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Canadian Centre for Folk  
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VAMPIRES, DWARVES, AND WITCHES  
AMONG THE ONTARIO KASHUBS

JAN. L. PERKOWSKI

Canadian Centre for  
Folk Culture Studies

National Museum of Man

National Museums of Canada

Ottawa, July 1972

Centre Canadien d'étude sur la  
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Musée national de l'Homme

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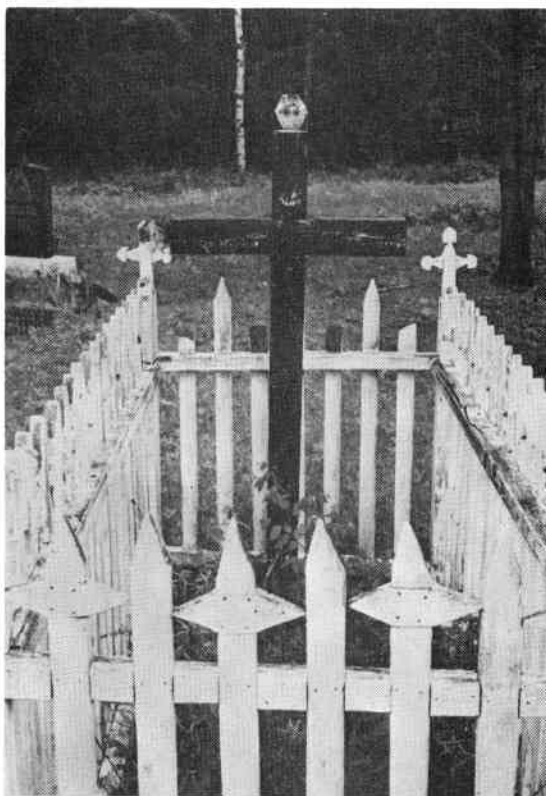
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"There was a lot of that at Wilno in the graves. They opened the graves. They cut the heads off. When those who were born vampires are not seen to, then they have to dig up the graves. First he carries off his relatives and then those as far as the bell rings. It happened at Wilno. They have dug up many, but it was not told, never revealed. They had to dig it up and cut off the head while he sat in the coffin."

—an Ontario Kashub (8)g

To Ciacia, who first told me of  
my Kashubian cousins.

## Preface

This is a book of testimony, a book of faith. Recorded here are beliefs of the Ontario Kashubs. As all men, they face the terror of death and the challenge of life; as all men, they have inherited from their ancestors an approach to these anxieties. Part of their legacy has become dormant: imbedded in proverbs, folktales, and folk customs are forgotten beliefs, ideals, and gods. Yet a portion of the legacy has persisted as a dynamic force. It is just this dynamism which is examined in Vampires, Dwarves, and Witches Among the Ontario Kashubs.

The texts on which the analysis is based were collected on two field trips. The first took place in September 1968, the second in June 1969. Both were sponsored by the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies (CCFCS) of the National Museum of Man in Ottawa. The originals of all field recordings, photographs, and sociological questionnaires are on file at the Museum. Only a selective portion of this material has been incorporated into the present work.

To the fifteen informants who were kind enough to share with me their thoughts and remembrances of things Kashubian I offer my most sincere thanks; they are the real authors of this work. To Professor Jaroslav Rudnyćkyj I owe special thanks, for it was he who first informed me of the presence of a Kashubian colony in Canada.

My friend and colleague Dr. Robert Klymasz of the National Museum of Man was instrumental in arranging Museum financing for my two field trips to Barry's Bay. Without his help and encouragement this research would never have been completed. Finally, I would like to thank

Dr. Carmen Roy, Chief of the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies,  
for her most admirable patience with the Slavic concept of time.

Austin, Texas  
1971

Jan L. Perkowski

## CHAPTER I

### Introduction

We face much in the world which we do not understand and cannot control. Our tools and weapons for confrontation are those given to us by our own people, our folk. Some call this patrimony the collective consciousness of a folk, others the "old" religion.

In many cultures the old religion is secret and submerged, because priests of the "new" religion, the formal religion of the established church, abhor its presence as a vestige of the primitive past. Nevertheless the old religion persists. Actually it is strongest among the more pious adherents of the new religion. This is not at all surprising. Those who seek comfort and power in belief are often strengthened by the act of belief itself. The exact substance of the belief is not always significant. Doubts in the efficacy of the new religion occasionally arise. Questions remain unanswered. It is then that recourse is taken to the old religion.

The old religion serves as a ready storehouse of knowledge treating undesirable, inexplicable phenomena. Its age engenders reverence and respect. Newer discoveries and solutions are felt to be less efficacious, especially in times of stress. The old religion remains a dormant legacy, which, when evoked, is capable of generating a dynamic force. This dynamism can function to produce anxiety or to relieve it, to hex as well as cure. It can be evoked to serve evil ends.

A recent increase in the use of hallucinatory drugs has brought about renewed interest in the shadows of the mind. Witches' covens



have been formed, astrologers are once again hawking auguries from the skies, and even a Satanic church has been formally and legally established.<sup>1</sup> Has the old religion emerged to challenge the formal religions openly or are the neo-Satanists merely exhibitionists flaunting the mores of the new religions? The latter is doubtless more likely.

There exist societies which have not been proselytized by any of the new religions. For them the old religion reigns supreme. However, in most western societies the new religions have almost completely supplanted the old religion. Only extinct remnants exist in fairy tales, proverbs, and other forms of oral literature. Occasionally ethnic pockets are found in which the old religion is preserved. The continuity of tradition within the given folk group has not been broken. Elements of the old religion function as a complement to the new religion. Such is the case with the Kashubs of Ontario.

The Ontario Kashubs are not a "simple," primitive, or retarded people. On the one hand, they are full fledged members of the Canadian social and cultural context; on the other, they are carriers of Kashubian culture in all its psychological, sociological, and anthropological complexity. They are both bicultural and bilingual. In relating to non-Kashubian Canadians the Ontario Kashubs use English and function within the general Canadian cultural context. In their relations to other Ontario Kashubs they speak either English or Kashubian and function anywhere on the cultural spectrum spanning the poles of the two cultures.

Daemonology is one of the most productive aspects of Kashubian folklore in Canada. It is found in the oral traditions of the

Kashubs and is not to be confused with similar elements in the Anglo-Canadian literary tradition. The daemons ("supernatural beings of Greek mythology intermediate between Gods and men")<sup>2</sup> are elements of the old religion and, as such, share in the dynamism of the old religion. Absorption of elements of the old religion into the written literary tradition divorces them from their dynamism. This dynamism can only be generated by a given folk in its own oral tradition. There is no universality of the old religion. Its dynamism is culturally tied. Herein lies the fallacy of the neo-Satanists. They either draw freely from literary sources or eclectically from several different oral traditions. They are not mindful of the fact that dynamism of the old religion is contingent upon the cultural programming of the members of a given folk. The participants in a folk ritual affect one another, but do not alter the rest of the universe. One folk's mana is another folk's tabu.<sup>3</sup>

In being bilingual, the Kashubs are fully aware of the literary characterizations of the beings in their daemonology. Very rarely, if ever, do they confuse the two. òpji or vjèšći 'vampire' are evil beings with whom one must contend in a specified manner, while Bram Stoker's literary vampire, Count Dracula, is merely a character in fiction, a creature invented for entertainment.<sup>4</sup> There is, however, the constant hazard that the researcher might superimpose concepts from literary sources in his choice of English translations for Kashubian terms. It is for this reason that complete Kashubian texts for all data cited in English are included in the appendix.

As important as texts in the original language may be, they do not present the whole picture. There is one vital aspect of the data

which cannot be included here: the complete folklore performance. The total folklore event is composed of the folklore elements in their original language, the context of the performance, and the cultural programming of the participants. Intensive study and observation frequently enable the researcher, as an outsider, to relate to the context and to acquire some feel for the cultural programming. Only then can an in depth analysis of the data be presented.

This analysis is not primarily concerned with the ultimate origins of Kashubian daemonology. All of the lore found in Canada was imported from Europe. This study focuses on function rather than origins. The questions to be answered are: what is the extent of Kashubian daemonology in Canada, how has it been changed there, and what is its function. Real function is to be differentiated from assumed function.

The texts found in the appendix represent only a portion of the total corpus. Other data collected during the field trips has also been incorporated into the analysis, since some of the informants were more willing to impart their views when the tape recorder was not turned on. To insure the privacy of such informants, none of them are referred to by name. Instead they are listed numerically. Their names and complete sociological data are on file at the National Museum of Man.

One final note of caution: Take care when you speak of daemons, lest you know not of what you speak! Our minds are powerful things. The limits of their perception are not yet known. Dare we place a value judgement on another man's means of controlling and employing this power? A complete denial of such things leaves little room for one's personal theology.



Our Lady's Church, Wilno.



St. Hedwig's Church, Barry's Bay.



General Store, Wilno.  
Translation: "Department  
and Grocery Store, Wilno."



An abandoned pioneer farm in Wilno.

## CHAPTER II

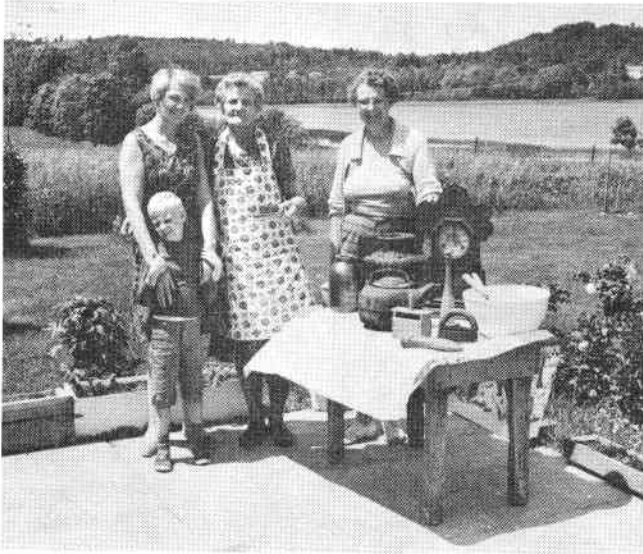
### Kashubian Settlement in Ontario

The Kashubs are a Slavic people closely related to the Poles. For the last thousand years they have lived to the west of the Vistula River in the regions around Puck, Wejherowo, Kartuzy, Gdańsk, Bytów, and Kościerzyna (see Map A). They are the survivors of the Pomoranian (from Slavic 'po' - along and 'morje' - the sea) Slavs, who settled along the Baltic seacoast from the Vistula to the Elbe. During the course of the last ten centuries the western Pomorans were gradually assimilated by the Germans who, in turn, were supplanted by the Poles at the end of the second World War. Thus the contemporary Kashubs are completely surrounded by Poles.<sup>5</sup>

The history of Kashubian immigration to Canada is beclouded by problems of citizenship and nationality (i.e. state vs. folk). In official documents the Kashubs are referred to as Prussians, since they were subjects of the Prussian King at the time of emigration from Europe. On the other hand, in the various Canadian ethnic histories they are usually referred to as Poles.

Linguistically speaking, Kashubian may be considered either a dialect of Polish or a separate Slavic language, depending upon one's time perspective. From a diachronic point of view Kashubian is the last surviving remnant of Pomoranian; from a synchronic point of view, Kashubian is a highly differentiated Polish dialect.<sup>6</sup>

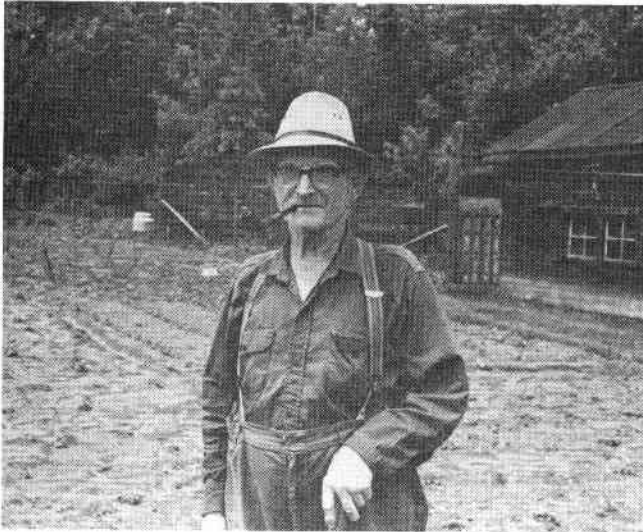
Although there were attempts to establish a Kashubian literary language first during the Protestant Reformation of the 16th and 17th centuries and again in the middle of the 19th century, these movements



Three generations of Canadian Kashubs: Mrs. Mask on Mask Island, Barry's Bay with two daughters and a grandson.



Mr. and Mrs. Piotr Chapeskie in front of their home in Killaloe.



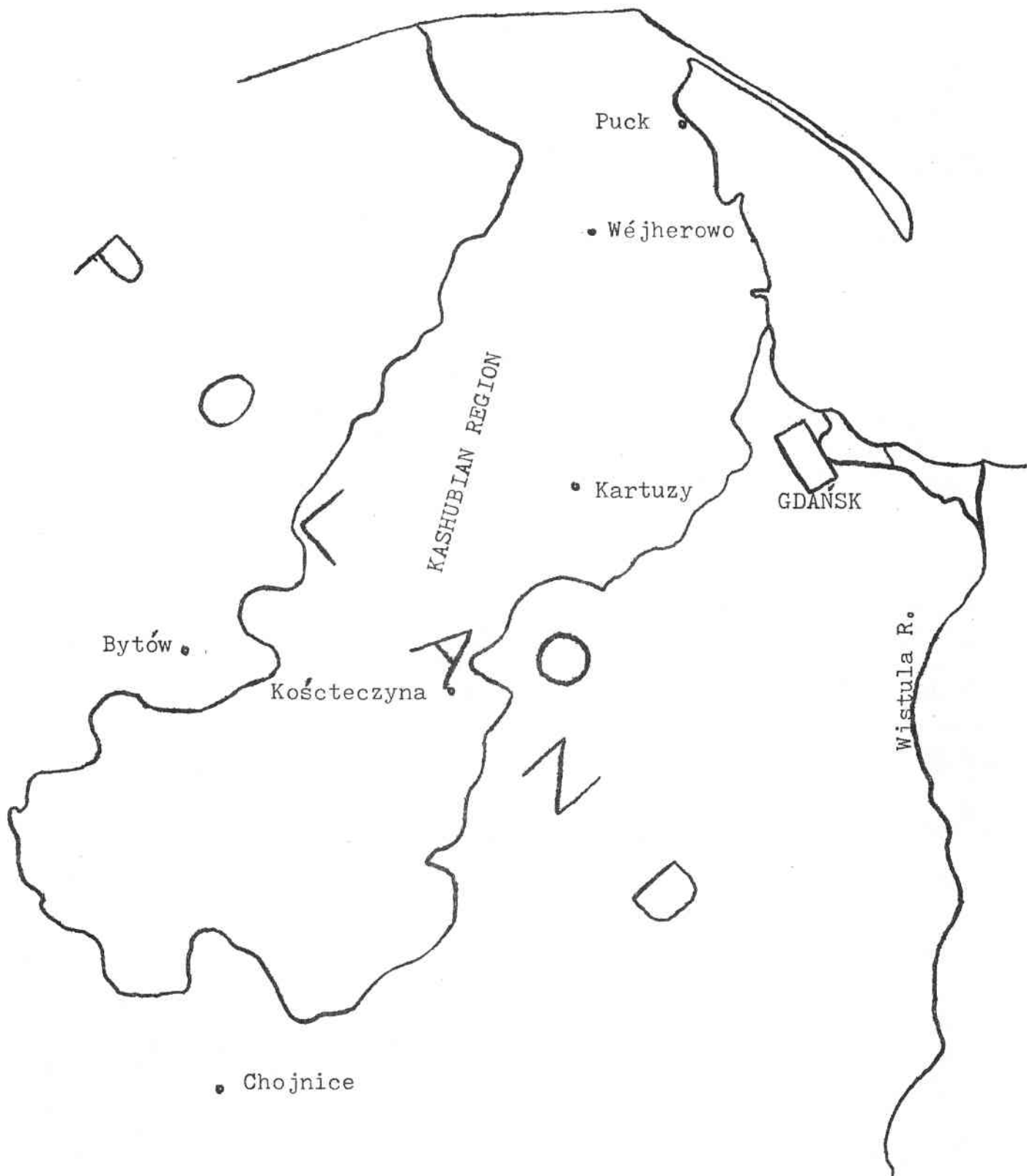
Mr. Ignacy Shalla in his garden in Barry's Bay.



Mrs. Ignacy Shalla at her spinning wheel in Barry's Bay.

MAP A: THE KASHUBIAN REGION IN CONTEMPORARY POLAND

BALTIC SEA





have never received popular support sufficient for a successful separatist movement. It is interesting to note that during its first phase of literary activity Kashubian served as the means by which German Lutheran missionaries converted the Kashubs of central Pomorania from Catholicism, thereby hastening their eventual Germanization and subsequently bringing about the end of this first period of literary Kashubian. Although the second period, begun by Florian Ceynova in the wake of newly aroused nationalism, has continued to the present day it functions as purely regional literature in contemporary Poland.<sup>7</sup> Had a more ardent nationalism been aroused among the Kashubs in former times, there is no reason why they could not have established their own semi-autonomous state and Slavic literary language as did the Macedonians, Byelorussians, and Slovaks.

The Canadian Kashubs feel that ethnically they are Poles, but of a special kind, and that Kashubian is merely a special type of Polish fit only for the most "informal" occasions. Although they speak Kashubian at home and with friends, literary Polish is used for "formal" occasions, such as reading, writing, and church oratory. There were no attempts made to establish Kashubian as a literary language in any of the Kashubian colonies in Canada. Yet their Kashubian vernacular has served and continues to serve as a vehicle for a varied array of Kashubian oral literature.

Thus, armed with Prussian passports and a Polish ethnic consciousness, the first Kashubian immigrants began to leave their homes (i.e. Lubawa, Starogard, Gdynia, Kartuzy, Tuchola, Brodnica, Puck, Chojnice, Kościerzyna, Wejherowo, Gdańsk, Tczew, and Gniew) for Canada during the early 1860's. The migration route began in Hamburg, where the

Kashubs set sail for the Port of Quebec. After they disembarked at Quebec the British Colonial Agency then sent them west on the Central Canada Railway (now the Canadian Pacific Railway) to settle newly opened lands. In those days the Central Railway terminated at Bonnechère Point, a few miles from Renfrew. Some of the first Kashubian immigrants settled in Renfrew as railroad laborers or as servants to Irish and Scottish families. Others moved on to Otter Lake and still others to Leslie Township in Quebec. The great majority, however, trekked sixty odd miles along the Openonogo Road to take up land grants in Hagarty Township. The first group of significant size arrived in 1864. In that year several hundred Kashubs settled in the Barry's Bay - Wilno area. At first the Kashubs logged for their Irish neighbors, who had begun to settle in the area several decades earlier, but farming took on increasing importance as time went on. By 1910 logging was no longer the main source of livelihood.

The influx of Kashubian immigrants from Europe was short-lived. Within ten years immigration had leveled off with approximately one hundred Kashubian families living in Hagarty Township. Between 1892 and 1896 a second wave of Slavic immigrants reached Renfrew County. During this period approximately 250 families of Galician Poles settled in the Siberia district of Barry's Bay, in the town of Barry's Bay, in Round Lake Center, and in Sherwood, Jones, and Burns Townships. Several of these later immigrants founded a Polish school.

In 1898 the final group of Kashubs arrived. They had at first settled in Webster, Massachusetts, but adverse conditions prompted forty families to move on to Canada and settle in the Paugh Lake

district just north of Barry's Bay.

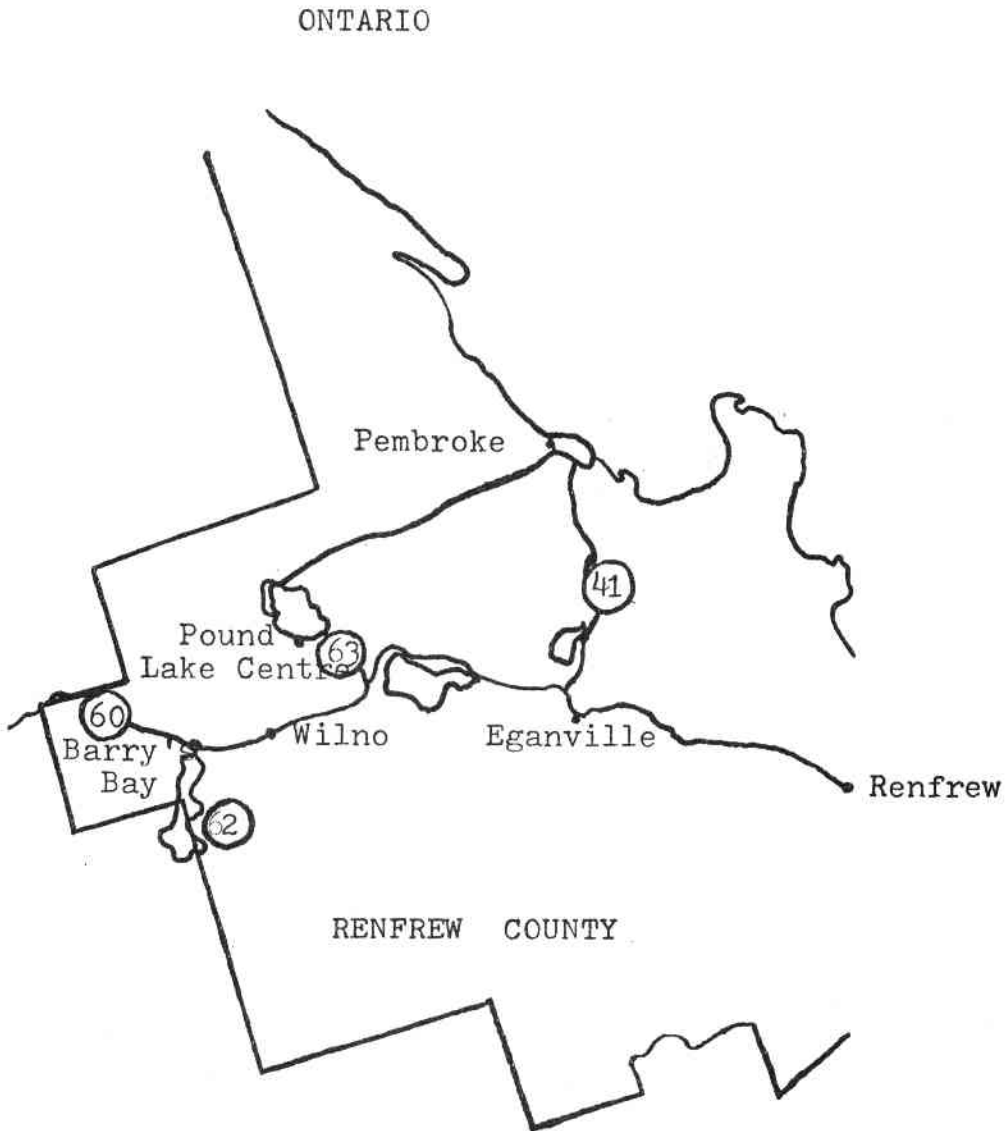
By the turn of the century Slavic immigration to Hagarty Township had ceased entirely and it was not until the end of World War II that a few Polish displaced persons settled south of Barry's Bay in and around a resort settlement called Kaszuby.

The cultural life among the Canadian Kashubs has always centered closely on the Catholic Church. All of their social organizations are religious and, through the years, not one secular group has formed. Even in recent times only 3 % of the marriages in Wilno and Barry's Bay have been mixed ethnically. Religiously mixed marriages are virtually non-existent. These facts account for the high rate of retention of Kashubian. There are even several fourth generation monolingual Kashubian speakers.

At the present time there are three main enclaves of Kashubs organized into three national Roman Catholic parishes in the Diocese of Pembroke: 1. St. Hedwig's Parish, Barry's Bay. 2. St. Casimir's Parish, Round Lake Center. 3. Our Lady's Parish, Wilno (see Map B). Contemporary bearers of the names of the first Kashubian immigrants are still to be found on these parish registers. Some examples are as follows: Blank, Burant, Burchat, Bloski, Dobek, Etmanski, Jesurski, Lurblecki, Norlock, Piekarski, Prince, Reca, Rekowski, Szola, Szczypior, Smaglinski, Szulist, Woldock, Zalewski, Chapieski, Biernacki, Cybulski, Kulas, Palubiski, Yantha, Kujack, Maika, Cyapska, Filis, Laginski, Slominski, and Retza.<sup>8</sup>

In the core colonies of Barry's Bay and Round Lake Center about 75 % of the present inhabitants are Kashubs (or Poles from the 1892-1896 immigration) and in Wilno virtually 100 %. Yet the percentage

MAP B: KASHUBIAN SETTLEMENTS IN ONTARIO



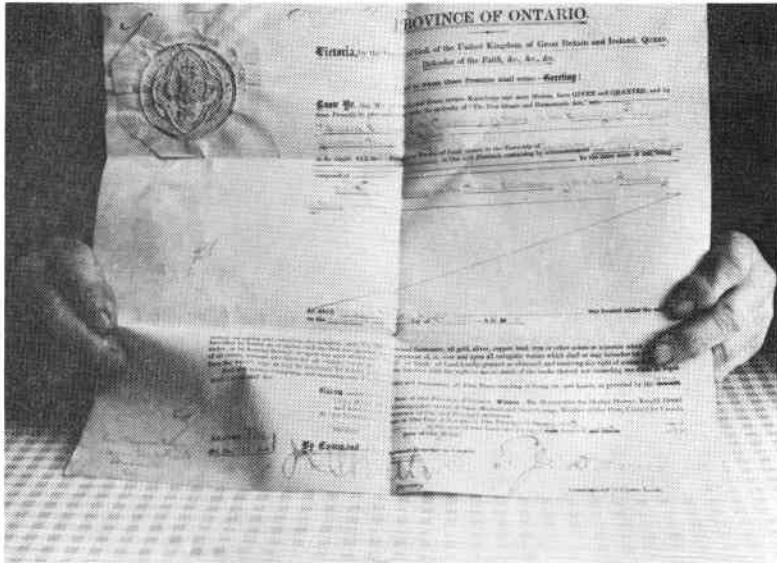
is beginning to drop, because the younger people are steadily moving to industrial centers such as Toronto and Hamilton. In Barry's Bay only one in six newly married couples settles there. In Wilno it is one in eight. In Barry's Bay there are approximately 1300 Kashubs and about 650 each in Wilno and Round Lake Center. Taking into account the Kashubs living in newer settlements such as Madawaska, Whitney, Combermere, Renfrew, Killaloe, Eganville, Cobden and Brudenell, the total is about 2500. Among these 2500 Kashubs retention of the ancestral language is quite high - over 60%. Of these, about 20 % have difficulty with English.<sup>9</sup>

Of the fifteen informants on whose testimony this study is based, eight were able to recall specific names of ancestral villages in Europe as given below.

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Places of Family Origin</u>
1	Gdańsk (?)
2	Kalisz
3	Juszki, Parchowo, Sielczno
4	Parchowo
10	Kalisz, Poznan (?)
13	Kalisz
14	Kalisz
15	Bytowo, Grabowo, Parchowo, Poznań, Jamno, Tuskowy (?)

From this list of place names it is evident that the Canadian Kashubs originated in the southern part of the Kashubian region from a belt, running south-east to north-west through the south-eastern

parts of the Counties of Kościerzyna and Kartuzy (see Map C). Those from the County of Kościerzyna were speakers of the North Zaborszczyzna Dialect of Kashubian; those from the County of Kartuzy were speakers of the Parchowski Dialect.<sup>10</sup>



An old land grant.



Carved smoking pipes and prayer book cover. Pioneer hoe.



Old church school, being developed as a local museum across from the old Wilno cemetery.

Site marker of First Polish Catholic Church in Wilno. It is found at entrance of old Wilno cemetery.





# MAP C: ANCESTRAL VILLAGES OF CANADIAN KASHUBS



- 1. Dialect Parchowski
- 2. Zaborszczynska północna.

### CHAPTER III

#### Kashubian Daemonology

The basic work on Kashubian folklore is Lorentz's The Cassubian Civilization.<sup>11</sup> Published a few years before the onset of World War II, it served as a polemic work aimed at proving the cultural affinity of the Kashubs and the Poles. Yet the tendentious nature of the work does not detract from its scholarly worth. Particularly interesting is Part II, in which Dr. Adam Fischer attempts a comparative ethnological study of the Poles and the Kashubs.

Heretofore very little has been written about the folklore of the Canadian Kashubs. In 1964 Rev. Willian O'Dwyer published Highway of Destiny, a history of the Catholic Diocese of Pembroke. The following excerpts describe two family rituals:

"Mary and John, too, met at the First wake of the pioneers of their race. They sat in with the older folks to spend the last night in the lowly cabin of the bereaved. It was not a social gathering, but a night of vocal prayer, chanted and recited. At sundown, in the silence of the primeval forest, the ancient Spiewnik Ludowy, hymn book of the Poles, was reverently brought out. Grouped around the couch of the dead, young and old sang hymns in the vernacular to the Blessed Virgin, the Angels and the Saints.

The rosary was then recited; after which the time honoured WYPOMINKY, or remembrance of the departed kin of the deceased, was begun with renewed fervour. Each ancestor in turn received special mention and a prayer.

To wind up this part of the ceremony, a final memento for all faithful departed was announced. Mary and John, as they knelt together in a corner, had occasion to do a little giggling on the side, for the elder one, Chapieski, who was the leader in this prayer, said that it would be for all the "souls who were dead". Just a slip of the tongue.

With the coming of dawn, the prayers and the chanting ceased. A frugal breakfast, then the Eight mile march on foot over bushland

Tombstone in cemetery next  
to Our Lady's Church in  
Wilno. Translation:

Etmanski  
Here rests  
the late  
Antoni Etmanski  
died May 21, 1952  
being 84  
His wife  
Jozefina Cybulska  
died on March 27, 1960  
being 94



Wooden grave marker in old  
Wilno cemetery. Translation:

Here lies Franciszek Kujac born  
March 11, 1857 and died  
December 31, 1938. He beseeches  
a Hail Mary



Wooden grave marker in old  
Barry's Bay cemetery. Translation:  
Jozef Gutowski died September 25, 1907  
4 years old He beseeches  
a Hail Mary



Old Wilno cemetery.

trail with the bier of the deceased on the shoulders of Six young men -- this, in the First Ten years of the Polish immigration...."

"John was to secure a crown lot, adjoining that of his father's One Hundred acres. A log Chapel (in Hagarty Township, only a mile away) had been constructed by Father Specht (1876). Thus the ingredients for marriage were present -- a holding, and the church.

Mary insisted that the customs of the homeland be carried out to the letter. On a given day, John's father and a neighbor would walk to Mr. S's home to ask, in John's name, for the hand of his daughter.

John's father and a neighbour, dressed in their best, proceeded to the young girl's home, where they were met by the man of the house. Exchange of greetings. The purpose of the visit explained: to intercede for John. His good qualities extolled and the material goods or holdings recounted. Parental consent obtained. A cup of good cheer to crown the success of the messengers.

Not far from the house they met John, who read the answer in the father's beaming face. He hurried to claim his future bride and make final arrangements for the marriage.

In those days, the bridal party walked to the Church and home again, accompanied by all the neighbors from far and wide. Gala national costumes were worn. Flags and bunting fluttered in the hands of revellers. A musician nearly always kept the throng cheered and in step, by his lively polkas on the accordion or violin.

A proud day it was for Wilno Parish. In later years, the First bride from the settlement now known as Barry's Bay, Eight miles away, was driven to the church in a home-made wagon with hardwood disk wheels sawed from maple logs.

The festivities at the home of the bride lasted for at least two days. One of the many features of the celebration was for each man to have a dance with the bride. A necessary preliminary to this privilege was an offering deposited in a jar, conveniently placed, and guarded by the head of the house.

It was usually an endurance test, and bravely suffered by the young, vivacious bride: but she got nothing as a prize for her fatigue, except, too often, rough handling by semi-or-wholly-intoxicated guests. The collection pot was taken by the father, to defray the expenses of the wedding, especially the cost of the liquors consumed.

Mary often repeated, to the time of her death, the story about her crushed toes, her bleeding legs and aching sides, that resulted from the enthusiasm of her male well-wishers on her wedding day.

As the years sped on, as everywhere, abuses of many kinds, not only at weddings, but in gatherings, cropped up amongst the Polish people. Too much strong drink was nearly always the cause, as it is today.

Father Jankowski, on his arrival, met the challenge, with his fiery oratory and velvet-covered steel wallop.

The newcomers during Father Janowski's administration brought with them a different culture to that of the earlier arrivals. They, too, had their quota of insincere Christians, but, whatever their differences in up-bringing and customs, foibles and fancies, they all had a common purpose in coming to the new world -- to be able to practice their religion in freedom and peace."<sup>12</sup>

Mr. William Makowski, in his book History and Integration of Poles in Canada, also describes several family rituals:

"After holy mass the parishioners gather together in front of the church exchanging greetings and chatting for a long time before going home. Christmas Eve celebrations are particularly important in this area. At the moment of the appearance of the first star, the family sits down to a well decorated and food-laden table to share the Christmas bread, in remembrance of family unity and Christian love. In the event of a death, family members, relatives, and members of the community, assemble at the death-bed to hold a wake. These prayers often last the entire night before the burial takes place.

Another interesting aspect is their weddings. The celebrations are long and often last for days. During the celebrations there is much drinking and merry-making, and there are usually special chants and rituals to mark the occasion.

During the long winter nights, the members of the community often spend their time at the parish hall where social activities were held. Unfortunately, as elsewhere, these traditions are slowly disappearing and are being replaced by television and movies. Yet they are still present here, and they distinguish the Polish community in the Renfrew area from other Polish communities in Canada."<sup>13</sup>

Although several researchers have gathered data, the only known published descriptions of the folkways of the Canadian Kashubs are the two quotations given above.<sup>14</sup> These texts are quite similar in that

they describe family and calendar rituals, those genres most apparent to the casual observer. Closer scrutiny would have disclosed such phenomena as a unique system of wedding invitation, in which the best man, decked out in a Sunday suit with a flower on one shoe, a pistol in one hand, and a parasol in the other, recites a long poem of invitation to the residents of each neighboring farm. Still greater perseverance would have disclosed a submerged but rich cache of lore -- daemonology.

Foremost among the daemons of the Canadian Kashubs are the vampire, the witch, the dwarf and the succuba. These daemons, neither fully human nor fully supernatural, are of two types: those whose basic nature is human (the vampire and the witch) and those whose basic nature is supernatural (the dwarf and the succuba).

There are yet other daemons, but their appearance is sporadic. They do not appear with any frequency or regularity. For the most part they are ghosts and devils of various sorts. Informant (8) remembered seeing a phantom white horse with a black spot which suddenly appeared in her yard and just as suddenly vanished. The daughter of informant (1) remembers the tale of a local man who was buried without shoes. One night there was a strange knock on the door of his house. He had returned for his shoes. The following are texts in a similar vein:

(8)q. My daughter once also saw a ghost - without a head.<sup>15</sup>

(3)e. He said that a person who dies will not come again here to this world. But he said, however, that a person came to the priest Jankoski - it was Monsignor Bernadski who told this. His housekeeper told me that the man came to him three times and the priest immediately fled to where

she was. He was scared.

- (4)d. Something was haunting a house. In one room was a ghost. Everyone who went to sleep there in that room fled. The ghost frightened him. There was a wise guy who said, "I am not afraid to sleep at your place. I will sleep there. There's nothing there to scare me." So he went and got into bed. Something came and -- I'll tell you that in English, "Just me and you! Just me and you! And he got scared. He thought himself. He said, 'Just give me time to put me boots on! It'll be just you!'"
- (7)k. Gaunt and it had a scythe was the way the first ones described death.
- (4)c. At night I got up to go to the bathroom. I went out. It was pitch black. You couldn't see anything but pitch black. I saw such a small devil. He jumped back.
- (8)a. They went to Toronto. He saw it coming from the forest. It crept out and was walking while fire poured from its face. It was all black and fire came from its face. And he said it had a long tail.
- (8)r. 'Smèntek' is a bat. It flies. It looks like a little devil.

Of the Smetk (smèntek) Dr. Lorentz says, "The Cassubians know not only one devil, but quite a number, who have various names, as: Lécaper,



Jærk, Zgrzæcha, Zgrzidlok, without, however, being further distinguishable. An exception is the Smetk, whose seat is on the Łasô gôra or Łiska near Gostomie, district of Kartuzy. But the people have nothing more to tell of him."<sup>16</sup> This is a good example of an element of the old religion continuing its existence in the lore of a people, but in a submerged, hidden manner. Further affirmation of this is given in the following testimony:

(7)1. The people have such proverb: 'smântek' will take it. What it is I don't know.

The vampire (Kashubian: òpji or vjěšći) is well represented. Practically every informant has something to say about this daemon. Pieced together, their testimonies attest to the fact that the vampire exists among the Canadian Kashubs much in the same way as it existed among their ancestors in Europe many years ago.

Dr. Lorentz describes the European vampire as follows: "The vampire is called vjeszczi or wupji by the Cassubians; in Southern Cassubia the term njełôp also occurs. The man who becomes a vampire after his death was destined to it from his birth; if destined to become a vjeszczi, he wears a little cap on his head at his birth; the future wupji is born with two teeth. The latter is the more dangerous of the two, since his becoming a wupji cannot be prevented before the death of the man; but if one takes the little cap from off the head of the future vjeszczi, dries it, grinds it to dust when the child is seven years old, and gives it to the child with its drink, all danger is averted. During life, neither the future vjeszczi nor the wupji are distinguished by any special peculiarity. According to some, they look and live like other

men. Other accounts, however, have it that they are of a restless, excitable nature and have a bloated, blood-red face -- 'czervjoni jak vjeszczi' (as red as a vampire) is a Cassubian saying -- refuse to take the Eucharist in the hour of their death and reject the consolation of the priest. But after death the vampire can always be recognized, whether vjeszczi or wupji: he becomes cold slowly, retains the red colour of face and lips, his limbs do not stiffen, spots of blood often appear on his face and under his finger-nails.

"The vampire does not suffer real death. At midnight he awakens and first eats his own dress and flesh, and then leaves the tomb and goes to visit his kinsfolk, first the near relations and then the more distant ones, and sucks the blood from their bodies, so that they die. If all his blood-relations have died, he rings the church bell, and, as far as the sound reaches, all who hear it must die. He sometimes begins his ghastly doings as soon as the dead body has passed the threshold, in other cases, again, days and weeks intervene. On opening the tomb of a vampire, he is found sitting up in his coffin with open eyes, he moves his head and sometimes stammers a few unintelligible words. He has eaten his clothes and shirt down to the waist.

"In order to be protected against the doings of the vampire, care has to be taken in the first place that the dying person receives the Eucharist. If a little earth from under the threshold is put in his coffin, he cannot return to the house. Further, the sign of the cross is made on his mouth, and the crucifix from a rosary or a coin is placed under his tongue for him to suck. A brick is put under his chin, so that he may break his teeth on it. Or a net is put into the coffin, all the knots of which the vampire must undo before he can leave his

tomb, and this lasts many years, for, according to some, he can undo only one knot a year. Or a little bag full of sea-sand or poppy-seed is placed in his coffin, or the way to the grave is strewn with sea-sand or poppy-seed; the vampire must then count all the grains before he is able to get out and return to the house, and this likewise lasts a very long time, for, according to some authorities, he counts but one grain a year. He is also laid in the coffin face downwards, so that he may not find the way to the upper world, but descend deeper and deeper into the earth.

"If, however, all precautions have been neglected, there remains only one remedy: one must open the tomb of the vampire at midnight, and drive a long nail into his forehead, or, better still, cut off his head with a sharp spade and put it between his feet. Then a stream of dark blood will flow from the wound, some of which should be caught and given to the sick kinsman with his drink; he will then recover.

"The belief in vampires is still alive among the Cassubians. As late as the first decade of the present century, a tomb was opened near Puck, and the body desecrated by cutting off the head. Several attempts were made about the same time in the district of Kartuzy, but ineffectually."<sup>17</sup>

Few of the informants distinguished between two types of vampires. In most instances the terms wùpji and vjèšči are synonymous. The one occurrence of jèci (4a) among the texts cited below is most probably from jiza, jeza, an old term for witch.<sup>18</sup>

- (13)b. One they called a vampire (wùpji) and another a vampire (vjèšči), but I don't know the difference. Some were

born so that they had teeth right away and some were born so that they had that blotch in the mouth. But I don't know which were the vampire (vjěšči) and which were the vampire (wùpji), you know. They said that you had to take precautions with them at death. When they died, it seems to me, they poured sand from the grave into the coffin and they hid poplar pieces from the doctor, having placed it under the sheet. If he came to in the grave, he would carry off his relatives.

(7)n. Vampires (vjěšči) - it was those people who, when they were born, some had a tooth. I don't know if they were vjěšči or ùpi. Some said that when a person was very red all of a sudden, he was a vampire (wùpji). They said that when he died he then took his relatives with him. They died suddenly when he rang the bell. This I remember: the crosses of poplar, poplar crosses which they put into the coffin. I saw how they made them.

(12)b. It was the kind of person who was born with teeth. Then they would say that he was a vampire (vjěšči). Yeh, but then before they buried him they had to take good caution. To take precautions with him, when they had the chance, they cremated him or put something under the tongue or under....So they were able to recognize such people. Here in the vicinity there were certainly a lot of them, but I don't remember any more.

- (2)b. Some said that when a child was born and he had on his head that kind of cap, he was a vampire (vjèšči).
- (8)f. A vampire (òpji) is born. The sign of one type of vampire (òpji) is a tooth and of another (vjèšči) a membrane cap. It happened after I married him. There a vampire (vjèšči) was born to some people. The child was fine, baptized. Everything was good and he died. I was there. It was forty years ago. And my neighbor was there. They said that I was to sew a garment for the child and I took it and was sewing the garment, but I said to Mrs. Martin Etmanski, "Come here. The child is alive. The child is coming to life, but the mother dying." And then Mrs. Etmanski said, "Yes, but I will put it straight." She took a needle. From the ring finger, but I can't say whether it was two drops or three, she drew blood. The blood was alive and she administered it. When she gave it from the girl to the mother, the mother got better and began to sit up. The child grew cold and they buried it. If it had been layed out for burial, she would have been taken dying to the grave.
- (4)a. Vampire (jèci) - He died. He was buried. He was ringing the bell, as far as you could hear the bell, you know. Out in the country or any place, whoever heard the bell, he died. They used to put that, you know, what they saw to him with. When they done that, then they couldn't do it.

Although the two types of vampire are no longer distinguished by name, the birth of a vampire is still marked by the presence of teeth or of a membrane cap (13b, 7n, 12b, 2b, and 8f above). The custom of burning the membrane to avert danger is also practiced. According to informant (12):

(12)c. Mother said that I had that cap on the head and that it was burned. Such a person is supposed to be lucky, but I don't know.

Informant (12) does not recall having ingested the ashes when she was seven, but this is something her mother would hardly announce to her. The ashes were probably hidden in a favorite food.

Beyond infancy vampires are indistinguishable from other people despite survival of the expression 'red as a vampire' (7n above). The seemingly contradictory description of a vampire (given below) is actually a step toward generalizing the concept to include all malformed infants.

(1)a. Vampire (wùpji) - it was not able to speak the way we spoke. They did not have the kind of brains we have. They were just like a lower form of person. And some were born like wild animals. I remember that a local girl had in our town a child just like a wild animal.

The critical period in the life cycle of a vampire is its burial. It does not undergo death in the real sense:

(14)c. A person was a vampire (vjěšči). That he was living, sort of -- didn't die. His flesh didn't become rigid.

To insure true death and thereby render the vampire harmless, certain precautions must be taken. Small crosses made of poplar are placed in the coffin. On occasion one is placed under the tongue or under the chin. Sand is also poured into the coffin. There are also instances of placing copper coins over the eyes and one half of a five-cent piece under the tongue (13b, 7n, 12b above and 3a, 7a, 7b, 8h, and 14a below).

- (3)a. A child died and it did not have a tooth. They thought that it was perhaps a vampire (vjěšći) or something like that. They saw to it, people said. They split a five-cent piece in half and put it under the tongue.
- (7)a. He made that kind of cross. They put it, it seems to me, under the chin.
- (7)b. A vampire (vjěšći) when he died - but this surely did not happen. I did not believe it, but many did believe in things like that - that he rung a bell and then as far as the bell was heard the people died. Against that they made those little crosses, so that he could not do that. Our elders told it that way.
- (8)h. They saw to him at death so that he would not take anyone with him. Some sand was put in and those little crosses.
- (14)a. Sometimes they used to close their eyes with coppers, you know.

If these precautions are not taken, the vampire will quit his grave to ring the church bell. His relatives, upon hearing the bell, die (4a,

7b, 7n, and 13b above). Others died as well:

(8)u. Mrs. Kilby said that the grandfather was a vampire (vjěšči or òpi). He wasn't properly seen to. Fourteen people, counting my son, died. One a year. They just died suddenly.

There does not appear to be a clear understanding among most of the informants concerning the means by which the vampire kills.

Informant (8), however, describes the classic means - blood sucking:

(8)t. When we were there on that farm something came to my daughter. Something came in the night and drew blood from her arm. It was a vampire (vjěšči or wòpi). It came to my daughter at night and took marrow. There was a sign. A ring was visible. She was weak and had all her blood drawn out. It healed later. What they did is forgotten. Mind you, he came at night, when she was sleeping. It was a vampire (vjěšči or òpi) that came. Have you ever heard of such a thing? We didn't tell anyone anything. We didn't do anything. She wasn't sick at all. She was kind of weak for awhile, you know. She was about sixteen, fifteen years. We kept it a secret. We never told anybody.

This bit of family history was divulged with a great deal of reticence on the part of the informant. For her, the incident is something to be ashamed of and to hide. Being knowledgeable in vampire lore, she also cites a cure for the victim in which blood from the vampire is given to



the victim in drink (8f above).

If proper precautions were not taken at burial and the vampire succeeded in claiming its victims, there was one last recourse - to decapitate him:

(8)g. There was a lot of that at Wilno in the graves. They opened graves. They cut the heads off. When they die and were born vampires (òpji, vèšči) and are not seen to, then they have to dig up the graves. First he carries off his relatives and then as far as the bell rings. It happened at Wilno. They have dug up many, but it was not told, revealed. They had to dig it up and cut off the head while he sat in the coffin.

The Kashubian vampire has changed little in its transition from Europe to Canada. The only innovation of note is the use of poplar crosses during burial instead of a rosary crucifix. All else has been retained. Although vampires appear now and again, they do not play a major role in the lives of the Canadian Kashubs. The increasing availability of hospitals for births and mortuaries for burials hinders the detection of vampires. When the close personal link between a community and the birth and death of each individual is broken, much of the dynamism of the vampire daemon is sapped away. He cannot easily be detected at birth, nor can he be detected or seen to at death. Deaths, which would have been attributed to him in earlier times, are now attributed to other causes.

The practise of witchcraft is still very much alive among the Canadian Kashubs. Witches, both female (čarovníca) and male (čarovník), are distinguished from ordinary people in that they have the power to cast a spell for some evil purpose. They are not only able to affect the well-being of men, but of their property as well.

Specific knowledge concerning the secret rituals of witches has been lost. Details of the means of becoming a witch or of witches' gatherings on Bald Mountain are not known to the Canadian Kashubs.<sup>19</sup>

Although čarovníca is the basic term for witch, remnants of others forms are still to be found:

(7)j. A witch guselník is like a witch (čarovníce).

(9)c. The one who believes in those witches and all that are called a güşloš.

(14)e. jòza - that's a mischief maker.

During his term as Pastor of St. Hedwig's in Barry's Bay, Father Bernadski was known to preach against witches, calling them 'goats'. Apparently this was of little avail, since there are said to be at least ten witches in Barry's Bay at the present time:

(5)e. Witch - There's so many of them. My dear, will I tell you that or not? My own sister is married to one of them. She didn't know it. She doesn't believe it yet and my brother is married to another one. This is what hurts me the worst, because my brother and my sister got married to one family. My sister is married to one of them. Her father-in-law was one of them and then there's another

brother and there's another brother and there's another sister and her daughter is the same thing and they're still living, except the father is dead. And when that father was living out on the farm there was nobody on that farm except his wife. His wife suffered a lot. She died. That man was there all by himself on that farm and he was fighting with the devils in the barn. People heard him.

The European notion of a compact between witch and devil as the source of the witch's power is not held in Canada. The Canadian Kashubs believe that each witch is possessed by a personal devil. She is driven to implant her devil in an innocent victim. Fortunately not all people are susceptible to spells. They are simply immune:

- (9)b. Each witch works with a devil. If he doesn't implant it in someone - he must - because if he doesn't implant it in someone, then it trails him himself.

When a witch is about to die, according to informant (8), she passes on her devil to a new witch, frequently a relative, thereby creating whole families of witches. One initiates another. It is not possible to become a witch simply by abjuring God, as was the case in Europe.

The method of implantation is a blow on the shoulder. It is usually delivered upon entering or leaving church, never inside during the service. Since the church is the center of communal activity, it provides the witch with easy access to her intended victim. The antidote to such a hex is an immediate answering blow on the shoulder of the witch,

in hopes that the devil will return to its owner. On Sunday morning such doings provide a spectacle of unusual aggressiveness on the part of otherwise docile old ladies.

- (1)f. My grandmother said that if someone hit you here (shoulder) this way, then dodge it. Hit him right away. Nothing will happen to you, but, if you do not do this, you will be sick for years. You have to hit that person back no matter who he is.

Implantation may also be effected through additives to the victim's food or by the 'evil eye'. Not only people, but animals, rifles, and crops can be jinxed by the evil eye:

- (8)s. They say if he doesn't touch you, you know, they can implant it in a person, even if he doesn't touch him.

Once hexed, not all hope is lost. One may seek the advise of a black magician (čarnoksòžník), who has the knowledge and power to undo evil spells:

- (3)d. Black magician (čarnoksòžník) - they are those who break spells. They said when they were eating that he can put something in the person's or family's food, or something like that to the one hexed by a witch. A witch (čarovník) hexes people and a black magician can remove the spell.
- (9)a. A black magician (čárnie kšěžník) is like a witch. He can cast out a witch's devil. They can tell who did it.

Informant (2) was once advised by an Irish Catholic physician to apply to Mrs. S, a local black magician of German ancestry, for a cure of her physical ills. Although all of the witches active among the Kashubs appear to be Kashubs themselves, the black magicians tend to be of other ethnic groups.

Kashubian witches wreak their evil in several ways. However perpetrated, the casting of spells is central to their activity:

- (14)d. There were many witches. They told how a witch could hex you. They could do something to make someone sick. When I was already quite grown, I still feared witches. One family, all of it, all the sisters were, they said, witches.
- (7)i. Some say that some of those doctors who are now healing believe that the people were hexed.
- (7)o. Many said that when someone was ill or something he was hexed.

There are several accounts of food implantation:

- (8)p. My aunt was there. They were preparing a picnic. And so a day before for the priests, there were three: priest Bernadski, priest Słomiński, and one more. They wanted to make dumplings for the priests, you know, filled dumplings for supper. No one there - the women were working, the men were working - wanted to prepare it. But one, that witch, was talked into preparing those dumplings. Everyone poured in there around the table, where they were to eat and priest Słomiński said that he was first. He wanted to

fill up on those dumplings. As soon as he put the first piece in his mouth, he began to choke and the priest had a doctor and immediately began to die and died before reaching the hospital. No one ate those dumplings. They were whispering among themselves that she had implanted his food. The priest died young.

A look of false admiration which causes sickness is attributed to the evil eye:

- (8)l. Horses get the evil eye. If someone sees a nice horse and is jealous, then the horse lathers, falls, and dies. Some were able to cure it. He would take his underpants, wipe with them backwards and said something, but he didn't tell anyone. He removed the evil eye from the horse.
- (2)c. They said that when a horse was hexed he sweated a lot.
- (7)e. He thought that, as they said, a horse was hexed. And it was a very nice horse. And there was a person who came to us and they then harnessed the horse, since we wanted to ride to town. And they stroked the horse, because he was such a beautiful horse and that man who had come there kept saying that he was such a nice horse. After we had gone out a bit the horse got sick. He was all sweated.
- (1)d. When a small child was born, they did not want to show him to certain people, because they said that they could bewitch him.

- (1)b. A woman told me...why...why she has been dead a long while. She said that she had some geese, young goslings. And there came a woman. She said, "Oh. You have such nice goslings." And on the next day all were already lost. They died. So she said, "It was a witch." But I do not know where the witch came from...She had evil eyes.

If after a stranger visits, a domestic animal dies or ill befalls the farm in some other way, the stranger was an evil spirit:

- (8)o. We bought a farm, a good farm. And on that farm things were going so well that he hired a man to work for him in the forest. He didn't do anything in that forest for a very long time. He worked for him and then he didn't have anywhere to go, that man, and I didn't want him. But he wanted to work for us even for nothing. But he told him this way, "I don't want you to work for nothing. I'll pay you for the work." We had a lot of forest. He stayed at our place. Well, sir, when he stayed with us he so reversed everything that we finally sold the farm. There was no profit from the money. My auntie told me not to keep that man. Wherever members of his family work, everyone gets poor and loses everything. My mother said the same thing. They surrounded our family, those witches.

The witches have been known to concoct love potions, to kill animals by making seven crosses, and to practise sympathetic magic:

(13)c. A witch is a person who could be in the house and at the same time milk her cow. But on New Year she went to a neighbor and collected some feed, hay, or something. From you he collected from your liquids. They go home and his livestock wasn't fat and yours was poor. There were a lot of such differences, by God. There were those who could deliver a person to the devil, so that he gets sick and so on.

The several practising black magicians are well patronized. In the minds of many of the Kashubs there is no distinction between a black magician and a faith healer. Two of the most noted black magicians of the recent past were both Germans, Mrs. S and Mrs. H. There are many accounts of the help rendered by Mrs. H. Informant (3) once received the following talisman, written in German, from her:

Gut Glück komm zu mir (Good luck come to me). Another talisman was a piece of paper stuck through with a pin. It was meant to bring luck in hunting. Informant (4) had the following to say of Mrs. H:

(4)b. I know my neighbor, Philip Karsubecki, down there. He was living a little close place from my place. Lightning struck. It was a pig killed and when the pig was killed Mrs. H she was the one that was curing them. And finally she told him, "Anything die on you now from now on take the heart out and bury it in the ground till I come back. Whoever done that, he got to pay for it all or die. He went out there, really believing into that. They buried the hide. Mrs. H, when he came back with her, she came there. She took the hide.



They digged it out of the ground. She was roasting it. The hide was really smelling bad. Roasting it out in the summer kitchen, it was such a bad smell, he said he couldn't go near. He said... he was making a little bit of moonshine. He took a little bit of moonshine. She said, "He'll soon be coming. He'll soon be here. If he's not here now in a moment he's dying or he's suffering. He's going to run. He'll be running down here, coming." He never came. The next day Mrs. H told him, "That man must be dead." And my neighbor went out there past their house. He was going to go down there and see if he would hear anything about it, if he was sick or dead or something. He said, "That fellow had a team of horses. He was going up town."

At the present time Mr. D and Mr. P are the two most heavily patronized black magicians. The former is French and the latter German. Mr. D is considered particularly efficacious because he is a seventh son of a seventh son and a former blacksmith. He cures both witches' spells and physical illnesses of unknown causes:

- (8)v. I was sick in my chest. I told him, "There's something the matter with me here. I swell and my liver doesn't work." Ever since I have been well. They say that you have to believe when he cures. He told me he's a seventh brother. And, mind you, he has such great power that when he cures you saying, "Put your hand on mine," it's like heat coming from a stove. You can feel it and he said, "You be cured."

The following is an exact copy of the incantation against hemorrhage given by Mr. P to informant (5):

"There Went 3 Wemen over.  
The Blood They locked all Three  
a goodby bargian  
That it dont Bleed and  
That it dont heal and  
That it aint sore  
in the name of god father  
son and holy gost."

The appearance of erysipelas and other similar disorders is attributed to supernatural causes and it is to a black magician that one must go for a cure:

- (2)d. Erysipelas makes you very sick. There were those people who could charm it away. I had erysipelas on the leg. The doctor told me that it was erysipelas. He told me that I had to be given a charm. I went to that woman and all I remember is that she said, Holy Mary was walking in the world across a mountain and she was carrying three roses. One she lay one here, the second there, the third there.
- (7)f. I got erysipelas on my face. I then went there and there was a woman who charmed it away. The woman helped me right away.

- (5)d. When you break something, get erysipelas or something like that, these things are charmed away. My aunt was one. She could do it.
- (8)m. I can cure styes. There was a man who was working as a construction smith. He said, "Don't fix my lunch this morning, because I'm going to the doctor." I said, "What's the matter with you, Alex?" He said, "Look at my eyes. There is white stuff in them." I said, "The doctor is not going to cure that for you. Do you want me to cure you? You have to answer me." He didn't want to answer. I said, "Answer when I ask you." He didn't want to, but lightly, as a joke, he said it to himself. But I told him, "You answer what I tell you to answer." I said three times, "You have a sty in the eye. Answer: "That you are, o prophet." Each time he became more angry with me, and the last time I said, "You have a sty in the eye. Think hard. That you are, o prophet." And, mind you, he went to work and never went to the doctor. It disappeared. I cured quite a few that way.
- (8)n. Don't you know our aunt could charm away eczema? She never got it afterward. She had eczema all over the body, my daughter, my adopted girl.
- (1)e. Sometimes someone wrenches his arm. And so a girl here was able to do it. We took the child there to her. She then said an incantation there.

Informant (3) tells of a black magician who threw hot coals three times over a hexed horse to cure it, of St. Benedict medals used as charms against evil, and of people who can detect the presence of dead people. Informant (8) states that yellow jaundice can be cured by hanging a carrot pierced with a pin under the chimney. As the carrot withers, the jaundice disappears. Still other cures are effected by black magicians as follows:

- (8)w. She took a holy candle. She lit it and inhaled the smoke from the candle. I helped her.
  
- (3)c. She said that that man was there. And the horse in the stable did not eat and sweated so much. He was so wet and warm and want to break away. And she said that she went to read the Gospel of St. John three times. And the horse was all right.

Though transformed through time, witchcraft has remained a potent force among the Canadian Kashubs. As in the past, all manner of ill luck and ill health is attributed to witches' spells. There is no longer a sure test to discover a witch. One simply knows intuitively who the witches are.

The witches themselves are in some way accursed, possessed, and they are somehow impelled to sow evil or face an unnamed torment. One may not elect to become a witch. It is a matter of predestination, although they do tend to run in families.

The most important change in the witchcraft tradition has occurred with the black magician, i.e., those who deal in "white" magic, the

curers of spells. Rather early in their stay in Canada the Kashubs began to equate black magicians with evangelistic faith healers who are able to cure both spells and undiagnosed diseases not of supernatural origin. In recent times black magicians are more frequently sought for medical consultation than for the breaking of spells. A process of depersonalization is taking place. Less and less is remembered of the workings of witches. Emphasis has begun to shift to the black magicians and their cures. There is less interest in the way spells are cast than in their cure. As in the past, the ill fortune and ill health attributed to witchcraft continues to appear, but they are now less likely to be attributed to the hexing of a specific witch. Concern for the cause of an inexplicable malady is held to be the province of the black magician. Interestingly, the majority of black magicians are of other ethnic origins: French, German, or English. The result then is a gradual loss of the Kashubian witchcraft tradition in favor of a cross cultural tradition of faith healing.

Dwarves (krùsfunti) are domestic daemons, whose dispositions are not all bad. In habit and physique they resemble human beings, except that they are very small. They wear red suits and red caps. They inhabit farm houses and other farm buildings. In the stables they have the habit of braiding horses' manes. Their most serious prank is the substitution of a human infant with a deformed child of their own. On the other hand, it is possible to extort gold from them by snatching one of their red caps.<sup>20</sup>

The dwarves in Canada have preserved the habits and customs attributed to them in Europe. Their most bothersome activity is the braiding of horses' manes:

- (11)a. I don't know anything anymore about those dwarves, but I heard how they said that once dwarves really lived behind the stove here. I didn't see them there, you know. They say that someone must have been living there, because several came and said, "Let Matyl go home, because Daniel is not living." And then behind the stove crying started.
- (5)i. My father was working in a logging camp. Mama and my bigger sister once were on their way to the barn. There were horses, a cow, me and my brother. We were sitting this way. We were sitting the way we used to, because we had that first kind of seat made from a log. It was a stump lined probably with clay, and there was such a small hole in it, you know. There was a woman. I kept looking at her and was very much afraid. My brother sat on the side so that he didn't see anything. The little one left. She had a hat and a nice dress and wore shorts with buttons. She went past. I sat so still and looked. She crawled into the hole and she disappeared. So when my Mama arrived and began to look she had already dropped out of sight. It was a very small person. He had gone. I don't know if my father did it or if it was real or if it was a dwarf.
- (5)f. O yes, about those dwarves. They are those dwarves. We were very much afraid of that. They told various stories about how the dwarf came, braided the horse. They so braided it that it was impossible to unbraided it. I still remember how our horses had it.

- (7)c. About a dwarf they said that they were small people. I do not know. They were red. They said that they braided a horse's mane.
- (5)a. They twist tails and manes. They bothered horses, they braided them.
- (2)a. My father went to the stable. The horses' manes were tangled and they said that the dwarves must have done it. And we were small children. We were afraid to go to the stable.
- (7)m. They said that they knotted the horse's mane at night.
- (8)d. More than once the horses' manes were braided.

The dwarves are also known to be avid dancers. Peculiar to the Canadian dwarves is the physical evidence which remains after their dances. Informant (8) remembers seeing a circle as wide as a horse plow in which nothing grew for over five years. Others offer testimony as follows:

- (8)c. Once they went fishing. People saw how they had built a fence, but I don't know if they are alive, those people, or not. They went fishing. So people saw such small red people dancing on Good Friday.
- (8)b. I went to my neighbor where I lived at first on the farm. And it was so nice and flat and green. My neighbor was near the granary. I said, "Look how a circle has been

danced here." She then looked up at the sky, "For Devil's sake, the dwarves are dancing here at my place."

The following newspaper article gives testimony to the frequent appearance of such circles:

"SCORCHED RINGS FOUND  
IN FIELD 20 YEARS AGO

With the recent interest in mysterious scorched rings in area farm fields, Mr. Allan Stuart, RRI, Eganville, recalls a similar ring in one of his fields about 20 years ago. A perfect circle, about 20 to 30 feet across with the characteristic scorched appearance, appeared within a matter of one or two days, claims Mr. Stuart.

'He had just been up to the spot where the ring was,' Mrs. Stuart said of her husband, 'a couple of days before they appeared. There was no sign of anything strange then.'

Mr. Stuart said that the grass dried up in the circle.

An interesting fact of the Stuart 'ring' is that the grass did not grow in that spot again for several years.

'I wonder if the places where the rings are in Chapeau and in Westmeath Township will have anything growing in them for the next few years,'



said Mrs. Stuart. 'It will be interesting to see what happens.'

Two other occurrences of this phenomenon have been reported to The Observer.

On June 2, a 30-foot ring on the slope of the north side of Highway 17 was sighted by children of the John McLaren family, whose farm adjoins the hill where the ring is located.

In May of this year, three similar rings were found by Leo-Paul Chaput, in a field across from his home near Chapeau."

The Pembroke Observer  
Pembroke, Ontario  
June 19, 1969

The bald mountain in the following account is reminiscent of the traditional meeting place of witches rather than that of dwarves. Perhaps the informant is confusing the two.

(10)a. There was a kind of mountain, a kind of bald mountain there. They came out, the dwarves, you know, on Saturday and they played music on violins at night and sang. My uncle told me that there was a door in the rock, that they sat there in that rock and in the morning or at night they came out and danced, played music. He heard their songs, music on the violins.

They could hear, you know, the dwarves, but we were not able to see them. That was here in Canada.

Many a malformed or dwarfed child is said to be the result of mischief on the part of the dwarves:

(12)a. The first ones thought that there were such things. They came to the houses, but I don't know if it's so. They were very small and could disappear before your eyes. I know only what the old folks used to say. They had red clothes as well as red shoes. I know of one family that told how they came to the grandmother with the children and the mother got worried. It was bending over them and then it was trying to move her away, which was bad.

(8)e. His mother many times told how there was a woman who went to work on the estate. She had a child and once when she came home the child, it seemed, was not the same one. It was evident that the child was changed, but she scraped out a hole in the lime in the old house loft, you know, and she began to dig. She went and arranged meat and a boot top on the stove. And put them up on the wardrobe, and she looked at the hole. The dwarf, when it crawled out, it went to look at the cradle and climbed there into the hole on the wardrobe and spoke to itself. So, when the woman saw that her child was not there, she began to beat it and really pummel it, but they brought hers back. Theirs was very beaten up, since she had struck it.

Dwarves are said to have great stores of money:

(5)g. They said that they were dwarves. Once a minister was sleeping. He had to sleep in a barn. In the Old Country it was like that. They danced a lot, the dwarves. They had such long caps. The minister took the cap from him. Then he came and asked for the cap, that if he gave back the cap

he would bring money. He gave it back so that there would be money in his coat pocket.

He actually had money in his pocket from that.

The dwarves have a taste for milk:

(7)h. They said that the dwarves milked cows.

When the people milked, they blessed so that the dwarves would not milk.

(5)h. Others said that a woman

was milking a cow and a dwarf came up with a pail. This little fellow came from somewhere in the barn - there was illness - and asked her to give him some of the milk for his sick child.

The following two accounts are somewhat problematic. The first exhibits some confusion between the dwarf and the vampire. The second is doubtless a recent borrowing from Germanic folklore.

(5)b. Red caps on the head. He was not baptized. They got up from the grave and spoke to old people, with those red caps.

(14)b. The dwarves worked at night.

They worked when it was a good person and he was good to them. Then they did some work. They

did your work for you at night. When you got up and went to work in the morning, the work was done.

The dwarf figure is in a period of transition. Certain activities attributed to him are now looked upon as tales for entertaining children. Other activities, such as circle dancing and braiding horses' manes, continue to occur. Doubtless these phenomena will persist for a long time to come. The question is how long will they be attributed to dwarves. Probably one more generation. The dwarves are in the process of retreating from a world of mischievous activity to the world of the folktale.

The succuba (mwèra) is kin to the vampire. It is a night spirit which suffocates its sleeping victims. The intended victim always seems to awaken in time -- occasionally soon enough to grasp at the succuba, which then turns into a concrete object, such as an apple or a ball of wool. The succuba is the wandering soul of a sleeping girl, usually unbaptized. Its visit can be avoided by blocking the keyhole in the bedroom door, by pointing one's shoes away from the bed, or swearing at it.<sup>21</sup>

The Canadian succuba does not differ appreciably from its European ancestor:

(6)a. The succuba chokes. They said that it was a child who was not baptized properly. This person walks at night and chokes others.

(15)a. They said that when people went to sleep it choked them.

(8)k. They said, those old people, that a succuba could be a person who is not properly baptized. If you swear at it or point your shoes away from the bed, they never come back.

(5)c. Succuba - They are unbaptized children who died before they were bantized. They come to a person and they choke a person in the night. My brother caught one. When he caught it his hand was full of hair and he squeezed and exorcized it so that they would never bother him again. My sister told me that when you go to sleep put your shoes under the bed facing out. Then she will no longer bother you. And I did it and the succuba did not choke me anymore.

(1)c. They said that during sleep, when a person is sleeping deeply...our father did not believe this...he said there were no succubae, but he said that a person with difficulty sleeps as if dead and with difficulty awakens and surely he is dreaming. He thinks that a succuba is choking him. Some people believe in it very much.

(7)g. A succuba is that which chokes people. She could crawl through a keyhole.

Someone said that, while a succuba was choking and then they grabbed, sometimes it was like a ball of wool and then it disappeared.

(8)j. My brother Frank also caught one.

A succuba, nightmare, also choked him.

He had to sit up and not go to sleep on the pillow, so that it would come to him. He said that a man all matted with hair came to him, and he caught it.

(14)f. That succuba had to be a person. It would come and choke you at night. Sometimes it was a neighbor.

(6)b. It was an apple and he bit the apple and on the next day his neighbor, whether it was a girl or a boy or a woman or a man I do not know how, but I know that the old folks said that the man bit a whole piece out of his thigh.

Succubae are known to attack horses as well as men. They cause the horses to sweat and occasionally the perspiration materializes into an object. Informant (3) witnessed the materialization of a pipe. The following is a similar account:

(3)b. I heard that a succuba is sweat from a horse.

One man went with the horse

with his hand, you know.

He went to his horse and it  
sweated an apple. He bit the apple.

The next day that  
man had his face bitten.

The succuba has been likened to a personified nightmare. The following account hints at a possible erotic dimension:

(8)i. The succuba. I don't know what it is. It comes like a love. It creeps up on me. It came here, but no longer. I swore to myself and in different ways. It never bothered me after that.

The following account is not drawn from personal experience. It undoubtedly is a retold tale.

(6)c. Three girls were working for a woman. It was early, time for them to get up for work. The girls had not gotten up. So the women went to awaken them, but they were no longer sleeping. They were talking to one another. One was all wet. One was covered with ashes, and one was covered with thorns. They said that one choked water, one choked fire, and a third choked thorns.

This colorful account of the succuba riding to its victim on a spinning wheel is reminiscent of similar European traditions:



(13)a. They said 'succuba' - that is nightmare.

The succuba rides  
on one wheel. It  
chokes a person. After he  
has fallen asleep it so chokes him that  
he cannot cry out or  
catch his breath.

There was a neighbor (female) who  
burned a lamp all night. She had  
a light, because when she put out the  
light the succuba choked her. Then  
something happened. Someone was returning  
from the inn. He was good and drunk.  
The moon shone very beautifully. He  
was walking there by those people, whom  
the succuba was choking, who had that light.  
So he was going past those people, you  
know, but it was late in the evening -  
maybe ten or eleven o'clock.

Then, you know,  
he said that he was looking and, hell,  
the succuba was riding: pyti, fyti, fyti, fyti.  
But he said, "When she rode up to me  
I said, "What the devil  
do you want, succuba?" But he said, when she  
knocked into his legs in that coach,  
he fell on his head.  
He said he was on all fours.

The succuba remains a vital force among the Canadian Kashubs. At one time or other, practically every informant has suffered from its onslaughts. In form and habit it has differed little since its introduction from Europe.

Taking man as the measure of all things, how then does he marshal his pantheon of daemons to cope with adversity? What are the assumed or overt functions of the Kashubian daemons? How do they differ from actual or underlying functions? These are the questions which remain.

The Canadian Kashubs believe that the vampire functions as an agent of death. Marked at birth either by teeth or by a membrane cap, the vampire does not suffer a normal death, but rises after burial and proceeds to cause the death of others. The underlying function of this daemon is an anthropomorphism of the subconscious fear of death. The vampire provides a means of controlling death, but only in a limited way. If a vampire is properly seen to at burial, it dies, but its relatives do not. On the other hand, if it is not properly seen to, it does not die, but its relatives do. Thus the victory over death is Pyrrhic.

The succuba functions as an agent which causes an abrupt transition from troubled sleep to consciousness. During consciousness it takes the form of an apple, a ball of wool, or a pipe. The underlying function is a materialization of subconscious anxiety. The succuba offers a means of grappling with and removing unnamed anxiety. The precautions of wax in the keyhole and shoes pointed outward provide security and therefore forestall anxiety, while swearing or seizing the materialized succuba brings about complete suppression of the subconscious anxiety.

The witch acts as an agent for injury to body and property. The black magician is an agent for cure. They battle each other by mustering "secret" laws of the universe. Their underlying function is embodiment of the conflict of good and evil. They provide an anthropomorphism of the poles of good and evil and are the means of defining and coping with the injustice of evil, thus removing the frustration of unwarranted adversity.

The dwarf is agent for several unrelated phenomena: the twisting of horses' manes, sudden reduction in a cow's milk yield, the birth of midgets, and wilted circles in the grass. Its underlying function is to relieve anxiety over causation. It helps to fill the need to understand and therefore control one's environment. It provides an anthropomorphic representation of causes and serves as an agent of otherwise inexplicable natural phenomena.

Thus have the Canadian Kashubs erected this gothic cathedral of their minds as a bastion against fear of the unknown. Each daemon, drawn in the bold lines of man's own image, embodies one of his eternal concerns. The total structure is a viable teleology which aids him in understanding and contending with the whims of his environment.

CHAPTER IV

Kashubian Texts

The transcription system used is based on that of the Atlas jezykowy kaszubszczyzny.<sup>22</sup> It is phonetic and not phonemic in nature. Since the small corpus of texts was elicited from fifteen different informants, it is not feasible to present a definitive phonemic analysis at this time. An inventory of symbols employed in the system of phonetic transcription is given below:

Consonants

- b voiced unaspirated bilabial stop
- p voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop
- d voiced unaspirated apico-dental stop
- t voiceless unaspirated apico-dental stop
- g voiced unaspirated dorso-velar stop
- k voiceless unaspirated dorso-velar stop
- v voiced labio-dental fricative
- f voiceless labio-dental fricative
- z voiced apico-dental hissing sibilant
- s voiceless apico-dental hissing sibilant
- ž voiced apico-alveolar hushing sibilant
- š voiceless apico-alveolar hushing sibilant
- x voiceless dorso-velar fricative
- ʒ voiced apico-dental affricate
- c voiceless apico-dental affricate
- ʒ̣ voiced apico-alveolar affricate
- č̣ voiceless apico-alveolar affricate

- l voiced apico-alveolar lateral (non-syllabic)
- m bilabial nasal
- n apico-dental nasal
- ń fronto-palatal nasal
- j fronto-palatal semi-vowel
- w bilabial semi-vowel
- r voiced apico-alveolar trill (non-syllabic)
- ř voiced apico-alveolar sibilant trill

Vowels

- i high front unrounded oral
- y mid raised front unrounded oral
- u high back rounded oral
- e mid front unrounded oral
- ɛ mid front unrounded nasal
- ɐ mid central-back unrounded oral
- o mid back rounded oral
- ɔ mid back rounded nasal
- a low central oral
- ɶ low central nasal

Other Symbols

- ˘ stress accent
- unclear on tape
- " " English words interpolated into Kashubian text

Although in some of the idiolects phonemic palatalization, additional palatal consonants, or other phonemes may well exist, a

definitive analysis must await additional data.

The names of the informants have been withheld. Instead they are represented by a series of numbers, followed by basic biographical information:

1. present residence
2. year of birth
3. sex
4. marital relationship to other informants

EDITORS' NOTE: The transcription of the following Kashubian texts reflect the author's own interpretation of conversations he held with his informants, and therefore have been left unaltered.

KASHUBIAN TEXTS

(1) Barry's Bay, 1892, F.

- a. wùpji - ñje mjágwo ták mwùvič ták  
ják mī mwuvjīli. óñi rozumu  
ně mjēli takjēgwə ják mý mōmi  
rōzum. tò býw čīsto tò ták jinči  
lūže virozōni. a jēdni býli  
wurozōni ják zvježďta. já pamjďtom,  
cò jēdna ñevjāsta tūtaj mjāwa v  
našim mjējsce ták ják zvjýř  
to žēckwo býwo.
- b. jēdna ñevjāsta mñē mwuvjīwa...tò...jiš...  
jò wūna juš ñe žīje dwūgwə. wūna  
mwuvjīwa, že wūna mjāwa tákix  
gēsuf, mwòdi gēsuntka. a přiřwa  
jēdna ñevjāsta. mwuvjīwa: 'o. tí maš  
táki wādni gqsuntka.' a drugjēgwō  
dnā fšīstkwo juš býwo zgińōti,  
pozdēxwo jīji. tò wūna mwùvjiwa: 'tò  
býwō čárovńica.' àli já ñē vjim skďt  
čárovńica přiřwa...lixī ōči wūna  
mjāwa.
- c. tò wūńi mwùvjīli, že f spīku, ják  
čwòvjek čēřkwo špīju...naš ōjčec  
tò ñē vjēřaw. wùn mwùv, že tām  
ñē bīwo mwèry, àle mwùvjiw čwòvjek  
čēřkwə spīje zmārnotovani a čēřkwə  
wūsñe i mwù se pèvno sñīje còs.  
wùn mēsli, že tò mwèra jēgwə duši.  
jēdni lūže bārzo vjēřq f tò.
- d. ják žēckwə māwi se wūroziwo tò ñē  
xceli pwokāzac jēdnyn lūzom, bō  
mwùvjīli, že mjágwə wurōčic jēgwō.

- e. čàsým xtòs rǫkə vikrǫci. a tò tǎko  
kwobjita tǔtaj mjǎgwə tò zrǫbjic. tò  
mè vzàli tò zèckwə tǎm dǔ ní.  
wəna tǎm tò zažegnàwə.
- f. mòja starùška mwuvjìwə, jákby cèbje  
xtò tǔ tǎk wudèžyw, tò sə  
vikrunc. jègwə zǎru wùdeš, tí  
tòbi sə níc né stǎne, bwò tǎk tí  
tègwə né zrǫbjiš, tò bùzeš  
xworovàwə z dwùgje lǎta. "you have to hit  
that person back no matter who he is."

(2) Barry's Bay, 1894, F.

- a. mwèj òjčec pwèšet do xlyvə, do  
stǎjni. kwènum býwə zǎplotwi grývə  
i mwùvjilə, žè tò kròsnontə  
mjàwa zrǫbjuni. a mè bèlə mǎwi  
zècə. mè mjèlə strǎx ísc  
dò xlive.
- b. jèdni mwùvjilə, žè ják zèckwə sə  
wùrozywo, že wəno mjàwo nǎ gwòvje  
tǎko čòpko, žè tò býwo vjèšči.
- c. wèni mwùvili, žè ják kwùh býw  
wùročoni, že sǎ bǎrzo pwècyw.
- d. rǔža, tò sq zrǫbjǫ bǎrzo  
xwèri. i tǎči lùze býlə, cò tò  
mèglə zǎžegnac. jò mjàwym  
rǔžǫ v nòzi. dòktor mjè  
pwòvjezaw, že tò býwa rǔža,  
"erysipelas." i wèn míè pwòvjezaw,  
žè jò mjàwym dòstac tò "charm."  
jò pwèšwə do tí kwòbjyty i tò  
fšýskwə cò jò se ùwožym, že wùnə mwuvjìwə,  
'šwà na svjèšče mǎrija pǎnna přès



gwùrę i nóšwa tři rúžy. jědną  
wóžywa tú, drugą tám, třęcą tq.'

(3) Barry's Bay, 1894, F, wife to #4.

- a. zěckwo wùmarwo i wùne ní mjáwa  
"tooth." wěni mėslylę, že wěne býwe  
mwóže vjęšči álbwe cò. wěni gwě  
wòpatřyli, lúze gówzali. wěni  
přęcani - tó býlo pjònc cěntuf - ná puw  
i wěni pwòd jonzyk wóžyli.
- b. jò čùwę, že mwèrę pwęc kwùne.  
jědyn čwòvjek wèn s tęgwe kwùne.  
wèn šet tým tak rąkqm, "you know,"  
šet gwě kwùna i rąkq i wèn  
pwęcycw jąpkwe. wèn tó jąpkwe  
kòsyw. družjegwe dná tèn  
xwòp mjèw líce węgryzwi.
- c. wěne pwòvježala tyn čwòvjek tám býw.  
i kwùń f xlvje hě žel i tak sq  
pwòcyw. tak býw mòkri, còpwi  
sq xcěl wùrvac. i wěna mwuvjiwa,  
wěna šwà pwècytac évańq svantégwo  
jana třy raze. i kwùń býw "all right."
- d. čárnoksonžník - tó sq cí, cò nąprovijq  
čaré. wùni mwuvjili, ják wùni jádq, že  
wèn mwóže týmu čwòvjeku čy ròži za sázac  
čy cò. tęgwe se wúčaruje čárovńikum.  
čárovńik lúzi čarúje a čárnoksonžník  
mwóže wùpravjic tó.
- e. wèn mwùvjiw, že tyn čwovjek, cò  
wùmrę, že wùn hě přińze vjònci  
ná svjět tú. ále wùn mwùvjiw, jědnak,  
přyšet čwòvjek do ksónza jánkosčygwe -  
tó býw "Monsignor Bernadski" cò mwùvjiw.

mñè pwovjèdawa jègwə gwòspwodyni, žè  
třý ràzə tyn čwòvjek dò hègwə  
přýset a ksònc wùcek vjèdno  
tàm gdè wùna bywə. wùn mjèl  
stràx.

(4) Barry's Bay, 1880, M, husband to #3.

- a. jèci - "He died. He was buried. He was ringing the bell, as far as you could hear the bell, you know. Out in the country or any place, whoever heard the bell, he died. They used to put that, you know." cò wòpatřýli tým.  
"When they done that, then they couldn't do it."
- b. "I know my neighbor, P.K., down there. He was living a little close place from my place. Lightning struck. It was a pig killed and when the pig was killed Mrs. H. **she was the** one that was curing them. And finally she told him, "Anything die on you now from now on take the heart out and bury it in the ground till I come back. Whoever done that, he got to pay for it all or die." He **went out there**, really believing into that. They buried the hide. Mrs. H., **when he came** back with her, she came there. She took the hide. They digged it out of the ground. She was roasting it. The hide was really smelling bad. Roasting it out in the summer kitchen, it was such a bad smell, he said he couldn't go near. He said... he was making a little bit of moonshine. He took a little bit of moonshine. She said, "He'll soon be

coming. He'll soon be here. If he's not here now in a moment he's dying or he's suffering. He's going to run. He'll be running down here, coming." He never came. The next day Mrs. H. told him, "That man must be dead." And my neighbor went out there past their house. He was going to go down there and see if he would hear anything about it, if he was sick or dead or something. He said, "That fellow had a team of horses. He was going up town."

c. v nocy fstaw i mwusyw zròbic svòjq  
vwèdè. tám výšet. tò býwo ták "black dark."  
hè bywo híc vízec pròsto "black dark."  
jò vízew táči mawi djábewek.  
wàtskwočiw.

d. cò v jèdyn bwudinkwu stràšiw,  
v jèdnym rùmje, "ghost." i káždi tò  
šet tám spác f tyn rùm tò  
wùcek. "ghost" vèstràšiw.  
stráš. ták jèdyn býw táči mòndri--  
jà hì mom stráxu wu tòbje spác.  
jò bwùdq tám spòw. tám hè híc  
výstraši. ták šet, se powžyw do  
spàwańu. còš přyšwe a -- bände mwùwiv  
tò pwo angjèlsku: "Just me and  
you! Just me and you! And he  
got scared. He t(h)ought himself.  
He said: just give me time to  
put me boots on! It'll be just you"!

(5) Barry's Bay, 1912, F, wife to #6.

a. wùni zàkruncajo wègòni i gřèba. wùni  
kwèni bàdrovali, zaplecàwi.

- b. červòhé čòpči na gwòvje. wùn ñè byw  
wexščùne. wùni fstajáli z gròbu  
i godáli dò stàsyx lùzi z týme  
červonàmi čòpkàmi.
- c. mwèra - tò sà ñè wexščùne žèči.  
wumârwi "before they were baptized." wùni  
přínđq do čwovjèka i wùni dušq  
čwovjèka wèv noc. mwùj brát zwàpjiw  
jèdnq. jàk wùn zwàpjiw tò byw pèwna  
vwèsi v ròkwè i wùn čisnqw i zàklow,  
zèbi gwè vjènci ñígdi ñè bàdrovali.  
mòja sòstra pwovjezàla mjè, jàk iže spàc  
wèstac svwòje bwùty pwòd wùsku  
wèd wùska. čo wùna vjènci čèbje  
ñè bènže bàdrovat. i tak zrobíwa  
i vjènci mjè mwèra ñè dušywa.
- d. jàk se zlòmké, dòstañq "erysipelas or  
something like that," tèt se zàzegnq.  
"my aunt was one. she could do it."
- e. čàrovníca - "There's so many of them. My dear,  
will I tell you that or not? My own sister is  
married to one of them. She didn't know it.  
She doesn't believe it yet and my brother is  
married to another one. This is what hurts  
me the worst, because my brother and my sister  
got married to one family. My sister is married  
to one of them. Her father-in-law was  
one of them and then there's another  
brother and there's another brother and there's  
another sister and her daughter is the same thing  
and they're still living, except the father is  
dead. And when the father was living out on  
the farm there was nobody on that farm except  
his wife. His wife suffered a lot. She died.  
That man was there all by himself on that  
farm and he was fighting with the devils

in the barn. People heard him."

- f. o já, wòd týx krùšnukax. tò sq tí  
"dwarfs." wod tègwo mý mjèli tak vèstrašuny.  
je rùžne pwòvježeli, že ta krùšnuka xwozýwe.  
kwùno plòtle. i wùni tak tò wùplotli, že tègwe  
ní mok ròsples. jòš pòmjqtam ják  
náši kwòni mjàwi.
- g. i wùni pwòvjedeli, že wùni, že krùšnuči.  
ròs jèdyn týn pàrox spòw.  
tò mušel spàc v xlvje. v stàrym kràju  
tak. i wùni bàrzo táncovali tò  
krùšhonta. i táči màwi. táči dùži  
čòpči. i týn pàrox tq čòpkq mù vžd.  
tèru wùn pýřset cí gwò pròsiw wò  
tò čòpkè, že wùn by mjòw wòddac tq čòpkq  
i wùn by býw piònzi pýřnus. wùn wèddow, žeby  
f kòwce f češni wèni býwe.  
wùn mjùw právda f čàšni piònzi  
s tègwe.
- h. i družì wèni pwovježeli, že kwòbjyta  
dojèwa kròvq i krùšnutko pýřšwe s  
gòlusk. týn màwi xwòp skwùtkè s xlvje  
i pròsiw jù táči màwi, býwo gádnòšč, že  
mjàwa mu dàc tègwe mlíka do  
xworígwe zèckwe.
- i. mòje tàta f kàmpje ròbiw. màma i mòje  
vjònkša sòstra šli tám vjèdno do  
xlívje. kwùni býwe, kròvè i jò i mu  
bràt. mè sèželi tak. mè sèže tak  
prè ják tù "were," bwò mè mjèl tak pjèrvi jak  
býwo s klòci. tò býwo vèlypjòni  
kàrč a čy glínq. i tám býwo tako  
màwo kùla f tým, víš. býwa kwòbjyta.  
i jò tak nà jo pàtrè i mjàwa týle  
stràx. mùj bràt sèzyw strònq,

že je híc hě mu. mawuško šwa.  
kàpeluš mjòwə i ták tò pjěřbi sùkno i  
nòsiwə "shorts" ták tám zàpjonti i wəna šla pow.  
jò ták štýl sězawə. ták pàtrawa. i  
wəna làžawə f tq kùle i wəna  
zžínawə. tò jàk màma mà přišwə  
i zàčawə pàtrac a wəna nàvet  
wəpadwə. tò býw čwòvjek malùški.  
wèn šet. jò hě vjim čý mùj òjčyc  
tò ròbiw čý tò býwə ták, čý tò  
býwə krùšnuk.

(6) Barry's Bay, 1907, M, husband to #5.

- a. mwèra dùsiwa. wěni mwuvjile, žè  
zècko, žè hě býwo rixtig wəxščòny. tyn  
čòvjek xòzyw wèv noc i drùgix dùsiw.
- b. tò býwo jàpkwə i wèn tò jàpkwə wùgryz a  
drugjègwə dña jègwə sqsàda, čý tò  
býwa zyfčýna čý xwòpak čý kobjita čý  
mqš tò tèru hě vjim, àle vjem tile,  
žè povjadàli tí stàři lùze, že tyn  
čòvjek mù tù z wùda vùgryz càwi  
kavàwyk.
- c. třý žyfčýnki robjiwi wu pàni. býwo rýno  
jùš čàs wùni fstàwi do robwòti. žyfčýnki hě  
fstajàwi. ták pàni šwà jix wobùžic,  
àle wùni jùš hě spàwi. mjěňš sòbq  
godàwi. jèdna býwa càwa mòkro. jèdna  
býwa pwopwolòno, a jèdna býwa cèrnim  
pwokwòtwo. tò pwovjadàli, žè jèdna dùsiwa  
vwède, jèdna dùsiwa wòžin, a třèco dùsiwa  
čèrñe.

(7) Barry's Bay, c1900, F, wife to #15.

- a. tàči krýžik zròbjiw. wùni tò kwàdle,

mhé se zdáje, pwòd broda.

- b. vjěšči, jàk wùn wùmar - tò tàm pròvda pèvno  
hé bywo. jò tégwo hé vjeřáwa, vjònci tàm  
vjěřile v táči jàk tò - žè wùn zvuňiw  
tèdy ták dále k jàk tyn zvùn býwo čúc,  
tò lúze wùmjeryle. nà tò wuňi té  
křýžiči ròbjile, žèbi wùn hé mòg tégwe  
ròbic. naši stárši ták tò gòdole.
- c. wò krusňòči tò gòdole, že to býle máwi lúze. jò  
hé vjim. wuňi čèrvoňi býwe. wuňi  
mwuvjile, že wuňi ták tým kwuňym, že  
to gřývje býwe pwòzaplotwi.
- d. wuňi mwùvjile, že čarovníca, že wùna  
mwògwa tàm wùčarovac.
- e. wèn mýslaw, že, tò ták gòdole, kwuň jàk  
býw wùročoni. a tò býw bårzo wádni  
kwuň. i tàm býw jèdyn čwòvjek dù nas  
přýšwi a wuňi tò kwuňe záprongele, cò  
mè xcèle jèxac nà to mjásto. a tò  
kwuňe ták suvawe, tò wùn býw ták  
wádni kwuň i tyn čwòvjek, cò tàm  
býw přýšwi bårzo gòdow, že táči  
wádni kwuň. jàk mè kával vèxali tyn  
kwuň záxwerovaw. wùn pròsto pwòt.
- f. jò dòstawe ròže nà gombè. jò tèdy  
šwà tù jèdna kwòbjite, cò zážegni te.  
tá kwòbjita mhé pwòmogwa wùd rázu.
- g. mwèra tá cò lúzi dùsiwa. wùna  
mwògwe vlèsc f tò dùro wèt klučè.  
xtòs gòdow, že jàk mwèra dùsiwa a ftèdy  
jàk wèni tò xvàcele, tò čàsým býwo  
jàk "ball" vèwny i tò zžínaw.

- h. mwuvjila, že krosnúntə xwòc kròve vədòjiwə.  
ják vədòjila tò přěžegnelə, còby krùshúntə  
hè býwə dòjiw.
- i. jèdni tò mwùvjə, žèbi táči tí jedni dòktořy, cò tò  
tèru wùzdrovlaju, vjèřq wùni tak jak býwə  
wùčarovelə.
- j. tò je takí jak tyn čarovnice tyn gùselník.
- k. xùdi i kwəsə mjàwa, tò tak tò pjèrvi  
gòdoli, že tò býwo smjèrc.
- l. lùže mājə táči přiswovji: smántek  
vèzmje. cò tò je jò hè vjem.
- m. tò wèni gòwdalə, že kwòňq gřèvə  
plòtwi v nòci.
- n. vjèšči -- tò táče lùže býlə jak so  
wùrozylə, že jèdñi mjèlə zòmp.  
já hè vim či tò býwo vjèšči či  
tò býwo ùpi. a jèdni mwèvili  
že, jak čwòvjek býw bārzo  
čèrvwoni vjèdno, že tò býw tyn  
wùpji či... wèni mwèvili, jak  
wèn wùmar, že tèdi wèn  
z krèvnux zà sobq, že  
wùmjerili pwýhi, že wèn šèt  
dò zvòjne. tò jò pámjentom:  
křýžici z wèsci, wèskwovi křýžici,  
i kwàdlə f tà trùmə. jò vízawə  
jak wèni ròbile.
- o. vjèlə mwùvjə tak tám xtò je xwèri  
àby cò -- tak zàčarovani býw.



- a. wòni pwòjexali dò Toronto. vizow jiže z lásu. vèlos i tak jiže pròsto wòžín se súvow s pýska. cãwi còrny, wògiń s pýska býw. i dwùgi wògun mjòw mwòvjíw.
- b. pwòswam dò svojix sòmsat tám g3è mjískawym pjírfsi ròs nà fàrmje. a tak býwo wádne rúvno želono. i mwòja sùmsutka býwa kòle kòmori. i já gòdowym: 'vizice ják tu je vètańcovane kwòwo'. wòna tak pàtřywa na hèbje: 'mwùì tò djàble. kràšnúnti mè tù tańcùjǰ.' wùni pwòtým hè psùswi.
- c. tò ròs slí nà rybi. tò viželi ják mjèli pwòt pwòbudovane àle jò hè vjem cý wùni žýjǰ tý lùzy cý hè. nà rýby slí. tò viželi tàki màwi cèrvoni tańcovawì "Good Friday."
- d. kwònom hèros tak wuplètwo gřýve.
- e. tù jègwo màtka pwòjedaw vjèle ràzi tám býwa jèdna kòbjita cò swà nà fèlvark ròbjic. i mjàwa zèckwo a ják wùna vjèdno dò dum psýsla tòto zjèckwo, sè zdòvawè, že tò hè býwo tò sàmwo. tò sè vizjawè, že zèckwo býwo "exchanged," àle vèdwùbawè žùre bès tyn kàwk "old house lot," viš, í zàzyra. pwòšwa i wùšykovawa nà pjekwe mjènsa i xwòlefkú. i pwòstaviwa v gwùre nà šafe. i wo tòm žùrom napàtřywa. i tyn kròšńuk, ják vèlos, wùna wùswa se pàtřic tí kwòlibcè i sè fspjòw tám f tí gwùre na tè šafe i gòdow do šèbje. tè wùna vižawa, zè jìj zèckwo hè býwo, tò wùna zácewa gwo bíc tak gwo váluwa, àle přínèslì nàzut, àle tò jix býwo jèšče bàrzej zbìtè ják wùna tò zbìwè.

f. òpji. tò se wùrozow. zàp tò je òpji a vjěšči tò je tà còpka. tò se tràfiwo, jàk jò jím žěhawě. tam jědnim lùzom. vjěšči se wùrožiwo. tò žèckwo býwo "fine," wexščùne. fšýstkwe býwo dóbře í wùmarwo. jò tam býwam. tò je "forty eight years ago." í býwa tam mwòje sòmsoška. wùni gòdojo, žè jò mjàwam týmu žècku wàxi wùsyc. í jò vzòwam í tè wàxi sýje, àle jò mwùv etmańskò mòrčina: 'pwòcce tú. tò žèckwe je žýve. tò žèckwe dò žyce pŕyxwòži. a wùna wùmjerawa.' í tědy etmańska mwùvi: 'jà, àle jò tò wùšykuje.' í wùna vzòwa ígwe. s tęgwe pàlyce sěrdecnego, àli tò hě moge pòvjic, wùna dvjè kròpli cý třý wùtočywe křví. tà krěf býwe žývwě. í dàwa spinklerym. jàk tí kwòbičy, tý mătce dàwě, tàk mătka wòzrowlawa í zàčawa šèzec. žèckwe vèstudwo í pòxovali. býwo bi wòžywo, zěbi pwòxwovali, tò bi wùna býwa kwùna bràli dò grobu.

g. tò nà wilno tęgwe vjěle f týx gròbax. gròby wotpjírali. gwòvy ščínali. jàk tò wùmŕe, cò tòto sòm ònji, věšči wùrozòni. a hě sùm wòpšykovańe, tò mùšq gròby skòpjivac. tò nò pjervi zàbira svòjix krěvnix à těj dálej tàk dalek jàk zvòn. nà wilno býwo. wùni mājq vjěle skòpane àle hě je pwòvjezone, vèdane. mwùsiw skwòpac a gwòve ščònc bès wùn šèžiw f trùmńe.

h. wùni wòpatŕo gwo nà šmjerč, zěby níkwogwo ní bròw zà sobq. pjòsku vwòzo í tè kŕýžiki vwòzo.

i. tà mwèra. jò hě vjym, cò tò je. "that come like a love," mńe pwolàzi. tú psýswě. a tèru hě dupwòkwi. jò f sàmi klòwam í ròzmaičy. tyn "never bother me after."

- j. mwùj brát frànek zwàpjiw týš jednègo.  
i týš jègwè mwòra "nightmare" dùšiwà.  
wùn mjòw sèzec i nè sèt spàc na pìlovq.  
cò tò dò nègwo pñínže. i mwùvji, ze  
psýset cãwi klátovati xwòp dò nègwo.  
i wùn gwo zwàpjiw.
- k. wùni mwuvjìli, tí stàri lùzje, tò mòra, žè  
tò mò býc cò cwòvjek jàk nè je "right  
baptized. when you swear or something - take the  
boots out, then that never come."
- l. kwùne dòstanq wùrok. jàbysmy wàdnygwo kwùna vízi  
čwòvjek, "is jealous or something," tò je týn kwùň  
se šumi, pàdne, zdèxne. jèdñi mwògli tò  
wùpravít. vzòw bùkse, svòje spùdne wàxè wòpčerow  
wòpak i mwùvjiw còš, àle níkomu nè pwòvježow. wùn  
týn wùrok s kwòna vzejòw.
- m. já mògè jìncmiñ "cured. one man was working  
construction smith. he said, 'don't fix my lunch  
this morning, because i'm going to the doctor.' and i  
says, 'what's the matter with you, Alex?' he said,  
'i look at all my eyes. are all white  
stuff here.' i said, 'doctor not going to cure  
that for you. you want me to cure? but say,'  
i said. 'give me answer.' and he didn't want  
to answer. i said, 'answer when i ask you.'  
a wùn nè xcow, àle vzòw lètko f sùmjiw  
dò sebje gòdow. àle jò mwu pwòvježawym , ' "you  
answer what i tell you to answer." a jò  
mwuvjàwym třý ràzy, 'tý mèš jèncmiñ  
v wòcku. "give me answer," žès prorocku.  
"every time get worst at me, get mad." a ti  
wòstatni ròs jò godàwym "last time," 'tý mèš  
jèncmiñ v wòcku, "take hard," tý žès proròcku.'  
"and, mind you, he went to work and never  
went to the doctor. disappear on him. i cured  
quite a few that way."

n. hě vjis nãso strina dõrocyw zãzegna "eczema.  
she never got after. she had eczema all over  
the body, my daughter, my adopt girl."

o. mē kùpjilē fãrmy, dõbrow fãrme. i nòm  
nã ti fãrmje tãk swò dõbře jã swò  
pwužqžuw jědnygwo xwõpa sõbje v lãsy.  
wùn nã tỳm lèse híc hě zróbjyw grõmade  
dwùgwu. wùn tãm wu hěgwo ròbjiw i  
tědy wùn hě mjěl gžè jisc, tỳn xwõp,  
a jěgwo hě xčãwym. a wùn xčãw wù nas  
xwòc zãvik ròbjic. à mwu wùn mwùvjw tãk:  
'jò zãvik hě xce. "i don't want for nothing.  
i'll pay you for the work." mỳ mjěli  
vjèlè lãsu. i wùn wù nos wòstuw.  
"well, sir," jãk wùn wù nos wòstuw, wùn  
tãk wõpak "so upset down that" mē  
nãresce spřèdali fãrme. "there was no  
profit of the money." mwòje "auntie told  
me to not keep that man. that family any  
place they work everybody gonna get poor,  
lose everything. and my mother was saying  
the same thing." wùhi se zãkrenčili  
nãso fãmilijo tí cãrovníci, tí wýčovje.

p. mwòja strina tãm býwa. wùhi výpravjali  
"picnic." i tãk žěh přèt tym tãk  
tỳm kšènzum býwo třèx - býw kšònc  
bèrnatči, kšònc swomjìnsči i jěšč jědyn  
býw. i wùni xčèli tí kšènzof klùskuf,  
"you know," pjerògi nã vječeřq. i tègewo  
hìxt tãm - kwòbjity ròbiwi, xwòpy  
ròbiwi - hìxt hě xčow šýkwovac. àle  
jědna, tè cãrovníca, nã hù gòdawe, žè  
mjãwa a wùna wùšykovawa tỳx klùskuf.  
i fšìsci nãlejli tãm kòwo stòwu, cò  
býli jědli a kšònc swomjìnsči mwùvjw,  
žè wùn býw nòpjervi. xsè tí nãjot se tix  
klùskuf. pjèrse wùske vzòw dõ gèmy,

zácow sè dùšic í kšènza dàktora  
mjòw í zàra wùmjerow i dò "hospital"  
wùmar. í tix klùskuf níxt hèn jot.  
tákje. šýmrahe swò mjènzi sòbom, zè  
tò wùna jèmu zàsažiwa i mwòdi  
kšònc býwa šmjèrc.

q. í mwòja cùrka ròs vízawa týš  
"ghost" bès gwove.

r. smèntek tò je gàcyk. "oh, in the air.  
it look like a little devil."

s. wùni mwùvjo ják hèn rusi, vjèš, mògo wùni  
zàsazic čwòvjekwu xwòc hèn rùsi.

t. ják mý býli tám ná tý fàrmje í cò tò  
příxwožiw do týj mwòji cùrki. tò  
příxwožiwò còs v nòci krèf z rènki cickawo.  
"that person was" vjèšči àbwo wòpi.  
tò v nòci pŕýswo dò týj mwòji cùrki i  
tò vzòwo tük i tò býw znák. arèna  
býwe vidjet. tò býwa tak swàba i mjàwa  
wùna fšýstke krèf wýciskano. í  
tè to wèpciskawo pwòtym. í cò zròbjili  
se zàbwocon. "mind you, came at  
night, when she was sleeping." tò býwo  
vjèšči àbwo òpi tò psýswo. "did you  
heard that?" mý ní pwòvježeli níkomu níc.  
mí níc hèn ròbjili. wùna hèn býwa níc  
xwòra. "she was kind of a weak  
sometime, you know. she was about sixteen,  
fifteen years. we keep secret. we never  
told anybody."

u. "Mrs. Kilby" mwùvjiwa, že tyn "grandfather"  
býw vjèšči či òpi. wùn hèn býw  
rýxtyk wòpatřon. tò je štyrnošče  
stük z mwòjym sýnem wumárty. káždegwo

ròku "one. they just suddenly died."

v. jò býwem xwòro f pjèrsax. já jèmwu  
pwòvjedawym "there's something the matter  
with me here. i get that big and your  
liver doesn't work on you. ever since  
i am well". î wùni mwùvjo "you gotta  
believe when he cures. he told me  
he's a seventh brother. and, mind you,  
he had such a big power that" wùn  
čèbje kjùruje "put your hand on mine. it's  
heat coming like" wùt pjècka. "you can  
feel it and he said, 'you be cured!'"

w. vzòwa švìce. zàpwoluwa î tè wùna tèn  
dým s tíj švjíči pwòjikawa. tò jìj  
pwòmwoowo.

(9) Killaloe, 1893, M, husband to #8.

a. čárne kšèžník, ják týn čárovník. wùn mwòže  
jègwo djábwa výgnac. wùni mwògq pwòvjezic  
xtò tò zròbiw.

b. jèdyn čárovník z djábwym ròbi. à ják wùn  
kwòmwu tègwo nè zàsadi, wùn mwùši, bwò  
já k by wùn kwòmwu nè zàsaziw tègwo,  
tò wùn jègwo trùpi, jègwo sàmygwo.

c. tò vjèři f tàki čarovníci vè fšystkwo  
tò sq nàzyvajq gušloš.

(10) Barry's Bay, 1897, F.

a. tám býwa tako gùra, tako gwòwo  
gùra. wòni vvxwožìwi tè krošhòki, viš,  
f sobòte i wèni muzykwovàwi na  
skcýpkax v nòci i špjevàwi. tò vùja  
mje pwòvjedow, ze býwe dvìze v

ràku, ze òne tàm šežàwi f tùm  
ràku a ràno àlby vječur vÿxwožiwi  
i tańcovàwi, muzykwòvat -- tò wùn spjìva  
swÿšaw mùzykə na skcÿpkax, ze  
òni mògwi, víš, tè krošńòki, bò  
mì ìx nígdy ñè vidjèli. tò býwo tú  
f kanàdje.

(11) Wilno, 1895, F.

- a. já jùš ñíc ñè vím podu tÿx kràšńíkuf.  
àli nò tak swÿšawym ják mwùvilə, že ràz  
mješkáli pèvno krasńíči za pjèsyn  
zès. tàm ìx ñè vizèl, "you know."  
pwovjadàjq, mwùvi, že tàm mùšel  
xtòš mjèškac, bò jèdne přÿšli i  
mwuvìli: ñèx matÿl daìze dô dum,  
bò Dàńel ñè žije. i tèdy za  
pjècym stàw sq pwàč.

(12) Round Lake Center, ca. 1900, F.

- a. pjèrve mÿšlele, že táči býwi.  
přÿšwi do ìzbuf ìli, "but" já ñè vím,  
čÿ tò. bàrzo màwe i mògu zgìnuč  
v wòčax. tile vjèm, cò stàře  
pwogadàli. čèrvone làxi ják  
čèrvwone wobùty. vjÿm, že jèdna  
fàmilio pwòvjedala, že přÿšli bàbičce  
žèčami "and the mother got worried."  
nà ñìx tàm klàna i "then it was trying  
to move her away, which was bad."
- b. ják tò býw tàki čwòvjek cò še  
wùrožiw zè zambàmi. tak wèni  
bÿ nazývàli, že wèn býw vjèšči.  
"yeh, but then before they buried him  
they had to take good caution." òńi  
àby gwo wàpačili. ják wèni mjèli  
šànsə nàpjec àlbwo còš fkwàdli  
pwòd jəzyk àlbwo pwòd. tò

tàkix čwòvjekuf òhi uznávali i. tů  
vèlge v wokowonòši pèvno býwo, àle jèšte  
tègwe hè pàmjentam.

- c. mätka pwovjadäwa, že jò mjäwem  
tò čòpke na gwòvje i že òne  
se spalíni. tàki čwòvjek mjäw  
býč "lucky, but i don't know."

(13) Wilno, 1892, M.

- a. wèni mwèvili, mwèra - tò je  
"nightmare." že mwèra jèxa  
nà jednym kwòle. i wùna  
čwòvjeka tàk dùsowa. ják wèn  
zàsnow tò wèna gwo tàk dùsowa, cò  
wèn hí mùk kříčec a hí mùk  
vjättru dòstac.  
tám jèdna sùsutka tám cò jèdna  
lãmpa pwòlova cãwo nòc. mjäwa  
svjätwo, bwò ják wèna zgãswa tò  
svjätwo tà mwèra jè dùswa. a tyn  
stímwu cò tò. wèn šèt s kãčme.  
wèn býw dòst dòbře výpiti.  
mjèsuc cvítiv tàk wãdne. wèn  
šèt tám vèdle týx lùzi, cò tà  
mwèra dùswa, cò tò swjätwo tò mjäwa  
tám. tò wèn vèdce týx lùze šèt,  
"you know", àle tò býwo vjèčur pwùzno,  
mwòže žèšonty gwožýne àlbwo  
jèdnustju tám, i tèru, "you know,"  
wèn mwùvil, že pãtřyw i, djãblu,  
mwèra jèze. pýti, fýti, fýti, fýti.  
àle mwùvi, ják wèna dò mje  
dòježawa, jò mwòviw, cò tí djãblu,  
mwèro, xcèš? àle mwùvi ják wèna  
na tým kòwčym i mu pwòd nogi  
vjèxawa, tò \_\_\_\_\_ náš na gwòvq  
stònom. mwùviw zãrovno štyřiju.



b. jědyn nazyvyly wùpji, jědyn vjęšči, àle jò hěvjim těgo "difference." tò jědni so ùrozilə, cò wěni mjěle zàrus zòmbə a jědni se ùrozylə, cò wěni mjěly tà wàtq v gòmje. àle jò hěvjim jáči bywi tò vjęšči a jáči tò bywi to wùpji, "you know." wěni mwùvili, že jix mùši wòpatř, còs nà smirc, jàk wěni pwěmarle tò mjě sq zdàje, že wěni vsěpele s tęgwo gròbu tęgwe pjùsku f tq trùmnq u wěni zwěski còbi dòktor xiti wòžyn pwòd pwùxq. že wèn přyšet dò sebje v gròbje i tědy wèn zàbiruw svòix krěvnyx.

c. čarovníca tàka býwa že wěna mògwa býc v dòmú a wěna wět tvwòji kròva mlěkwə bràwə. àlbwo nověgwo ròku tò wèn pwòšet dò sqsada i wèn zàbrəw z fidu, sòna àlbwo čęgwo zàbəw. tòbje zàbrəw wět tvòjix pwýni. ízq dò dom tò jęgwo tò hě býwo twùsti a tvwòje býw bjídni. tàči rozmaitòsci tàči bywi "by God" tile. tàče býli cò djàbwa mògwa zàdac čwovjěka, cò wèn býw xwèri i tò.

(14) Barry's Bay, 1890, F.

a. "sometimes they used to close their eyes with coppers, you know."

b. kròšònta cò zròbjawə jàk wèd noc zròbjawə jàk býw dóbri čwòvjek i jím býw dóbri, tò wěni cò zròbjawə jàkq ròbwote. tvwòje ròbwote zròbili ci wèd noc. jàk ràno vstàwa tò šwè ròbwote

býwa zròbjonə.

- c. čwòvjek býw vjèšči. "that he was living, sort of -- didn't die. His flesh didn't become rigid."
- d. býwo vjèle čarovnice. pwovjezèle ták, že čarovnice mwòže wùčarovac ce. že wènə mògwa còs zròbic, že tyn by býw xwòri. ják jò býwem juš dost dòbře wùroswe, jò jèšče mjàwem stráx čarovnicuf. tò jèdna fámilio cáva býwa -- tò kážda, cò fšisci sòstry cò býwi, tò wèni mwùvili, že býwi čarovnici.
- e. jàza -- tò "mischief maker."
- f. tà mwèra tò čwòvjek mjàw býc. přínze a cèbje cò dùsi v nòci. čàsým býw sòsot.

(15) Barry's Bay, 1902, M, husband to #7.

- a. tò wèni gòwdalə, že ták lùže šlè spác, že tò ix dùšivaw.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Anton Szandor LaVey's The Satanic Bible, Avon Books, (New York, 1969).
2. See Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary, G. and C. Merriam Co., (Springfield, Mass., 1967), p.220.
3. For further discussion of these concepts see William Howells' The Heathens, Doubleday and Company, (New York, 1948), pp. 25-45.
4. Bram Stoker, Dracula, A Tale, Constable, (London, 1897).
5. For a short history of the Kashubs see my article "The Origins of the Kashubs and Their Emigration to America," in Polish American Studies, (January-June 1966), Vol. XXIII, no. 1.
6. For linguistic discussions of Kashubian see the following: Friedrich Lorentz, The Cassubian Civilization, (London, 1935), pp. 3-17, 339-389; Jan Perkowski, A Kashubian Idiolect in the United States, Indiana University Press, (Bloomington, 1969); and Zdzisław Stieber, Atlas językowy kaszubszczyzny i dialektów sąsiednich, (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1964-).
7. See Peter Brock, "Florjan Cenôva and the Kashub Question," East European Quarterly, (September 1968), Vol. II, no. 3 and Ferdinand Neureiter, "Die Kaschuben," Mickiewicz-Blätter, (Heidelberg, 1968), pp. 228-248.
8. The basic published sources for this history are William B. Makowski's History and Integration of Poles in Canada, The Canadian Polish Congress, (Niagara Peninsula, 1967) and Rev. William C. O'Dwyer's Highways of Destiny, (Ottawa, 1964). Other sources include the following: The Canadian Family Tree, Centennial Commission, (Ottawa, 1967); Canadians All: Poles in Canada, 1938 and 1940, (Toronto, 1940); Edmund Kamiński, "Kaszubi w Kanadzie," Kaszëbë, II, no.12(19), (Gdańsk, 1958), p.4; V.J. Kaye, "People of Polish Origin," Encyclopaedia Canadiana, Vol. VIII, Grolier Society of Canada, (Ottawa, 1962), pp. 226-228; V.J. Kysilevskyj, Slavic Groups in Canada, Ukrainian Academy of Science, (Winnipeg, 1951); Josef Lubicz, Kanada - Kraj i Ludność, A.A. Paryski, (Toledo, 1929); William B. Makowski, "Poles in Canada," Slavs in Canada, Vol. I, Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs, (Edmonton, 1966); Boleslaw Makowski, Polska Emigracja w Kanadzie, Związek Polaków w Austrii, (Linz, 1951); Roman Mazurkiewicz, Polskie Wychodźstwo i Osadnictwo w Kanadzie, Naukowy Instytut Emigracyjny, (Warszawa, 1930); Stanislaus Monka, "Wychodźstwo z Ziemi Kaszubskiej," Informator Ziemia Kaszubska, Polonia, (Warszawa, 1963); Nasza Ojczyzna, No. 3 (140), (Warszawa, March 1968), pp. 16-17; Alina Obrowska, "Kaszubi w Kanadzie," Kaszëbë, IV, no. 4(59), (Gdańsk, 1960), pp. 1,3; Rev. William C. O'Dwyer, Highways of Destiny, (Ottawa, 1964); Mrs. Carl Price and Clyde C. Kennedy, Notes on the History of Renfrew County,

- (Pembroke, 1961); Stefan Ramułt, Statystyka ludności kaszubskiej, (Kraków, 1899); B. Socha-Borzestowski, "Społeczność kaszubska w Kanadzie," (London, 1968); Victor Turek, The Polish Past in Canada, Polish Research Institute in Canada, (Toronto, 1960); Victor Turek, Polonica Canadiana, 1848-1957, Polish Research Institute in Canada, (Toronto, 1958); Melchior Wankowicz, Tworzywo, Polish Weekly Times, (Winnipeg, 1956); Stefan Włoszczewski, "Wład cywilizacyjny Kaszubów amerykańskich", Litery, VII, no. 8(80), (Poland, 1968), pp. 16-17; and B.J. Zubrzycki, Polacy w Kanadzie, Canadian Polish Congress, (Toronto, 1947).
9. Much of the foregoing data was supplied by Rev. A. Majka, Pastor of St. Hedwig's, Barry's Bay. It corroborates the findings in Miss Brenda B. Lee-Whiting's article, "First Polish Settlement in Canada", Canadian Geographical Journal, LXXV, no. 3, (Ottawa, 1967), pp. 108-112.
  10. From the list of ancestral villages it is evident that the families of half of the informants came from Kalisz. For an example of the Kalisz sub-dialect in 1910 see Dr. F. Lorentz's Teksty pomorskie, zeszyt 3, (Kraków, 1925), pp. 658-660.
  11. op. cit.
  12. See Rev. William C. O'Dwyer, Highways of Destiny, (Ottawa, 1964), pp. 163-166. Doubtless Father Jankowski's "steel wallop" had a dampening effect on the retention of Kashubian folkways. Rev. O'Dwyer is quite right in pointing out that the infusion of Galician Poles (1892) brought about a cultural change.
  13. See W.B. Makowski, History and Integration of Poles in Canada, The Canadian Polish Congress, (Niagra Peninsula, 1967).
  14. See my article, "Folkways of the Canadian Kashubs," Slavs in Canada, Vol. III (Toronto, 1971).
  15. The English translations given here are not always literal. For the Kashubian originals of this and subsequent texts see Chapter IV. Translation was aided by the following dictionaries: Kazimierz Bulas, Lawrence L. Thomas, and Francis J. Whitfield, The Kościuszko Foundation Dictionary, Vol. II: Polish-English, (New York, 1962); Aleksander Labuda, Słowniczek kaszubski, (Warszawa, 1960); Friedrich Lorentz, Pomoransches Wörterbuch, Vols. I and II, parts 1,2,3 (Berlin, 1958-1970); and Bernard Sychta, Słownik gwar kaszubskich, Vols. I,II,III, Zakład narodowy, (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1967-1969).
  16. See The Cassubian Civilization, p. 127. Throughout this study Lorentz' work will be cited as the basic source for Kashubian daemonology in Europe.
  17. *ibid.* pp. 132-134.
  18. *ibid.* p. 115.

19. *ibid.* pp. 115-118, 285-287.
20. *ibid.* pp. 124-125, 277-278.
21. *ibid.* pp. 111-114, 280-282.
22. For a complete description of this transcription system see Zdzisław Stieber, ed., Atlas językowy kaszubszczyzny i dialektów sąsiednich, tom wstępny, (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1964).

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ABSTRACT:

The Kashubian people, survivors of the Pomeranian Slavs, began arriving in Canada from north-central Poland during the early 1860's. The greater part of them settled in Renfrew County, Ontario, especially around the towns of Barry's Bay, Paugh Lake and Wilno.

Daemonology has been one of the most originative and vital aspects of Kashubian-Canadian folklore. The function and meaning of the principal daemons: vampire, witch, dwarf and succuba is studied in relation to the Canadian context and the author examines the adaptations made in form and content.

RESUME:

Le peuple des Kashubiens, descendant des Slaves de Poméranie, commença à arriver au Canada vers 1860, venant du centre nord de la Pologne. La plupart d'entre eux s'établirent dans le comté de Renfrew, en Ontario, plus précisément dans les environs de Barry's Bay, Paugh Lake et Wilno.

La démonologie fut un des aspects les plus prolifiques et les plus importants du folklore des Kashubiens canadiens. Le rôle et la signification de leurs principaux êtres fantastiques tels le vampire, le sorcier, le lutin et la succuba (être féminin intervenant dans la vie sexuelle de l'homme pendant son sommeil) sont ici étudiés dans leur contexte canadien et une attention spéciale est accordée aux différentes formes d'adaptation dont ils ont été l'objet dans leur nouveau cadre.