

“Speaking of Families...”

Popular Genealogy and Folklife in the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*/ *Pennsylvania Folklife Magazine* (1949–late 1970s)

Abstract: This essay discusses the role of genealogy in the popular folklore periodical *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, which was succeeded by the journal *Pennsylvania Folklife*, as an example of a community of practice formed by historians, genealogists, archivists, and folklorists. The magazine can be read as a microcosm that reflected the development of scholarly trends and genealogical practices alike. The example highlights the historical significance of genealogy as a vehicle for connecting to broad, international publics, and the trend of creating and sharing resources that facilitated doing family history as a form of people’s history combined with popular folklore. While practitioners cooperated in the creation of resources that were mutually beneficial, their motives were shaped by different and at times conflicting ideological traditions and goals. The development and publication of genealogical resources, including emigrant lists and genealogical indices, served as a common bond that ensured the continuity of the community of practice over several decades, despite these differences and conflicts.

Keywords: Pennsylvania Dutch, folklore, genealogy, racism, heritage tourism, communities of practice

The March 2018 symposium “Populäre Genealogie, Geschichtswissenschaft und Historische Demographie”, the first of the two or three meetings that inspired the publication of this Yearbook, brought together historical demographers, genealogists, archivists, historians, and European ethnologists. The interdisciplinary and inter-professional nature of the symposium reflected the aim of fostering exchanges and collaborations between practitioners in the fields of genealogy, history, archives, and historical demography beyond the event. “Die Zusammenarbeit von Genealogie und Geschichte ist nicht auf wenige wissenschaftliche Fragestellungen mit ihren teils auch vergänglichen Konjunkturen beschränkt; sie hat Zukunft“, wrote the conveners in their call.¹

DOI: 10.25365/rhy-2021-8



Accepted for publication after external peer review (double-blind).

Katharina Hering, Department of History and Art History, George Mason University, 4400 University Drive, Fairfax, VA 22030, USA, khering@gmu.edu

Acknowledgments: I’m grateful to the two anonymous peer reviewers for their astute criticism and knowledgeable and constructive suggestions for improving my draft of this article. Many thanks to Roland Geiger and to the other attendees of the 2018 Münster workshop for inspiration and collegiality, and to Elisabeth Timm, Georg Fertig, Martin Bauer and the rest of the RHY editorial team for their patience and support.

1 Link to the Call: <https://www.hsozkult.de/event/id/event-85732> (22 October 2021). The Münster meeting was followed by one hosted in Sion and Le Châble in 2019 and a planned one in Halle 2020, aborted due to the pandemic. All three focused on issues of cooperation between archivists, historians, and citizen scholars.

Calls for closer collaboration between genealogists and academic scholars, including historians, are not new. In their 1986 article *Historians and Genealogists: An Emerging Community of Interest*, Robert Taylor and Ralph Crandall traced the diverging paths and divides between genealogists, local historians and academic historians to the late nineteenth century, when academic history became professionalized.² “Detached from one another’s scholarship, the academic historian, the local historian and the genealogist pursued their chosen specialties, generally disregarding the interdependence of institutions, community, and family”, they wrote. Taylor and Crandall, who were both working at historical societies at the time (Taylor at the Indiana Historical Society and Crandall at the New England Historic Genealogical Society) wrote that these divisions began to break down in the 1960s and 1970s with the development of the new social history, which reinvigorated and introduced new questions to the study of families in their community context. Highlighting the experiences of genealogists with collecting and interpreting local records and the data about individuals they contain, the authors identified family reconstitutions as one major area that called for closer collaborations between historians and genealogists. Early on, these authors identified computers as a third party and bridge that could facilitate and catalyse collaborative projects, such as the development of joint data sets based on local records.³

While popular genealogists and historical demographers have been partnering for a long time, collaborations between academic historians and genealogists continue to be relatively rare, despite these older and more recent appeals to recognize common interests. The symposium was thus an unusual event. Unusual was not only the interdisciplinary approach but also the effort to provide a space where all participants, academics, professional genealogists, and historical and genealogical enthusiasts, could meet at the same level. While folklorists or European ethnologists were not explicitly mentioned in the call, it was telling that the department of folklore studies (*Volkskunde*) provided the physical space for the meeting. Indeed, folklorists or European ethnologists have played an important role facilitating the development of collaborative partnerships in the study of family history.

By focusing on the role of genealogy in the popular folklore periodical *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, which was succeeded by the journal *Pennsylvania Folklife*, this article focuses on a past example of a community of practice formed by historians, genealogists, archivists, and folklorists. The magazine can be read as a microcosm that reflected the development of scholarly trends and historical practices alike. While practitioners cooperated in the creation of resources that were mutually beneficial, their motives were shaped by different and at times conflicting ideological traditions and goals. The development and publication of genealogical resources served as a common bond that ensured the continuity of the community of practice over several decades, despite these differences and conflicts.

The magazine, which was published in different incarnations from 1949 until 1997, offers a fascinating perspective on genealogy promoted and practiced in the context of popular

2 Robert M. Taylor/Ralph J. Crandall, *Historians and Genealogists: An Emerging Community of Interest*, in: Taylor/Crandall (eds.), *Generations and Change: Genealogical Perspectives in Social History*, Macon, GA 1986, 3–27.

3 Taylor/Crandall (eds.), *Generations and Change*, 15. See also: Samuel Hays, *History and Genealogy: Patterns of Change and Prospects for Cooperation*, in: Taylor/Crandall (eds.), *Generations and Change*, 26–51.

folklife studies.⁴ The editorial continuity and relatively long publication history of almost 50 years offers the possibility of taking a longer view on the development of popular and academic practices and changing theoretical frameworks alike. Intended as a contribution to an ongoing discussion rather than as a comprehensive essay, this article discusses some of the possible motives driving the establishment of the folk-genealogical community of practice in the context of the journal:⁵ Which motives and interests inspired academics and enthusiasts, folklore scholars and genealogists, Pennsylvania Germans and Germans, to exchange genealogical knowledge in the journal? Which motives, interests and practices united them, and which issues led to frictions and conflicts? Can this historical example inform the development of more recent communities of practice and interest that are developing collaborative projects in family history?

The Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center at Franklin & Marshall College

In 1948, Franklin & Marshall College (F&M), a liberal arts college in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, established the first “Department of American Folklore” in the United States, chaired by Professor Alfred Shoemaker. The college had traditional ties to Pennsylvania Dutch cultural institutions and communities in the region and was committed to fostering Pennsylvania Dutch scholarship. The establishment of the department was part of this larger effort, wrote Simon Bronner in his history of the department.⁶ The acquisition of a large collection of Pennsylvania Dutch Fraktur publications (the Unger-Bassler collection), was a major contribution to the institutionalization of Pennsylvania Dutch scholarship at the college.⁷ Professor J. William Frey, a linguist specializing in the Pennsylvania German dialect, helped with the acquisition. Frey knew Shoemaker, who was tasked to work with the collection, in addition to his teaching responsibilities. In 1949, Don Yoder, a F&M alum, who had received his PhD in Religious Studies from the University of Chicago in 1947, was hired as an instructor at the college’s Religion Department. In the

4 F&M’s collection of *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* has been digitized and is available online: <https://digital.fandm.edu/collections/pennsylvania-dutchman-periodical-collection> (22 October 2021). Subsequent volumes of *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, and *Pennsylvania Folklife*, are available through Ursinus College Digital Commons: <https://digitalcommons.ursinus.edu/dutchmanmag/> (22 October 2021). Thanks to Christopher Raab, F&M Special Collections and Archives, for his knowledgeable advice and assistance.

5 The concept of a community of practice is informed by Theodor Schatzki’s definition: “A central core, moreover, of practice theorists conceives of practices as embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organized around shared practical understanding.” Theodore Schatzki, Introduction: Practice Theory, in: Eike von Savigny/Karin Knorr-Cetina/Theodore Schatzki (eds.), *The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory*, Milton Park/Abington 2001, 1–14, 11.

6 Simon Bronner, *A Prophetic Vision of Public and Academic Folklife: Alfred Shoemaker and America’s First Department for Folklife*, in: *The Folklore Historian* 8 (1991), 38–55. See also: Simon Bronner, *Following Tradition. Folklore in the Discourse of American Culture*, Logan, UT 1998, especially 266–312.

7 Bronner, *Prophetic Vision*, 40. See the finding aid for the collection, which was relocated to Ursinus College: <https://www.ursinus.edu/library/archives-special-collections/pennsylvania-folklife-society-collection/> (22 October 2021).

same year, Shoemaker, Frey and Yoder, joined to establish the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center at F&M, a scholarly centre with an explicitly public and applied focus to disseminate knowledge about Pennsylvania Dutch folk culture.

Figure 1: Alfred Shoemaker in front of *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* editorial offices at F&M



Source: The Oriflamme, published by the Senior Class of 1950, Franklin & Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa., 1950, n.p. [29], <https://digital.fandm.edu/object/scholars-square7437> (22.10.2021).

Shoemaker was a colourful figure, who had not only studied at several colleges and universities in the US but had also spent a year in Munich in 1932/33⁸ and in 1935/36 in Heidelberg, Lund, and Uppsala.⁹ He finished his PhD on the Pennsylvania German dialect of an Amish Community in Illinois at the University of Illinois in 1940. Based on his knowledge of German, he served as an officer for the US Army during World War II, where he worked for the counter-intelligence unit. Based on accounts from people who knew him, his war experiences were so traumatic that he became a pacifist.¹⁰ Inspired by folklore institutions in Europe he had visited and studied after the war, including centres in Ireland and Sweden, he developed a broad, ethnological approach to folklife studies: “In addition to popular oral literature and popular beliefs and practices, folklore for us includes a study of our folk customs, games and pastimes, folk medicine, *alda weiverglawwa*, folk art, crafts, cookery, farms and farming and tradition – both historical and mythological”, he wrote.¹¹

8 Ausweiskarte Universität München, Alfred Shoemaker, Wintersemester 32/33 and Sommersemester 1933, Franklin & Marshall College, Shadeck-Fackenthal Library, Archives & Special Collections, College Archives, Records of the Folklore Department, 10/34, box 1.

9 So far, I was unable to determine exactly where Shoemaker studied in the mid 1930s. Passenger lists submitted to US Immigration document that he re-entered the United States on 8 May 1936 on a ship that embarked from Hamburg. List of US Citizens for the Immigration Authorities arriving at port of New York 8 May 1936, v. 12475-12476 7-10 May 1936 (NARA Series T715, Roll 5799), digitized and available at www.familysearch.org. The information is based on Bronner, *Prophetic Vision*, 42.

10 Bronner, *Prophetic Vision*, 42. See also: Ron Devlin, Founder of Kutztown Folk Festival vanished in mid-1960s, but his legacy lives on, *Reading Eagle*, 27 June 2009, <https://perma.cc/HEB6-KXVF> (22 October 2021).

11 Alfred Shoemaker, *Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore*, in: *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1/1 (5 May 1949), 1.

The creation of the department aimed to “signal the academic respectability of folklore in the United States”, wrote Bronner.¹² At the same time, inspired by his studies of and visits to folklore institutions in Europe, such as the Irish Folklore Commission, Shoemaker promoted folklore as a public and popular pursuit through festivals, outdoor museums, the establishment of a library and archive, and publications.¹³ The development of the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center at Franklin & Marshall College as the public-facing component of the folklore department was one important step towards implementing that goal.¹⁴

The main goals of the centre, which was conceptualized as a privately funded institution with its own library affiliated with the college, were “1) to collect, 2) to catalog, and 3) to disseminate information on the folk-culture of the Pennsylvania-Dutch country”.¹⁵ The centre had an ambitious goal to collect all major publications on Pennsylvania Dutch culture: “We want to collect a copy of every Pennsylvania Dutch family history, of every dialect book [...]. We want old German and English newspapers and periodicals. And above all, we want a copy of every book, pamphlet, broadside printed on the Pennsylvania German presses.”¹⁶ Modelled after “crowdsourcing” projects initiated by the Irish Folklore Commission, the scholars also embarked on a major collecting project and disseminated questionnaires to capture popular knowledge about folk beliefs and practices.¹⁷

In addition, the centre initiated major cataloguing projects, indexing not only the imprints in the Unger-Bassler collection (by date, place, and printer) but also recording all personal and family names in the major Pennsylvania Dutch periodicals published since the late nineteenth century, such as the *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society*. The major focus of the centre, however, was to disseminate knowledge about Pennsylvania Dutch culture to the public. In 1950, the centre began organizing the popular Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore festival in Kutztown, which continues to exist today as a major regional tourist attraction.¹⁸ The folk festival also served as the major fundraiser for the centre. The publication of the *Pennsylvania Dutchman* in 1949 as a popular folklore magazine was key to the centre’s dissemination initiatives, as were the publication of pamphlets and folksong anthologies. Shoemaker also hosted a weekly radio programme and a weekly dialect TV show.¹⁹

“Speaking of Families”: The Genealogy Section in the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*

The *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, co-edited by Yoder, Shoemaker, and Frey, reflected the scholars’ specific interests as well as their populist approach. “We don’t want THE PENNSYLVANIA DUTCHMAN to be a bit academic. Heaven forbid!” wrote Shoemaker in his first column,

12 Bronner, *Prophetic Vision*, 44.

13 *Ibid.* See also: *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1/1 (5 May 1949), 1.

14 Bronner, *Prophetic Vision*, 44.

15 Alfred L. Shoemaker, *The Last Five Years*, in: *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 5/15 (1 April 1954), 3.

16 Alfred L. Shoemaker, *A Crying Need*, in: *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1/4 (26 May 1949), 4.

17 Alfred L. Shoemaker, *Folklore Questionnaire*, in: *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1/2 (12 May 1949), 3.

18 Kutztown Folk Festival website, <https://www.kutztownfestival.com/> (14 September 2021).

19 Shoemaker, *The Last Five Years*, 6.

apologizing for his somewhat academic definition of “folklore as the study of the material and intellectual culture of tradition-bound elements in our present societies”.²⁰ Shoemaker was in charge of the magazine’s folklore department, and edited a page titled “The Folklore Center and You”, Frey edited the Pennsylvania Dutch language pages “Kannst Du Deutsch Schwetza?” and Don Yoder was in charge of the regional history and genealogy pages “The Dutchland – Past and Present” and “Speaking of Families”.

Figure 2: Publication details and photo of the three editors Don Yoder, William Frey and Alfred Shoemaker in the first edition of *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*



Source: *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1/1 (5 May 1949), 4.

The Pennsylvania Dutchman began ambitiously as a weekly publication with 12,000 subscribers but shifted to a biweekly and then monthly publication schedule by the fall of 1949. By 1952, the number of subscriptions had dropped to 3,500. After an interim phase, when the magazine was published quarterly under the name of “Dutchman”, the editors reconceptualized the journal by 1957 and changed its name to *Pennsylvania Folklife*, reflecting an ongoing debate and intellectual shift to broaden the focus on “Pennsylvania folk-culture in its totality” including “Scotch-Irish, Quaker, Welsh, 19th Century Coal Region and other sub-cultures”.²¹

“Speaking of Families”, the magazine’s genealogy section edited by Don Yoder, was a core component of the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*. In the pages, Yoder featured printed historical sources, emigrant lists, stories, and notes and queries. In a five-year survey of the genealogical department, Yoder reported that genealogical queries topped all other research inquiries

20 Shoemaker, *Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore*, 1.

21 Don Yoder, *The Folklife Studies Movement*, *Pennsylvania Folklife* 13/3 (July 1963), 53–54. Also printed in: Don Yoder, *Discovering American Folklife: Essays on Folk Life and the Pennsylvania Dutch*, Mechanicsburg, PA, 1991; see also: Don Yoder, *Pennsylvania German Folklore Research: A Historical Analysis*, in: Glenn Gilbert (ed.), *The German Language in America: A Symposium*, Austin/London 1971, 70–105.

at the centre.²² The section responded to popular demand and was a key component of the centre's outreach initiatives. Yoder also had a strong personal interest in genealogy, which he pursued as a hobby in conjunction with his scholarly work. As a folklife scholar, he considered genealogy as one way of collecting traditions from "ordinary people" in a variety of ways, including oral traditions, written genealogies, manuscripts, letters, local records, and material culture.²³

Figure 3: The Speaking of Families section, 19 May 1949



Source: The Pennsylvania Dutchman 1/3 (19 May 1949), 6.

The genealogical focus also drove many of the centre's collecting and indexing projects. By 1954, the centre, supported by two administrative assistants, had compiled a genealogical index of several hundred thousand cards of genealogical materials printed in the major Pennsylvania German periodicals, including the *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society* and the *Yearbook of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*. Yoder maintained and developed a network of correspondents in Europe, especially in Germany, and regularly edited and translated lists of emigrants from German-speaking regions to colonial Pennsylvania the German researchers had compiled. The publication of the lists in the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*

22 Don Yoder, *Our Genealogical Department: A Five Years' Survey 1949–1954*, in: *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 5/15 (1 April 1954), 2.
 23 For example, an article on the family history told by a dower chest: "Fogelsonger of Shippensburg", in: *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1/7 (16 June 1949), 6. The information is also based on a phone conversation by the author with Don Yoder on 1 July 2008.

and *Pennsylvania Folklife* met an increasing popular demand for genealogical information about families of immigrant ancestors on the continent. Yoder hoped to “build a cultural bridge between America and Europe”, which was reinforced by the “Pennsylvania Dutch Tours of Europe”, which Yoder organized and led beginning in 1951.²⁴ Overall, Yoder hoped

“to make the Center a clearing house for all genealogical information on Pennsylvania families, primarily but not exclusively those of German, Swiss and Austrian origin – for most Pennsylvania genealogists are interested in Scotch-Irish and Quaker and other strains besides the Pennsylvania Dutch.”²⁵

In the article, Yoder also shared his plans for organizing a “National Chapter of Pennsylvania Dutch Genealogists”, including a new publication, specializing in source materials, emigrant lists, church registers, and articles and queries. While these plans did not materialize at the time, similar groups were established later, like the *Palatines to America German Genealogy Society*, founded in 1975.

Yoder highlighted the value of genealogies as important sources for information about folk culture, valuable for family members and folklife scholars alike. Printed genealogies such as the *History of the Shuey Family in America*, written by a young Reformed minister and published in 1876, often included extensive information about naming traditions and systems, family traditions and beliefs, relationships between family members in different generations, architecture, cookery, witchcraft, and language.²⁶ These genealogies also frequently included printed sources, such as wills and inventories, which offered insights into inheritance practices, farming tools, household organization, and other aspects of social history. Recognizing the value of genealogies as source material, the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, the successor to the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center that published the *Pennsylvania Folklife* magazine beginning in 1957/58, initiated a major indexing project of printed genealogies of Pennsylvania families located at major repositories including the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in the mid-1960s.²⁷

Don Yoder conceived the Dutchman’s genealogy section as an essential part of the Folklore Center’s outreach initiatives. The section met popular demand, drew visitors to the centre, and attracted readers to the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*. While Shoemaker himself did not appear to have been as interested in genealogy as Yoder, the centre, driven by its populist approach to folklore studies, offered a welcoming home to genealogists. The Notes and Queries, which were a common and popular feature in many genealogical magazines and newspapers, offered a particularly attractive interactive component and bonded the readership to the publication

24 Don Yoder, *Our Genealogical Department*, 2.

25 *Ibid.* On the origins and development of genealogy in the United States, see François Weil, *Family Trees: A History of Genealogy in America*, Cambridge, MA, 2013; Francesca Morgan, *Lineage as Capital: Genealogy in Antebellum New England*, in: *New England Quarterly* 83 (2010), 250–282; Francesca Morgan, *A Nation of Descendants: Politics and the Practice of Genealogy in the United States*, Chapel Hill 2021. See also on the history of Pennsylvania German family history: Katharina Hering, ‘We Are All Makers of History’: People and Publics in the Practice of Pennsylvania German Family History, 1891–1966, PhD thesis, George Mason University, Washington DC 2009.

26 Don Yoder, *Genealogy and Folk Culture*, in: *Pennsylvania Folklife* 15/1 (fall 1965), 24–29.

27 *Ibid.*

by encouraging them to submit and respond to genealogical inquiries. For Shoemaker, family history was an aspect of folk knowledge that he encouraged collecting through questionnaires and oral interviews.²⁸ Collecting oral traditions, in particular, was a methodology that connected Shoemaker's "science of folklore" with authors and readers interested in family history. In a column directed at teachers, Shoemaker wrote:

"Why not occasionally send the students out into the living past, to old men and women, to collect – not the skeletons of a few so-called 'great' men – but rather to collect from living lips, grown old with traditional knowledge, the story of men and women who have contributed to building up our country."²⁹

"Pennsylvania Dutch CAN NOT have anything to do with blood": Challenging racist definitions of cultural heritage

While the centre's genealogical initiatives built on Pennsylvania German genealogical traditions, Yoder and Shoemaker explicitly distinguished the ideological framework of their work from racist ideologies and genealogical practices that were promoted by patriotic hereditary societies that contributed to the popularization of genealogy in the late nineteenth century, including the Pennsylvania German Society, established in 1891. Shoemaker and Yoder emphasized their commitment to studying Pennsylvania folk culture as a "hybrid", while disassociating their definition of folk heritage from biological descent. At the same time, they criticized the racist foundations of genealogical work promoted by the Pennsylvania German Society. The conflict, which also played out on the pages of the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, highlights that this community of shared practices included many people with at times conflicting motives, ideologies, and traditions.

The hereditary Pennsylvania German Society, established in 1891, was modelled after other exclusive hereditary societies like the Sons of the American Revolution (SAR, established in 1889), and Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR, established in 1890) that required proof of lineal descent from an ancestor who served in or supported the Revolutionary War. The establishment of hereditary societies in the late nineteenth century was catalysed by patriotic celebrations, especially by the centennial celebrations in 1876, which emphasized national unity after the Civil War. Hereditary societies contributed to the popularization of genealogy as a hobby and public pursuit in the United States. While public genealogical practice was initially dominated by New England genealogists and historians, people and groups who traced their descent to a wider variety of predominantly Protestant colonial settlers – categorized as English, Welsh, Scots Irish, Dutch, Huguenot, or Pennsylva-

28 As an example of the type of tradition that Shoemaker encouraged collecting: Ralph R. Leh, *Recollections About My Grandmother* (Collectanea, edited by Alfred Shoemaker), in: *Pennsylvania Folklife* 11/2 (fall 1960), 47–48, 47.

29 Alfred Shoemaker, *To Teachers*, in: *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1/1 (5 May 1949), 4.

nia German – began to pursue genealogy as a public practice, while legitimizing their claims to be part of the old stock.³⁰

In contrast with and opposition to the dominant, hereditary definition of heritage promoted by the Pennsylvania German Society, Shoemaker, Yoder, and Frey warned against associating Pennsylvania Dutch heritage with race and racism. In a frontpage article in the *Pennsylvania Dutchman* in 1951, most likely in response to the outbreak of the Korean War, Alfred Shoemaker wrote:

“My fellow co-editors, Bill Frey and Don Yoder, have from the very start insisted, as have I, that Pennsylvania Dutch CAN NOT have anything to do with blood. Pennsylvania Dutch to us means regional cookery and architecture, it means popular art and oral literature. In other words, a FOLK CULTURE. We have never at any time permitted even the suggestion of racism. [...] OUR ONE AND ONLY PURPOSE IS TO STUDY AS OBJECTIVELY AS WE KNOW OUR PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLORE.”³¹

In the same piece, Shoemaker criticized the hereditary membership requirement of the Pennsylvania German Society. At the time of its founding in 1891, the Society “consisted of nothing but a bunch of intolerable Germanophiles with a strong DAR-SAR complex”, he wrote.³² He threatened his resignation from the Society, unless it abolished the hereditary membership requirement and changed its name from “Pennsylvania German” to “Pennsylvania Dutch”. But even the term “Pennsylvania Dutch folk culture” should be used sparingly, he suggested, and instead people should refer to themselves first and foremost as “Pennsylvanians” and to Pennsylvanian folk culture.³³

In a speech at the first Pennsylvania Folklife conference in 1951, an academic conference organized by the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, Don Yoder, along similar lines, criticized the societies which required “dated blood” as a membership condition, including the Pennsylvania German Society, the Scotch-Irish Society, and the Huguenot Society.³⁴ In his view, the publications of the Pennsylvania German Society “had an unfortunate racialist ring” well into the twentieth century, and histories issued in early years of the century “were notably blood and race conscious”.³⁵ He then appealed to his audience to “realize that in our world the road of racialism, even the cultural separatism based on race, can only lead to disaster”.³⁶ Instead, he emphasized that “Pennsylvania is a true melting pot of America”, and that the people and the culture of Pennsylvania were a “hybrid”. This hybrid Pennsylvania folk culture,

30 Weil, *Family Trees*; Morgan, *Lineage as Capital*; Karin Wulf, ‘Of the Old Stock’: Quakerism and Transatlantic Genealogies in British America, in: Carole Shammas/Elizabeth Mancke (eds.), *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, Baltimore 1995, 304–320.

31 Alfred Shoemaker, *The Year of the Decision in Southeastern Pennsylvania*, in: *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 2/20 (15 March 1951), 1.

32 *Ibid.*

33 *Ibid.*

34 Don Yoder, *Let’s Take Our Blinders Off! An Address delivered before the first Pennsylvania Folk Life conference, F&M College, March 31, 1951*, in: *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 3/1 (1 May 1951), 1, 5–6.

35 *Ibid.*, 5.

36 *Ibid.*, 5.

he suggested, should be a main object for Pennsylvania folklife studies.³⁷ Their approach to the study of folklife in Pennsylvania was shaped by a specific version of “Pennsylvania pluralism” (Russell Kazal), the idea that ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity in Pennsylvania during the colonial period provided a model for the nation.³⁸

Shoemaker’s and Yoder’s appeals were met with considerable backlash from the readership and Pennsylvania German heritage community. “Every invective of the English language has been hurled against me as a result of my article”, reported Alfred Shoemaker.³⁹ Their appeals reflected contemporary challenges to the concept of race during and after World War II, a time when the “intellectual reworking of race reached its zenith” as Matthew Frye Jacobson wrote. Anthropologists Ashley Montagu, Ruth Benedict, and biologist Julian Huxley called for the eradication of the category of race altogether as a determinant of human character and difference.⁴⁰ While not entirely abandoning the concept of race, a series of UNESCO statements emphasized that there was no such thing as a “pure race”, and that cultural differences were not based on heredity.⁴¹ While Shoemaker and Yoder did not refer to the anthropological debates or to the UNESCO statements, their rejection of any association of cultural heritage with race nonetheless mirrored these interventions and debates. Rather than a hereditary definition of heritage, the scholars promoted a definition of heritage determined by environment and culture and expressed through folklore.

Sharing genealogical practices across the Atlantic

Yoder’s and Shoemaker’s direct challenge of the racist and nativist traditions that had dominated Pennsylvania German genealogical practice up to this time was unusual, and I have not found any evidence of a similar criticism or conflict in any Pennsylvania German historical or genealogical periodicals at the time. Considering the backlash they encountered from their readership, it is remarkable that the genealogical pages of the *Pennsylvania Dutchman* continued to be compiled and published as before. This continuity highlights the significance of the creation of joint resources as a shared practice. The resources that readers and scholars created on an ongoing basis, including emigrant lists, indices of genealogical materials from the *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society* and the *Yearbook of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, or the indexing project of printed genealogies of Pennsylvania families located at major repositories, as well as personal contacts that were facilitated through the centre’s programmes and publications, played an important role in integrating different genealogical communities based on a shared understanding of genealogical practice.

This tendency was even more prominent in the partnership between the collaboration between the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, especially Don Yoder, and a group of German genealogists from the German Palatinate region. During a visit to the Palatinate in

37 Ibid., 6.

38 Russell A Kazal, *The Lost World of Pennsylvania Pluralism: Immigrants, Regions, and the Early Origins of Pluralist Ideologies in America*, in: *Journal of American Ethnic History* 27/3 (2008), 7–42.

39 Alfred Shoemaker, *The People Yes*, in: *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 3/1 (1 May 1951), 2.

40 Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*, Cambridge, MA 1998, 99–103.

41 Ibid., 102.

Figure 4: Emigrant lists, contributed by Fritz Braun, 1 March 1954

1730, 1, 1954 -

18th Century Palatine Emigrants from The Ludwigshafen Area

By DR. FRITZ BRAUN
Kaiserslautern, Germany

Following our interest in determining the European homes of our Pennsylvania emigrant pioneers, we publish here a list of Palatine emigrants who came to Pennsylvania in the 18th Century, translated from Dr. Fritz Braun, "Auswanderung aus dem heutigen Stadtgebiet von Ludwigshafen am Rhein im 18. Jahrhundert," from *Landsleute drinnen und draussen—Heimatstelle Pfalz—Mitteilungen zur Wanderungsgeschichte der Pfälzer*, Series 5 (1953), pp. 25-31. We have not included in this list the emigrants who moved eastward into Eastern Europe into the German settlements in Galicia, the Banat, the Batschka, nor the few who came to French Guiana.—D. Y.

1. **Bayer, Catharina**, daughter of Adam and Marie Bayer of Oppau, married April 1729, Conrad Wetzel, born 1697 in "Waldsiefer," emigrated 1720 or earlier to Pennsylvania.
2. **Beroth, Franz Ludwig**, from Oppau, born circa 1699, died York County, Pennsylvania, August 1778, married before 1732, Susanna [—], Reformed, came to Pennsylvania on the Ship *Winter Galaxy*, September 5, 1738. The family were Moravians and lived for awhile at Bethlehem, Pa., with branches in York County and North Carolina.
3. **Buettner (Bittner), (Johann) Caspar**, Lutheran, married at Maudsch, June 14, 1729, Maria Elisabetha Münch, daughter of Jean Noe Münch of Dannstadt and wife Johanna. Arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Thistle of Glasgow*, August 29, 1730. On the same ship was **Johannes Munch (Hans Minich)**, the father-in-law. In 1763-4 Peter Büttner of Maudsch emigrated to Cayenne in French Guiana. From the Dannstadt Church Registers, furnished by Dr. Eyslein.

**Palatines on the Ship
"Thistle of Glasgow" (1730)**
By DR. FRITZ BRAUN

4. **Eichert, Christian**, from Oppau, a Mennonite, received permission gratis in 1752 to emigrate to Nova Scotia, with wife and two children. From the *Neustadter Oberamtsprotokolle* (Protocols of the District of Neustadt), Palatine State Archives, Speyer, furnished by Dr. Friedrich Krebs.
5. **Glatz, Heinrich**, of Oppau, who appears in records of 1752 as wanting to go to Pennsylvania, was "manumitted gratis on account of his having no property." From the *Neustadter Oberamtsprotokolle*.
6. **Herget (Hergedt), Johann Peter**, citizen of Oggersheim, received in 1750 permission to emigrate to Pennsylvania, with his wife and children. This was granted upon payment of 60 florins tax plus 30 florins for his step-son, **Christoph Braun**. They arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Two Brothers*, August 28, 1750. On the same ship was **Balthasar Löffel (Löffler)**, q.v., also of Oggersheim. From the *Neustadter Oberamtsprotokolle*.
7. **Joesch, Friedrich**, and wife, of Edighelm, received permission in 1764, upon payment of the "Tenth Penny or Tithe," to emigrate to Pennsylvania, and arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Britannia*, September 26, 1764. From the *Neustadter Oberamtsprotokolle*.
8. **Kepler, Simon**, of Oggersheim, emigrated to America in 1754, arriving in Philadelphia on the Ship *Nancy*, September 14, 1754. In 1773 he petitions for the remittance of his inheritance, which was granted after paying a double portion of the Tithe. From the *Neustadter Oberamtsprotokolle*.
9. **Loeffel (Loeffler), Balthasar**, of Oggersheim, received permission in 1750 to emigrate to Pennsylvania, on paying 19 florins for the Tithe. He arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Two Brothers*, August 28, 1750, with **Johann Peter Herget** (q.v.). From the *Neustadter Oberamtsprotokolle*.
10. **Niecke (Nick), Anne Regina**, born at Rheingönheim, April 22, 1737, died at Lititz, Pennsylvania, March 10, 1768. For seven years she was in service in the *Fenstermacher Family* (from Meisenheim) in Lititz, Pennsylvania.
11. **Reuther, Anna Margaretha**, of Oppau, daughter of Hans Jacob Reuther, married **Abraham Reiber** of Sandhofen, arrived at Philadelphia on the Ship *Dragon*, October 17, 1749. The Reiber family settled in Goshenshoppen, Pennsylvania, in the house of *Hans Bauer*, and inquired after the family of **Franz Ludwig Beroth** (q.v.), according to Anita L. Eyster, "Notices by German Settlers in German Newspapers," *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, Volume III (Allentown, 1938). According to the *Oppauer Nahrungssettel* for June 12, 1718, **Hans Jakob Reuther**, aged 47, had the following family: (1) **Matthes**, aged 19; (2) **Catharina**, aged 15; (3) **Susanne**, aged 11; (4) **Anna Margaretha**, aged 9; and (5) **Hans Stefan**, aged 3, baptized January 27, 1715. **Anna Margaretha** was therefore 40 years old at the time of her emigration.
12. **Sachs, Daniel**, of Oggersheim, received permission in 1751 to emigrate to Pennsylvania, with wife and children, upon payment of a Tithe of 16 florins. From the *Neustadter Oberamtsprotokolle*.

Source: The Pennsylvania Dutchman 5/13 (1 March 1954), 13.

Germany in 1950, Yoder established contacts to genealogists and archivists in the Palatinate, including Fritz Braun in Kaiserslautern and Friedrich Krebs in Speyer.⁴² Yoder, who was particularly interested in migration genealogy, edited and translated lists of eighteenth-century emigrants from the Palatinate that Braun and Krebs had compiled from local sources, such as the *Neustadter Oberamtsprotokolle*, for the Pennsylvania Dutchman.⁴³ These lists were particularly valuable for readers who traced the histories of their families to the European continent. Yoder also encouraged readers who were researching their ancestry in Germany or Switzerland to submit detailed inquiries to him, so that he could share these with his contacts in Europe. Fritz Braun was the director of the *Heimatstelle Pfalz*, a state-funded, regional historical institute in Kaiserslautern in the Palatinate that focused particularly on Palatine emigration history and genealogy.⁴⁴

42 Don Yoder, The Pennsylvania-German Rediscovery of Europe, in: Yearbook of German-American Studies 29 (1994), 1-29.

43 Dr. Friedrich Krebs, 18th Century Emigrants from Edenkoben in the Palatinate, in: The Pennsylvania Dutchman 6/9 (1 January 1953), 9; Dr. Fritz Braun, 18th Century Palatine Emigrants from the Ludwigshafen Area, in: The Pennsylvania Dutchman 5/13 (1 March 1954), 12.

44 Das Institut für pfälzische Geschichte und Volkskunde, in: Roland Paul/Klaus Scherer (eds.), Pfälzer in Amerika/Palatines in America, Kaiserslautern 1995, 244-247; Roland Paul, Familienforschung in der Pfalz im Dritten Reich, in: Pfälzisch-Rheinische Familienkunde 49 (2000), 335-339. On the history of Pennsylvania German migration genealogy, including the postwar connections to Fritz Braun, see also: Katharina Hering,

The genealogical tradition of the German *Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung*

Fritz Braun started his career as an emigration researcher during the Third Reich, as historian Wolfgang Freund has documented.⁴⁵ Braun (1905–76) served as secretary of the *Mittelstelle Saarpfalz – Landsleute drinnen und draussen* (Saar-Palatine Mediation Center for Countrymen Inside and Outside) from 1936 until 1945 and as the head of the migration department of the Saar-Palatine Institute for Regional and Folk Research.⁴⁶ Like other regional research centres during National Socialism, the primary function of the *Mittelstelle* was to research regional emigration history and to serve as a contact for descendants of emigrants from the region. In the tradition of *Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung*, the *Mittelstelle* cultivated contacts with descendants of Palatine emigrants defined as “Volksdeutsche”, with a particular focus on the Balkan Peninsula in south-eastern Europe and in North America, primary destinations of emigrants from the Palatinate. The *Mittelstelle* also published and distributed propaganda on “Germandom” abroad, including an annual “Letter from Home”, which, according to Freund, was intended to “create a common German ethnic consciousness”.⁴⁷ After the war, and especially after the establishment of the *Heimatstelle Pfalz* in 1953, Braun became an important contact for US genealogists seeking information about their family histories in the Palatinate region.

Friedrich Krebs was an archivist at the Palatine State Archives in Speyer, where he was responsible for processing a wide range of collections and managing genealogical and historical inquiries. Krebs, a trained linguist who wrote his dissertation on the technical language of bricklayers in the Palatinate, started his work as an archivist as a second career after World War II. Before he was drafted into the German army during World War II, where he worked for the meteorological service of the air force, he worked as a high school teacher.⁴⁸ Friedrich Krebs, in particular, continued to be a regular contributor to *Pennsylvania Folklife*,

Palatines or Pennsylvania German Pioneers? The Development of Transatlantic Pennsylvania German Family and Migration History, 1890s–1966, in: *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 140/3 (October 2016): Immigration and Ethnicity in Pennsylvania History, 305–334.

- 45 Wolfgang Freund, *Palatines All Over the World*, in: Ingo Haar/Michael Fahlbusch (eds.), *German Scholars and Ethnic Cleansing, 1919–1945*, New York 2005, 155–174; Wolfgang Freund, *Volk, Reich und Westgrenze: Deutschtumswissenschaften und Politik in der Pfalz, im Saarland und im annektierten Lothringen 1925–1945*, Saarbrücken 2006.
- 46 On Braun's biography and the work of the *Mittelstelle* prior to World War II, see Freund, *Volk, Reich und Westgrenze*, 266–274, and Freund, *Palatines All Over the World*.
- 47 Freund, *Palatines All Over the World*, 158. The classic analysis of *völkisch* ideology is George Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich*, New York 1964. See also Hans-Werner Retterath's analysis of the concepts “Völkisch”, “Volk” and “Volkstum” in his dissertation: *Deutscheramerikanertum und Volkstumsgedanke: Zur Ethnizitätskonstruktion durch die auslandsdeutsche Kulturarbeit zwischen 1918 und 1945*, PhD thesis, Philipps-Universität Marburg 2000, especially 24–28, DOI: 10.17192/z2003/0646.
- 48 Friedrich Krebs †, in: *Der Archivar* 31/1 (1978), 144; Christoph Bachmann, *Dem Feind zur Wehr, den Archiven zur Ehr. Bayerische Archivare im Kriegseinsatz*, in: *Generaldirektion der Staatlichen Archive Bayerns* (ed.), *Die Staatlichen Archive Bayerns in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Archivalische Zeitschrift, vol. 96), Vienna/Cologne/Weimar 2019, 471–486, 482. I did not find any evidence that Krebs was involved in researching emigration genealogy or linguistics in the *völkisch* tradition during National Socialism, and his biographical trajectory was different from Fritz Braun's.

where he published emigration lists he had compiled from local and regional archives until after his retirement and death in 1975, supporting research from genealogists and social historians alike.⁴⁹

Genealogical research and heritage tourism

The readership's connections to Germany were strengthened by the Pennsylvania Dutch Tours of Europe, which Yoder organized beginning in 1951. Invited by Fritz Braun, the group visited the Palatinate in the summer of 1951, for example, to participate in a Palatine homecoming event organized by the regional government, "Pfälzer Drinnen und Draussen". Yoder described the Palatinate as their "ancestral home, the still fertile seedbed where so much that is precious to these Dutch souls (and tongues) of ours has its deep and ancient roots".⁵⁰ Yoder continued to organize the Pennsylvania Dutch Tour of Europe in the following years, broadening the trip and adding additional stops in Europe, including in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, and France. Fritz Braun hosted the group during their stop in the Palatinate, where he organized a visit to a local village where some of the eighteenth-century Palatine emigrants were born. Braun also helped with connecting some of the participants with distant German relatives.⁵¹

Yoder's transatlantic connections offered researchers the opportunity to pursue their genealogical research beyond North America. While only a few people were in the position to afford any of the Pennsylvania Dutch Tours of Europe, the tours sprinkled sightseeing with genealogical research as an early example of "routes to the roots" tourism. For Yoder, the contacts and friendships established during the trips "across international boundaries [...] are perhaps the most valuable part of our varied European memories. [...] We see museums, castles and cathedrals, but we also meet the people", he wrote in his 1952 travel report. He particularly valued meeting distant cousins and visiting ancestral villages on the trips, such as Mussbach, one of the villages where one of Yoder's own ancestors had emigrated from. "And perhaps [...], with more of these friendships across the sea, which we Pennsylvania Dutch toursman have made so richly in our visits to the Palatinate, the world can settle its problems peaceably after all."⁵²

Yoder's travel reports from the Rhineland in the early 1950s shows the region and its people in a positive light, and he comments on the similarities of the "Sunny Palatinate" and Pennsylvania Dutch country. It "looks like home" and remarks that they were able to communicate in the "*Mudderschprooch* of the Blue Mountains".⁵³ The focus of the experience was on

49 Friedrich Krebs, Palatine Emigration Materials from the Neckar Valley, 1726–1766, edited and translated by Don Yoder, in: Pennsylvania Folklife 24/4 (summer 1975), 15–44.

50 Don Yoder, Froehlich Palz, Gott Erhalts! Memories of our Pennsylvania Dutch Tour of the Palatinate, August 1951, in: The Pennsylvania Dutchman 3/16 (15 January 1952), 1.

51 Don Yoder, The Dutch Invade Europe, in: The Pennsylvania Dutchman, 4/8 (1 December 1952), 10–11; Don Yoder, Reunion along the Weinstrasse. Our Pennsylvania Dutch Tour of the Palatinate, in: The Pennsylvania Dutchman 4/9 (1 January 1953), 6–7.

52 Yoder, Reunion along the Weinstrasse, 7.

53 Don Yoder, Froehlich Palz, Gott Erhalts! Memories of our Pennsylvania Dutch Tour of the Palatinate, August 1951, in: The Pennsylvania Dutchman 3/16 (15 January 1952), 1, 5.

Figure 5: Report about the first Pennsylvania Dutch Tour of the Palatinate, 1951

The Pennsylvania Dutchman

Devoted to Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Culture

Vol. III, No. 16 - 3,500 Lancaster, Pennsylvania, January 15, 1952 8 Pages - 15c a copy

FROEHLICH PALZ-- GOTT ERHALTS!

Memories of Our Pennsylvania Dutch Tour of the Palatinate, August, 1951

By DON YODER

It was almost dark when the Heidelberg-Palatinate bus lumbered to a stop in the public square in Neustadt. We drove Pennsylvania Dutch Tourists climbed out clutching our little bundles of luggage--for Fritz Braun had told us to "bring only your tooth brushes and plenty of laughs"-- and we entered a new world.

A world we weren't quite prepared for! When my friend Dr. Fritz Braun of Kutztown, the principal Palatine authority on things Pennsylvania Dutch, who had been my gracious guide through the Palatinate in the Summer of 1950, had invited me by letter to bring my group to the Palatinate this summer, we didn't quite expect the real and official welcome we received. For hardly had we arrived when our march to the land from the Southsea, and following them there came groups of emigrant folk-dancers, *Bonnet Pflücker*—and up to the carb-polluted radio track and aerial and we were suddenly on the air.

Mother England is to the New England Yankee, the Palatinate is to the Pennsylvania Dutchman. It is our ancestral home, the still fertile soil where so much that is precious to these Dutch souls (and tongues) of ours has its deep and ancient roots.

Not all our ancestors came from there, but enough came to form Palatine characteristics upon the German dialect that we call "Pennsylvania Dutch." And from this hospitable land on the Rhine, righting on Alsenz, Ertzbain, Hesse, and Baden, there went out in the eighteenth century two streams of emigration. One found its way to Pennsylvania, and from Penn-



PALATINE FOLK-DANCERS SWING IT AT BILLIGHEIM

Photo by Gimpach, Anstett.

Source: Don Yoder, Froehlich Palz, Gott Erhalts! Memories of our Pennsylvania Dutch Tour of the Palatinate, August, 1951, in: *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 3/16 (15 January 1952), 1.

connecting with descendants of a pre-modern folk community, and questions about politics, including about the recent history of National Socialism and the war, were not emphasized and discussed, at least not in the pages of the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*.

The tours, in combinations with maintaining an extensive network of correspondents, facilitated the connection between German and Pennsylvania German family historians that represented genealogical traditions and motives that were rooted in different political regimes and ideologies. Once again, the exchange and creation of shared genealogical resources, such as emigrant lists, letters, and family histories, played an important role in integrating these ideological differences based on a shared understanding of genealogical practice. By facilitating this practice, the *Pennsylvania Dutchman* and later *Pennsylvania Folklife*, served as a forum that supported Pennsylvania German genealogy as an integrative, continuing practice that transcended ideological and political divisions.

Pennsylvania Folklife was published until 1997, edited by Don Yoder until the late 1970s. While the journal continued to feature many articles on Pennsylvania Dutch heritage and history, the journal's focus broadened, and it began to publish more pieces about immigrant communities from Southern and Eastern Europe, African American genealogy and history, as well as general articles about cultural and industrial heritage and tourism in Pennsylvania and beyond. While the publication of resources for genealogists, especially German emigrant lists, seemed to have been discontinued with the end of Don Yoder's editorship, the journal

Figure 6: Announcement of the Pennsylvania Dutch Tour 1953

EUROPE IN 1953

You can still join
OUR THIRD ANNUAL

**PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH
TOUR OF EUROPE**

July 8 — September 3, 1953

See Europe with a group of congenial Pennsylvanians, conducted by Prof. Don Yoder of Franklin and Marshall College. This is a general cultural tour giving you the main-line tourist attractions of seven countries—Italy, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, England, and France—in a carefully planned 58-day itinerary.

Cost, including Cabin Class staterooms on the S. S. *Constitution* eastbound to Naples, and on the S. S. *Independence* westbound from Cannes, \$1475.

For full details, write:

Dr. Don Yoder, Tour Director
Franklin and Marshall College
Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Source: The Pennsylvania Dutchman 4/13 (1 March 1953), 15.

continued to publish occasional pieces particularly relevant for Pennsylvania genealogists. A new Center for Pennsylvania Culture Studies was established at Pennsylvania State University in 1990, and the Pennsylvania German Cultural Heritage Center, an open-air museum and research centre that in many ways continues the tradition of the Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, is affiliated with Kutztown University.

Genealogy in the *Pennsylvania Dutchman* as a community of practice

While the *Pennsylvania Dutchman* was mostly of regional relevance at the time, its genealogical features can be read as a microcosm of major Pennsylvania German genealogical traditions and trends. Some scholars and practitioners pursued genealogy as a vehicle to recover an authentic essence of a pre-modern folk community, others used it to establish their membership in a hereditary society, others may have done it merely as a fun and social activity that allowed meeting and becoming acquainted with many new people, both alive and deceased. The international reach of the research activities also led to the establishment of partnerships with Fritz Braun and other former *Sippen-* and *Volks- und Kulturbodenforscher* in Germany after World War II, who had pursued genealogical research as part of Nazi Germany's aggressive agenda of ideological and territorial conquest.

As new interdisciplinary and collaborative projects in family history are being developed, this historical example of a community of practice between folklorists, historians, genealogists, and archivists highlights that neither genealogy's popularity, nor its public nature, are recent developments. New projects, including crowdsourcing projects, will almost inevitably build on resources and networks developed by scholars and enthusiasts who were studying and practicing popular history, folklore, and genealogy in the past. In an information environment where powerful commercial genealogical database companies, especially Ancestry.com, drive and force the integration of millions of public and private genealogical records and resources,⁵⁴ it seems especially urgent to make transparent the different layers of information that were created by different genealogical communities of practice with different interests.

54 On Ancestry.com see: Julia Creet, *The Genealogical Sublime*, Amherst, MA/Boston 2020 and Jerome De Groot, *Ancestry.com and the Evolving Nature of Historical Information Companies*, in: *The Public Historian* 42/1 (February 2020), 8–28, DOI: 10.1525/tph.2020.42.1.8.