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In The Pennsylvania Barn (Lancaster, 1955) Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker wrote: “One of the great puzzles of Colonial Pennsylvania is why more of the basic Continental folk-cultural patterns, especially the one of housing the animals under the same roof that sheltered the family, were not transferred to Pennsylvania by the tens of thousands of Continentals who immigrated to the Commonwealth from 1683 on. Were there even no isolated instances of a barn and house under one roof in early Pennsylvania? Heretofore, excepting for a casual reference by Levering in his history of Bethlehem that the first Moravian structure built in that city in 1741 served such a combination of purposes—I say, excepting for this one instance no other evidence of the transfer of this folk-cultural pattern has been presented. From the 1798 direct tax records we are able for the first time to present the first documentary proof that a Pennsylvania farmer, like his Continental cousin, lived in the same quarters with his livestock. There are two—and only two—references to this in the 1798 records. One is for Frankford Township, Cumberland County, where the record specifically states that one Henry Lepard ‘lives in one end of the barn.’ The other is from the Warwick Township, Lancaster County, record in which the assessor entered the following information under the name of John Shue: ‘N.B. The Man lives in a Part of the above mentioned barn’.”

Now, in the above reproduced sketch, drawn by Charles Alexander Lesueur c. 1822 in the Blue Mountain region (the original is in the museum of National History at Haute, France), we have the only known contemporary pictorial record of what definitely appears to be a combination house and barn.
Contents

2 Pennsylvania Chalkware
   Earl F. Robacker

8 John Landis: “Author and Artist and Oriental Tourist”
   Frances Lichten

18 Schuylkill Folktales
   William H. Newell

20 Painted Chests from Bucks County
   John Cummings

24 A Study of the Dress of the (Old) Mennonites of the Franconia Conference 1700-1953
   Mary Jane Hershey

48 Research Needs in Pennsylvania Church History
   Don Yoder

52 About the Authors
Pennsylvania Chalkware

By EARL F. ROBACKER

Probably most imposing among all chalkware figures is the 20-inch cathedral with glass windows and a candle-holder inside.
In the world of Pennsylvania Dutch collectibles, chalkware is not only among the most fragile of objects but the most delicate of subjects.

Chalkware is not really made of chalk, any more than the lead in a lead pencil is lead; it is plaster-of-Paris. Not that there has ever been any intent at deception: Somebody once noted the obvious resemblance and the handy descriptive term came into being.

Many dealers make no secret of their reluctance either to buy or to sell this ware; of all articles which lend themselves to faking, chalkware has long led the list—with the possible exception of painted tôle, which can be just about as misleading. There are reproductions of painted tôle coffee pots and other articles on the market which are so expertly done that it is said that, after a lapse of time, not even their decorators can distinguish between old and new with absolute certainty. Perhaps it is less difficult to separate sheep and goats in chalkware—but it is not easy.

Part of the difficulty lies in the fact that what is "old" to one dealer or buyer is not old to another. The first American chalkware was of Eighteenth Century manufacture, and the products of this period are unquestionably old in the thinking of all concerned. But the same kind of chalkware—perhaps even from the same molds—was produced a century later. Are the products of the 1880's "old"? For some dealers and buyers the answer is yes; for others it is a resounding no. Is the later chalkware, made over the early molds, to be regarded as a fake—as pressed glass made today by the use of old molds is considered a fake? Again, there is a difference of opinion.

On one point, however, there is agreement: Chalkware made in the 1930's by the use of old molds, or of new ones so like the old that the products are indistinguishable, is regarded by all as an out-and-out fake. The only point at issue is that since chalk is very easily "aged" artificially it has become difficult to distinguish between the true and the false. If there is anyone who can with absolute conviction say yes or no to some of these disputed pieces it is probably the long-established dealer who had handled much of the bona fide ware before the 1930's and who can lend Marion to tangible methods in making identification.

The history of chalkware, like the history of so many of

Except as noted, illustrations are by courtesy of the New-York Historical Society, New York City.

Mantel "clock" (3½ inches) with opening at top through which watch was lowered into place.

Seven-inch chalk rooster. Pieces with broad bases like this stood a better chance of survival than top-heavy ones mounted on pedestals.
the ornamental objects of the Pennsylvania Dutch, derives from Europe. The Pennsylvania Dutch have always been traditionally Protestant; yet it was from Catholic Italy that chalkware sprang. It appears that plaster figures of the Madonna and other devotional objects made their way north and east into the Danubian countries and then into the Rhineland. They were cheap, colorful, and easily available—and if they were not always put to their originally intended use, the same thing has happened in other areas when commerce steps in. From the Rhineland Counties the tradition of decorative chalk objects made its way to the New World, but with one obvious change: At no time in Pennsylvania has there been even a suggestion that chalkware has been put to devotional use.

Chalkware probably comes as close to meeting a strict definition of "folk" art as does any American-made product. Its forms were derived from every-day, familiar objects; its execution called for skill but not for schooling; it satisfied a craving for color and beauty in an understood medium. Its evolutionary period was short; it seems to have achieved its peak in quality with almost if not quite its first production.

Most pieces of chalk—or plaster-of-Paris, or just "plaster"—were cast in molds in at least two sections, front and back, and then cemented together. (Present-day chalk artists may use a dozen or more molds, according to the nature of their work, but that is a different story.) Almost identical processes were followed in glass making and in
candy making. The hollow chocolate Easter rabbits made in Victorian times and today are molded in the same tradition. Hollowness in chalk figures is the first point on which the purchaser of a presumed antique specimen wishes to assure himself.

This factor of hollowness, added to the fact that the chalk in itself is very light in weight, created a problem from the beginning. A mere touch was enough to upset a piece which by the nature of its design was lacking in balance, and so the bottoms of such pieces were not infrequently filled in with plaster or a heavier composition including plaster. The resulting greater degree of stability solved the problem for the owner at the time, but created another for today's collector, who cannot be sure without breaking the piece that the entire thing is solid and therefore a fake.

While the tradition of chalkware was rooted in religious thought, the forms it took in America were influenced to a considerable extent by the products of the English Staffordshire potteries. The familiar spatterware and Gaudy Dutch so beloved in Pennsylvania were direct imports from England, and English figurines and objects for mantel decoration came to this country at the same time. Mantel decorations were comparatively expensive, however, and in a section as economy-conscious as the Dutchland it is not at all strange that they never came into general usage. No pottery, with its necessary operations involving painting, glazing, and firing, could hope to compete with the home craftsman who could make and decorate his product on the spot in a few simple operations—and with a minimum of investment!

While there is a comparatively wide range in pieces the

Small yellow bird (not a distelfink, since the wings are outlined in red) six inches high.

Red and yellow pineapple, more than nine inches tall.
interested person may see in a good collection—far wider than in what he may find offered for sale—chalkware lends itself generally to classification in five groups: simple figures of birds or animals; watch niches, sometimes faintly suggestive of the household shrines from which they may originally have sprung; arrangements of fruit or fruit and leaves on a pedestal of some sort; buildings; and busts or portrait medallions. These last were seldom, if ever, known to Dutch Pennsylvania, although they were not uncommon elsewhere in the country. It should be noted too that while chalkware ornaments are generally attributed to Pennsylvania it cannot be stated positively that they were never made elsewhere. It would be strange indeed if Yankee ingenuity had not produced—and sold—at least some of the pieces long resident in Dutch Pennsylvania.

The collector's best chances are with representations of animals and birds. The French poodle is usually well designed, and is probably most popular among dogs. Pieces more than six inches tall are rare. Cats, however, are frequently larger, sometimes life-size. Colors were more or less realistic at the time the objects were decorated, but one of the greatest faults of chalkware is its unfortunate tendency to flake off. In the course of time the raw chalk darkened, and this tone in combination with the original color sometimes gives the animal an unfamiliar aspect. Cats' faces in chalk are always interesting; the artist almost invariably felt impelled to do *something* about the whiskers, often with amusing or startling results.

Squirrels are well liked, and sheep, usually shown lying down, are sometimes found, although less often. Undoubtedly most impressive among the animals is the recumbent deer with one foreleg daintily extended, as though about to rise. Only a few years ago it was possible to pass up a deer with the tip of one antler missing, in the hope of finding a perfect one; now, a completely perfect deer is often viewed with suspicion, so completely have the sources been combed. Deer are often black-spotted on light brown or tan, with touches of red at eyes, ears, and nostrils, but there is wide variation. Black lines at the base are used to complete the decoration on many pieces. Missing flecks of color are not considered a major fault.

Watch cabinets or niches are now seldom come upon. They seem to have been created as ornamental resting places for the key-wind "turnip" watches of an earlier generation, at such times as they were not actually in use. The stationary timepieces thus created were considerably cheaper—and therefore perhaps more popular in some instances—than the early Connecticut mantel clocks, which made their appearance at about the same time. Comparable cases were also made of iron or other metals in Victorian times—and, earlier, in wood. The watch slipped into the top or the back of the piece, which then took on the aspect of an important decorative object. Sometimes a niche below it—the originally intended place for the Madonna?—provided room for another plaster figure or another decorative object.

Fruit pieces constitute an interesting and important group. Almost always they are mounted on a standard intended to give the effect of the stem of a bowl or compote. They may be as simple as a single pineapple or orange, or as elaborate as high-piled arrangements of apples, oranges, other fruit, and foliage. The representation is not always completely "in the round"; it is likely to be a "front" decoration only. The colors may be realistic or imagina-

tive—often the latter; a blue pineapple or orange is not necessarily an impostor in chalkware. Fruit pieces are almost always disconcertingly top-heavy, and the wonder is that so many have survived. Cracked pieces command only slightly lower prices than those which are perfect; flaking, however, is considered a more serious flaw than it is in animals.

Buildings are usually representations of house fronts, if one may use the term "usually" when so few examples are known. The cathedral, or church front, is a highly desired piece. The decorative value of house chalk was heightened by placing lighted candles at places provided inside or at
Deer were made in a number of sizes and often in pairs, facing left and right. Ten inches.

Among dogs, the French poodle was a favorite. While such animals were too fragile for toys, we are told that they often appeared under Christmas trees. Five inches.

The back, so that light might stream from the windows. Sometimes the windows were mere openings, but sometimes they were glazed. In recent years, enterprising manufacturers have produced comparable plastic cathedrals fitted up with an electric bulb and sold at Christmas time.

Chalkware was evidently painted with whatever the decorator had at hand. Oil paint was used on some of the fruit pieces, but water color seems to have been more popular. Present-day practitioners usually use tempera. Collectors are urged not to attempt a touch-up job of any kind on chalkware. There is the important fact of authenticity, first of all, which should not be tampered with. The collector who "touches up" his investment in chalk can be compared with a person with a handful of dollar bills; each stroke of the brush is like tossing a bill to the wind. Only in a loose sense can anyone own a good piece of chalk; he can merely hold it in trust, passing it on eventually to a museum, where it properly belongs.

As serious as the attempted rejuvenation is the strong likelihood of ruining a piece in the process. Old chalk is not only extremely fragile but extremely porous; it is also extremely unpredictable. A touch of color may strike in and spread without warning, at once and forever exposing the attempted restoration. It may set up a chain reaction by loosening the paint near it. If a piece is in such shabby condition that one could not enjoy displaying it, he might better pass it up than tamper with it and thus spoil it for someone else.
"Jesus in the Upper Room," signed "John Landis, pinxit, 1836" on back of canvas.
"Author and Artist and Oriental Tourist"

BY FRANCES LICHTEN

On June 11, 1845, the oldest art institution in the United States, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, was greatly damaged by a conflagration set by a deranged relative of the caretaker. The firemen, by hurriedly slashing the canvases from their frames, saved certain masterpieces, but other valued works of art were destroyed beyond redemption.

The directors of this "venerable and sacred repository of art," as the Philadelphia Public Ledger called this forty-year-old building in its account of the fire, were greatly worried about replacements for their artistic losses. But they need not have distressed themselves, for one who kept his finger steadily on the pulse of artistic matters in this country hastened to relieve their concern. Only two days after the fire, John Landis, a Pennsylvania Dutch religious fanatic, wrote, offering them ten of his own artistic productions for the "low price" of $16,000. The directors, already suffering from the trouble made by a mentally unbalanced person, had no difficulty in recognizing the letter as the production of another crazed mind, so did not reply. Landis, having received no answer, wrote again five days later, this time offering his paintings for $10,000.

These letters have but recently come to light; in presenting one of them, I give the reader an adequate opportunity to judge for himself of John Landis' religious obsessions, his delusions of greatness, a list of his works, and his literary style before it had completely deteriorated into incomprehensibility. Here is letter No. 1.

Philadelphia, June 13, 1845.

Dear Sirs,

God in the desperations of Judgments observes mercy; otherwise the condition of the world, at present, would be far different; instead of prosperity, adversity be apparent and not, only, district of Cities desolated by the devouring element of His! ordinance! fiend! but, utterly destroyed; gratitude and praise are, therefore, due Him! rather than murmurings! for these many occurrences, intended blessings! which are not, only, needed out to Americans, but, also, Trans-Atlantic world! from which, your humble correspondent, at this time, has lately, returned, after the redemption of his vow to the Almighty! to visit Asia, in which, passed and returned through Europe and Africa; and thanks to God is now, again, in his Native Country and State; being from the banks of the "scatara and Susipchana," where my generosity has been proverbial; Presentations of Paintings and books, many—being both Author and Artist; my Poem of the "Messiah"! been circulated more extensively with other works in Poetry and Prose! which, however, are also, known to a greater distance in this Country and foreign lands; been classed with the works of the Authors and Painters of modern times; yet! commended above the generality of the works extant; classed with the Divine Word! Logically: above Pope, Scott, Fox, Dryden, Raphael, VanDyke, Clau'd, etc., declared not easily "paralleled"; "profound, mysterious, Theological Commission!" "Wonderful!" from God! therefore, permit me to proclaim! Who! declares that He is alone Wonderful! works of Inspiration! which, in the moment, again, offer to the Author and conder nominated. "The Academy of Fine Arts of Philadelphia!" as on a former occasion a few thereof; previous to the demise of the late Presidents! the Paintings! are, to wit:

Washington at his Devotions with Christ's Ascension! small, on the same Canvas—8 by 9 ft. 4 in.
Christ reproving St. Thomas 15 full size figures, 8 by 9 ft.
Angel and Women at the Saviour's Tomb, 9 figures, 8 by 9 ft.
The Last Supper about 22 by 34 in.
Stoning of Stephen, Kid-Kat Bearing the Crop, small size

Angel & St. John, 5 by 7 ft.
the "Battle of New Orleans," 3 by 5 ft. chief d'ouvrage (see) of this subject and of "Marshall" works and a portrait of the humble Author and Artist; together, gentlemen for the low price of $16,000 half in hand; when some of the pictures will be, immediately, passed in and the balance; when the rest, which, need some attention, having had them with me abroad and one has never, yet, been finished; Please adopt this proposition and acquaint me thereof accordingly, at Mr. Bowers, Red Lion, Market st.

In God! Respectfully. John Landis

John Landis, self-styled "Annointed of God," was probably well-known by sight to many Philadelphians and to the directors of the Academy as well. In 1835 he exhibited a copy of a painting of Mary Stuart in their institution. In 1840, the Germantown Telegraph described him in this graphic manner: "the peculiarities of his appearance in wearing the garb of the fathers of antiquity, with hair flowing from his head 18 inches down his breast and a beard of horrible aspect and mammouth magnitude." Other accounts describe him as "of the Dunker type and his appearance was according to that sect. He wore a broad-brim hat, long surcoat coat, and uncut beard; was of ordinary height and weight; with pale, swarthy complexion, and dark, melancholy eyes."

So peculiar an individual could not escape the observation of the writers of his time; one noted that in his early days Landis was inordinately fond of dress and excessively vain—a trait which persisted throughout his life, though transferred to other facets of his personality rather than his appearance as a man of fashion. On one occasion, he narrates, that Landis, attired in a new broadcloth suit, kid gloves, high silk hat and polished boots, a costly ring on his first finger, and sporting a handsome cane, stepped up to a friend, exclaiming: "Say, don't I look like a Frenchman?" "Pride, religion, and an unsuccessful love affair," says this writer, tersely, "unbalanced his mind."

"I may say I was born a painter, poet, and man of genius," stated Landis, in the preface to one of his several books: Discourses on the Depravity of the Human Family, printed in Harrisburg in 1829.

The possessor of these artistic qualities was born near Hummeltown, Pa., on October 15, 1805, of very devout Lutheran parents. "My education," he says, "was that of a common country school; reading, writing, and arithmetic, all of which I could manage with considerable ease; My genius developed itself in this way, and also in drawing with pencil and pen and ink, figures of various kinds; the
gift of painting, which I have since brought to great perfection, was therefore, inherent from childhood."

At fifteen, moved greatly by religious fervor, he joined the Lutheran Church. He could commit to memory long passages from the Bible, and his faith was so vivid that he said "he could almost see with natural eyes, the Saviour and His disciples passing by"—an ability which was to be of great value to him when he began to paint. One of his sisters wanted him to study for the ministry. Throughout his childhood she had encouraged his religious bent with her glowing pictures of the delights of Heaven and the benevolence of the blessed Saviour. Consulting a minister—one he thought highly of—about following the calling, he was advised to listen to the dictates of conscience. Not being really certain that the Lord had called him, and deciding that the profession of minister required too much

Self-portrait, entitled "John Landis Attended by Angels" from the 1843 imprint.
Lithograph of Washington done by John Landis.
Philadelphia, June 15, 1845

Gentlemen,

God! Who dwelleth in glory above mortal eye to behold in His own ordained dominion, He is the great Creator of all! Without whose knowledge, although so great, not a sparrow falleth to the ground, nor ought transferre to mortal beings! the many accidents are therefore by His judg-
ments, special and general, intended for good—towards men Wisdom! for them. He is more mindful than all His other creatures, Whose cause, I advocate like Abraham, the
"father of the Faithful," and calling Israel twice abroad, to Damascus and last time to Africa and Asia, also from which I lately, under Jehovah's blessings returned and which cost me in money and Paintings, about $6,000, con-
sequently, have need of Patronage for some of the Pic-
tures left on hand. Original oil Paintings, in design, in-
scription, and composition equal to Raphael's works of similar
subject, Sacred!

"For there great Bard to chain the heart,
In boundless rapture with the art
Of Painting—Raphael tried in vain,
To forge for men so bright a chain
and many above his and no marvel since knowledge. Retain
has increased in these very last days according to the word
of God & that I triumph in a plurality of the highest first years
which none of the most elite! of the Nation! am consistent
with General Rehm has known me for many years, who, I
myself is one of your Committee, and from the high Character
for talents of others whom I know by reputation, induces me to

A page of John Landis' letter of June 18, 1845.
In 1830 he began to study "the divine art of painting." This opportunity presented itself when two mediocre traveling painters came to Harrisburg from Marietta and lodged at the same house where Landis boarded. Eager to learn how a portrait was painted, he sat to one of them for his own likeness. He then showed the artist some of his own pencil sketches, and the latter agreed that John would make a painter, and would teach him how to mix and use colors for fifty dollars. John was aware that his instructor stood not too high in his profession, but he nevertheless spent several weeks studying with him, and making copies of the portraits that the artist had painted of his sitters.

A less kindly version of Landis' induction into the career of artist says that the itinerant painter had learned beforehand that John had money, and that it was therefore an easy matter to convince him that he was fitted for the profession—that he would become a Raphael in the course of time. "John naturally became an artist in a very short time," is the acid comment.

John Landis began his career as artist by painting portraits. He is supposed to have painted fourteen small likenesses, among them one of General Zachary Taylor. He found himself "enraptured" with painting, and bought costly books on the subject, as well as engravings from which he drew inspiration. Furthermore, in order to see the works of the best masters, he visited Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and Washington. His study of these paintings taught him new views, new principles of art.

His first large painting in oil was that of a subject already treated by the highly honored artist, Benjamin West: Christ Healing the Sick. The fact that West's work was on permanent exhibition in Philadelphia at the Pennsylvania Hospital did not in the least deter Landis from entering the field of art with his own Christ Preaching and Healing Diseases. This, too, was exhibited in Philadelphia, he says, and was given favorable notices by the newspapers of that city. He presented this picture to the Lutheran Church in Harrisburg, but in 1838, when the edifice was burned, the painting, too, was destroyed.

In 1833 he left on his first trip to Europe, landing in Liverpool, England. This must have been a curious embarkation, for with him went his canvases, finished and unfinished, some of gigantic size. His Battle of New Orleans spread over a canvas 14 by 22 feet, with life-size figures. The subject was one he attempted at least three times on this scale, and also in smaller sizes. To execute one of these paintings of the "Battle," he said he risked his life "crossing the Susquehanna during an ice-flood, in midwinter, to procure the portrait of Gen. Adair, Senator from Kentucky" for it. In England he exhibited one of the large versions of the "Battle" but lost a great deal of money in the venture. The British, naturally, would not pay to see a painting in which the entire foreground was cluttered with the dead bodies of their red-coated countrymen. Landis, completely absorbed in himself and his mission, had naively overlooked the fact that the vanquished did not wish to face their painted defeat, for they had been badly beaten at New Orleans in 1815.

Sometime before 1845 he went abroad again, in fulfillment of a vow he had made to visit Asia—by which he meant Palestine. After this trip he referred to himself as "Author and Artist and Oriental Tourist." In giving himself this sonorous title he thus vaguely referred to his unsuccessful visit to the Holy Land, for he never quite attained

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self-denial, he concluded instead to study printing. Going to Harrisburg, he apprenticed himself to a Mr. Wyeth for some years. Even here, in a business atmosphere, he found opportunity to enrich his religious life; a fellow apprentice, equally pious, used to go into the loft over the shop three times daily to pray, and there was joined by Landis.

After serving his apprenticeship he became a partner in a Jacksonian newspaper in Reading for a few months. Then he began to travel about, working in New York, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Lancaster, and York.

At this period of his life, making money seemed to be his chief aim, and he entered various business ventures, even opening a lottery business and making a success of it until 1833, when the state abolished such practices. Nevertheless, he says he did well in the brokerage business, and made a "fortune of $3000," which he managed in some way, eventually, to squander.
the Holy City, Jerusalem. Instead, he became ill and was found by some Bedouins wandering in the desert, weary and consumed with fever, only a few days' journey from his goal. Because of the Moslem reverence for the mentally unsound, the Arabs took him to Alexandria, from which port he was sent home by the American Consul.

John Landis planned *The Battle of New Orleans* for the Capitol at Washington, but, though he considered it too small, it was really too large for the space for which he intended it. Though he expended just $35 in materials for this work, he asked his country to pay $7000 for it—a sum that our representatives at Washington considered exorbitant. They finally had to ask him to remove it from the rotunda where he had placed it on exhibition. Eventually it was shown in the rotunda of the Capital at Harrisburg—a city in which he was a most familiar figure, seen constantly importuning the legislators to buy his picture. According to one account, the price of the "Battle" had now risen to $30,000, and he had actually persuaded one of the legislators to present a bill for the appropriation. Some one discovered that the horse in the painting had five legs, and this artistic misadventure defeated the project. Though Landis painted out the supernumerary leg, the matter of the purchase of his painting was never again brought up before the Legislature.

No one who had seen these huge paintings could ever
An abstraction from the 1843 imprint.

forget them. According to the taste of the Nineteenth Century, which demanded good drawing and finish in works of art, they were considered mere daubs. Today, they would be regarded as productions of an American "primitive" painter. Judging by the one small example known to the writer and here pictured, it, at least, has considerable merit. This painting, titled Jesus in the Upper Room was produced by Landis in 1836, just after he returned from Europe. It is one of his several attempts to portray the subject, which he sometimes called Christ and the Apostles reproving Thomas, the incredulous disciple. The first was a small study, 11 x 14 inches, which he began in London and which eventually evolved into the 8 by 9 foot example he offered to the Academy of the Fine Arts. The example pictured is 13½ inches by 18½ inches, and is from the Geasey Collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

This is a picture worthy of our interest. It tells its story with a Giottoesque simplicity—the theme, one of his favorites, is apparent at once. The oversized heads, all about on the same level, recall similar crowded groupings on early Christian sarcophagi. The figures are clad in draperies of blue, red, and gold, set against a medium brown background. Several crudely drawn columns are ranged on the left; a Nineteenth Century small-paneled window fills in the right. Note the fairly well-drawn hand and feet. These suggest that the artist-poet may have profitably studied the engravings he bought for they bring to mind the work of Alexander Anderson, America's first wood engraver, who illustrated a Bible, printed in Philadelphia in 1834. This edition was probably known to Landis.

In the 1880's, a newspaper reporter, who had known Landis in his own youth, set down his reminiscences of the eccentric artist. Himself interested in art when young,
he had gotten to know Landis in Harrisburg and “remembered his many—too many—quare feet of painted canvas.” The paintings were first housed in a frame structure, no longer standing at the time of writing. Later on, Landis was permitted by the indulgent city fathers to use the upper story of the old courthouse for a studio. Of all the canvases which crowded the place, the writer remembered but two clearly: the Christ Preaching and Healing Diseases already mentioned, and the Resurrection. The rest, in his memory, became a confusion of gigantic angels, apostles, and other figures on religious themes.

As regards technical procedures in painting, Landis, individualist to the core, shook himself free of the dicta of the art academies of his day. Not for him were artists’ colors, which at that time had to be procured from colourmen in Philadelphia. For his purpose, he found the pigments used for house painting quite good enough. Moreover, these could be purchased locally and ground by local painters. Nor did Landis waste any time—as did other artists—on preliminary sketches or employ models to pose for his figure compositions.

One does not know exactly what he used for canvas, though he did say that one of his versions of the “Battle” was painted on a seamless fabric, 14 by 22 feet. One can hardly imagine that he could procure good canvas, pigments and stretchers, even in his day, for only $33, the sum he mentioned as having expended on this picture. However, because of his disordered mentality, one cannot help questioning his varying statements about his productions. Several times he mentioned the “Battle,” once remarking that he “could finish [the painting] so as to be worth considerable, but my time is of more value in this degenerate age; when sinners are indulging in the most abominable vices, and perishing all around.”

Although his evangelical Discourses on the Depravity of the Human Family dwell mainly on the absolute need of redemption by faith, he seemed to take particular pleasure in concentrating on the evil deeds of men and in berating “filthy sinners.” His discourses bring to mind examples of this type of religious fanatic, screaming themselves hoarse in public places on the same themes. Contemporary accounts, however, always described Landis as quiet, unoffending, and melancholic.

While John Landis frequently chronicled the titles of his oil paintings, nowhere did he mention the fact that he also produced certain lithographs. In subject matter, they did not differ greatly from his paintings. First was The Battle of New Orleans; the second was of a religious nature—a figure in a long black robe surrounded by a group of guardian angels—a very curious and interesting lithograph,” says Harry T. Peters, in his America on Stone—“the only copy I have seen.” The third is a small print of George Washington at prayer—a painted version of which heads the list of works he proposed to sell the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Although Peters enumerates the first two, the third he never saw; all are rare.

To produce a lithograph requires primarily the ability to draw with pencil or crayon. Since Landis stated that he drew as a child, it is quite possible that he may have had this ability to earn his living in a lithographic establishment in any of the several cities he mentions working during his young manhood. There he could have acquired the technical niceties of the profession, and turned them to good account when he wished to make a lithograph.

After he began painting in 1830, lithograph prints, with their limitations on size, may have seemed pecuniary affairs to him. With his grandiose ideas, he probably felt much happier when he could spread his religious conceptions over the greater areas that canvas offered, rather than limit them to the constraining boundaries of the lithographic stone. However, as this method of print-making allows the artist as many facsimiles of the original sketch as he desires, he probably turned to it as a means of quickly multiplying his ideas, and also as a way of obtaining a little money by peddling the prints on his wanderings. During his lifetime, uplifting subjects in prints were in great favor, and this eccentric personality undoubtedly found some sympathetic purchasers for his productions.

As the years passed, his paranoia increased. While in England, he said, he was persecuted and thrown into prison for two years for no reason whatsoever. He could never comprehend the “dark, mysterious and hellish plot” which landed him behind bars. Moreover, the persecution did not cease, as he had hoped, on his return to his native land. Even his brother’s hand was against him, he believed, and he fell out, too, with all his relatives and friends.

About his ventures in writing poetry it is better to say little. His vocabulary, for a Pennsylvania Dutchman of the times, was extensive. His spelling, because of his printing apprenticeship, is excellent; his sense of rhyme and meter would be laughable were it not so pathetic. In his paranoiac state, nevertheless, he found all his literary productions, as well as his artistic ones, of surpassing excellence. His ear, being German, ignored English distinctions in pronunciation, so he could find a rhyming relation between the most disparate sounds, such as landscapes and agates. Sound and sound was a favorite combination, and nells and mells, empleos and voice, please and peace distressed him not at all. He was incapable of adhering to a formal rhyming scheme; his meter leaps and bounds, halts and stumbles. In “The Messiah,” his first work as a poet, written in 1837, he hopes that the stupendous and sublime theme will make the reader overlook the fact that “a part may not be equally melodious with the rest.”

As he grew older, his phraseology, too, became more and more confused, so that, in his pamphlet, Letter to this Mighty Nation with sentimental and National Poetry, published in 1854, one can hardly find a completely intelligible sentence. Nevertheless, in this tiny garbled pamphlet, he included a poem dedicated to the Author, which begins “Landis, great Poet—Painter ‘t the time.”

By Pencil touches and in Rhyme:

and another of six verses which is expressibly touching, entitled To an Unreplenished Store, which begins

“Store, O uncomfortable store!
Why ceasing to attract my love?
Why ceasing to emit thy Life?
Excitation of broil and strife.”

One cannot help visualizing the poor “Anointed of God” shivering in the old smelly near Chambersburg where he lived for a while, hungry, his stove gone dead, as he dictates his letter to the Honorable Lewis Cass—“late candidate for the Presidency . . . the laborer is worthy of his hire”. . . . he writes, “hence, again my Claim to Money and a Wife and House and Comforts of Life, like King David, the Psalmist, partly.” Sheer baldrash, was the verdict on this booklet, and baldrash we must admit it to be, though we cannot help be touched, and deplore
From the 5th edition of the "Messiah." New York, 1851.

The fact that Landis must often have been cold and gone
without food in order to pay for the printing of his
literary efforts.

It is not known exactly when he died, but his life
probably ended under the same circumstances as did the
lives of similar unfortunate eccentrics. In May, 1857, he
was taken to the Lancaster County Poorhouse.

JOHN LANDIS IMPRINTS

1838

The Messiah: a poem, of the birth, mission, sufferings,
resurrection, ascension, and second advent of Our Lord
Jesus Christ, with original hymns. By John Landis... .
Chambersburg [Pa.]. Printed by H. Ruby, 1838. 64 p.
1839

Discourses on the depravity of the human family; par-
ticularly applied to this nation and these times. Under
printed by R. S. Elliott & co., 1839. 177 p.

Hymns and sacred pieces, never before published. By
John Landis... . Harrisburg, printed for the author, 1839.

Jehovah! the glorious God, considered in the creation:
being poetical effusions with hymns, some of which are

The Messiah: a poem. With original hymns. 2d ed.
Harrisburg, 1839. [1], 5-62 p.

Title-page of the 1851 "Messiah."

The soul's aid. Things of importance to the converted
and unconverted. By John Landis... . Harrisburg: R. S.
Elliott & co., printers. 1840. 91 p.

1843

A treatise magnifying, lauding, and applauding God!
and extolling the redemption, by the sister arts of poetry
and painting, with sacred poetical effusions. Under his
divine Master, by John Landis. New York, the author.
1843. 24 p.

1846

The Messiah: a poem; of the birth, mission, sufferings,
resurrection, ascension, and second advent of Our Lord
Jesus Christ: with original hymns. 3d ed. By John
Landis... . Lancaster City, Pa., J. H. Pearsol, printer,
1846. 80 p.

1851

Life of the Messiah! a poem; of the nativity, mission,
crucifixion, resurrection, ascension and second advent and
judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ. 5th Edition... . New

1854

Letter to this mighty nation with sentimental and na-
tional poetry. Harrisburg, Pa., 1854. 16 p.

1855

Letter! to this mighty nation, with eard for patronage!
and defence from libels, and sentimental and national!
Schuylkill Folktales

By WILLIAM H. NEWELL

A young man living near Cressona married a young lady. The young man's father being wealthy gave his son a farm with stock complete. It was not long before the horses began to die one after the other. No one could account for it. The young man was advised to see a witch doctor. He called on the doctor who lived in Schuylkill Haven. He was given three pegs to take along. He was to bore three holes in the doorsill and drive these pegs in the holes he had bored. The first peg was to be driven into the hole by one blow from the hammer, the second peg with two blows, the third peg with three blows, but after the third peg had been given the second blow, he was to look around. He looked up the path that led to the stable and he saw his grandmother coming. He then delivered the third blow and as he did his grandmother fell dead. It seems she was opposed to the marriage.

[The man who told me this and the following story says this is true. He was an eye-witness to the following.]

* * * *

We boys used to go up to an old witch's yard to eat cherries. We would climb up the tree. The old witch would see us out of the window. We would not be up the tree very long before we would be chased by a big black snake. Then we would come down off the tree and run. The witch would stand there and laugh at us.

* * * *

A family who lived at Schuylkill Haven by the name of Whitman, awakening one morning, found three of the family apparently smothered to death. They went to a witch doctor who told them to get a pitcher of cream. When the spell came on them again, they should throw the pitcher of cream on the stove.

The next night, sure enough, the spell came on two members. They promptly threw the pitcher and contents on the stove.

The next day the witch walked around in terrible pain. When this old witch died, for fear the people would see the scars and other blemishes on her body that the witch doctors placed on her in her lifetime, her daughters laid her out to be buried.

* * * *

He was sitting with many other people in a farmer's kitchen one time. The conversation drifted on witch stories. An old woman who was present, after hearing the different stories, jumped up and said what they talked about was nothing to compare to what she could do. She asked for a milk pail. It was handed to her. She walked up to the door and said she would milk any cow they should name. They told her to milk a neighbor's cow, and also mentioned the neighbor's name. She deliberately walked to the door, set the pail under the towel and milked the pail half full of milk. At milking time they all went to their neighbor for results. The cow gave no milk.

* * * *

A young couple were in love with one another in a nearby town. They were secretly married. When the young lady's mother (who was a witch) discovered this, she bewitched the young married woman, who was like paralyzed. They doctored with all the doctors within a radius of many miles to no effect. A man by the name of Whitman (who never believed in witches but who had often heard of them) was consulted, and he told them, for the fun of it, that he would take them to Reading, that is, the young married couple, to Reading, to a witch doctor.

They finally went to Reading, called on the witch doctor, who took them into a room. This man Whitman, who never believed in these things, states that he plainly saw the afflicted girl's mother on the wall. She told the girl that when she arrived home she would find her mother

This same man told my his boy was bewitched by his aunt and was so for a long time. He went to a witch doctor who told him to get nine new pins and nine new needles and put them in a bottle. When this was done, the witch would call suffering terrible agony. She came and asked for a bottle of catsup, which was refused, and also told what she had done. She acknowledged the fact, and promised never to do it again. As soon as the pins and needles were in the bottle the spell was removed.

* * * *

*William H. Newell, a native of Cressona, died in Pottsville, March 15, 1933, in his late seventies. One-time president of the Schuylkill County Historical Society, he wrote widely on local history. The folktales here were recorded in old age when almost blind. They are from the William Newell Folklore Manuscript at the Pottsville Public Library.
lying on the wood chest with terrible pains, and would ask her for castor oil and sugar to relieve her of the terrible pain, but that she should not on any consideration give her anything.

The mother pleaded with her, promising she would not do anything of the kind any more, but the girl would not give her anything. The old lady died in agony. If the girl would have given her anything, she would have had the spell again.

* * * * *

A miller who lived and who ran a mill up in Roaring Creek could not keep any of his hired men more than a few days. He could not induce them under any consideration to stay after they once made up their minds to go. He began to inquire of these men why they would not stay. They told him that at a certain time at night a large cat, a black cat, would come in the mill and attack them and under no condition would they stay there.

This mill worked night and day. The owner of the mill would work in daytime and the hired men would work at night. This miller had to travel far toward the last to get men as he had all the millers close at hand employed at one time or another.

So one day a traveler came along and asked the miller for a job. The miller told him he could give him employment, but there was some trouble: no one would stay more than a few days, owing to a large cat coming in the mill at night. This new man said he would stay. All he wanted was a sharp hatchet. The miller procured a good sharp hatchet for the man.

He went to work that night, and about twelve o'clock comes this black cat as usual. It made a spring for the new man, and he grabbed the hatchet and aimed for the cat and cut the cat's right forefoot off.

The next morning the miller's wife would not get up. He went to the mill and told the new man his wife was sick; that he had to make breakfast and that he would be late to relieve him. The new man told him to go to his wife, and ask her to pull her arms from under the cover. He went to her, and she would not do it.

He then went to the mill again, and told the new man that she would not take her arms from under the cover. He told the miller to go back and pull them out, which he did, and, behold, her right hand was cut off at the wrist.

(This story was told me with much earnestness, that it was true, as his grandfather told him it was true.)

* * * * *

There were girls at home and when they milked the cows they did not get all the milk from the cows, and the girls claimed that Mam had the cows bewitched. The old man told the old lady she should milk them if she wanted all the milk. When milking time came she went to milk and did get double the quantity, but on coming out of the stable she had to step over the rail, and she stumbled and spilled all the milk. The old man said, "Why, you have not got as much milk as the girls had." She said she spilled it, and exclaimed, "I will not lose it." She then went to the towel which hung on the door, and pulled at the towel until she had all the milk back in the bucket again.

(The man who told me this story, who is a neighbor of mine, said a person can hardly believe this, but it comes from my father and he voices the truth of the story.)

* * * * *

A farmer had his barn burnt. Next morning while walking in his field thinking how to repair the damage, he met an old man who inquired what troubled him. When the farmer told him, the old man offered to rebuild his barn the next night to be finished before cockerow.

The condition was that the farmer would sell the evil one his soul; unless the barn was not finished in the time specified. This the farmer agreed to.

That night a great noise was heard, like stones and timber falling, then a great awakening. The man, in great fear on account of his pact with the devil, told his wife what had happened. This was overheard by the maid servant. She went into the yard, entirely naked, and standing perfectly male before the cock, flapped her arms like wings. This caused the cock to crow before the right time, and one end of the barn being still unfinished, the farmer's life was saved. But they never could finish that part of the barn.

* * * * *

One evening a lady, her two daughters, and her son were sitting on their porch, when a ghost in white walked down the street, and came back in black. This was repeated five times. The young man went at once to sleep—his sisters being unable to wake him. Then, one of the girls started to cross the street to examine the ghost, but halfway over she became motionless and could not move until the ghost passed away.

The young man remained asleep until the same time next night that the ghost appeared.

* * * * *

A well-dressed man came to Cresona, a stranger to the town. He had a book, in which he indeed a number of people to write their names. At last one man, before writing, said: "Jesus Christ." And the stranger vanished, leaving the book.

* * * * *

A hunter in the Blue Mountains saw a wild cherry tree; he ate some of the fruit and placed the stones in his pocket. Soon after he fired at a deer. He expended all his ammunition, and finally fired the cherry stones at the animal, but the deer escaped. Some time after the hunter saw the same deer, with a large cherry tree growing between its antlers.
Painted Chests from Bucks County

By JOHN CUMMINGS

The question has frequently recurred: Did Bucks County have its own variety or design of chests with painted decoration? Were such chests produced in the county? There was surely enough of the Germanic element in the population, that decorated dower chests would be in demand.

We have had very fine, thorough discussions of painted, decorated dower chests.\(^1\)\(^2\) The treatment has covered most carefully types evolved in Berks, Lebanon, Lancaster, Dauphin, and even the largely English Montgomery County.\(^3\) Perhaps this study will shed some light upon the possible Bucks County sort.

Take a map of Bucks and draw a triangle with one apex at Quakertown, a second at Riegelsville and the third at Doylestown (Figure 1). Within the area circumscribed,

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there have been found and studied several chests, which are quite different in their painted decoration than any hitherto described. In design, construction and ornamentation these are quite evidently the product of one craftsman and it is possible that the chests may be a local development.

The chest shown in Figure 2 was obtained from the late Kendrick Scofield of Spring Valley, Pennsylvania, in November 1951. Mr. Scofield's data showed the piece to have been found near Kintnersville; that it had always been in that locality; also that there was a small stone house a short distance from the highway, which had a date stone agreeing with the chest. This house which was still standing until the Fall of 1952, showed its gable end.

\[ \text{B} \]
\[ \text{L. II} \]
\[ 1771 \]

The chest is a marriage chest with initials of both bride and groom!

The details of the item are as follows. The body color is brown (umber?) stippled or sponged over white, with “fans” at the corners. The stippling within the trifold panels is prussian blue, as is also the tulip or lily in the center below the key escutcheon. The curious little devices (some term these “erdhungen” symbols) around the perimeter of the panels are vermillion and prussian blue. The white line work is chalk, done with compass and square or other instruments for the panels. The lettering and date is done free hand and has dots or “jewel work” done with red lead. The use of the so-called Moravian one or “one with a vine” is interesting. The piece is entirely original, untouched and in good condition—except for the quite usual and natural wearing off of most of the paint on the lid.

During 1952 Mrs. Martha Hill Hommel of Richlandtown had an earlier example—which has since passed into other hands. It had been obtained by the late Rudolf P. Hommel in the vicinity and was allegedly a local piece. It had a deep red sponged body, and bore the date 1766 with only two initials—hence a dower chest. In design, construction and decorative technique it was not at all different.

Still a third example was briefly in Mr. Scofield's possession in the Fall of 1952. Except for its condition, which was somewhat dilapidated, and having but two initials, it was a replica of the chest of Figure 2. Due to wear and tear it was difficult to be certain of the last figure of the date but it appeared to be 1771. The “picker” who brought it in vouchsafed the information that “it came from up-country,” which places it in the same locale as the others.

Still a fourth example was seen in the Fall of 1957, while on route from Riegelsville to Doylestown with the late Huyler Held. Had Mr. Held, who was a collector and student of Pennsylvania German items, not gone over the piece, and enumerated the various points—it must be confessed that one factor in our study would have gone from memory, but the date 1772 was most plain, as was the dark lily or tulip near the center of the front, and the curious “clover leaf” outlines of the panels. The sponged background was a brownish yellow with a dark sponged background in the panels. The piece became a part of the Held collection—but since his death about five years ago it has doubtless passed into other hands and would be difficult to locate.

Since every wood worker develops little tricks with tools or the use of tools, the joinery of a piece can often be almost a signature. Likewise having established a design or methods of embellishment these same will tend to recur, even though with variations. The use of a shoe for support instead of the more common bracket foot, oddities in the

Fig. 2—Marriage chest, having initials of both bride and groom, dated 1771, found near Kintnersville in 1951.
cutting of the dovetails and the use of the wooden pins, and finally the painted decoration all draw these chests into a single group yet set them apart from others. These were made over the short span of a half dozen years (1769 to 1772) and all appeared in a relatively small area. They have initials for the owner and the date—but no maker's signature has yet been seen on any one of them.

In 1956 the chest pictured as Figure 3 was purchased from Mrs. Violetta Scofield of Spring Valley. The late Kendriek Scofield had gotten the piece from a “picker,” who had stated it was from the upper part of Bucks County. At first glance there would seem to be no kinship between this and the four chests enumerated earlier. But upon closer examination and continued study it seems very evident that this was produced by the same artisan, but after the lapse of some years. Mrs. Prown in her careful study of Bucks County craftsmen in the last half of the XVIII Century found that many of the artisans, especially those of Germanic extraction were ardent patriots, many of them serving in the Continental army. This may account for the lapse of a dozen years in dates together with certain changes in design and appearance.

Let us consider the differences first. The substitution of bracket feet for the earlier and out-of-fashion shoes is quite to be expected. The tulips or lilies are now in white, are three in number (center and each end) and are much “fancier,” bespeaking more experience. The trifids are identical with the earlier ones in their execution, but are reduced in size. They have the dark sponged ground within but no longer carry date or initials—and they are now in a cartouche. Finally, across the top there was originally lettering, perhaps name and date. So completely worn away, as one would expect in the exposed location, all attempts to decipher have met with failure.

The mouldings, type of dovetails, and pegging are identical, the interior is the same in type of lock and hinges also in the till. The lid of this till gives us what may be the clue to the maker! Figure 4 pictures a written inscription on this lid. The German writing on the till (Figure 4) reads “PETER RAHN hat das gemacht den 11 Mártz im Jahr 1784.” Translating: “Peter Rahn made this the 11 March in the year 1784.” This poses the questions who was Peter Rahn and where did he live or work?

Mrs. Brazer in her fine complete studies makes no mention of Peter Rahn nor of chests of Bucks County. She does picture a chest assigned to Montgomery County which shows some similarity to those being studied in its decoration (use of trifids). Neither does Mrs. Prown list a Peter Rahn.

Careful study of the records in the library of The Bucks County Historical Society failed to disclose any traces of Peter Rahn within the county.

There is a village called Rahts in Montgomery County, which was named after the early settlers in Limerick Township. This directed attention to that county and

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5. Craftsmen in Bucks County 1750-1800. Thesis offered in partial fulfillment of requirements for the MA degree, University of Delaware 1956; as Winterthur Fellow Shirley A. Martin (Shirley Martin Prown).

inquiry of the Montgomery County Historical Society. While they had much genealogical data on the family, there was no Peter Rahn recorded at the time indicated. The librarian, Mrs. Le Roy Burris, kindly suggested that one Peter Rahn of Bowers Station in Berks County in mid XIX Century might be the son, or grandson, or other relative of our subject.

Berks County Book of Biographies states as follows: "... Adam Rahn, a native of Germany, in 1752, in company with his three brothers, emigrated to this country and located in Montgomery County, his other brothers located in Berks County."

Is it possible that one of these "other brothers" could have been Peter Rahn or that one of them might have settled in, or moved to, Bucks County?

One of these "other brothers" was inductibly Jacob Rahn, Sr. (born 1728), who had a son serving in the Revolutionary War. This son (Jacob, Jr.) is probably the Rahn mentioned as Ensign in the 7th Company, Captain Leonard.

Peter is not mentioned among the nine or more Rahns listed by Strassburger and Hinke.

There is a Rahn family genealogy; it, too, fails to shed any light on our Peter Rahn.

Let us set up a working, and it is hoped workable, hypothesis. What of the remaining brothers, unnamed, who came to America with Adam Rahn in 1752 and supposedly settled in Berks(?) County. Could one of these have been Peter Rahn? Could Peter Rahn have settled in Bucks rather than in Berks? Or could he have been an itinerant craftsman, who never stayed long enough in one spot to get his roots down and become a matter of record? Or instead of a traveling journeyman—was he in the shop of someone else? These are fascinating questions to which no answers are presently available.

We do know he made one chest in 1784, and very probably made a number of others at an earlier date. We also know that these items were found in upper Bucks County and might have been made there, but this last we cannot be certain of. Finally we can be reasonably certain that all the chests discussed in this article were made by one individual and that they are markedly different from any hitherto reported. Perhaps further research will resolve the problem.

The author wishes to express gratitude and appreciation to Mrs. Margie Holt. Without her assistance, so freely and capably given, this article would not have been accomplished.

11. Pennsylvania Archives.
A Study of the Dress
Of the (Old) Mennonites
Of the Franconia Conference
1700-1953*

By MARY JANE HERSHEY


PREFACE

During the last decade of the Seventeenth Century and the first decade of the Eighteenth Century, various European groups emigrated to America. Among these early settlers were Swiss and Palatine Mennonites who chose Penn's Woods as their destination. In 1683 the first Mennonite settlement in North America was made at Germantown, and in 1702 the second Mennonite community was established at Skippack. Today the total membership of the (Old) Mennonite Church in North America is over 74,000. The Franconia Conference is one of seventeen district conferences in North America that comprise the Mennonite Church. According to the 1955 census, the membership of the Franconia Conference is 5,419 persons in twenty-nine congregations located geographically in Montgomery, Bucks, Chester and Bucks counties of eastern Pennsylvania.

In 1957, John C. Wenger, a Mennonite historian, wrote a general history of the Franconia Mennonites. Statements about dress practices are included in this book. With the exception of this and one magazine article, the costume of the Franconia Mennonites has never been studied. The Franconia Mennonite Historical Society, as well as the main Mennonite Historical Society (Goshen, Indiana) is interested in this type of studies being made. Since Mennonites in general are adopting current dress practices, it is important that it be made now before facts about costume are entirely forgotten.

Family records show that I belong to the tenth and eleventh generation of Mennonites in Pennsylvania. Since I have a rich personal Mennonite heritage and since my special interest lies in the field of clothing and textiles, I feel that my contribution should be that of making a study of the dress of the Franconia Mennonites in order that this phase of Mennonite life may be preserved for future generations of Mennonites as well as for others who are interested in the costume of these rural Americans.

COSTUME FROM 1700-1800

Recorded facts about the costume of the Franconia Mennonites during the years from 1683 (the first settlement) to approximately 1800 are practically non-existent. No sketches or written descriptions picturing them when they arrived in Pennsylvania can be located. However, two descriptions of their costume in Europe during the Seventeenth Century may be helpful in giving some idea concerning their appearance during the early years of immigration to America.

During the Seventeenth Century a Swiss Reformed minister wrote the following about the Swiss Anabaptists:

"They wear simple clothes, do not wear a collar about the neck, nor adorn themselves with lace and ruffles or anything that might savour of pride or extravagance; they speak slowly, and sing in a low, soft voice and constantly keep their eyes fixed on the ground."

In 1641 Rembrandt, the famous Dutch artist (1606-1669), in a painting depicted a Mennonite minister Cornelius Chaez, and his wife (frontispiece, Separated Coto God). The minister is wearing a broad-brimmed black hat. His beard partially covers the white ruff around his neck. His wife wears a small white cap on her head and has around her neck a white ruff similar to the one her husband is wearing. Her dark, long-sleeved dress appears to have a panel down the front of the bodice. The bodice is closely fitted, and the skirt is full. Another Dutch artist, Frans Hals (1580-1666), painted a family group who apparently were not Mennonites as the picture is titled only, "A Family Group" (Figure 39, Evans, Costume Through the Ages). Similarity to the clothing pictured by Rembrandt is evident in the hat of the man as well as in the cap and the ruff of the wife. The only noticeable difference is that in the Hals' picture the wife wears a slightly larger ruff, and the husband has lace around his collar. This may indicate that Mennonites dressed similarly to other Christians on their

economic level but were not quite as extravagant in their dress.

The preceding examples directly concern Mennonites during the century before their arrival in America. Earlier Sixteenth Century records indicate that Mennonites practiced simplicity and nonconformity in clothing although they had no general uniformity in costume. (For discussion of Swiss and Dutch Mennonite clothing from 1525 to 1700, see John C. Wenger, Historical and Biblical Position of the Mennonite Church on Attire (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1944), p. 24. An Onder in Men's Costumes among the plain people, The Pennsylvania Dutchman, Vol. IV. No. 15, Easter, 1932, p. 6, states that this quotation was written by Redmond Conningsham in a manuscript “History of the Mennonites and Aymonists” (1839), owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 2. John C. Wenger, Historical and Biblical Position of the Mennonite Church on Attire (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1944), p. 24. Don Yoder in Men's costumes among the plain people, The Pennsylvania Dutchman, Vol. IV. No. 15, Easter, 1932, p. 6, states that this quotation was written by Redmond Conningsham in a manuscript “History of the Mennonites and Aymonists” (1839), owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Since there are no descriptions of Franconia Conference Mennonites during their first century in America, perhaps two quotations about their neighbors, the Lancaster Conference Mennonites, may add interest.

Martin G. Weaver’s history of the Lancaster Mennonites contains the following description of the 1710 Mennonite immigrants to Pequea, taken by E. K. Martin from an unnamed source:

The men wore long red caps on their heads. The women had neither bonnets, hats, nor caps, but merely a string passing around the head to keep the hair from the face. The dress of both female and male was domestic, quite plain, and of course material, after an old fashion of their own.

Variations of the above statements are widely quoted by historians. The facts they present are debatable. The last quotation is recorded here because it is one of the few quotations directly concerning the costume of a group of Mennonites who were geographically located close to the Franconia Mennonites.

Following is another quotation about the Lancaster Mennonites during the Eighteenth Century:

The fact that the Lancaster Mennonite pioneers wore different clothing than the average settler is confirmed by I. Daniel Rupp. A century ago Rupp wrote that in 1727 Governor Gordon received complaint “that a large number of Germans, peculiar in their dress, religion, and notions of political Governments, had settled on Pequea . . . .” It is of course possible to make too much of the charge that these Germans were “peculiar in their dress.” But taken with the quotation from E. K. Martin, it suggested that the Palatine and Swiss Mennonites did have clothing regulations of some sort when they came to Pennsylvania.

In 1772 the Franconia Congregation alms book records the purchase of two yards of material to make long trousers for one Isaac Gross. This indicates that if Isaac Gross were a Mennonite, Mennonite men were wearing long trousers by that date. What type of long trousers these were is debatable, since long trousers were not worn by society in general until the Empire Period, 1759 to 1815. A letter written in 1773 by three Franconia Conference bishops to their Mennonite brothers in Holland states:

With regard to our Confession of faith, our forefathers have taken the articles adopted on the 21st of April, 1632, at Dordrecht, in Holland, and outside of these we have held to no human regulations, but have taught simply those of the Holy Scriptures and what may further God’s honor and man’s happiness.

This letter indicates that the Franconia Mennonite Conference at that time had no specific regulations about dress (“he have held to no human regulations”), but rather it implies that they were following the spirit of the Holy Scriptures in every matter.

It is regrettable that there are no additional authentic sources known concerning the costume of the Franconia Mennonites from 1700 to 1800. It would be possible, by studying Quaker history (the Quakers kept extensive records) and general rural costume, to surmise what the dress practices of the Franconia Conference Mennonites may have been during this century. However, it is the purpose of this paper to record only unquestionable information and to confine this discussion solely to the Franconia Conference Mennonites. For the remainder of this paper, articles of clothing, as well as written church records, provide the basis for a more adequate history of costume from 1800 to the present than is possible during the Eighteenth Century.

**BONNETS AND HATS**

During the past one hundred years the most distinguishing feature of the “plain people” has been the bonnet. The bonnet was introduced to the Franconia Mennonites by the Quakers about 1800. Before that, in Franconia Conference there is no direct evidence about what women wore on their heads. Some historians say that before a bonnet or hood was worn, a large flat hat, straw for summer and beaver for winter, tied under the chin was the customary headgear for plain women. Lewis Miller (1796-1882), a folk artist from York, Pennsylvania, sketched the everyday dress of a Mennonite woman as he remembered it when a boy. The inscription on the sketch reads, “Old Mistress Leadley. She brought to town sewing thread for needwork, to sell it. She was a Mennon belonging to that Society (or) Community.”

Old Mistress Leadley wears a large flat hat tied under her chin. Amish in Millin County still wear this type of flat hat. However, there is no authentic evidence that this flat hat was ever worn by the Franconia Conference Mennonites.

It is known that the bonnet was adopted from current fashion by the Quakers in England during the last half of the Eighteenth Century. It was introduced into Pennsylvania about 1738 when Martha Ruth, an English Quaker preacher, visited the Goshen Quaker Meeting in Chester County. The bonnet she was wearing was so admired by the Pennsylvania Quaker women that immediately many bonnets began to appear among the Quaker sisters. Because the Philadelphia Quakers and the Franconia Conference Mennonites were closely associated (congregational records show that Quakers preached in Mennonite churches), it is definite that the bonnet was assimilated by the Mennonites from the Quakers. However, the bonnet was not...
regarded as an essential part of the Mennonite woman's costume during the first half of the Nineteenth Century. Some women continued to wear plain versions of hats and hoods like those worn by other Christian rural women. Mrs. Samuel Lapp, wife of Deacon Samuel W. Lapp (1833–1926), of the Lexington congregation, never wore a bonnet but always a plain type of hat. In 1878 she and her family moved to Ayr, Nebraska. Probably if she had remained in Pennsylvania she would have worn a bonnet when an older woman, because during the last half of the Nineteenth Century Conference became interested in making the bonnet the standard headgear for all Franconia Mennonite women. According to the unofficial minutes kept by Preacher Jacob Bower Mensch,10 Conference first raised its voice against wearing hats at the October semi-annual meeting in 1884. (Preacher Mensch kept unofficial minutes from 1880 to 1907. In 1907 Preacher Jacob C. Clemens started to keep minutes, and in 1909 he was appointed the first official secretary of the Conference. Prior to 1880 there are no continuous Conference records. An interesting episode regarding keeping minutes at Conference is recorded on pages 43–44.)

Several elderly people remember the prevalence of "worldly" hats worn by Mennonite women. John L. Stauffer (born 1888), a former member of the Vincent Congregation in Chester County, writes:

(As a child, he remembers) ... the great majority of the sisters were conforming to the world in wearing hats with ribbons and feathers. The covering was left at the church house by many and worn by some in times of worship and by others only at communion time. My own mother and two of her sisters were received as members with their hats and without coverings."

10. The writer's great-grandfather.
Mrs. J. D. Mininger (Hettie Kulp, born 1874) said that she recalls when she was a girl half of the women of the Doylestown congregation (Bucks County) wore hats while the other half wore a fancy type of bonnet.

Mrs. Jacob G. Clemens (Hannah Rittenhouse, born 1880) remembers that hats were worn by some women who belonged to the Plain congregation (Montgomery County).

Mrs. Abram Landis (Emma Nice, born 1876) recalls wearing hand crocheted black wool fascinators to church during the winter. Mrs. Landis (Salford congregation, Montgomery County) still has one in her possession as do many other elderly Franconia Mennonite women (Figure 1 and 2).

The writer was unable to locate any hats that were worn by Mennonite women during the Nineteenth Century. However, a number of bonnets were found. These bonnets, beautifully constructed of fine black silk materials, were custom made by local Mennonite bonnet makers. Several women have mentioned a Betsy Bean from Solederton, who was a very popular Mennonite bonnet maker during the last half of the Nineteenth Century.

Bonnets were made plain or fancy according to the desire of the wearer. The great variety of bonnets from 1850 to 1900 that are still preserved attest that bonnets were made in various styles. The preservation of so many bonnets in good condition affirm the fact that bonnets were costly and, consequently, were prized possessions that should be handled carefully.

The oldest bonnet found is in the possession of Preacher Elias N. Landis of Harleysville and was worn by his grand-
mother to the Franconia congregation about 1850. This black bonnet has a stiff buckram frame and is covered with black silk crepe. It is trimmed with applied bands of the same material and a three and one-quarter inch ruffle around the neck (Figure 3).

Bonnets worn from approximately 1860 to 1900 have been located from sources representing three different congregations—Salford, Plain and Lexington. All of these bonnets are quite similar in shape and size, but the type and amount of trimming used is varied. The bonnet from the Salford congregation (owned by Elias N. Landis) is the plainest (Figure 4, left). It is trimmed with many rows of folded bias and a short back neck ruffle. The second bonnet (owned by Mrs. J. C. Clemens) has the same type of bias-applied strips, but it has a fancier back neck ruffle and shows, in the brim around the face, evidences of white ruching (Figure 4, right).

The third group of four bonnets (in the possession of Miss Sarah Leatherman, Lexington) were probably the culmination of some bonnet maker's dream. Three of the four are beautifully constructed of black silk crepe and satin and the fourth is equally as lovely, but is made of navy velvetan. Endless rows of bias folded material, applied with tiny hand stitches, completely cover the bonnets and are joined to each other at various angles (Figure 5, 6, 7). The bonnets are small, with the brim surrounding the face in a quite flattering manner (Figure 8, 9). Two of these bonnets are trimmed with puffs of fabric (Figure 10). Another has black lace on the back neck ruffle (Figure 11). Sequin pins trim the navy velvetan bonnet (Figure
These bonnets are quite fancy compared to the plain bonnets that have been worn since 1900 and that are still worn today by many older Franconia Mennonite women.

In addition to plain hats and stiff church bonnets, other soft variations of bonnets were being worn. Various soft bonnet styles made of fine cotton, silk satin and hand crocheted wool have been located. The cotton variations (Figure 13, 14) had ruffles around the brim or around the crown. They tied under the chin and also at the back of the neck (to adjust to correct size). A silk satin soft bonnet (Figure 15) features a very evenly machine-stitched brim. In comparison, another silk satin soft bonnet resembles a...
hood and is trimmed with a tiny rosette at each ear (Figure 16). A hood-type bonnet is hand crocheted of fine black wool (Figure 17) and ties in front and back with black silk ribbons. An extra large bow on the top could not fail to attract attention to this unique home-made bonnet.

One final interesting variation of the Nineteenth Century bonnet is the colorful gingham and calico sun bonnet made by the housewife and worn on sunny days when hanging the wash or when hoeing the garden (Figure 18). Still a common sight among the “haustrin” on summer days are these picturesque sun bonnets.

From about 1890 to 1920 there was a strong movement in the Franconia Conference to maintain extreme simplicity in dress. This led to the idea of uniformity of dress and to the connection in the minds of many members that the degree of spirituality was directly related to the severity of plainness of dress.

There are many reasons for this change to uniformity and severe plainness. At this time many changes were occurring in communities throughout the United States. Mennonites have always been tradition conscious (they have confused a static culture with non-conformity) and, consequently, have objected to change.

Among the significant influencing changes may be listed the following:

1. Fashion introduced styles of dress that Mennonites considered immodest and elaborate. Mass production made these new styles available to the general public and improved communication and transportation brought these “worldly” influences to rural communities. (Younger members were probably becoming more fashion conscious.)

2. Other rural church people were starting to follow fashion. Previously all rural church people had dressed simply.

3. The Quakers who had set the example of simplicity in garb were dropping this tradition. (This may have influenced the Mennonites to maintain the tradition more rigorously.)

4. There was increased contact with the Lancaster Conference Mennonites. The Lancaster Conference had and still maintains a firm discipline and a greater uniformity in clothing. (This may be due to the Amish influence in the Lancaster Conference.)

5. Although the older people greatly objected, English was replacing the German language in the church service. (Perhaps because this tradition was being dropped, it became more important to retain the tradition of simplicity in dress.)

6. Mennonite leaders from other Mennonite communities visited the Franconia Conference. The great Mennonite evangelist, John S. Coffman, preached at Deep Run, Doylestown, Blooming Glen and Lexington in 1896. Sunday Schools were being organized and Mennonites were studying the Bible and becoming more conscious of Biblical teaching regarding modesty and simplicity of dress. (During the past fifty years, spiritual revival has always been accompanied by an upsurge of uniformity of dress. It seems that spirituality and the desire to conform to church standards have become a Franconia Conference Mennonite tradition.)

The unofficial Conference minutes from 1884 on contain evidence of the rise of uniformity of dress (see Appendix I). Finally in October, 1911, the official minutes said:
Resolution adopted: First:
That the Brethren and sisters be required to submit themselves to the teachings of God's Word according to 1 Timothy 2:8, 9 and 1 Peter 3:3, 4 and further that none will be received into the church wearing fashionable clothing or gold for adornment, or women wearing hats.

Sisters who are accustomed to wear hats are required to dispense with them before spring communion and instead wear the plain protective covering. All complying with the foregoing resolution will be recognized as Brethren and Sisters in the Church.22

The term "plain protective covering" meant the plain bonnet. This was the first time that the church made the bonnet a requirement for communion. A few members left the church when this regulation was enforced, but the great majority chose instead to get bonnets.

From 1900 to about 1940 bonnets were numerous, plain and large (Figure 19-21). Lace, ruffles, bands, sequins and decorative ribbons entirely disappeared. The size of the crown, brim and back neck cape provided the only variation. Large ribbon bows tied under the chin kept these bonnets securely in place. Many of these large plain bonnets are worn today by elderly and middle-aged women.

Gradually these large bonnets became smaller and acquired wire frames instead of the stiff buckram frames. It is interesting to note that as fashion dictated smaller hats, Mennonite bonnets also decreased in size. Straps replaced ribbon ties (Figure 25) and then entirely disappeared. Hat pins hold the smaller bonnets in place.

Soft turban-like bonnets were worn by some during 1935 to 1945. Some Mennonite women still prefer this soft bonnet, probably because it is more comfortable than the stiff bonnet. In 1946 Conference had a special session on attire and set the "stiff bonnet" as the only acceptable head-gear. At this same session, Conference prohibited for the sisters, "handanas, soft-turban type head-gear, hats or other fashionable head-gear, except plain warm head-gear for extreme cold weather."23

Even though Conference has made a sincere effort to maintain the stiff bonnet, today many teen-age girls do not own a bonnet. If they have one, it is small, simple and beanie-type, made of felt covered with fabric and always of a dark color. Girls attending the Christopher Dock Mennonite High School (Conference supported and sponsored school) are required to wear a bonnet when on class trips or when participating in any school activity away from the campus. Figure 26 illustrates the small type of bonnet generally worn today by these young women. This same type of small bonnet was fashionable during the winter of 1955-56, probably due to the influence of the Broadway hit musical "Plain and Fancy."

Bonnet wearing in the Franconia Mennonite Conference has gone through a definite cycle. From the bonnet adapted from fashion in the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, emerged the plain Quaker type bonnet. This was followed during the last half of the Nineteenth Century by a more elaborate church bonnet. The early part of the Twentieth Century produced a severely plain bonnet. This has been gradually replaced by a very small bonnet, but it must be acknowledged that today in some instances the traditional bonnet is no longer worn by conference members.

Figs. 19 & 20—Stiff plain bonnets with neck capes.

Figs. 21 & 22—Plain bonnets showing short neck capes.

12 Official Franconia Conference Minutes.
13 Ibid.
DRESSES, SHAWLS AND CAPES

In almost every Mennonite home a trunk in the attic or a cedar chest in the bedroom contains a shawl, scarf or kerchief that was worn by a grandmother of the family. The writer was able to locate about forty variations of the shawl, cape or kerchief that were worn in one form or another by Mennonite women. The great variety in size and color of these shawls, and the different types of dresses that were found, indicate that there was no uniformity in the actual dress and accessories of Mennonite women during the Nineteenth Century.

Cashmere shawls, delicate scarfs and filmy kerchiefs were quite fashionable during the Directoire Period, 1795 to 1799. Scarfs for indoor and outdoor wraps continued to be fashionable until about 1850. When fashion dropped the scarf or shawl as an essential part of costume, the Franconia Mennonite women continued to wear it. Finally, about 1900 a form of the scarf, which was fashion in 1800, became
a standardized part of the costume of the Franconia Mennonite matron.

Few photographs of Mennonites during the last half of the Nineteenth Century are available. According to the unofficial Conference minutes recorded by Presbyter Jacob Bower Mensch, Conference testified at the May, 1884, meeting (see Appendix I) against having members take photographs. Since photographs had been specifically frowned upon by Conference, many people burned the pictures they had and very few Mennonites had their pictures taken from then until after World War I. (Today Mennonites have no objection to any type of photographs.) The writer feels very fortunate in being able to locate about fifteen portraits that were taken soon after the invention of photography. In addition to these photographs, this discussion is based on historical garments that were found in Franconia Mennonite homes.

Three dresses, representing the period from 1850 to 1890 were located. These dresses indicate that the general silhouette Mennonite women followed fashion. Skirts, bodices and sleeves are similar to those worn by the “world.” However, in examining these dresses one immediately notices the lack of anything fancy.

The earliest dress, worn about 1850 or before (exact date is unknown), is constructed of silk fabric having a plain weave. Interest is added to the fabric by using a royal blue yarn in the filling and a green-yellow yarn in the warp. The bodice has a front opening and closes with hidden hooks and eyes. The skirt is gathered at the waist and is three yards in width at the floor-length hem. A deep pocket is concealed in the side skirt seam. The sleeves show the influence of fashion having a separate cap, trimmed with green braid, attached to the top of the sleeve. This was a typical device used by fashion during this period to create the feeling of breadth across the top of the bodice. The dress is completely hand sewn.

Another very early dress was a wedding dress belonging to Mrs. Jacob Krupp, who was married about 1866 (Figure 27 and 28). The fabric is a fine wool challis with a dark reddish-brown background. A floral print adds color—red and green. The bodice front closes with hidden hooks and eyes. Small tucks create design lines in the bodice. The sleeves are tucked at the armseye and bell out at the wrist—typical of those worn by fashion during the Crinoline Period, 1848 to 1870. The full skirt has box pleats completely around the waist. The bodice of the dress is fully lined. A bias tape finishes the high round neckline, indicating that some type of kerchief or collar was worn with the dress.

Much similarity to this historic dress is noticed in a photograph of Mary Histand Rinehart, 1842 to 1914 (Figure 29). Mary Rinehart was a member of the Vincent congregation. The material of the dress she wears appears very similar to the Mrs. Jacob Krupp wedding dress. However, the sleeves worn by Mary Rinehart are more fashionable, having white lawn undersleeves. Her skirt is full, and apparently many petticoats are underneath the skirt, judging from the belled-out appearance. The general silhouette of her dress is the
same as that of the Crinoline Period. However, the ruffles, puffs, drappings and braid, also typical of this period, are lacking.

The third historic dress, from a later period, is also a wedding dress worn by Mrs. Isaiah Ruth about 1885. This two-piece dress shows the straighter silhouette worn by fashion at this time and also shows evidences of a bustle (Figure 30). (In May, 1887, Conference minutes expressed disapproval of sisters wearing bustles, see Appendix 1.) The fabric is dark brown silk satin, completely lined with tan cotton sateen. The whole dress is hand sewn and has beautiful handmade arrowheads above the peplum. Shiny black buttons close the bodice at center front (Figure 31). The skirt is straight in the front but many gathers at the center back indicate that perhaps a small bustle was worn with the dress. The high standing collar and the long fitted sleeves of this dress were quite fashionable.

The next dress reflects the rise of conservatism in the the Franchise Conference (Figures 32 and 33). This fine wool black dress was worn by Mrs. Katie Leatherman of
the Lexington congregation about 1890 to 1900. It is simply made with no trimming of any type. The little neckerchief is a shaped piece of the dress fabric and is the forerunner of the twentieth-century cape dress.

At this point, a discussion of the origin of the uniform cape dress worn by many Franconia Mennonite women during the past fifty years is necessary.

As previously mentioned, shawls, scarfs and kerchiefs were fashionable during the first half of the nineteenth century, and were used for indoor and outdoor wraps. A large number of these wraps have been preserved. Figure 34 illustrates a dark brown, heavy blanket-type shawl that was used during extremely cold weather. It is trimmed with fringe tied with white silk threads. Figure 35 shows a large shawl that was worn as a summer wrap. It is off-white in color and is elaborately embroidered.

Various smaller shawls were worn indoors and apparently were worn to church. Figure 36 and 37 is a gay cashmere paisley shawl. A white silk chiffon triangular scarf is pictured in Figure 38. A fine wool scarf is printed with blue figures and large yellow stripes (Figure 39 and 40). An unusual type of scarf is a fine white muslin scarf embroidered along the sides and in the back corner (Figure 41 and 42). Elderly women remember wearing these triangular scarfs and calling the wool scarfs “breakfast shawls.”
Fig. 38—White silk chiffon shawl.

Figs. 39 & 40—Wool shawl printed with blue figures and yellow stripes.

Figs. 41 & 42—White embroidered muslin scarf.

Fig. 43—Elizabeth Latshaw Bower (1844-1884), Boyertown Congregation.

Fig. 44—Levi Ehst (1842-?) and Priscilla Bower Ehst (1846-1907), Boyertown Congregation.
As fashion ceased to wear the shawl or scarf, the Mennonite scarf decreased in size until it was only a kerchief or a collar. Original portraits illustrate this phase of Mennonite dress (Figures 43 to 48). Actual kerchiefs and collars similar to those on the old photographs were located. Notice the similarity between Figures 49, 50 and 51 and Figures 43, 44 and 47. Darker colored, but similar kerchiefs of printed material, were worn at home (Figure 52 and 53). A number of fancy black net kerchiefs, trimmed with black lace are still preserved (Figure 54).

As previously explained under bonnets, around the beginning of the present century there was a definite movement among the Fransonia Mennonites toward a general uniformity of dress. A religious revival brought the return of old traditional clothing. When the severely plain Quaker bonnet returned, the three cornered scarf that was previously worn, also returned; but now it was worn as a symbol of a Biblical principle, modesty. However, this time the scarf was made of the same material as the dress and with little trim. Figure 55 and 56 illustrate probably what was one of the earliest "capes" worn by a Fransonia Mennonite woman during the last decade of the nineteenth century. This cape is light tan and is trimmed with a narrow brown fringe. It is unknown if a dress of the same material was worn with this cape.

Fig. 45—Sarah Schwartz Latshaw (1833–1902), Vincent Congregation.

Fig. 46—Unknown Mennonite woman of Nineteenth Century.

Fig. 47—Elizabeth Ross Latshaw (1832–1916), Vincent Congregation.

Fig. 48—Lizzie Bower Bechtel (1854–1927), Boyertown Congregation.
Fig. 51—Lace-trimmed white organdy neck scarf.

Figs. 49 & 50—Small white neck-piece resembling a collar.

Fig. 52 & 53—Dark calico neck scarf.

Fig. 54—Black net kerchief.

Figs. 55 & 56—Tan cotton cape with brown fringe trim.
Figure 57 illustrates the type of cape that was worn by younger women about 1900. Mrs. J. D. Mininger was married in 1904 and, according to her verbal description, wore a pearl gray dress with a cape exactly like the one illustrated in Figure 57. The only difference was that her dress had white pearl buttons down the front bodice. This cape (Figure 57) has two pieces down the front that tuck under the belt and are separated to reveal the buttons on the dress under the cape. (In shape, notice the similarity of this cape to the shawls in Figure 36, 39 and 41.) When Mrs. Mininger was questioned as to why she started to wear a dress with a cape, she replied that she visited in Lancaster Mennonite Conference and noticed that all the women there wore a dress with a cape. Mrs. Mininger said the Lancaster people looked so nice and that was why she started to wear a cape dress. This was very interesting to the writer since this statement may indicate that the increased contact with Lancaster Conference was partially responsible for the rise of conservatism in dress in Franconia conference.

Mrs. Mininger also stated that at that time Mennonite women felt more modest when wearing a dress with a cape. Today,

14. The dress in Figure 57 was owned and worn by a woman who lived in Lancaster County when young. All other photographs are of clothing that was worn in Franconia Conference. This photograph of a Lancaster Conference dress is included because it is the same as the one described by Mrs. Mininger as well as by others. Apparently, no dress of this type has been preserved among the Franconia Conference Mennonites. (Photo taken by Priscilla Delp.)
among those who wear a cape dress, modesty is given as the main reason, in addition to the fact that the cape dress is the “standard” set by the church.

From this interesting cape with a two-piece front emerged the very plain triangular cape dress similar to that worn by Quakers during the nineteenth century (Figure 58 and 59). This extremely plain triangular cape has now almost entirely disappeared. Today a cape dress is made of any type and color fabric the wearer desires. Mennonite women like figured material, but, of course, colors and designs are simple and subdued. A typical cape dress today has straight sides attached to a narrow belt (Figure 60). The cape often has a collar and buttons down the front. At present the cape is worn mainly by elderly and middle-aged women, occasionally by young women, and seldom by teenagers. Since 1900 those who have not worn the cape dress, have generally worn dresses that were simply and modestly made without elaborate trimming.

It is quite interesting that in some churches the great majority of the women assumed the very conservative dress (Franconia and Salford) while in other churches the plain bonnet and plain dress were worn by only a few members (Blooming Glen). Figures 61 and 62, taken about 1900 and 1905, show Mennonite families that are dressed similarly to non-Mennonite rural families during those years. Those who dressed very plainly, of course, did not have their pictures taken and, consequently, there are no photographic records of the very plain costumes during the same years. The cape dress was never made a requirement for church membership (as the bonnet was), but the cape was set as the “standard” for church members. However, during the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, Conference minutes repeatedly record objections to lace, ruffles and fashionable clothing (see Appendix 1).

In 1942 Conference published a leaflet that was distributed to all members encouraging, among other things, the sisters to adopt the cape dress. The dress was to be modest, without a low neckline, with long sleeves and a skirt long enough “not to attract attention to the lower limbs” (see Appendix II). Since 1947 Conference has not been concerned with retaining a certain established form of dress, butrather church leaders are endeavoring to retain the principles of modesty and simplicity of dress.

The development of the cape dress is obvious. The fashionable shawl and scarf of the early nineteenth century was retained by Mennonite women. Through the nineteenth century it decreased in size and became a small kerchief, collar-like in appearance. These kerchiefs were worn with dresses similar in silhouette to those in fashion but lacking ruffles and trimmings. With the emphasis on tradition and conservatism at the turn of the century, came the return of the triangular shawl that eventually became standardized into a cape dress, symbolizing the principle of modesty. The Franconia Mennonites then went through a period when the standard cape dress was worn by the great majority of members. As that generation grew older, the younger people failed to assume the cape dress. Today few young people adhere to this tradition. Current thinking emphasizes simplicity and modesty instead of uniformity.

CAPS, COVERINGS AND VEILINGS

The bonnet and the cape dress are two articles of clothing that have generally been typical of only those Mennonites in the eastern section of the United States. However, the devotional covering (or the prayer veiling as it recently has been called) is worn by all women who are members of the Mennonite Church wherever they may live. In some Conferences most women wear the covering constantly while in other Conferences the covering is worn only while at worship. Although practices differ, all Conferences agree that the devotional covering should be worn during worship. Since the devotional covering is a church ordinance, a summary of its origin follows.

Anyone acquainted with historical costume is aware that in Germany, Switzerland and Holland, a white cap was an essential part of women’s folk costume. Several authorities suggest that the folk cap was the forerunner of the devotional covering. Dr. Don Yoder (Department of Religious Thought, The University of Pennsylvania) comments,

The little white net cap called the “prayer veiling”
or the prayer covering, worn by the women of most plain groups, may or may not be the last surviving American example of the continental German and Swiss peasant *Hoube* or headdress.18

In another article Dr. Yoder says,

The student of European folk-costume will recognize the similarity of the “prayer covering” to the South German peasant women’s cap . . . usually of white material, tight and close-fitting, sometimes plain, sometimes embroidered. Our European foremothers often wore such caps, and not only to church, where custom demanded that the feminine head be covered.19

Dr. Yoder implies that the devotional covering was originally only a part of peasant costume having little religious significance. However, Dr. John C. Wenger theorizes that perhaps in Switzerland the little white cap had religious significance centuries ago.

A recent historian, for example, has unearthed the dress regulations of the Swiss Reformed Church of Basel, Bern, and Zurich several centuries ago. Among other things the women were to wear a *tuechli* (white headdress) to the services. About 1755 the white *tuechli* was displaced by black gauze or taffeta.20

Whether Mennonite women during the first century after the beginning of the Mennonite Church attached religious significance to their caps is not known. However, it is definite that white or black caps were an essential part of their folk costume. It also is known that lace caps were fashionable during and preceding the Directoire Period of costume (about 1780 to 1800). Again during the Romantic Period (1815 to 1845) white caps were worn by mistresses. In the United States about the time of the American Revolution fashionable women wore “crisp caps of sheer white with ruffles of delicate lace and ribbons . . . .”

A recent Mennonite scholar notices that in Mennonite Church literature the devotional covering was first mentioned as an “old established custom” that should be preserved.21 This same writer states:

During the last part of the nineteenth century when the popular style of women’s headdress was changing and when many of the other churches were permitting their women to adopt these new styles or to be bare-headed in the church services, the Mennonite Church opposed both these practices, and instead promoted the maintenance of the simple white cap which at that time was an old established custom of the church.22

Apparently, when women of all churches appeared at public worship with covered heads, there was no specific religious significance attached to the white cap. But when society, in general, changed their headdress the Mennonite Church attempted to maintain the status quo and, consequently, started to teach the importance of women wearing the devotional covering as it is related to the Biblical teaching found in 1 Corinthians 11.23 It is definitely acknowledged that John S. Coffman was one of the first Mennonite evangelists to teach the Biblical significance of the devotional covering. (As mentioned in Chapter III John S. Coffman preached in the Franconia Conference in 1896.) Today in the Mennonite Church the covering is not regarded as a quaint part of folk costume or as merely an old established custom, but to all members it is a Biblical ordinance.

Mennonites literally interpret St. Paul’s statement in 1 Corinthians 11:3, 4 and 5.

  But I want you to understand that the head of every man is Christ, the head of a woman is her husband and the head of Christ is God. Any man who prays or prophesies with his head covered dishonors his head (Christ), but any woman who prays or prophesies with her head unveiled dishonors her head (man). (Revised Standard Version)

Upon these lines in the New Testament, Mennonites base their ordinance of the devotional covering.

Devotional coverings have probably always been made of fine white cotton muslin or lace. Consequently, they deteriorated and have not been preserved. Many elderly people have described the caps they and their mothers wore about 1870 to 1890, and their descriptions are surprisingly similar. During the nineteenth century, according to the recollections of these elderly people, the white caps were small, conforming to the shape of the head, and were worn only to church. The earliest caps that are remembered were plain white muslin caps worn by grandmothers to church. Miss Sarah Leatherman remembers that her grandmother, Sarah Leatherman (1808 to 1889), wife of Bishop Samuel

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22. Beiler presents this idea in his thesis.
Leatherman, wore at home a little piece of chintz across the top of her head that fastened under her knot. This same grandmother wore a plain muslin cap to church. Some people recall that nothing was worn on the head when at home. From about 1870 to 1890 caps were fancy, being trimmed with ruffles, lace and ribbons. These caps had a fine wire frame completely around the head (probably to give the cap shape and to enable it to conform to the shape of the head). Unfortunately no Franconia Mennonite cap of this type has been preserved. The Schwenkfelder Library and Museum at Pennsburg, Pennsylvania, has a Schwenkfelder cap in its collection that appears very similar to verbal descriptions of the fancy caps. Figure 63a portrays an unknown Mennonite woman of the nineteenth century. Perhaps the cap she wears is similar to the fancy caps worn by Franconia Mennonite women during the last decades of the nineteenth century.

It is believed that some women wore black caps; Priscilla Delp found in the attics of the Sunderton Mennonite Old People's Home a black cap made of silk mesh with a gauze weave. This cap has a fine wire frame (Figure 63b). When or by whom it was worn is unknown.

During the time when fancy lace coverings with wire frames were worn, it was the practice to keep the covering in a box at the church. Mennonite ladies wore their hat or bonnet to church, and when they arrived at the meetinghouse, they removed their hat or bonnet and put on their coverings. At the end of the service the covering was returned to the box until the next Sunday. Some churches had special shelves built in the vestibule where these covering boxes were kept. The women trimmed their covering boxes with colorful paper. Figure 64 shows one of these original covering boxes. This was a common practice throughout the Franconia Conference during the nineteenth century.

Conference minutes first record objection to this practice at the October, 1892 meeting. From then until about 1910 the practice of keeping caps in cap boxes at the church slowly declined. During these two decades the Biblical significance of the cap as a prayer covering was taught. As the bonnet became extremely plain and as the dress assumed the uniform cape, the cap also lost all frills and became a plain white muslin prayer covering with square corners and black ribbons tied at the neck. This plain covering had no wire frame and, consequently, could be worn under the bonnet (Figure 65). Under the plain covering, the hair was pulled back quite severely into a knot at the back of the head or high on the top of the head. The majority of women began to wear the covering at all times, although in some congregations many women have never worn the covering at home.

From this pinnacle of severe plainness the covering has slowly become smaller, lost its square corners (now generally is oval in shape), changed its black ribbons to white ribbons, and then completely discarded the ribbons. The hair arrangement descended until it was worn by younger women in a becoming bun at the nape of the neck. Today the covering is frequently made from fine cotton or nylon


24. One elderly lady told the writer that she never could become accustomed to wearing the devotional covering while cleaning and working at home. Another elderly lady said that since she has worn the covering all the time, she has had a closer relationship with God. Many sincere Mennonite women who wear the covering at all times look upon it as a constant method of witnessing to non-Christians.
bobbiness. A small version is worn by younger women and teenagers (Figures 66 and 67) many of whom wear the devotional covering only to worship services. However, the covering is worn constantly by numerous women who retain, in some instances, the square corners, the black ribbons and the severe knot. Conference urges all sisters to "wear the devotional covering, consistently, and regularly in prayer, preaching, or religious teaching at home or elsewhere." Mennonite women traditionally have been careful about their appearance. The devotional covering is no exception. Coverings are well-pressed, sparkling white and are worn over neatly combed hair.

The peasant cap worn by European Mennonites has always been worn by Franconia Mennonite women. The plain white cap worn at the first part of the nineteenth century became fancy and frilly during the latter part of the century. During the last decade of the same century, the Biblical significance of the cap as a devotional covering was taught. About the turn of the century, the covering became plain and severe. The only similar item now worn by all Franconia Mennonite women is this small white prayer veiling. The visitor to a Mennonite worship service cannot fail to be impressed by the beauty of a large congregation of Christian women wearing this symbolic devotional covering.

APRONS AND ACCESSORIES

The bonnet, cape dress and devotional covering have been the three articles of clothing that distinguish plain people from others in the same community. Dress accessories were similar to those worn by fashionable people; but, of course, were simple, dark-colored and were in harmony with the basic plain garments. However, a few accessories were at various times different than those worn by fashion.

During this century one of the most unusual accessories that was worn to church by some women was an apron made of the same fabric as the dress. The origin of this apron is interesting. It probably stemmed from a combination of several sources. (1) The apron was an essential item in the folk costume of Germany and Switzerland. (2) Aprons were worn for informal dress in France and England during the latter part of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century. (3) An apron was a part of Quaker costume during the eighteenth century.

Several elderly women remember that during the nineteenth century some Franconia Mennonite women wore to church a white apron or an apron made of the same fabric as the dress. However, it was not worn by the great majority of women (Figures 43 to 48 illustrate this). One Mennonite woman has suggested that since Mennonites were thrifty and could not buy many new dresses, the apron, when it was worn, was worn to protect the dress and for no other reason.

When the plain bonnet and cape dress began to be worn about the beginning of this century, some women also started to wear an apron of the same fabric as their dress. The return of the apron was the same type of a revival of an old custom as was the return of the shawl that became the cape dress. Both the shawl and the apron are symbols of modesty. Today older women still wear this apron to church and consider it an essential part of their costume. However, it has always been worn by only a small group of women.

In addition to the apron, several other accessories should be mentioned. Through the present century Conference has encouraged women to wear black closed shoes (Conference objected to wearing shoes with toes and heels out when that style first appeared) and black hose. Black stockings and shoes had been worn by fashion until the beginning of this century. The suggestion that sisters wear black stockings and black shoes is another example of Conference's attempt to retain the status quo and to retard the entrance of fashion into the church. Today black stockings are worn mainly by younger women. Other women wear flesh colored hose and any color shoes they desire.

Some elderly women wear a heavy shawl instead of a coat in the winter. This too is a carry-over from eighteenth century practices. However, since the time that coats have generally been worn by middle-class people, Franconia Mennonites have worn coats.

Today society considers jewelry and make-up as accessories. Franconia Mennonites wear neither. Mennonites believe that God has given women a natural beauty that does not need to be enhanced by cosmetics or jewelry.

Whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price.

I Peter 3: 3, 4

Mennonites believe that even the wedding ring is classified as jewelry and, consequently, few Franconia Mennonites wear wedding rings.

As the basic garments worn by Franconia Mennonite women symbolize modesty and simplicity, the accessories that are worn, and the accessories that are not included in the Mennonite wardrobe, also reflect these same two principles.
MEN'S CLOTHING

Through the past two centuries, according to available facts, men of the Franconia Mennonite Conference dressed similarly to rural non-Mennonite men. As one elderly man told the writer, Mennonite men dressed 'common but not gay.'

There is no authentic evidence that Franconia Conference men generally wore the broad-brimmed hat and the plain coat as did their neighbors in the Lancaster Conference.28 Few elderly people remember that any broad-brimmed hats were worn during the nineteenth century. One elderly woman remembers specifically that her grandfather wore a high silk hat. Probably most Mennonite men during the nineteenth century wore a common black hat like that worn by all rural men. About the turn of the century, with the rise of conservatism in the church, a few men wore broad-brimmed black hats. The writer can recall as a child seeing an elderly Bishop wearing a broad-brimmed black hat. However, the number of these hats worn in Franconia Conference during the past century and a half has been few. Previous to that, it is not known if broad-brimmed hats were worn.

During the nineteenth century the plain coat was not worn by Mennonite laymen, but it was worn by all ministers and deacons. The plain coat is merely the old colonial coat made familiar to Americans by portraits of George Washington and other founders of the United States. The colonial coat had a straight front and a small high standing collar.

The button front was cut away and rounded, ending in a small tail in back. To church the Mennonite farmer at the time of the Revolution probably wore this same type of coat with knee breeches, but the Mennonite discarded the fancy braid trim and the gold buttons. As in every other fashion change, the Mennonite probably retained this colonial coat and did not adopt the lapel coat as soon as did society. However, Franconia Mennonite men eventually did adopt the lapel sack coat. Only the ministers retained the coat with the high standing collar. Through the nineteenth century those who wore the colonial coat also adapted it until it resembled the lapel sack coat in every way except that the high standing collar was retained and a suggestion of tails could be noticed at center back. This was called the frock coat and is worn today by Franconia Mennonite ministers and deacons.

Definite evidence that Mennonite men dressed like other rural men (and did not wear the plain coat) during the nineteenth century is noticed in Figures 34 and 68 to 70. According to these photographs the suits worn by Franconia Mennonite men reflected the general baggy appearance of men's clothing during the nineteenth century. A gay vest (Figure 68) can also be seen on these photographs.

An incident important to the history of the Mennonite Church probably suggests that during the nineteenth century the plain coat was worn only by the clergy. The incident concerns a division that occurred in 1847 and divided the then existing Mennonite Church. The group that left the church (now known as the General Conference Mennonites) was led by a minister, John H. Oberholtzer. The three immediate issues causing the split were (1) Oberholtzer refused to wear the plain coat, (2) he wanted the Conference to keep minutes, and (3) Oberholtzer drew up a constitution

28 For an interesting discussion of the plain hat and the plain coat as it was worn among the Lancaster Mennonites, read Don Yoder: Men's costumes among the plain people. The Pennsylvania Dutchman, Vol. IV, No. 15, Easter, 1933, p. 6.

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Fig. 68—Charles Taylor (1832-?)
Lexington Congregation, wearing gray vest.

Fig. 69—Elias Latshaw (1827-1915)
Vincent Congregation.

Fig. 70—John B. Bower (1842-1878) and
Catherine Bower (18-1915).
for Conference which they rejected. Of course, these were only immediate causes for the split, and in this paper only the first is of interest.

Oberholtzer was ordained at the Swamp Congregation in 1842. It was the practice among frugal Mennonites to wear their old suits after they were ordained before they purchased the plain clerical coat. Oberholtzer's coat just never wore out. In 1844 Conference passed a resolution that all ministers who refused to wear the plain coat should have no vote at Conference. However, Oberholtzer still wore his old lapel coat. Finally, in 1847 Oberholtzer conceived the idea of writing a constitution for the Conference. With his fifteen other ordained supporters, Oberholtzer appeared at the fall Conference in 1847 with his constitution and also wearing a new plain coat. However, his clerical coat did not influence Conference, and during the session Oberholtzer and his group walked out. This marked the beginning of the General Conference Mennonite Church (officially called The General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America, but known locally as “New Mennonites”) which today claims to subscribe to the same doctrines as the Mennonite Church. However, the difference between the two is that in the General Conference Church discipline has been reduced to a minimum. This incident is introduced only to substantiate the fact that the plain coat was worn by ordained men during the nineteenth century and was not generally worn by lay people.

The custom of ordained men not wearing the plain coat until their lapel coat was worn out continued in this century. Jacob C. Clemens was ordained in November, 1908, at the Plain Congregation. He recalls preaching at the Souderton Congregation in 1907 and at that time he was not wearing a plain coat. Today a Franconia Mennonite man is usually wearing a plain coat at the time of his ordination.

During the first World War many lay men started to wear the plain sack coat (Figure 71). (The plain sack coat does not have the extra folds of material in the back that suggest a tail as does the plain frock coat worn by ministers and deacons.) In 1917 all men were required to register and a number of young Mennonite men were drafted. These men were classified as “conscientious objectors” (a distinctive Mennonite doctrine is Biblical nonresistance) but were sent to army camps. For this reason Conference urged the young men to wear the “plain suit and hat.” The plain hat referred to a black felt hat without a crease. Many men at that time began to wear the plain sack suit and this custom has continued in some churches to the present. Almost all the older men at the Salford and Franconia Congregations wear the plain sack suit. Through the years since World War I there have always been men in the conservative congregations who began to wear the plain coat when young. In these congregations plain coats can be observed on men of all ages. At the Vincent Congregation today nearly all the men wear the plain coat. The opposite extreme can be seen in the Blooming Glen Congregation where the plain coat is worn by almost no one. Considering the total Conference picture today, the plain coat is worn mainly by older men, occasionally by middle-aged and younger men, and seldom by teen-agers. Figure 66 illustrates typical dress of young men.

Apparently, Mennonite men changed their breeches for trousers about the same time that fashion did in the early nineteenth century (see page 25). It is said that the last Mennonite minister to wear knee breeches died in 1834 (Abraham Oberholtzer, Deep Run Congregation).

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Fig. 71—Plain sack coat, 1955.

Fig. 72—Plain frock coat, 1955.
the early part of the nineteenth century Mennonite men have worn trousers. However, when cuffs appeared on trousers, they were considered “worldly” and many men had their cuffs cut off when they bought a new suit. Even today a few elderly men wear trousers with no cuffs.

An interesting overcoat variation worn by a few men in the latter part of the nineteenth century was a long coat with a short cape attached over the shoulders. The origin of this interesting overcoat was probably the redingote with several shoulder capes worn by fashion during the last decades of the eighteenth century. The writer’s great-grandfather, however, wore his coat with cape because of the New Testament admonishment—“If any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also!” (Matthew 5: 40).

Neckcloths and neckties were worn by Mennonite men during the nineteenth century. Miss Sarah Leatherman remembers that her Grandfather Samuel Leatherman, minister and bishop at the Lexington Congregation (1815-1904), wore a homemade neckcloth made of a fine blue and white check gingham. Other people remember that simple, homemade neckcloths were worn by almost all men (including ministers) during the nineteenth century and were not considered fashionable. During the last decade of the nineteenth century Mennonites in the mid-western part of the United States came into contact with other denominations whose men wore coats off when they bought a new suit. Even today western Mennonites apparently influenced the eastern Mennonites to drop their neckties also. Mrs. J. C. Clemens remembers an incident about Noah Mack, who took a trip to the west during the early part of the present century. When he returned home, he was no longer wearing his necktie. His wife, when she saw him, said that from now on he must stay at home, or the next time he would come back without a coat!

During the early part of this century many Mennonite men stopped wearing a necktie because it came to be considered “worldly.” When the plain coat started to be worn by lay men about the time of the World War, no neckties were worn with the plain coat. This custom persisted to the present time. No ministers or deacons wear a necktie with a plain coat; neither do lay men. However, sometimes a small black bow tie is worn with a plain coat. The writer knows one deacon who wears a small black bow tie with his plain coat. Almost all men who wear lapel coats wear long neckties. Today black ties are advocated, although other colors are worn.

Beards and mustaches at various times have caused controversy among Franconia Mennonites. When beards and mustaches were fashionable, then Franconia Mennonites were clean-shaven (see Appendix I). In 1880 Conference admonished against wearing beards except those worn for humanity or health. In 1900 Conference was concerned about those brothers who shaved their mustache at communion time but then let it grow again after communion. Through the present century mustaches have been considered fashionable and are prohibited. Today the majority of Mennonite men wear the lapel coat with a conservative necktie. On the whole, the clothing worn by Franconia Mennonite men since 1800 has been similar to that worn by non-Mennonite rural men. The major exceptions are the plain frock coat that has been worn by ordained men since Colonial times and the plain sack coat that has been worn by some lay men during this present century.

CONCLUSIONS

1. New Testament principles provide the basis for non-conformity in dress as practiced by the Franconia Conference Mennonites.

2. Specific facts about Franconia Mennonite dress during the eighteenth century are not available.

3. During the nineteenth century Franconia Mennonites followed the basic silhouette worn by fashion but broke with fashion on anything that was worn for display.

4. Close contact with the Philadelphia Quakers and the Lancaster Mennonites probably influenced the development of Franconia Mennonite dress.

5. The traditional Mennonite desire to resist changes influenced the interpretation of non-conformity as it relates to dress.

6. About the beginning of the present century because fashionable clothing was being accepted by rural people, interest was aroused in maintaining traditions, in reviving old customs and in promoting uniformity in dress.

7. Franconia Mennonites tend to relate the degree of spirituality to the type of clothing worn. Since 1900 spiritual revival in the church has been accompanied by a rise in uniformity in dress.

8. The extreme simplicity and uniformity typical of the first part of this century has gradually declined. Today increased emphasis is placed upon simplicity and modesty instead of upon uniformity.

9. In addition to emphasis on simplicity and modesty, Franconia Mennonites today observe several specific standards:
   (a) The devotional covering is worn by all women when worshipping.
   (b) Women have long hair.
   (c) Jewelry and cosmetics are not worn.
   (d) Ordained men wear a plain coat without a tie.

APPENDIX 1

Preacher Jacob Bower Menseh of the Skippack Congregation recorded in his personal diary proceedings of Conference sessions from 1880 to 1905. From this diary the following material relating to dress were translated literally from Pennsylvania-Dutch by Mrs. Mary Menseh Lederach. Conference did not officially appoint a secretary until 1909.

May 6, 1880

It was also presented that when members through baptism are received the resolutions of Conference are to be clearly explained that they shall (discard) lay away (those things) that identify them with the world so that they may be a light to the world. As it is, it is often tragic instead of (discarding or) laying away they still adorn themselves with the glitter of this world. Also previously resolution was made that the sisters shall have on caps in the meeting and it is again included as it was also earlier made a resolution.

About the beard, the brethren are to be admonished against since the world has them, yet it is allowed when a brother has it for humility and if his actions and general behaviour and bearing are in agreement, it is also allowed for healthfulness and also if he can not shave himself because of cutting himself, then shall be revealed this to one of the superiors and he shall inform the congregation and he shall be carried as a brother.

May 4, 1882

It was also lamented how that everything is beginning to go askew (in pride). Following the example of the world, occupies so much place at this time, not only in the putting on of clothing and in travel conveniences but also in many areas and the seriousness of it all is being covered and it leads to condemnation on the broad road that leads to destruction, so it is required or demanded of each minister to present to his congregation rightly that the members take their responsibility seriously for their children and the ministers shall themselves refrain from being like the world and the brethren and sisters shall not raise their children in pride and fashion and in conformity with this world. Further that it is not becoming for
the sisters to adorn themselves with the hair "everstollen" and wearing gold and stylish clothing like the world does.

May 3, 1883
It was warned against that the brothers and sisters neither themselves nor their children should adorn themselves so much.

October 2, 1884
Also at the Conference it was further again confirmed that all rituals that are contrary must be stopped; the sisters to wear hats and lace and ruffles on their clothing.

May 5, 1887
About the beard, when others are offended and object to drinking out of the cup (at communion) so it is passed that if anyone will not put down the beard that he shall remove it above the mouth to avoid offense.

That the sisters shall not wear "bossels" nor have ruffles on their clothing.

May 3, 1888
It was brought before the conference about laying the dead away in black clothing; then the conference voted against it and against mustaches and "bossels" that the ministers shall warn such and if they are not obedient then they are "back" (excommunicated) and can not participate in the breaking of bread (communion).

October 6, 1892
About the cap boxes, to bring them in to the church houses, the sisters are to be admonished against it.

May 1, 1893
So it was renewed at Conference as before passed that and also the sisters sitting at the casket (funeral) with sheer veils, to all these shall the members be warned against.

May 30, 1894
So it was brought before the group that (ministers) instruct them about the "likenesses" (photographs) to put them away and about the beads, that they above the mouth shall be removed.

October 4, 1894
And in the matter of dress not to imitate the world. It was also brought before the conference that the older sisters are very disturbed and lament the fact that they see the young sisters who wear such petticoats and dress up too much in the fashion of the world, and concerning this the conference urged each minister to warn his congregation.

May 2, 1895
About the brethren and sisters that they shall be warned about not appearing proud in their driving, and that the sisters shall be encouraged to speak to the ones who put up their hair in a pompadour and who have sleeves in their dresses that areuffed up, and they shall also everywhere hold up holy hands and let their light shine by a Godly life, and not appear like that which they dress and the hair on the head.

May 7, 1896
It was again brought before conference, as was previously discussed by conference and deliberated against about the cap boxes which the sisters in certain places have in the churches and the other times they have no caps on their heads, only in the church service and when they leave home they wear no caps and this is contrary to the apostles teaching, so the conference discussed these matters and urged that the brothers and sisters be admonished against this since pride was cast out of heaven and cannot enter Heaven so conference was unanimous that the brothers and sisters shall be warned about this pride and not to imitate the world so closely. The brothers warned that it is not becoming for them to wear a shiny and gold watch chain and other expensive things approved by the world which the children of this world pattern after which God's Word forbids to the children of God. The sisters shall also be warned not to wear any gold for adornment or costly pearls, and their clothing so to pattern not like the daughters of this world, they shall at all times hold up holy hands with constant concern like or as the Apostles use tell and instruct and the Holy Scripture teaches and further the Conference refunded what the Apostle says that the brethren shall remove their mustaches during the prayer at funerals and the sisters during the prayer to keep their caps on at funerals and it was also desirable that the sisters would wear such a bonnet or knitted hood that would permit the wearing of their caps underneath and they could be dressed in one place like other, and the brethren also, for it was often times tragic to see what the sisters have on their heads and other times have nothing at all on their heads during prayer and when they are sick and the minister shall pray for them so all they have the head covered according to the Apostle's direction.

May 6, 1897
About the sisters, that many at funerals are without identification with their big sleeves and when one meets them away from home so are they too much like the world with ruffles and such things as the world has known and hats and moustaches; indeed no light to the world, the members should be dressed at one place like another.

October 6, 1898
Was brought before the conference concerning the cap boxes and about the hats and hoods and that the ministers shall remove it above if they dress up in, and also the brethren that it is not becoming for them to dote in their hats and wear euffs on their sleeves and to follow the pattern of the dress of the world against which the conference was strong. And this, that they must not be and they shall be warned and instructed that they shall discontinue it, and each minister shall instruct his congregation.

October 5, 1899
About cap boxes in the church house and that the sisters shall wear no hats but bonnets and that the ministers shall not follow the pattern of the world so much and go with the fashion of the world and that the sisters shall not dress up their children so much, this every minister was requested to earnestly warn his congregation against.

May 30, 1900
Further it was presented to the conference about the beads and mustaches, it was previously forbidden by conference, but there are some, those who have not mustaches since then, and at communion time remove it, and then let it grow again, and so it is also with the beard, above the mouth shall it be removed, for it is not suitable to drink out of the cup and the drops hanging from the hair. Conference was unanimous that the brethren should remove the mustaches and the hair above the mouth and let it off, and if they do not so they may not partake of the communion.

It was again discussed at conference that there was complaint by many brothers and sisters that there are places where the sisters have their caps in cap boxes in the church houses and when the church services over they come out of the church with their hats on the head and are too much conformed to the likeness of the world whereas they should be a light in the world, yes, others bring complaints about some sisters who come around in humility, but their children they dress in pride and fashion of this world which also is not becoming to the sisters, and is also wrong and should not be, and most suitable for some sisters. It was from each minister requested that he earnestly encourage that the sisters shall do away with their cap boxes and their hats and instead of hats get bonnets that people can know that they are sisters and that the sisters are not to dress their children so and that we all should practice humility.

October 4, 1900
It was brought before conference about the gooses and worldliness which has become so evident among the brethren and among the sisters that they shall wear these things are unevangelical for these things are not becoming to the brethren and sisters since it is the custom of those who are worldlings and the children of God shall not be conformed to this world. This is the conclusion of the conference and each minister shall present it earnestly to his congregation warning them that they shall not be conformed to the world but shall obey conference and the Gospel, because all disobedience is sin.

May 2, 1901
The members of our congregations shall not bury their dead in black (clothing) and also not deck them with flowers and also no expensive coffin. This was by conference strongly opposed and the ministers shall explain to and admonish their congregations that it is not allowed and if they do so, they shall be told, for it is something the world highly esteem, but the white garment typifies purity and holiness and the black garments as evil, they are called wicked, as an example, and the great multitude John saw were those who came out of great tribulation and had washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb of God.

Wast brought before conference about the beards that the brethren were allowed to wear, a full beard for humility but one like the fashion of the world and its pattern is forbidden by conference and among the sisters. It is our concern that it is not becoming for it does not become them, also their hair combed up high over the forehead, and arranged like the fashion of the world, and they shall not clothe themselves likewise. The men in each choir, whose adorning shall not be outward with painted hair and gold adornment or expensive clothing.
October 3, 1938
Sisters shall wear bonnets that are plain, not made according to the dress patterns and styles, so that they are not mistaken for a hat. Bonnets made of two colors to give a two-tone effect are not permitted.

October 3, 1940
Conference authorizes the resolution of October 5, 1911 on dress and of May 5, 1938 on the bonnet, adapted to our present need, to be used in conjunction with the resolution contained in section nine of our discipline.

October 1, 1942
Conference restated her position on the dress question and requests a copy be submitted to every member.

- Position of the Franciscan Mendicant Conference on Dress (Reaffirmed and adopted by a unanimous vote, October 1, 1942):
  "Since Jesus in Matt. 28: 20 clearly enjoins upon the church the duty of Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you," the Franciscan Church believes in the teaching and practice of the Bible Doctrine on Dress, as well as the observance of the remainder of the all things.

1. The Bible clearly teaches that Christians shall wear modest apparel which is free from all outward ornamentation, and not costly array. The wearing of gold and otherwise, 1 Tim. 2: 9; 1 Pet. 3: 3.
3. Pride, manifested in one's apparel or any other outwardly condemned. Prov. 16: 18; James 4: 6; Ezek. 16: 49.
4. Christians are not to be conformed to, but to be a separate people from the world. Jno. 17: 14-16; Rom. 12: 2; II Cor. 6: 14-18; James 1: 26, 27.
5. Christians are warned that they shall not love the world. James 4: 4; 1 Jno. 2: 15-17.
6. The Bible is clear in teaching that Sex distinction shall be clearly shown in dress. Deut. 22: 5.
7. Christians need not worry about clothing. Matt. 6: 25 but must ever keep in mind these Bible principles in all things for clothing the body is a member, "YE CANNOT SERVE GOD AND MAMMON."

In the light of these Bible Principles the Church has adopted standards for her members to give expression to the world that we do not belong to them, but that "our citizenship is in Heaven." Phil. 3: 20 R. V.

The Standard for all Brothers is the regulation coat and the plain hat, and we encourage them to adopt this standard. Flashy neckties are to be avoided, we advise against the wearing of ties. Collar pins and tie clasps plainly violate the principle of 1 Tim. 2: 9 and should not be worn. All attire shall be marked by simplicity and modesty. Wearing a mustache alone is not permitted.

The Standard for Sisters is the cap-dress. Our Sisters are encouraged to adopt this standard. All dresses are to be made of material suitable for a plain dress.

In every case the dress shall be modest in appearance, without frills or frills, with long sleeves and skirts long enough to cause no undue attraction to the lower limbs. Flesh colored stockings are to be avoided and dark stockings to be worn instead. The wearing of anklets is not permitted. Black shoes are to be standard and shoes with openings at the toes are not to be worn.

"The Christian woman shall have long hair. I Cor. 11: 15; therefore stylish hairdressing including cutting and waving shall not be practiced, see II Sam. 14: 19. The hair shall be properly combed so the plain covering can be worn becomingly at all times. Coverings shall be large enough to be a head covering instead of covering only the back of the neck, and should have the square corner. Strings shall be properly placed for tying. The plain bonnet with ties or band instead of the hat-pin shall be worn. Hats and other fashionable headgear are not permitted. Using face powder, lipstick, astrigent, and facial touch- etc., is prohibited. The wearing of gold for adornment by either brethren or sisters is not permitted.

"Brothers are expected to conform to these standards as soon as possible. Public and private teaching shall be clearly given. When wishes must be married they shall be informed of the standards. Members who do not comply with these standards and who are stated in heavy type shall refrain from communion until they do so. Applicants for membership shall accept these regulations and seek to conform to them as soon as possible. None shall be received into the church who do not comply.

May 2, 1946
Conference favors a special session to discuss the problem of attire.

Assembly June 11, 1946
Dress discipline adopted.
RESEARCH NEEDS
in Pennsylvania Church History

By DON YODER

The meaning of Pennsylvania to America and the world lies in its contributions to religious freedom and the American way of life. It was “free Pennsylvania” and “plain Pennsylvania” which attracted the attention of the stream of 18th Century travelers who visited our shores. In their travel books and letters home they described Pennsylvania’s characteristic liberties as part of the American story. They sensed at once—not the “quaintness” of Pennsylvania (which would seem to be the 20th Century’s tourist label on all things Pennsylvanian) but the basic principles of liberty which were the foundation stones for Penn’s “Holy Experiment,” principles as important for America and the world in the 20th Century as they were for Penn’s day.

It was Penn’s broad principle of liberty, liberty of the spirit, which made colonial Pennsylvania what it was. It created the diverse culture of colonial and 19th Century Pennsylvania. For the first time in American history large groups of diverse populations—drawn from both the British Isles and the Continent—were enabled to meet and mingle, to learn to live in peace together, trading spiritual as well as material gifts with each other. While religious liberty had been offered in both colonial Maryland and Rhode Island, previous to the foundation of Pennsylvania, the practical test was to come in Penn’s Woods, and from its testing here has become part of the American pattern.

These patterns set in colonial Pennsylvania are not without their effect upon the culture of Pennsylvania today. In 1958, of all the states with a colonial foundation, Pennsylvania still leads in the number of separate religious groups. Nor is Pennsylvania’s multiform pattern of religion without its present-day problems, most of which stem either from church-state relations, or from the interaction of the various religious groups with each other.

A good example is the question of Protestant parochial education in Pennsylvania. While there have been denominational studies on the Lutheran and Reformed parochial schools of Pennsylvania, they deal only with the 18th and early 19th Centuries.* There has been nothing thus far on the Mennonite and Amish parochial school movement which is “plain” sections of the state is becoming a question of first importance, one which may take generations to solve.

What are the reasons for this contemporary withdrawal of a significant Protestant group from the American public school system? How does the “plain” attitude toward education compare with the Roman Catholic attitudes to parochial education? These and other aspects of the problem lie ready for investigation on historical and sociological grounds. They illustrate how contemporary some of Pennsylvania’s “historical” problems can become.

Another need in Pennsylvania religious research is to treat the field not as an illustration of the transplantation and continuation of European religious patterns to American soil—this has been done abundantly—but as an illustration of the Americanization of those patterns through the impact of general American religious trends. Pennsylvania historians have been slow in following national church history trends which have uprooted church history from its earlier denominational orientation and set it upon a nation-wide framework as part of American cultural history. We have for Pennsylvania several excellent denominational studies; we have a beginning of regional religious histories (cf. the chapter on religion in Buck’s The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania), but very few historians have studied the impact of general American religious trends (revivalism, the liturgical movement, the ecumenical movement, the social gospel, etc.) upon Pennsylvania’s churches. The time is ripe for this approach. From this point onward we need general studies, fitting Pennsylvania’s religious history into that of the nation.

A study of the devotional literature which has given character to the Pennsylvania groups is a study which also should recommend itself to our seminaries and graduate schools of religion. Douglas V. Steere’s emphasis on Quaker devotional literature, Howard H. Brinton’s researches in the “Quaker journals,” E. Gordon Alderfer’s edition of Johannes Kelpius, A Method of Prayer (New York, 1951), F. Ernest Stoeller’s Mysticism in the German Devotional

* Frederick G. Livingood, Eighteenth Century Reformed Church Schools (Norristown, Pa., 1930); Charles L. Maurer, Early Lutheran Education in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1932). In addition see Thomas Woody, Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania (New York, 1929); and Margaret A. Hunter, Education in Pennsylvania Promoted by the Presbyterian Church, 1629-1837 (Philadelphia, 1937).
Confirmanions = Schein.

Liebe deinen Nächsten als dich selbst.
Hoffe und vertraue auf GOTT.
Glaube an das Evangelium!!

Deh bescheine hiermit,

VAT.

Der Ordnung der Evangelisch Lutherischen Kirche gemäß, nach vorhergegangenem Unterricht, den 7. ten Tag April im Jahre 1837 von mir confirmirt, zu einem Gliede befugter Beraufung angenommen und zum heiligen Abendmahl zu gelassen ward.

A. Fuchs.
Evangelisch Lutherischer Prediger.

Bleibe frömml, und halte dich rech,
denn solchem wider zuletzt wohl geben.
Psal. 37, vers 37.

A fine example of a Northampton County confirmation certificate printed by S. Siegfried.

Literature of Colonial Pennsylvania (Allentown, Pa., 1949), and John Joseph Stoudt's volume of prayers from the Reformed tradition, Private Devotions for Home and Church (Philadelphia, 1956) and his Pennsylvania German Poetry, 1683-1859 (Allentown, Pa., 1956), point the way here. From the standpoint of analysis of trends and literature of a particular group, Robert Friedmann's pioneer study, Mennonite Poetry through the Centuries (Goshen, Indiana, 1949), is a model.

Most basic of all is the need for the contemporary approach—the analysis of religion in 20th Century Pennsylvania. The colonial period, rich and fascinating as it is, has been overweighted in the research already done; the Nineteenth Century, equally interesting from the standpoint of the acculturation of new groups and the influence of revivalism and new theological trends, has scarcely been touched; and the 20th Century almost totally neglected. There is no better way to point out this imbalance of
research emphasis than the way Philip S. Klein did it in his recent inaugural address as president of the Pennsylvania Historical Association—that for every Amishman in Pennsylvania there are today 200 Jews, for every Quaker 200 Catholics.\* 

\* A study of this 20th Century impact of Catholicism and Judaism on Pennsylvania’s urban culture, and its interactions with the previously dominant Protestant culture, is one of our greatest needs.**


The Need for Research Tools

The research scholar, in dealing with Pennsylvania’s religious patterns, is confronted with several practical problems, some of which are not duplicated in other areas:

1. The vast amount of German-language materials. One reason for our fragmentary religious historiography is that so few of our scholars are prepared to sample, let alone make full and adequate use of, the vast amounts of German source materials dealing with the churches which stem from the Continent. The Moravian Archives alone contain hundreds of thousands of pages of manuscript diaries, missionary reports, and biographical materials, which are largely untouched, except for the recent flurry of interest in Moravian Indian missions and Moravian music.\*

In addition to these untouched manuscript sources, very few of our historians have dared to use the long series of printed German church periodicals on the shelves of our Lutheran and Reformed seminary libraries.

From the standpoint of source publication, the outstanding work in Pennsylvania church history in the 20th Century is Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein’s magnificent three-volume edition of The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (Philadelphia, 1942–1958). For Pennsylvania Moravian sources, so far, nothing has been attempted on the scale of Adelaide Fries’ translation of the Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, seven volumes (Raleigh, N. C., 1922–1947).”

See “Zinzendorf and Moravian Research.” The Pennsylvania Dutchman, VIII (Spring, 1957), 43–44. For our suggestions on Moravian research.
Reading,

ermacht Johann Ritter und Comp.

Poem by a preacher dedicated to his confirmation class.

Other source materials dealing with Pennsylvania religion have of course been made available in *The Pennsylvania Magazine and Pennsylvania History*, in the publications of the Pennsylvania German Society and the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, in the Pennsylvania Dutchman, the Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association, the Mennonite Quarterly Review, and the Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society (which has had the policy of including articles from Pennsylvania’s Reformed Churches).

2. The lack of adequate checklists of available manuscript sources. Here the general guides are good but out-of-date. William Henry Allison’s *Inventory of Unpublished Material for American Religious History in Protestant Church Archives and Other Repositories* (Washington, D.C., 1910) is still our most complete general index. The state guide to manuscript depositories lists some additional collections which have been catalogued since 1910, and the W.P.A. guides to manuscript collections, the best of which for Pennsylvania has been the *Inventory of Church Archives, Society of Friends in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1941)* fill in additional gaps, but the scholar is still faced with much time-consuming personal investigations of unlisted holdings in many of the libraries listed.

3. The lack of indices to church periodicals. The entire story of religious trends in Pennsylvania can be found fully documented in the church periodicals, both German and English, which have been published by Pennsylvania’s religious denominations. With the exception of the invaluable *Index of the Reformed Church Messenger* (1852–1958) recently completed by Guy Bready for the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church; the recently finished *Index of the Friends Library* done at Pendle Hill; and the yearly indices published with the volumes of the *Friends Intelligencer* and other church weeklies in the past, the student must plow through each volume page by page. An article index of the Lutheran Observer, the Religious Telescope (United Brethren), the Evangelical Messenger, as well as the early volumes of the Philadelphia Episcopalian and Baptist and Presbyterian journals, should be begun now to aid scholarship in the future.

The indexing of Pennsylvania’s historical periodicals is of course well taken care of, at least every few years. Indispensable is the *Index* (1857–1951) to *The Pennsylvania Magazine*, prepared by Eugene E. Doll and published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1954. The *American-German Review*’s yearly “Bibliography of American-Germania” is also helpful.

4. The lack of biographical materials on the colonial and 19th Century clergy. Constant inquiries come to us for information on Pennsylvania’s clergy in various periods and areas. Here certain denominations are better equipped than others. The German Reformed Church produced the Harbaugh-Hessler Fathers of the Reformed Church, six volumes (Lancaster, Pa., 1857–1881) and the Hinck-Richards Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania and Other Colonies in the Eighteenth Century (Lancaster, Pa., 1951). For Lutheranism there is nothing similar.** The *Quaker Biographical Dictionary* being prepared at Haverford College by William Bacon Evans will enable the scholar to identify the many traveling ministers or “Public Friends” who appear in the Quaker communities of the 18th and 19th Centuries. A central index or catalogue of biographical materials on Pennsylvania’s religious leaders is a primary research need.

* Some of Pennsylvania’s Quaker meeting records have been completely indexed from the genealogical standpoint; see the William Wade Hinshaw Collection in the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College, and the printed volumes by Hinshaw entitled *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, 6 volumes (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1966–1990). Of the printed volumes, only Vol. II deals with Pennsylvania.

5. The lack of complete checklists of available printed literature on Pennsylvania's religious groups. One needs only to turn to the various American "denominational handbooks"—the books published to describe in brief all of America's denominations—to see how little is known about the basic printed sources on many of Pennsylvania's churches and sects. One book copies the other, errors are reduplicated. An example is the materials on the Brethren in Christ (River Brethren), the group to which the ancestors of President Eisenhower belonged. Most accounts of this group show a total misunderstanding of its spiritual complexion as well as total ignorance of the basic printed materials on its history.

Among the admirable work done in the bibliographical field is John A. Hostetler's Annotated Bibliography on the Amish (Scottsdale, Pa., 1951), which is a model for other denominations to follow.

Indispensable, of course, in the general bibliographical field, have been Emil Meynen, Bibliography on German Settlements in Colonial North America, especially on the Pennsylvania Germans and their Descendants, 1683-1933 (Leipzig, 1937); and the Bining-Brunhouse-Wilkinson Writings on Pennsylvania History: A Bibliography, published by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in 1946, which has been brought up to date in Norman B. Wilkinson, Bibliography of Pennsylvania History (Harrisburg, 1957).

6. The lack of overall planning in the dissertation field. One reason for the continuing denominational approach to our church history is that not all of our seminaries are aware of what has been done and is being done in other schools. Liberals very often still deal with "Lutheran" topics, Mennonites with "Mennonite" topics, and the study of intergroup influences is neglected.

Occasionally in the B.D. dissertation field in our seminaries somewhat hackneyed general topics are used rather than specific research papers (or indexing of periodicals or the collecting of bibliographies) which might increase our knowledge of Pennsylvania's religious patterns and problems.

A cumulative checklist of dissertations in Pennsylvania religious history, with annual supplements, should be published by one of our general periodicals. Helpful here are the several denominational lists which have circulated in mimeographed form (Church of the Brethren Dissertations) and the news of "Quaker Research in Progress" which is a regular feature of the Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association.

Suggested Areas of Research

In conclusion, a few suggested research topics under four main headings of contemporary interest:

1. Pennsylvania and the American Way of Life. Individual topics under this category could be such studies as

(a) a basic re-examination of the "Holiness Experiment" and its principles of religious liberty; (b) the impact of "Plain Pennsylvania" (the Quakers and the German-speaking "plain" groups) on the nation; (c) the impact of "Buchmanism" or World Christianity, certain of whose roots lie in Pennsylvania Lutheranism; (d) the transplantation of Pennsylvania's religious patterns to such areas as Ohio.

2. Pennsylvania and the Americanization Process. Here we deal with the impact of general American ideas and cultural movements upon Pennsylvania's religious groups.

(a) The language problem in the German Churches (seen as a phase of the universal immigrant adjustment problem); (b) Revivalism and the Pennsylvania Churches (an example of the impact of general American religious movements upon Pennsylvania); (c) Religion in the Coal Regions (the study, never before attempted, of the 19th and 20th Century acclimatization process in the mingling of descendants of the colonial immigration with the later immigrant groups—the Irish, the Welsh, and the Slavs).

3. Twentieth Century Problems in Pennsylvania Religion.


(a) Church and Meetinghouse Styles in Pennsylvania; (b) Studies in Religious Costume (trends among the "plain" groups); (c) Church Music and Hymnody (studies of the contributions of the Moravians and the Ephrata Community to colonial music, of Pennsylvania's contributions to the white spiritual, the gospel song, and the American literary hymn; (d) Contemporary Church Architecture in Pennsylvania.

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WEISER—The John Conrad Weiser Family Association is seeking all information concerning descendants of John Conrad Weiser, the elder (d. 1746). Annual reunion held first Sunday in August. Please contact the secretary, Frederick S. Weiser, P. O. Box 121, Gettysburg, Pa., for details.

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Buy and sell genealogies. Also do genealogical research. Specialties—Mennonites, Amish and German families. Delbert Gratz, Ph.D., Bluffton, Ohio.

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The Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, Bethel, Pennsylvania, wants to acquire the novel TheHex Murder by Forrester Hazard, Lippincott, 1936.

The charge for classified advertising is 20 cents a word, payable in advance. Deadlines are March 1, June 1, September 1, and December 1. When you are figuring the number of words be sure to include name and address. For example: J. H. Snyder is three words.

Pamphlets for Sale
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