidence to offer approximate, ten-year date ranges for the pieces.³ It was determined that it would be more problematic to exclude undated pieces than to use contextual evidence and traditional connoisseurship to assign dates. Moreover, given the wide span of years encompassed by the final four analytical categories employed in this study, we felt comfortable in using qualitative evidence to place examples in the appropriate date ranges. A preponderance of penmanship samples—44%—were made between 1770 and 1789. The number drops off precipitously at the turn of the nineteenth century. Table B1 presents frequency information for year of penmanship sample production.

² It should be noted that none of the twenty variables by themselves are distinctively “baroque.” Rather, interpreted as a single unit, the twenty variables accurately encapsulate the design aesthetic of printed writing manuals published during the art-historical baroque period. Such classification is, by its nature, a generalization, and the presence or absence of individual characteristics in baroque and later penmanship samples is to be expected. The analytical value of the twenty variables derives from their nesting as a single, measurable unit, as will be demonstrated later in the study.

³ Examples of evidence used to date the manuscripts include comparison to similar, dated pieces, and attributions to known penmanship sample makers based on prior scholarship. Most were dated within a range of five years; the maximum range provided for any undated piece was twenty years. After Ms. Perry assigned appropriate date ranges, the median of her suggested range (rounded down to the nearest whole year) was adopted as the approximate date of making.

Modeling Penmanship Sample Text Content

Penmanship sample studies have proven reticent to systematic analysis of manuscript text for three reasons: the barriers of deciphering script and language, the challenge of tracking texts' original sources, and the difficulty of developing a research framework capable of encompassing many manuscripts. Technology eases the latter two challenges. Many German hymnals are searchable online, and database software allows for comparison of manuscript texts with ease. With these advantages in hand, this study establishes a logical structure and vocabulary for penmanship sample text content analysis, which may facilitate future inquiry into this and other manuscript forms.

Dependent and Independent Variables

Text analysis penmanship samples development of a list of six dependent variables that allow for easy comparison of penmanship samples in aggregate across time. Each variable—"Text Source," "Text Genre," "Instructional Theme," "Rhetorical Motif," "Narrative Voice," and "Script Style"—features sub-variables, summarized in Table B4. This section will briefly explain each variable.

Much of the text on penmanship samples can be traced to known sources. The "Text Source" variable tracks the source of quotations. The "Text Genre" variable classifies penmanship samples based on the overarching message(s) the documents seek to communicate: prayer or supplication, exaltation or devotion, and admonishment or exemplar. Within these genres, penmanship samples teach readers in ten "Instructional Themes," the third variable. Literary quotations on penmanship samples employ many "Rhetorical Motifs" to instruct readers. For example, scribes use "sensory input" metaphors to explain the process of wisdom

acquisition. “Narrative Voice”—first, second, or third-person—sheds light on penmanship samples dialogic uses. Finally, this analysis tracks the “Script Style” in which text appears.

Independent variables help sort data collected under the six dependent variables (see Table B11). “Decade Made” and “Design Category” are the main independent variables employed in the analysis. “Layout Category” describes the visual appearance of texts on the written page (see Table B3).

Analysis Strategy

The analysis reports frequency data but does not employ statistical tests such as linear and logistic regression to assess generalizability of observed trends. Unless stated otherwise, reported figures treat whole manuscripts as the smallest unit of analysis. For example, if a manuscript features one text coded an admonishment and another a prayer, the manuscript will count toward the total for both categories in the “text genre” variable. Attempts were made to minimize double-coding on manuscripts within variables, and the same text excerpts were never double-coded within the same dependent variable. In cases where selections of text, rather than whole manuscripts, are reported on graphs and tables, the term “coding instances” is employed.

Results

Note: More data are available in the print and e-book editions of *The Word in the Wilderness: Popular Piety and the Manuscript Arts in Early Pennsylvania*.

Table B1. Number penmanship samples per date made category, collected in November, 2013 random sample.

Number Penmanship Samples per Date Made Category Collected in November, 2013 Random Sample			
Date Category	Frequency	Percent (%)	Cumulative Percent (%)
1750-1759	2	4	4
1760-1769	8	16	20
1770-1779	10	20	40
1780-1789	12	24	64
1790-1799	5	10	74
1800-1809	5	10	84
1810-1819	3	6	90
1820-1829	3	6	96
1830-1839	0	0	
1840-1849	2	4	100
Total	50	100	100

Table B2. Penmanship samples per design period.

Penmanship Samples per Design Period	
Baroque	
# penmanship samples in period (% of sample)	20 (40%)
Revival	
# penmanship samples in period (% of sample)	17 (34%)
“Dutch”	
# penmanship samples in period (% of sample)	11 (22%)
Antiquarian Enterprise	
# penmanship samples in period (% of sample)	2 (4%)

Table B3. Independent variables: text layout categories. See Online Appendix C for examples of each category.

Penmanship Sample Text Layout Categories		
Sub-Variable	Description	Frequency
Free Text – One Script	The manuscript employs only one script. No borders, decorations, or alternative text arrangements interrupt the flow of the script; it is presented in more-or-less paragraph form.	3 (6%)
Free Text – Script Variation	The text on the manuscript is presented in more-or-less paragraph form with no decorative or border interruptions, but more than one script is employed.	28 (56%)
Circular Centered	Manuscript text is presented in a circular arrangement, centered on the page.	0*
Bifurcated with Borders	The manuscript is divided in two by means of a border. Different scripts may be employed in the two halves.	5 (10%)
Block Arranged	Text is arranged in various discrete blocks located across the page, separated by borders.	14 (28%)

*The category is retained in the sample to further future inquiry. Qualitative research has uncovered the existence of circular-centered penmanship samples in Pennsylvania.

Table B4. Penmanship samples text analytical categories (dependent variables)

Penmanship Samples Text Analytical Categories (Dependent Variables)		
Category (Variable Name)	Subcategories (Sub-variables)	Key Words
Text Source	Biblical literature: Psalms	—
	Biblical lit. Wisdom books	—
	Biblical lit. Other Old Testament	—
	Biblical lit. New Testament	—
	Hymns and devotional poetry	—
	Unassigned	—
Text Genre	Prayer or supplication to God	—
	Exaltation or devotion	—
	Admonishment or exemplar	—
Instructional Theme	Morals, ethics, and life path	fleißig (diligently), Tugend (virtue)
	Contemplation of death	sterben (to die), sterbend (dead/dying)
	Life stages and time	Kind (child), Jugend (youth)
	Submission to/comfort in God	ergeben (to yield), weichen (to soften, yield), Jesu-Brust (Jesus' breast)
	God's love, atonement, forgiveness, and salvation	Lieb (love), vergeben (to forgive), Buße (penance), gereuen (to repent)
	Suffering, conflict, and faith	schmerzen (to hurt), Pein (pain), Quaal (strife), Kampf (struggle), Streit (struggle), Jammerthal (woe)
	Nature of wisdom, teaching, and learning	Weisheit (wisdom), verstehen (to understand), lernen (to learn), offenbahren (to make open)
	Meditation, reflection, and preparation	bedenken (to relect), verreden (to betray), Ruhe (rest)
	Mystical union	hineindringen (to penetrate), Wesens (essence)
Praise	ehren (honor), Lob (praise), preisen (to praise)	
Rhetorical Motif	Sensory input	Augen (eyes), betrachten (to observe), erblicken (to behold), scheinen (to shine)

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Rhetorical Motif (cont.)	Bliss	Wonne (bliss), Gnade (grace)
	God's Word	Wort (word), schreiben (to write), Gottes-spricht (God's words)
	The heart	Hertz (heart), hertzinniglich (heartfelt)
	The soul	Seele (soul), seelig (soulful)
	Communication output	stimmen (to induce, favor, persuade), sprechen (to speak), reden (to talk), erzählen (to tell), beten (to pray)
	Journey	Fuß (foot), treten (to enter), Weg (way), wandeln (to wander), wenden (to turn), Thür (door), einführen (to burst into, enter)
	Heavenly kingdom	Engel (angel), Chor/Engel-chor (choir/choir of angels), Himmel-Saal (heavenly hall), Himmelreich (heavenly kingdom)
	Divine perfection vs. earthly iniquity	Sünde (sin), Schand (shame), Neid (envy), Schmach (shame), Eitelkeit (vanity), Fleisch (flesh)
	Christ's sorrow and passion	Creutz (cross), Tod (death), Pein (pain), Noth (distress), Wunden (wound), vergeußt (to shed, i.e. blood), gelehnt (leaning, hung), schlagen (beat, hit)
	Parable	N/A
	Bride and bridegroom	Braut (bride), Bräutigam (bridegroom)
	Breath	Seufzen (breath), Odem (breath)
	God's law	Gesetz (law), Recht (right), Gebot (command)
	Outer and inner lives/selves	innerlich (inner), Wille (will), glühen (to glow)
Narrative Voice	First person	ich (I), wir (we)
	Second person	du (you), ihr (you pl.), Sie (you formal)
	Third person	er (he), sie (she), es (it)
Design and Layout	Frakturschrift	—
	Kantzei	—
	Currentschrift	—
	Graeco-Roman	—

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	Mixed	—
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Table B5. Text source frequencies.

Penmanship Sample Text Sources		
Source Type	Manuscripts Coded	% Total Manuscript Coding Instances
Biblical Literature – Psalms	7	10.77
Biblical Literature – Wisdom Books	7	10.77
Biblical Literature – Other Old Testament	0	N/A
Biblical Literature – New Testament – Gospels	4	6.15
Biblical Literature – New Testament – Non-Gospel	4	6.15
Hymns and Devotional Poetry	31	47.69
Unassigned	12	18.46
Total	65*	99.99

*The total number of manuscripts coded is greater than 50 because many manuscripts featured more than one text. The same is true for every table where total number of manuscripts exceeds 50.

Table B6. Text genre frequencies.

Penmanship Sample Text Genres		
Text Genre	Manuscripts Coded	% Total Manuscript Coding Instances
Prayer or Supplication to God	13	23.64
Exaltation or Devotion	7	12.5
Admonishment or Exemplar	36	65.45
Total	56	100

Table B7. Instructional themes frequencies.

Penmanship Sample Instructional Themes		
Instructional Theme	Coding Instances	% Total Manuscript Coding Instances
Morals, Ethics, and Life Path	17	16.34
Contemplation of Death and Judgment	12	11.53
Life Stages and Time	7	6.73
Submission to – Comfort in God	13	12.50
God’s Love, Atonement, Forgiveness	9	8.65
Suffering, Conflict, and Faith	7	6.73
Wisdom, Teaching, and Learning	19	18.27
Meditation, Reflection, Preparation	13	12.50
Mystical Union	3	2.88
Praise	4	3.85
Total	104	99.98

Table B8. Rhetorical motif frequencies.

Penmanship Sample Rhetorical Motifs		
Rhetorical Motif	Coding Instances	% of Total Coding Instances
Sensory Input	67	20.62
Bliss	20	6.15
The Soul	12	3.69
God's Word	7	2.15
The Heart	15	4.62
Communication Output	36	10.87
Journey	37	11.08
Heavenly Kingdom	16	4.92
Divine Perfection vs. Earthly Reality	53	16.31
Christ's Sorrow and Passion	8	2.46
Parable	3	0.92
Bride and Bridegroom	3	0.92
Outer/Inner Lives	16	4.92
God's Law and Righteousness	32	9.85
Total	325	100

Table B9. Percent of manuscripts with instructional theme by design period.

% Manuscripts with Instructional Theme by Design Period	First Generation Baroque	Modified Baroque Revival	Transitional “Dutch”	Era of Antiquarian Enterprise
Death and Judgement	10	29	27	0
Love and Salvation	20	6	18	50
Time	15	12	9	0
Morals, Ethics, Life Path	30	47	27	0
Mystical Union	10	6	0	0
Wisdom, Teaching, and Learning	45	5	0	0
Praise	15	0	9	0
Meditation, Reflection, and Preparation	15	18	55	0
Submission to, Comfort in God	30	18	27	0
Suffering, Conflict, and Faith	20	6	9	0

Each percentage figure represents percent of manuscripts within the design period in question, not the entire random sample. For example, 20 manuscripts in the sample date to the Baroque. Two manuscripts, or 10% of Baroque manuscripts in the random sample, instruct on death and judgement, accounting for the “10” in the first cell.

Table B10. Old Testament wisdom books on manuscript penmanship samples.

Old Testament Wisdom Books on Manuscript Penmanship Samples		
Name of Book	Authorship, Date, and Themes	Example from Manuscript Random Sample
Psalms	Hymns of ancient Israel. Not technically part of the genre, though some “wisdom psalms” deal with similar themes.	[No psalms classified as “wisdom psalms” by Hermann Gunkel in <i>The Psalms: A Form-Critical Introduction</i> and <i>Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel</i> appeared in the random sample. ⁴]
Proverbs	King Solomon’s era, ca. 950 BC. Maxims associated with King Solomon, patron of the wisdom genre. ⁵	“Hear, ye children, the instruction of your father, and attend to know understanding. For I give you good doctrine, forsake ye not my law.” ⁶
Ecclesiastes	Ca. 450 BC. Monologue by “Lady Wisdom,” criticizing vanity and attesting to divinity of all knowledge. ⁷	“Remember your creator in the days of your youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when you shall say, I have no pleasure in them.” ⁸
Wisdom of Sirach	Ben Sira, ca. 195 BC. Wisdom centers on individual piety, which derives from submission to Torah. God’s wisdom structures heavens and earth,	“He who fears the Lord will gladly be drawn toward him, and he who sends to him early will find grace.” ¹⁰

⁴ Hermann Gunkel, *The Psalms: A Form-Critical Introduction* (Fortress Press, 1967; translation of *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* [2nd ed; J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1930]; and Hermann Gunkel (completed by Joachim Begrich), *Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel* (Mercer University Press, 1998; translation of *Einleitung in die Psalmen: die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels* [Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985, 1933]).

⁵ Tarazi, *The Old Testament*, 127

⁶ Proverbs 4:1-2 (KJV); Penmanship sample, 1783, no. 4-119, Schwenkfelder Library & Heritage Center.

⁷ Tarazi, *The Old Testament*, 135; Estes, *Handbook on the Wisdom Books and Psalms*, 280.

⁸ Ecclesiastes 12:1 (KJV); Penmanship sample, 1765, 18 / 00.263.36, Samuel W. Pennypacker Fraktur Collection, Schwenkfelder Library & Heritage Center; Penmanship sample, 1788, 00.265.22, Samuel W. Pennypacker Fraktur Collection, Schwenkfelder Library & Heritage Center.

¹⁰ Sirach 32:18 (Luther translation); Sirach 32:14 (NRSV); Penmanship sample, ca. 1774, 00.269.39 / 4-122, Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center.

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	though wisdom is hidden from human view. ⁹	
Wisdom of Solomon	First century BC? Influenced by Hellenistic thought and written long after Solomon's time; portrays the famous king's quest for wisdom. ¹¹	"I too am a mortal man like all the rest, born from the womb....concreted out of man's seed through the pleasure of sexual intercourse....One is the entry into life for all, and in one same way they leave it." ¹²

Table assembled secondary sources: Daniel J. Estes, *Handbook on the Wisdom Books and Psalms* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005); Otto Kaiser, *The Old Testament Apocrypha: An Introduction* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004); Paul Nadim Tarazi, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, vol. 3, Psalms and Wisdom (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1996).

⁹ Kaiser, *The Old Testament Apocrypha*, 92, 96, 98.

¹¹ Kaiser, *The Old Testament Apocrypha*, 97-98; 107-108; Tarazi, 152-153.

¹² Wisdom of Solomon 7:1-6; Christoph Hübner, Penmanship sample/devotional text, 1785, folder no. 1785, "Christoph Hübner Fraktur Penmanship samples," box "Religious Text," Heebner Family Collection, Schwenkfelder Library & Heritage Center.

Table B11. Penmanship sample layout category vs. design period.

Penmanship Sample Layout Category vs. Design Period				
	Baroque	Baroque Revival	“Dutch”	Era of Antiquarian Enterprise
Free Text - One Script	2 (10%)	1 (5.88%)	0	0
Free Text - Script Variation	14 (70%)	8 (47.06%)	4 (36.36%)	2 (100%)
Bifurcated with Borders	2 (10%)	0	3 (27.27%)	0
Block Arranged	2 (10%)	8 (47.06%)	4 (36.36%)	0
Total per Design Period	20	17	11	2

Each percentage figure represents percent of manuscripts within the design period in question, not the entire random sample.

Table B12. Manuscripts with text coded in narrative voices vs. design period.

Manuscripts with Text Coded in Narrative Voices vs. Design Period				
	First Generation Baroque	Modified Baroque Revival	Transitional “Dutch”	Era of Antiquarian Enterprise
First-Person	12 (60%)	7 (41.18%)	5 (45.45%)	0
Second-Person Addressed by the Reader (Incl. Commands - Imperative Mood)	5 (25%)	7 (41.18%)	6 (54.54%)	1 (50%)
Second-Person Addressed to the Reader (Incl. Commands - Imperative Mood)	13 (65%)	11 (64.71%)	6 (54.54%)	0
Third-Person and Non-Personal Dialogue	12 (32.21%)	9 (52.94%)	6 (54.54%)	0
Not Applicable			1 (9%)	1 (50%)
Total Manuscripts per Period*	20	17	11	2

*Note that frequency figures reported in each design period exceed the total number of manuscripts per period. This is because many manuscripts featured text excerpts coded to different narrative voices.