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Jan Luyken (1649-1712) copper etching of two young Anabaptist women executed in the bishopric of Bamberg in 1550. One of the important Dutch artists of his time, Luyken produced 104 copper etchings for the second edition (1685) of the Martyr's Mirror. These plates were recently rediscovered in Europe by Mennonite historian Amos B. Hoover; this cover plate is from his Muddy Creek Farm Library in Lancaster County, Pa.

Layout and Special Photography:
WILLIAM K. MUNRO
CHILDREN OF THE SPIRIT, NOT OF THE LAW: Themes in Anabaptist Theology
By Joseph S. Miller

The Amish, along with their more progressive and acculturated religious cousins the Mennonite, are the spiritual progeny of Reformation radicals known as Anabaptists. Harold S. Bender, in his 1949 monograph entitled "The Anabaptist Vision," says that the two major Reformers of the 16th century, Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli, chose to soften their attempts to establish a true Christian Church. Bender suggested that these Reformers decided it was more practical and expedient to include the masses within the walls of an established (state approved) church, rather than to form a fellowship of true Christians only. But the Anabaptists, who had been theologically nurtured in the bosom of Zwinglianism in Zurich, Switzerland, were not prepared to mitigate their desire for a church composed solely of men and women who were earnest Christians. Their new found ecclesia was predicated on a new theological, social, and political order. Bender says of the Anabaptists: "They preferred to make a radical break with fifteen hundred years of history and culture if necessary rather than break with the New Testament." This paper will outline several of the major theological themes that the 16th century Anabaptists believed and practiced.

Existential Christianity
Except for Balthasar Hubmaier, the Anabaptists of the early 1500's were not theologians. Some of the leaders did have university training, but education was not part of the background of the majority of the men and women who found their way into the Anabaptist fold. The unlettered Anabaptists felt that their Protestant neighbors took the commandments of Christ too lightly and relied too much on God's graciousness without earnestly trying to be worthy of His grace. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, centuries later, called this kind of theology "cheap grace."

The Anabaptists considered systematic theology to be a stumbling block to discipleship and not really helpful to a person's earthly predicament; they were in part affected by Humanism, and especially by the teachings and personality of the philosopher Erasmus. Conrad Grebel, the principal founder of the Anabaptist movement is seen by one church historian as having moved from Humanism through Zwinglianism to Anabaptismism and final martyrdom. The Anabaptists, while realizing that humankind needed God's grace, also believed that individuals needed to take responsibility for their lives and conduct. These early Anabaptists visualized the
Christianity of the New Testament as a contrast to organized church Christianity. These men and women believed that their theology consisted of studying the Bible, particularly the synoptic Gospels, and in an obedient, childlike way, following Christ's example. The overwhelming rank and file of Anabaptists were simply students of the Scriptures who believed God would invest understanding to those who had an open heart. This understanding that God gave was then to be translated into one's life. They called it "living faith." Today we use the term "existential" or "concrete faith."

The Anabaptists felt that claiming Christ's death on the cross for salvation without also picking up His cross and following His footsteps was only a half of what Christianity was. The fundamental charge they leveled against the Reformers was that they were predominantly theologians busy cataloging religious life and thought instead of being doers of divine commandments. Being doers of divine commandments by unhesitatingly following Christ is exemplified by one Anabaptist who wrote from prison prior to his execution:

I am cut loose from all the world, from wife, from father, and mother and sister according to the flesh, and from all men; but this right; Christ was also cut loose from all men and from His disciples; it is enough that I be as He was. . . .

Truth for the Anabaptists was not abstract and ideological, but existential in nature. Christ's teachings were resident not only in ideas, but also in how one lived and died. According to the Anabaptists, truth was not to be found in Paris, the center of medieval Catholic thought, or in Wittenberg, the new Lutheran center of thought. The truth the Anabaptists espoused would be discovered by following in the footsteps of the Master in everyday life.

Soren Kierkegaard was one of the first theologians to use the term existential and concrete Christianity. In his mid-19th century essay Concluding Unscientific Postscript, he suggests that existence and actuality are opposed to objectivity when dealing with religious questions. For Kierkegaard as for the Anabaptists (although they might not have been able to articulate it), the difficult but vital task for Christian people is to become subjective. He goes on to state: "Faith is the highest passion in the sphere of human subjectivity."

If Christians insist on an objective relationship with Christ they are doomed to forming a theological system. An existential system is impossible, Kierkegaard concludes.

The Anabaptists felt it was vital to always, "give account of the hope that is in you" but put off the notion of constructing a systematic theology, a rational edifice of thought. If would have been foreign to them and inadequate to the subjectivity of the new birth. The genius of Anabaptist existential theology lay in the fundamental question: If this is what we believe then how shall we live it out in everyday life? They first publicly asked this question in a debate with Zwingli over the issue of the separation of church and state in the Grossmunster Church in Zurich in 1523. Throughout their history the Anabaptists have continuously asked this question in an effort to live out what they believe.

Anabaptist theology marked a third way which was neither Protestant nor Catholic. In medieval Catholicism the moment where God breaks into human experience most poignantly manifests itself when the priest elevates the Eucharist, says "Hoc est corpus meum" (This is my body), and transubstantiation occurs. In early Protestant theology God announced His desires for His people through their minister who invariably was ensconced in a high pulpit. After the pastor climbed up into the pulpit God spoke in a hushed voice to the minister who in turn poured out God's message to the church members below. Anabaptist theology chose a variant from these two established approaches to a theological anthropology. Their church members gathered together as equals; no one person or group was in anyway superior. They referred to this commonality as a "priesthood of all believers," and felt that through Bible study, prayer, and congregational discussion the will of God could be both comprehended and implemented. The Moravian hymn, Herz und Herz vereint zusammen, states most succinctly the theology of the Anabaptists; it has been a favorite among Mennonite congregations:

Heart with loving heart united, Met to know God's holy will. Let His love in us ignite more and more our spirits till.
He the head, we are His members; We reflect the light He is. He the Master, we the brothers, He is ours and we are His.
May we all love each other and all selfish claims deny. That the brother for the brother will not hesitate to die. Even so our Lord has loved us; For our lives He shed His blood.
Still He grieves and still He suffers when we mar the brotherhood.
Since, O Lord, you have demanded that our lives your love should show.
So we wait to be commanded fourth into your world to go. Kindle in us love's compassion so that everyone may see
In our fellowship the promise of the new humanity. A-men.

Themes in Anabaptist Theology

Naturally one cannot state unequivocally that the Anabaptists did not have an articulated theology and were theoretically one-dimensional. There were some major themes that do emerge which were taught by the majority of the members of the Radical Reformation:

Believer's baptism. The Anabaptists contended that to baptize an infant was unbiblical insomuch as a small child had no faith. They stated that only adults who were able to believe and understand the commitment they were making to Christ and His church were legitimate baptisms. They went further by saying that adult Christians who had been baptized by the estab-
lished churches as infants should be rebaptized as believers in Christ. Thus the term “Anabaptist” or “Rebaptizers” became one of the names that identified these Christians.18

Non-resistance. As stated earlier the Anabaptists put a great deal of importance on the Scriptures; they believed the Bible was the measuring stick for all of life. In their reading of the New Testament they concluded that Christ called His followers to a life of non-resistance. They felt that Christ taught forgiveness, love, and martyrdom for those who concretely followed Him. Peace was not something for another age or dispensation but was an existential commandment. Hans Hut, an early Anabaptist leader, wrote that people want to hear and follow those who “... preach a sinful sweet Christ,”19 a Christ who made little or no demands on His followers. These people neglected to tell men and women about “the bitter Christ.”20 For Hut the “bitter Christ” called His followers to a life that would inevitably lead to suffering and the cross.21

No sacred things. “The bread is nothing but bread,”22 contended the Anabaptists. They believed ordinary bread ought to be used for the Lord’s Supper and common drinking vessels should be used for the wine. They believed that communion was only symbolic of one’s commitment to Christ and His church and was not a sacrament that instilled grace in and of itself.23

No holy place. For the Lord’s Supper Anabaptists believed that the home was more appropriate than a church. It was felt that celebrating communion in the church created a false reverence, as though the Supper had more validity there than elsewhere. They also professed that the Lord’s Supper should be practiced often because it was a meal of fellowship and not a Mass and sacrament.24

No special sacred person. “A server out from of the congregation should pronounce the words. Moreover it [communion] should be served without priestly garments and vestment.”25 The Anabaptists rejected the notion that some followers of Christ were more sacred than other members of the congregation. They would have acknowledged that there are various gifts within the church but would not have ventured to rank the gifts of the Holy Spirit in order of importance or sacredness. Rather they proposed that all of God’s creation was sacred and especially humankind.26

A Theology of Gemeinschaft and Gelassenheit

The Anabaptist anthropology was based on agape love, that spiritual love of one Christian for another that corresponds to the love of God for man. Hans Denck, in a tract found in many Anabaptist homes entitled Von der wahren Liebe (1527) stated that the law of God was given to man in the form of love. Love, according to Denck, was the primary way to bring the believer nearer to God’s own love. “He who understands this love but teaches otherwise is a genuine anti-Christ. But he who does not understand it has not really recognized the Lord Christ.”27

For the Anabaptists, people were not only sinners in need of God’s forgiveness but were also persons capable of profound, Christ-like love after being empowered with the Holy Spirit. They proclaimed that the two supreme laws taught by Christ were love of God and love of neighbor.28 Again one witnesses the Anabaptist preoccupation with the concrete in matters of faith: If one loves God and neighbor one will give openly and without restraint of one’s possessions. In 1650 Andreas Ehrenpreis proposed in his booklet Bruderliche Gemeinschaft, das hochste Gebot der Liebe betreffend, the quite radical position of a Christian community holding all things in common. “Where the love of Christ is not able to accomplish as much towards one’s neighbor as to have fellowship with him also in temporal needs, there the blood of Christ cannot cleanse from sin,”29 Ehrenpreis wrote.

Love and yieldedness (Gelassenheit) were for Anabaptists the road to salvation, and martyr after martyr, with few exceptions, went to the stake or was drowned with a testimony of yielding their bodies to those in temporal authority and their hearts to God. These accounts of men and women being brutally tortured and still lovingly forgiving their tormentors seem in many ways incongruous to contemporary readers, yet love for one’s enemies was the hallmark of Anabaptist theology.

Within the church community (Gemeinde and Gemeinschaft) as well as without, love and yieldedness was the clarion call of the Radical Reformation. Believers pointed out that both the Old and New Testaments directed godly people to practice mutual aid with each other,30 and they felt that the implications of the old covenant Jubilee were even more binding for the followers of Christ. They practiced at the least a polity for generous sharing with members of their congregations who were in need. It was taught that there could be no compartmentalization of the faithful Christian’s life. Christ expected one’s whole being, as well as all of one’s possessions, to be joyfully and voluntarily placed at God’s and the Church’s use.31 The theology of Christian communitarianism found its fullest expression among the Anabaptists of Moravia in the group later known as the Hutterites. The focal point of this attempt at complete Gelassenheit was the estate of the lords of Liechtenstein. Today the Hutterites in Canada and the United States still maintain their practice of Christian communism.32

There are several isolated cases where groups that tended to be on the fringe of Anabaptism practiced communal living even in the area of marriage. Ulrich
Zwingli condemned the Munsterites for practicing a communism of wives. The Munsterites denied that they practiced any such immorality and stated that the twenty-one Munsterite Articles contained strict marital fidelity requirements. But in the area of Hesse a group of Anabaptists under the leadership of Ludwig von Tungeda practiced what they called “Blood Friends” (Blutsfreunde aus der Wiedertaufe) in 1550. This group repudiated the regular Anabaptist doctrines of baptism and the Lord’s Supper, and proclaimed that the true sacrament was the conjugal mingling of the brothers and sisters of the Gemeinde. The accounts of the extremes like “Blood Friends” and the armed insurrection by the Munsterites were believed by many to be typical of Anabaptist belief and practice. These stories of the isolated and extreme Anabaptists intensified persecution of the larger group who proposed less radical theology.

But the majority of the Anabaptists while not as communal as the Hutterites, or as radical as the followers of Tungeda, did begin to understand and practice the paradoxical truths that Christ spoke of to His early followers. One example of this new order was the domestic relationship within the Gemeinschaft. Anabaptist men began to realize that their mothers, wives, and daughters were primarily spiritual sisters in Christ and only secondly, in an earthly sense, mothers, wives, and daughters. From the perspective of the priesthood of all believers men started to acknowledge that women also have gifts in the ministry and leadership of the church. The older ideas of women being “misbegotten,” as Thomas Aquinas stated, were being reinterpreted by the Anabaptists.

Dirk Philips, a Dutch Anabaptist, was critical of the Reformers' analogy of baptism and circumcision because it excluded women. Michael Sattler stated that his scriptural basis of belief came from mixed male-female Bible study. Among both male and female martyrs are stories of those who gave a simple statement of faith and of those who were able to carry on lengthy debates with their captors. One such martyr was Elizabeth Dirks, an Anabaptist who was a Latin teacher; she was arrested January 15, 1549. During her three months of imprisonment, torture, and questioning, she did not recant. At one point her examiners accused her: “You speak with a haughty tongue.” Elizabeth is recorded to have replied, “No, my lords, I speak with a free tongue.”

While respect for, and participation by, women was certainly not universal, among the Anabaptists there was begun a strong tradition and movement for what today would be considered liberation of both Christian men and women from inequality. The theological tenet of Gelassenheit (yieldedness/lack of self will) was the beginning of allowing men and women to practice concrete Christian love not only in erudite words, but also in everyday home and church life.

The Anabaptists adopted and reinterpreted aspects of the theology of Gelassenheit from medieval mystics who had taught that it stood for an internal submission to God. The Anabaptists agreed that yielding of self was at the heart of Christian faith and life, but they also used this idea in a unique way. Yielding structured their external relationship with one another as well as their internal relationship with God. The Anabaptists held that a Christian would give up exercising power to enhance self, because self-will was the main obstacle to loving relationships with others. The power of love, said the Anabaptists, could be released only when self-will died. Herein the Anabaptists became children of the Spirit (God), not of the law of men.

Existentialism and Separatism: A Contradiction?

Until now this paper has approached the question of Anabaptist theology confessionally. No real attempt has been made to discuss the doubts and inconsistencies that troubled the Anabaptists and their spiritual descendants, the Amish and the Mennonites.

In the turbulent early years of the Anabaptist movement, leaders like Conrad Grebel tried to advance their radical theology in the establishment circles of the city of Zurich. They found interest but little support among the affluent and intellectual who eventually formed a union of the Zurich rulers and beneficed clergy. The Anabaptists found their clientele from among the masses with most being shop keepers, farmers, and peasants. Shortly after their inception in 1525, persecution set in upon the Anabaptists who were understandably seen as quite dangerous to the established church. This persecution led to isolation from, and uneasiness toward, those people and institutions that were of potential danger to the Anabaptists. Ultimately they fled from the cities and towns into the hills and more tolerant kingdoms of Europe. Church historian Martin Haas has suggested that the Anabaptists of the 16th century took on a separatist theology and sociology after realizing that the majority of their contemporaries would choose to martyr them rather than follow their understanding of the New Testament.

The Anabaptists drew deeper into their practice of separation from the “world” out of growing concern for the double problem of persecution and the fear of being seduced by the secular world; in fact, they chose to break off contact with the world around them except for economic dealings. Then, as Professor Haas states, “Doctrines developed in conjunction with this external behavior.” The confessions written and disputations heard began to stress the need for isolation and detachment from a world that was viewed as cruel and evil.
Door of Grossmünster, Zurich; Zwingli first shares the wine with the congregation at communion.

The Neustadt area just behind the Grossmünster tower in Zurich, including the house in which the first Anabaptist baptism took place. From a painting by Hans Leu (c.1502) in the Landesmuseum of Zurich.
For a short period of time the Anabaptists did believe that, if the situation within the world would modify, they would return to the secular world as active and involved members. But persecution and mistreatment continued in Europe for Christians who were part of the Radical Reformation, and until the time of the American Civil War it was still permissible to kill an Anabaptist in some parts of Europe. Thus the Anabaptists and their children became "The Quiet in the Land" (Die Stille im Land), a term that has been used frequently throughout history to describe the Mennonites and the Amish.

Martin Haas characterizes this Swiss Brethren mind set of quietude by writing:

The longer this condition [persecution and separation] persisted, the more deeply rooted became the new behavior pattern and with it the separation from the world. As long as the conditions in the 'world' did not change fundamentally and society did not open itself to tolerance, the chance for a change in Anabaptist attitudes diminished more and more. 44

Leonard Gross notes that while the Swiss Brethren became quietistic because of persecution the Hutterites maintained an evangelistic community. Gross credits both the remarkable leadership of Jacob Hutter and Peter Walpot and the toleration of Moravia as the primary factors in the Hutterites continued efforts at Christian mission to the world. 45

The thesis of this chapter of the paper suggests that the great tragedy in Anabaptist thought and history has been the need for (and eventual insistence on) isolation from, and repugnance toward, the world. Throughout this paper the concept of Anabaptist theology has been outlined as a theology that was existential, practical—concerned with living Christ's commandments in the here and now in concrete ways. Regrettably, Anabaptists/Mennonites have failed to see and respond to all that Christ taught. Indeed, Christ did call for Christians to be peacemakers and members of a Christian community that was ruled, not by force, but by love. Anabaptists/Mennonites have excelled at building communities of Christian mutual love and their churches have been for the most part remarkable examples of Christians showing agape love to fellow members of the community. Yet, while they have majored in love within the Gemeinschaft, they have failed, as John Howard Yoder says, to "renounce the ritual purity of noninvolvement."

Harvey Cox, a contemporary Catholic theologian, uses the Greek words kerymatic, diakonic, and koinoniac to express the mandate of the New Testament church. Kerymatic, says Cox, is the idea that the Christian church is to teach the Good News of Jesus Christ. That Jesus and his followers are to summon all people to the freedom and new life that are found in the church. The church is also to be in service or to be diakonic, contends Cox. It is not enough for Christians to reach out to friends and family; meaningful Christian fellowship means reaching our in service to those who are unknown and, perhaps, menacing. And finally, according to Cox, the church must be koinoniac; that is, it must be a community of believers who give a visible witness of love and respect for one another. This agape, or special Christian, love, transcends all forms of human caring. These three concepts are, for Professor Cox, the cornerstone of the church's witness and life. 47

John Howard Yoder describes aptly the struggle that each generation and denomination of Christians struggles with, or at least should struggle with:

We understand Jesus only if we can empathize with this threefold rejection: the self-evident, axiomatic, sweeping rejection of both quietism and establishment responsibility, and the difficult constantly reopened, genuinely attractive option of the crusade. 54

This path between Zionism and Establishment and total withdrawal that Christ walked is a difficult journey. In a paradoxical commandment, Christians...
are called, like Christ, to make the word become flesh. It is not enough that the word became flesh in and through Christ. We too, as his disciples, must believe in the word and make it tangible to the world. Those people professing Christ out of a self-serving attempt to escape judgment, tragically have only a narrow view of the world; a view that sees the world as the devil’s playground and ultimately insults God’s plan for grace and redemption.

Yoder once again puts his finger on the matter when describing what he calls a political Jesus:

What he [Jesus] proposes is not withdrawal into the desert or into mysticism; it is a renewed messianic claim, a mountain-top consultation with Moses and Elijah; and a march to Jerusalem. The cross is beginning to loom not as a ritually prescribed instrument of propitiation but as the political alternative to both insurrection and quietism."

**Christological Postscript**

One must question whether the lives of those Christians who have chosen to separate themselves from the world and live in sweet Christian Utopia have fulfilled Christ’s call. The Anabaptists/Mennonites have for over four hundred years contended that Christians are to pick up Jesus’ cross and follow in His footsteps. Yet those footprints do not lead out into the desert never to return to the world, nor do they lead into the camps of the freedom fighters. Rather those Messianic footprints are found leading to a life that is filled to overflowing with *agape* love; love not only for the brother and sister, but also for one’s enemies and the unlovable of the world. This blind love for all of humankind cannot see the meaning or importance of the Christian community that has willfully separated itself from the grip and fiber of God’s redeemable world.

**ENDNOTES**

1. German church theologians have generally used the term *Täufer* instead of Anabaptist; Dutch theologians use the terms *Doopers* or *Doopsgezinde*. The English, American, and French have used the term Anabaptist when referring to the Radical Reformation.


11. 1 Peter 3:15


35. Ibid.


42. Stayer and Packull, *The Anabaptists and Thomas Muntzer*, p. 84.


47. *Yoder, The Politics of Jesus*, p. 43.
In Leviticus 26, verse 1, we read: "Ye shall make you no idols nor graven image, neither shall ye set up any image of stone in your land, to bow down unto it; for I am the Lord your God." So spoke the Lord at a time when monotheism was having its struggling start. And if the people followed this advice, he would give them "rain in due season," and the "threshing shall reach unto the vintage," and "there shall be peace," and "they shall be fruitful and multiply." According to those promises there certainly was no need of a rain god, a sun god, a war god, or a fertility goddess. Thinking this over, the Israelites finally came to an understanding among themselves and accepted Jehovah. These concepts came down to the Christians as the first and second commandments.

Even though the early Christian followed these laws, crude paintings appeared in the catacombs. They were not objects of devotion, but rather representational art. Sometimes they were symbols—pictures or designs which in addition to the obvious meaning held many connotations for believers. An example would be the frequent use of the fish as a symbol for Christ. This symbol came about because the five Greek letters forming the word ‘fish’ are the initial letters of the five words: Jesus Christ God’s Son Savior. The meaning can go beyond this for Christ was a fisher of men. In the symbolist’s world it can even go into the idea of baptism for as the fish can only live in water, so man can only truly live through baptism.

When the early Christians met they would most often draw the cross in the sand as a sign to each other; a sign which they could quickly erase. Thus the early Christian was pulled into symbolic art. Pulled on the one hand when language failed them and on the other hand when danger lurked in the streets. This continued in full force as Christianity grew. By the time of the Reformation reformers like Luther recognized the deep seated need for symbols and symbolic terms to represent concepts that man cannot define or fully comprehend. But the Anabaptist Movement was not of the same mind, often calling such concepts superstitious. The Anabaptists attempted to go with “the Word” alone, and ignore its symbols. This, in the truest sense of the word, they were not able to do, because the word itself can become a symbol. Of course it is a matter of degree, and it is a group like the Harmonists who were closer to Luther who came up with a golden rose, of which I will speak later. But everyone in the Anabaptist movement whether he fell into community living or not became “The Symbolic Man” as opposed to “The Political Man.” Both have Christian principles that fight the materialistic system. “The Political Man” stays in the mainstream to fight, but “the Symbolic Man” withdraws because “he points out the temporary nature of the existing social and political system.” According to Eberhard Arnold this way of life “is not
Stylized rose in the Great House, Old Economy, Ambridge, PA.

a theory; it is no dogma; . . . it is no form of cult; . . . but it is the receiving of God himself; it is the being overwhelmed by God."

It is this spiritual existence which makes the members symbolic. When outsiders look at this spiritual way of life, they find that words fail to define or explain it because the usual religious and church limitations are not there. This way of life transcends words. Lejeune says such a life has become a service to God to the point that even the daily common mealtime becomes the Lord's Supper.4

The Hutterites in their Manifesto of 1650 state that those who demand "the fruits of life that are truly in keeping with love" are few.4 It is these few that stand out and become "symbolic." The members of the Bruderhof, followers of Eberhard Arnold are such symbolic people. The same can be said of the Shakers. Their entire life was given to the Spiritual. Marguerite Fellows Melcher in her Shaker Adventure states that "material things were to the Shakers little more than symbols of the spiritual."6 These material things were very simplistic. Simplicity was the most pervasive of Shaker ideals. They were simple in their dress, and in their furniture and architectural designs. They found release in the song:

'Tis the gift to be simple
'Tis the gift to be free,
'Tis the gift to come down
Where we ought to be.'

This simplicity became their symbolism. Melcher notes a further symbolism, one which moves into the direction of the mystical and liturgical persuasions. She says that white and blue were Sunday colors: white for purity, blue for virginity.7 She also states that beds were always green as directed by the Millennial laws.7 Further symbolism appears in Shaker spirit drawings which were outward manifestations of their inner spiritual ecstasies. The most famous of these probably is "The Tree of Life" which has the following inscription:

City of Peace [that is, Hancock], Monday, July 3rd, 1854 . . .
I received a draft of a beautiful tree . . . bearing ripe fruit . . .

I have since learned that this tree grows in Spirit Land . . . the leaves were check'd or cross'd, and the same colors you see here. [Dark and light greens, dark and light orange] I entreated Mother Ann to tell me the name of this tree, which she did October 1st, 4th hour p.m., by moving the hand of a medium to write twice over, "Your tree is the Tree of Life." Seen and painted by Hannah Cohoon." Hancock Shaker Village.10

Also according to Melcher the song-poem The Humble Heart written in 1822 contains all the symbolism of the Shaker belief:

Whence comes this bright celestial light, what cause produces this,
A heaven opens to my sight, bright scenes of joy and bliss.
O Lord Jehovah art Thou here, this light proclaims Thou art, I am indeed. I'm always near unto the humble heart.

The proud and lofty I despise, and bless the meek and low,
I hear the humble soul that cries and comfort I bestow.

Of all the trees among the wood I've chose one little vine,
The meek and low are nigh to me—the humble heart is mine.

Tall cedars fall before the wind, the tempest breaks the oak,
While slender vines will bow and bend, and rise beneath the stroke.

I've chosen one pleasant grove and set my lovely vine,
Here in my vineyard I will rove, the humble heart is mine.

Of all the fowls that beat the air I've chose one little dove,
I've made her spotless white and fair the object of my love.
Her feathers are like purest gold with glory she does shine,
She is a beauty to behold, her humble heart is mine.

Of all the things that range at large I've chose one little flock,
And those I make my lovely charge, before them I will walk.
Their constant shepard I will be and all their ways refine,
And they shall serve and reverence me, the humble heart is mine.

Of all the sects that fill the land—one little hand I've chose,
And led them forth by my right hand and placed my love on those.

The lovely object of my love, around my heart shall twine
My flock, my vineyard and my dove, the humble heart is mine.11

"My flock, my vineyard, and my dove, the humble heart is mine," has echoes of Ephrata's Seven Day Baptists' religious folk art and hymns which became symbolic for them. Mysticism begins to reign supreme in these expressions, so if one wishes to understand the symbolism one must get involved in their spiritual thinking. Never were Goethe's words truer than when he wrote:

Wer den Dichter will verstehen
Mus in Dichters Lande Gehehn.
[He who will understand the poet
Must go into the poet's country.]

Johann Conrad Beissel, as others before him, had a dream of a congregation based on the lives of the apostles. His spiritual therapy was art and singing (and of course labor!). The art and language became the symbols of Ephrata life. Here, in highly mystical design and diction, they expressed their belief. People not familiar with the symbolism probably became offended. An example would be the eulogy given for Heinrich Sangmeister who died in 1785. Even though a member, he had been highly critical of the society and Peter Müller
The Virgin Sophia on the doorway of the present-day Harmony Museum, Harmony, PA; first settlement of the Harmonists.

had the following to say about him:

Yes, my brethren Brother Ezechiel [all Solitaries had special names] did not do as he ought to have done. He loved the maid better than the wife. He once altogether forsook the wife. But he was not to continue so; back again he had to come. Yet what should he do? He despises the wife, goes and lives with the maid; and in her lap he dies.12

The “wife” was the cloister, the “maid” the world. Another example of the symbolistic language, heavily influenced by the Song of Solomon, is:

Arise, Zion. Arise! Arise!
Virgins, do not delay!
Thy Bridegroom comes
To embrace thee with Friendliness!

The way of the cloister was the way of the lily, the rose, the turtle-dove, the Virgin Sophia and the heart. These images of Christ, wisdom, and love emerging again and again in song and art are not the usual traditional Christian imagery. This art takes the form of the illumination of The Christian ABC Book, ornamental hangings, manuscripts, and hymnals.

Ephrata had an order of nuns known as the Roses of Sharon. This name itself is symbolic. After a novice has prepared herself for a year and a day and she is ready to accept the Virginal life, her name is erased from the register of Novices, and entered with a new name upon the roll of Spiritual Virgins. These virgins lived in a Sister House which had doorways that were very low and narrow to remind them of the straight and narrow path to heaven. Ernst in his History of Ephrata writes:

When a Sister died they, in addition to the other customary German folk rites, hung a personal prayer in Fraktur on the wall of her Kammer cell, over the head end of her bench-couch. After the funeral, the Kammer was shut up for a time with the prayer on the wall as a memorial, because of its magic influence on her soul in its flight into eternity.14

The Harmonists also used the lily, the rose, and the Virgin Sophia as symbols. However, with a few exceptions they used them exclusively in the hymns. And, as with the Seven Day Baptists, one must be familiar with their language so not to mistake their agape love for erotic love. The Virgin Sophia who plays an important role in the Harmonist hymns appears but once in sculpture and that is above the doorway in the Bental House of Harmony, Butler County, Pennsylvania. Around the same sculpture are some fleur-de-lis and rosettes. Sophia is the personification of wisdom. This spiritual lady was the all consuming passion of the Harmonists because she led the way to Harmony. A few stanzas of the following hymn are a typical example of their extravagant symbolic language:

O, Sophia, when thy loving hands
carefully have guided my path
Through the thorny rose-bush,
Let my shadow soar;
You, the Harmonists’ goddess, play now your golden strings;
Bind with loving golden chains those who follow you to the designated goal.

O, you adornment of the house of God,
Let us soon take the pilgrim’s staff,
Escort us with your shimmering goodness,
given for us by God.
Strengthen the courage of the fighter coming to full circle.
That your people with good deeds will bless your approaching feast.15

The rose is the most evident symbol of the Harmonists, but strangely it does not come from the Berleberg Bible so dear to the hearts of the Pennsylvania-German mystics, but from the Luther translation of Micah 4:8: “Unto thee shall come the golden rose, the first dominion.” Considering that:

All other translations have: “...unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion” we first should ask why Luther chose the golden rose as a substitute for “it” and a synonym for kingdom. Although the word “rose” does not appear in the Hebrew Micah 4:8, the word for ornament does (7. 7N). Traditional and liturgical-minded Luther readily substituted golden rose, which had a legendary background and was firmly fixed in Rose Sunday (Laetare Sunday, the 4th Sunday of Lent), at which time a presentation of a golden rose was given to an illustrious person or a group of people conspicuous for loyalty to the Holy See. This had been instituted in 1049 by Pope Leo IX. It may have been a variant of the familiar feudal custom of the presentation by serfs to their lords and
masters of a real rose as a symbol of their fealty or as a token of payment of annual rent to the landowners."

This rose was carved above the door of the church at Harmony, Indiana, by Frederick Rapp. It actually became the trademark of the Harmonists in Indiana. It appears on some of their flat-irons, on the newel posts of the Great House in Economy, in the Grotto of Economy, on the one and only tombstone of the society found in Harmony (Pennsylvania), and, as already stated, framing the Virgin Sophia.

A less obvious symbol of the Harmonists is the canonical S which was used extensively by the Harmonists in designs for braces, pottery, furniture, and silk ribbons. And in a sense it was repeated in the winding labyrinth, itself a symbol of man's wandering toward heaven. The canonical S signifies the seven deadly sins, the seven penitential psalms (6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143), the seven virtues and the seven works of mercy, spiritual and corporal."

For the Harmonists, the Grotto, rough outside and beautiful inside, is a symbol of man showing that physical appearances mean nothing, that it is the spiritual that matters. John Hornstein Yelland pointed to the three-part panel construction representing the Trinity and the ivory frames forming the "A" of Alpha, while the Roman ring around the building formed the "O" of Omega. This ring has one hundred and forty-four blocks in honor of the one hundred and forty-four thousand chosen ones described in Revelation. The golden rose in the ceiling is ready to shed its blessing on anyone therein.

This symbolistic rose design lives on today in one of the most unique shrines in America. It is the Roofless Church built in New Harmony, Indiana in the form of a parabola. Yet another symbol for the Harmonists is found in a modern Steuben vase. Taking his cue from Psalm 102, verse 6: "I am like a pelican in the wilderness," the engraver saw Father Rapp as the pelican nurturing his followers.

From these examples it is evident that there were some symbols in these non-symbolistic communal societies. They are not idols, nor graven images which are bowed to. They are modes of thought, some of which Stoudt calls "apocalyptic." What does it all mean? He suggests:

Let it remain until the time of the Lily; there it stands all open; and the tincture is then the light of the world.

Or:

Truly the time of the Rose brings it forth, and it is high time to awake, for the sleep is at an end, there shall be a great rent before the Lily; therefore let everyone take heed of his ways."
GAMES AND ACTIVITIES OF THE NEW WILMINGTON AMISH SCHOOL CHILDREN

By Susan P. Martin

The rural community of New Wilmington, located in Lawrence County, Pennsylvania, was laid out in 1824. The Amish arrived in 1832 according to Joseph L. Byler, and in 1850 according to Mrs. Mose S. (Lydia) Byler. Both sources agree the Amish came to New Wilmington from the town of Belleville, located in Mifflin County, in eastern Pennsylvania. They were attracted to New Wilmington by the availability of inexpensive land and the opportunity to start a community.

In 1974, the New Wilmington Amish took complete control of the Ligo and Shepherd public schools; in the following year they assumed total responsibility for the children attending the Cotton, Neshannock, and J.R. Wilson public schools. Joseph L. Byler, an Amish resident of New Wilmington, gave two reasons for this: Amish children were being taught things with which their people did not agree; and some children completed their education in the schools and were not able to read or write a proper letter. When she was asked about the reasons for the Amish decision to run their own schools, Mrs. Mose S. (Lydia) Byler also cited objections to the curriculum, and mentioned as well an Amish awareness of the presence of drugs in the public schools. They felt that by teaching their own children they would help keep them from undesirable influences. Although the temptations would still be there, the Amish felt more in control of the situation. They purchased the school buildings from the district, stripped them of electricity and modern conveniences, and appointed their own people to teach. These New Wilmington Amish schools contain grades one through eight. First graders entering school speak no English and, since most of the district’s teachers prior to 1975 spoke no Pennsylvania German, it was usually January before the first graders could communicate with the teachers. The children are forbidden to speak the dialect in school but do use some Pennsylvania German on the playground or when singing their own songs.

New Wilmington Amish school children take greater
advantage of their opportunities to play than non-Amish children since most have no leisure time at home. Before school they may milk cows, feed livestock, or prepare breakfast. After school more chores await them. The religious beliefs of the New Wilmington Amish dictate the behavior and activities of every aspect of Amish life, and Amish children are forbidden any exposure to radio, television, or movies. They do not ride bicycles or roller-skate; few have ridden in cars. They have no exposure to electronic or battery operated toys. They do not play musical instruments. Toys are homemade except for gifts from non-Amish friends (usually produce customers) who give the children presents for Christmas. Some parents allow the children to keep the presents, others do not. By purposely segregating their children from modern youngsters, the parents protect their values and lifestyles. In doing so, the parents suspend the youngsters in time by their appearance and their ignorance of the outside world. The homes, dress, and customs of these people which have not changed in more than a hundred years, affect the play of the society’s youth. Like most Amish life, the majority of the games and recreational activities of the New Wilmington Amish school children are in an arrested stage.

Several of the games played by Amish school children might not be familiar to today’s public school children, but would be recognized by the children’s grandparents. One example of a favorite Amish game no longer played in most public schools is Ante Over. To play this game it is necessary to have a small building such as a one-room school and a ball. One team of players is stationed on one side of the building and the other on the other side. One of the players on the team that has the ball shouts “Ante Over!” as he tosses the ball over the shed. This warns the other team to be on the lookout for the ball. They try to catch it. If the ball is not caught, any member of the team may pick it up and throw it back calling “Ante Over!” as the throw is made. If the ball is caught, the person making the catch runs around to the other side and tries to hit some player of the other team with the ball before he can get to the other side of the shed. If a player is hit he joins the other team. Each time the ball is caught, all of the members of the catcher’s team also run around the shed. The game ends when all the players of one team have been caught. (A variant of this game called Andy Over was remembered by a woman who played the game over the outhouse of her elementary school in the 1950s.) Since the game Ante Over requires a structure such as a one room school or outhouse, it has been lost to our modern school games.

Another example of an arrested game is Prisoner’s Base which can be played outdoors or in a gymnasium. For this game the ground is divided into 2 equal parts, with a small base or prison marked off at the farther end of each division. From five to fifteen players guard each side. They venture into the enemy’s ground, and, if caught, are put into the prison, where they must remain until tagged by one of their own side who is free. Both prisoner and rescuer may be tagged and brought back to prison before reaching their own ground. The game is won when one side makes prisoners of all its opponents, or when a free man enters the opponents’ prison; this last may be done only when there are no prisoners there. A former teacher who could recall the game being played in Amish schools in the 1930s, stated that Amish children still enjoyed the game at the time of her retirement in 1975. While Prisoner’s Base was mentioned by all the former teachers who taught in Amish schools, it was unfamiliar to the two currently employed elementary school teachers who were questioned.

The rural area surrounding the country schools lends itself to the game of Hide and Seek. Children often hide in cornfields and wooded areas which are not available to children playing on a city playground. While many children play Hide and Seek at home, Amish school children are more likely to include this as a school activity. They also enjoy jumping rope, playing jacks, cracking the whip, and rolling marbles, but the most popular game at all Amish schools is the traditional game of Tag. Corner ball, which is popular in Lancaster Amish schools, was unfamiliar to the teachers of Amish children in New Wilmington. Additional games which are popular include: Drop the Hankercchief, Fox and Geese, Leap Frog, and Tug-of-War.

A popular game with small children is Horse. In this activity one to three children with a rope tied to them play the part of the horses, while another child holds the “reins.” The driver races his friends about the classroom on rainy days or around the school in fair weather. Sometimes more than one team is assembled and they race against each other. This game was undoubtedly as popular with all school children at one time as it is with Amish children now.

Another game often played by Amish children is called Jacob and Ruth. All but two of the children playing the game hold hands and form a circle. The two children standing in the center—“Jacob and Ruth”—are blindfolded. The object of the game is for Jacob to catch the other player, Ruth, by the sound of her voice. When Jacob asks “Ruth, where art thou?” Ruth must immediately answer “Here I am, Jacob.” After answering, she quickly leaves the spot to avoid being caught by Jacob’s outstretched arms. When she is finally caught, Jacob returns to the circle, Ruth is blindfolded, a new Jacob is chosen, and the role of aggressor is reversed.

Amish students also enjoy playing an outdoor game called Release the Den. Several children form a circle and one child is chosen to be “It.” The remaining
children stay outside the circle and are chased by the player who is it. Once a child is caught, he is put inside the circle where he must stay until someone releases him with a touch.13

An unusual Amish game described by a teacher who had taught at the J. R. Wilson School during the 1930s was Hot Seat. In this game an Amish boy would bend over and bury his face in the inside of his hat. He was then struck on the seat of his pants by an unknown assailant. If the boy guessed correctly who had hit him, he was replaced by another boy; but if he failed to name his attacker, he received another blow. This continued until he successfully named his opponent. The teacher recalled that the boys were merciless and struck as hard as they were able. The contributor describing this game left teaching in 1935 and did not resume her career at the J. R. Wilson School until 1964, at which time she reported the game was no longer played;14 however, the game continues at Neshannock and Shepherd Schools.15

Shepherd School, located near a pond that has become stagnant in recent years, permitted the children to fish during their lunch hour, and they took their catch home in their lunch pails for supper. In the winter the boys still carry their skates to school and put them on during the first recess. The boys wear their skates the remainder of the day so that no time is lost in reaching the pond. The teacher reported no problems with the boys wearing their skates during school and said they moved about the classroom with a minimum of noise.16

Another teacher recalled an Amish girl bringing her rag doll to school to show her, but dolls, like most other toys, are usually not brought to school. This teacher commented on the fact that the faces of the dolls have no features such as eyes or mouths; instead the face is represented by a plain piece of material. This is in keeping with the rule that forbids the making of graven images (which originates, according to New Wilmington Amish, with the Ten Commandments); photographs and mirrors are prohibited for the same reason.17

During the 1960s and 1970s, the New Wilmington School District sent physical education teachers to the country schools. The public teachers introduced activities such as Dodge Ball, Kick Ball, and some exercise games to the children. The school district supplied each school with soft balls, volleyballs, bats, and jumping ropes. Bats and balls were primarily used in a game in which Amish children struck the ball with the bat, while the others attempted to catch it; students at most schools did not run bases or keep score.18 Amish children do not play either basketball or football which, according to public elementary school teachers, are the most popular playground activities among modern school children.19

In summary then, popular outdoor games in the Amish school are Ante Over, Prisoner's Base, Hide and Seek, Horse, Jacob and Ruth, and Release the Den. Some of the other activities rarely played on contemporary school grounds but still shared by Amish school children are Fox and Geese, Tug-of-War, Red Rover,
and London Bridge. The Amish children are unfamiliar with games requiring playground equipment such as slides and monkey bars. Therefore, the major outdoor games of the New Wilmington Amish children are arrested.

In cold weather or on rainy days, Amish school children play indoors. Familiar games include Upset the Fruit Basket, Musical Chairs, Checkers, Old Maid, and Hop Scotch chalked on the floor. The girls are fond of hand clapping games called Botching, in which they recite rhymes such as Peas porridge hot... A favorite game among the younger children is Tic Tac Toe which is usually played on the chalk board. One teacher described an old game called “Seven Up” which has many modern variants. The Amish children would put their heads on their desks. One child would move quietly among the children and whisper the name of an animal or give directions to seven players. The seven students would go to the front of the room and act out their animal or directions for the others to guess.

Another teacher remembered a noisy game called Pussy Wants a Corner. All the players occupied some corner within the room except the pussy who approached each player saying, “Pussy wants a corner.” While the pussy’s attention was directed at one player, the other children would signal and exchange places. If the pussy got a corner in the exchange, the child left out became the new pussy. If the pussy found it too hard to get a corner, he could call, “Everybody change” and force everyone to change places. The pussy was sure to get a corner in the scramble.

The old game of “I Spy” was one of the more popular games played indoors. While everyone covered his eyes, one child would hide the chalk in an inconspicuous but open place. The other children would move about the room until they saw the chalk and would then take their seats. The first child to find the chalk hid it in the next game. One teacher recalled that the children sometimes hid the chalk in the deep waves of her hair.

The most interesting game was related by Margret Wagner and was played at the J.R. Wilson School. The players include a mother, a nurse, children, and a witch. The witch would hide in the coatroom, while the mother instructed the nurse to carefully watch the children while she went to the market. There was a long discourse delivered in a forceful tone in which the mother warned the nurse of her duties with the children. The mother would leave, and the nurse would engage in imaginary activities which consumed her attention. Meanwhile, the witch would emerge from the coatroom and pull a protesting child away with her. The mother would return and inquire about the children. Noting that a child was missing, she would ask, “Where is Lizzie?” The nurse would explain that she had been busy and the witch had escaped with the child without her noticing. The mother would scold the nurse and then leave on another errand, repeating the cycle again and again until all of the children were gone. The mother would then search about the classroom calling, until she wondered into the coatroom where the children were hidden. Finally, she would spy a child, and one by one retrieve her lost flock. After a joyous reunion, they would all return home.

A variant of this game was played at Shepherd School without a nurse. In this version, the mother remained at home, and the witch stole the children while the mother was occupied with other activities.

A former Shepherd School teacher described three games not mentioned by other teachers. The first was Cat and Mouse. In this game one child, the cat, is blindfolded and all the other children are mice. The cat stands in the center of the circle of mice and counts to ten while the mice scamper about. On completing the count, the cat shouts, “Stop!” and the mice freeze. The cat gropes about until it finds a mouse and attempts to identify it. The first mouse to be identified becomes the new cat.

The second game was Hunter. In this game the hunter leaves the room while the other children, seated in a circle, are assigned items that relate to a hunter; items such as a gun, a hat, a bullet, and so on. The hunter returns and, standing before a player, guesses what item he represents. When the item is guessed, the player leaves his seat and stands behind the hunter who proceeds to the next player. The line grows and moves about the circle until the last item is guessed. The line continues to circle until the hunter calls “Stop!” and everyone runs for a seat. The child without a seat becomes the new hunter. Hunter was also played at Neshannock School when the teacher taught there.

The third game was the only activity which included an Amish song, unfamiliar to the teacher, as a part of the game. The children stood in a circle with one person in the center and sang an Amish song while passing a fifty cent piece, borrowed from the teacher, around the circle. The children all pretended to have the money as they passed their hands, and the child in the center had to find the individual who really had the coin as it was being passed. He then changed places with the coin holder who took his place in the center of the circle.

The indoor games of Amish children are clearly more arrested than outdoor activities. Compared with contemporary school children whose indoor activities primarily consist of commercial educational games, flash cards, and packaged activities, Amish children remain locked in yesterday’s world.

Christmas permits opportunities for Amish schoolrooms to be decorated with holiday stencils made with colored chalk, and for students to make paper chains and bells and exchange gifts. During the time the New Wilmington School District provided teachers for the
Amish schools, the teachers brought Christmas trees to the school. When the Amish took over the schools in 1975, the Amish teachers discontinued the Christmas trees but permitted the children to continue to exchange gifts which were placed in a Christmas box. One teacher noted that the children made more of New Year's Day and exchanged gifts at that time rather than before Christmas. The most popular gifts with girls are dishes (particularly colored glass) and handkerchiefs. The boys like knives and gloves. Another teacher told of bringing records to school as well as a book of nativity plays in which the children took parts.

Yet another teacher described providing the seventh and eighth grade children with patterns for complicated paper chains; patterns she had found in a Better Homes and Gardens magazine. The children systematically divided the work, some folding, some cutting, and others assembling the chains. All the teachers commented on the quiet manner in which the children worked. They display unusual patience and do exceptional work in projects which require cutting. The district's art teacher prepared special lessons for the Amish children whose interests in creating flowers and birds were greater than those of children in the public schools.

The children like music. They sing Amish songs, some to the tune of "Jesus Loves Me" and "Yankee Doodle," as well as songs such as "Old McDonald," "Farmer in the Dell," "Oh Susanna," and "Old Folks at Home." At one point in the 1960s, the Amish requested that the district music teacher discontinue her visits to the schools because they felt her songs "were silly." When the children refused to sing the songs that she taught in the regular elementary school, the teacher did stop her weekly visits. When a new music teacher came to the district a few years before the Amish assumed responsibility for the schools, she too was sent to the Amish schools; she adapted to the children's preferences and had limited success.

Amish children also spend time reading. They look at magazines and read stories. One teacher found The Wizard of Oz was the children's favorite, but several teachers stated that when the district provided a library service to the Amish schools, the children competed to read books written about the Amish children of Lancaster. The children at J. R. Wilson school found a small booklet called Amish Life (available at Pennsylvania Turnpike rest stops) so interesting they wrote their own names on the pictures of other Amish children. Given a choice, however, Amish children would always rather play games than read, if circumstances permit.

In summary, it would seem that Amish children prefer traditional songs and books with Amish themes, to songs and stories of a world they do not know. Hardly surprising perhaps, when one considers they live in a theocracy which demands that its members adhere to rules forbidding modernization, and which rejects the adoption of new ideas in any form. The result must be stagnation, and Amish children who benefit from family stability in turn forfeit worldliness. The New Wilmington Amish, who consider change to be a negative force, ignore the positive aspects of growth. The only intruders in recent years into the self-imposed isolation of the group were a handful of certified elementary educators assigned to teach in the New Wilmington Area Schools. They brought a glimpse of the outside world and a minimum exposure to new ideas and innovations. When the Amish took over their own schools in 1975, they excluded not only the worldly influences of the public education system, but also any opportunity for growth in an area as simple as children's recreation. As the New Wilmington Amish continue to hire their own people to teach in their schools, it can be assumed that in time the children will be exposed to even fewer contemporary ideas than were their parents who were taught by certified public school teachers. The result can only be a furthering or indeed an intensifying of the stagnation of all Amish education which includes the games and activities of the school children.
The arrested state of their games and activities is evident at the present time and will continue as children who have never known a certified teacher reach adulthood and become teachers themselves.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The information in this paper is based primarily on interviews with teachers who taught in the New Wilmington Area School District’s five Amish schools between the years 1934 and 1975. (Two of the instructors, the art and health teachers, had taught in all five schools. They provided vast quantities of information, much of which could not be included in this paper because of the nature of the thesis.) Additional information gathered from members of the community is equally important to the credibility of this work, and I wish to acknowledge both the Amish citizens of the New Wilmington community and the retired teachers who provided the information for this paper, especially my grandmother, Alice Byler, who supervised weekly art lessons in all five Amish schools over a period of twelve years. Her friendship with the interviewed teachers, and my grandfather’s friendship with the interviewed Amish, eased the formality of the interviews. I also wish to acknowledge Dr. Hilda Kring who encouraged my research and permitted me to seek original sources. Finally, I want to thank my mother, Joan B. Martin, who assisted in all aspects of the paper.

ENDNOTES

1Interview with H. Russell Byler, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania. Lifetime area resident, teacher, farmer, of Mennonite stock. Attended one room school with Amish. 10 October 1980.
2Interview with Adelaide Adams, Retired teacher from Cotton and Ligo Schools, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania. Taught from 1964 to 1975.
6Interview with Mary Haymond, retired teacher from J. R. Wilson and Ligo Schools, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania. Taught during the 1934-35 school year and from 1964 to 1975. 1 November 1980.
7Interview with Linda Croll and Carol Padizanin, Elementary school teachers, Slippery Rock, Pennsylvania. Contributed information of contemporary playground games. 8 November 1980.
8Corner Ball—Field about thirty by twenty feet or up to sixty by thirty feet. Basketball, volleyball, or playground. At each of the four corners is a base four or five feet square. The field is divided by a line across the middle. Two members of each team take positions in the bases on their opponents’ side. Besides the corner players there are five other players on each team. Two of these players act as guards while the other three act as tossers. A loss of the coin decides which team shall have first possession of the ball. Tossers try to get the ball to a baseman or corner player of their team by tossing through the air, bouncing, or rolling the ball. The opponents try to prevent this happening and endeavor to get possession of the ball. The baseman must keep one foot, at least, in the corner of the base in catching the ball. A guard cannot step on the line or within one of the squares without fouling. It is also a foul for a player to touch the ball while it is in the possession of an opponent. Play continues uninterrupted. When a baseman catches a ball he immediately tries to pass it back to one of his teammates, or to the other baseman on his side or to a guard or tosser. One point is scored each time a baseman gets possession of the ball legitimately. Play in ten-minute halves. From Harbin, p. 342.
10Fox and Geese (Wheel tag)—This game is especially good in the snow. Clear off paths on a level surface like spokes in a wheel. Or mark off the wheel on the ground with lime, using a liner. The game can also be played indoors by using chairs and string to mark the spokes of the wheel. The center, where the paths cross, is the goal. There may be more than one circle, one outside the other.
The player who is the fox chases the others, trying to tag someone. If he succeeds that player becomes the fox. No player must run out of the paths. Failure to observe this rule means that the offending player becomes the fox. The geese may jump across from one path to another, but the fox cannot. Neither can the fox tag a goose across paths. Any goose who occupies the center is safe. However, only one goose is safe at a time. The last one up takes possession and all of the others must leave or be tagged. Harbin, p. 195.
11Haymond.
12Interview with Lydia Byler, Amish resident and teacher at Amish schools, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania. Taught from 1935 through 1981. 9 November 1981.
13Interview with Joseph L. Byler, Amish resident, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania. 9 November 1981.
14Haymond.
16Kozykovsky.
17Haymond, Kozykovsky, and H. Russell Byler.
18Interview with Margaret Wagner, retired teacher from J. R. Wilson, Ligo, Neshannock, and Cotton School, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania. Taught from 1954 to 1975. 11 November 1980.
19Croll and Padizanin.
20Wagner and Haymond.
21Lydia Byler.
22Haymond.
23Interview with Marie Cox, retired teacher from J. R. Wilson and Shepherd Schools, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania. Taught from 1937 to 1954. 12 October 1981.
24Haymond.
25Wagner.
26Kozykovsky.
27Ibid.
28Croll and Padizanin.
29Cox.
30Interview with Lois Sipe, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania. Attended Phillips School with the Amish in the 1940s. 10 October 1980.
31Kozykovsky.
32Interview with Alice Byler, retired art teacher from New Wilmington area School District, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania. Taught in all Amish schools from 1965 to 1968.
33Ibid.
34Ibid.
35Wagner.
This wool Center Diamond quilt, c. 1920, contains many favorite Amish stitched motifs: a central star circled by a wreath, roses, cross-hatching, and tightly looped Princess Feathers in the outer border.

THE AMISH QUILTS OF LANCASTER COUNTY 1860 TO 1930

By Elizabeth M. Safanda

The brilliant squares of wool and cotton which currently brighten the walls of museums, galleries, and private homes may startle observers who are more accustomed to patchwork quilts made of tiny, flower-sprigged patches. The Amish quilts pictured here, all created in nearby Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, are fashioned of solid-color fabrics, pieced in simple but striking geometric shapes. The powerful impact of these textile paintings derives both from the skillful, often shocking juxtaposition of color and from the arrangement of diamonds, squares, and triangles in bold, uncluttered formats. (Figs. 1, 2)
This striking Amish Crazy quilt, resembling an aerial landscape map, was made in 1920 by an Amish woman who sewed similar quilts for two other daughters: the quilts are differentiated by heart-shaped patches of varying colors. The striped and checked fabrics are probably strips of old upholstery material.

Like contemporary abstract artists who have rediscovered the power of elementary forms, the Amish seamstress relied on the appeal of simple shapes in three or four colors. And like the painter who creates texture with a brush, the Amish woman enriched her plain-pieced quilts with tiny, precise stitches in many designs.

If you stand ten feet away from the quilts, you can easily see the hearts, roses, tulips, wreaths, and feathers stitched so tightly that they cause the fabric to pucker and puff out. (Figs. 2, 4) Both this elegant stitching and the vivid, glowing palette are the trademarks of fine Amish quilts crafted between 1860 and 1930.
The outstanding feature of this Sawtooth Diamond quilt is the superb, elaborate stitching. Skilled Amish seamstresses have "put in" about twenty stitches per inch, causing the design to puff out.

Unless an Amish quilt has a date discreetly embroidered on the wide border of the top (and this is not common) only approximate dates are possible. Women often saved bags of scraps for quilts, so that the pieces of one quilt may originate from a ten-year old cape or from the latest sewing project. And even if an Amish farmer tells you that a quilt was created by his grandmother, she could have sewn it in 1890 — or in 1930! The student of Amish quilts most consider, then, the fabrics used, the dyeing process, the overall geometric design, and the stitched design. All of these factors, plus family histories, may indicate a date within a twenty year range. It is wisest to assign approximate dates, for ultimately the value of the quilt should depend on skillful and effective manipulation of color and shape, not on its alleged age.
Let us travel some of the backroads of Lancaster County to explore the origins of both the Amish people and their bedcovers. A quiet drive north on Route 772 from Gap to Brownstown will plunge one back in time. One is immediately confronted by the outward manifestations of a unique culture: neat and prosperous farms plowed by horses, freshly-painted multi-family homes, brilliant flowerbeds glowing against white-washed walls, tobacco drying in the windows of majestic barns. One also notes sleek grey buggies parked near the barns or moving gracefully along the back roads. One does not often see automobiles, or power lines, or elaborate farm equipment, for the Amish people have traditionally rejected the fashions and inventions of their non-Amish neighbors, considering them to be worldly and therefore sinful.

From their origins in Switzerland at the end of the seventeenth century, the Amish have always preferred a "plain and simple" style of living, most clearly reflected by their clothing. While Amish styles of clothing have definitely evolved since their arrival in Pennsylvania in the 1720's, they have always tried to preserve a distinctive appearance to set them apart from the other Pennsylvania sects who lived nearby. Today the Old Order (conservative) Amish are easily recognizable at the markets and farm sales and train stations of Lancaster County. Amish men usually wear black broadfall trousers, short black jackets, blue or white shirts, and broad rimmed black felt or straw hats, depending on the season. Zippers and buttons are conspicuously absent; the Amish have always relied on pins and hooks; thus they were dubbed "hookers" in Pennsylvania in the nineteenth century. Amish women wear black capes, bonnets, shoes, and stockings; but a brilliant range of color can be seen in their long cotton dresses and matching aprons. Lavender, mauve, peacock, emerald, cranberry, and bright blue are popular colors.

On a clear sunny day in Lancaster County, the clothes lines glow with color; black trousers flap in the wind next to purple aprons and shocking pink dresses. Not surprisingly, these colors appear in Amish quilts too, for the bedcovers are often constructed of scraps of old clothing or of remnants from the local dry-goods store. Especially since the Civil War, the Amish people have limited their fabric choices to solid colors, which they feel are less fashionable and thus less worldly. The Ordnung, an unwritten set of rules which governs their behavior, and which may vary from community to community, has never specifically prohibited printed fabric, but the spirit of plainness and simplicity has hardened into tradition in Lancaster County. Likewise with color selection: the church has not restricted the palette of Amish seamstresses in so many words, but gay, fashionable colors have always been shunned. Thus white, yellow, and orange are not commonly found in clothing and quilts in Lancaster County.

The Amish, like their Anabaptist predecessors in Switzerland, have always considered that working with their hands is a witness to their faith. Thus men and women spend long hours plowing the fields, husking corn, harvesting tobacco, preserving food, making "moon pies" for Sunday service, and bending over elegant quilts. The Amish take pride in doing work carefully, thoroughly, even beautifully, though they would disapprove of the demonstration of excess pride in a worldly object. If an object has a practical function, such as a quilt or a tea towel, Amish women may invest a great deal of time and energy in its creation and decoration. Thus the beautiful Amish quilts which are eagerly collected today represent long hours of cutting, piecing, and especially, stitching.

The earliest Amish quilts (1850-70) were composed of large blocks of both wool homespun and commercially woven materials. Amish women may have dyed these materials at home, or they may have sent them to a village dyeer; at any rate, the woods and fields of Lancaster County were rich in the natural ingredients needed for home dyeing: goldenrod, sassafras, marigold, and the barks of walnut, oak, alder and hemlock were available. Few of these mid-nineteenth century home-dyed quilts have survived to this day, probably due to constant wear. The early quilts were fashioned to satisfy immediate practical needs, not simply to brighten a bed or add to a dowry. When Amish quilts were sewn in much greater numbers, beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the women had access to commercially woven and dyed materials. Thus they used fine wools, or wool and silk gabardine, producing elegant but durable quilts which acquired a mellow sheen as they aged.

At the turn of the century, Amish women began to purchase cotton for clothing and quilts. Some of the bed covers hanging on the walls of museums contain both wool and cotton patches. These two materials are the most suitable for fine, detailed stitching, whereas the rayon crepes and other synthetics which appeared after 1915 are shiny and slippery, and it is difficult to place small tight stitches in them. Nevertheless, Amish women, like many American housewives, admired the practical qualities of synthetic materials, and a great number of bedcovers created after 1920 are composed of synthetic fabrics. Unfortunately, today it is rare to find a new cotton or wool quilt; these materials are more expensive and require greater care, even though they are much more durable.

Amish women usually cut and piece their quilts at home. Often these tasks are relegated to the older women in the family, the grandmothers and great-aunts who are no longer occupied with physically demanding chores. Typically the mother selects the overall quilt pattern (bars, center diamond, sunshine-and-shadow, etc.), frequently choosing a design used by her mother.
Finely quilted grapes and grape leaves wind up and down the "split bars" of this variation of a Bars quilt, pieced in cotton and wool.

A careful eye can locate the tiny grid-ded hearts and tulip-filled baskets which decorate the wide borders of this Bars variation quilt, c. 1915.
This rare 1920's quilt has several unique features: it is composed of lighter colors (tan, mauve-gray, pale blue) rather than bright or somber ones, and its center diamond is embellished with a tulip appliqué, almost never seen in Amish quilts.

Often the fine, tiny stitches show up more brilliantly on the reverse side of Amish quilts, as is clearly the case here. This bedcover boasts fancy Princess Feather loops, pumpkin-seed flowerets, waffle-gridded diamonds, a central wreath, and a star outlined six times.
This is a classic Bars quilt, pieced of wool at the turn of the century.

Early Amish quilts like this Center Square design were quite plain, composed of a few large pieces of fabric but with intricate stitching. The wide brown borders are embellished with fiddlehead ferns and the corners bear simple wreaths with starflowers in the center.
This is the simplest of the Sunshine and Shadow formats, with no corner squares or inner borders. The palette, too, is rather unusual, incorporating browns and blues to give the quilt a subdued feeling.
or even her grandmother. The seamstress pieces together, by treadle machine, the large sections of the geometric design, then places the filling between the pieced top and the backing. Often she will use a patterned or checked fabric for the backing, though rarely for the quilt top. Stores in the Lancaster area advertise sprigged and checked material just for this purpose.

The pieced quilt is usually carried to a frolic or a "bee", an important social event in the Amish community, for it gives Amish women, often isolated on farms, a chance to share news and gossip and problems with their peers. According to an Amish newspaper, the Sugarcreek, Ohio, Budget, women of the nineteenth century gathered in groups of 20 to 40 to finish a quilt. At these quilting bees, the tops were placed in large wooden frames, the filling secured in a sort of "textile sandwich" between the top and the backing. Skilled quilters traced or drew freehand the intricate patterns which we have come to associate with traditional Amish quilts. Often they drew an elaborate star or wreath in the middle of a quilt with a dominant center pattern, such as a Center Square or Center Diamond. (Fig. 7)

The wide borders and corner squares were covered with feathers or scrolls, varied occasionally by the addition of tulips, roses, hearts, pomegranates, and, more rarely, cherries and pineapples. Any unadorned areas were then filled with diamond or "waffle" grids, scallops, or fish scale designs, as illustrated in Figure 4. Once these motifs were traced with pencil or chalk, the seamstresses filled in the lines with tiny stitches, beginning usually at the center of the quilt and moving gradually to the wide borders. Novices or unskilled quilters often sewed only when the women reached this outer border. A group of eight or ten experienced seamstresses could finish two or three tops in a day, pausing perhaps for a flavorful and hearty noon dinner. Once a top was completed, the final step was to sew a one-inch binding of a contrasting color around the quilt. This simple frame, which encloses the textile painting quite effectively, is a typical Lancaster County touch, not found in Amish Quilts of other regions.

Although Amish Women in some communities are still creating fine quilts in the traditional style, other seamstresses are producing great numbers of showy, often gaudy, bedcovers for the tourist trade. These modern quilts are scarcely distinguishable from those constructed by non-Amish women. They may incorporate certain colors (yellow, white, orange) and designs (flower patterns, birds) which indicate the extent of the social interaction between the plain Amish and the "gay" Pennsylvania Dutch. While many of these modern quilts are brilliantly colored and skilfully crafted, they often lack the quiet grace and simple impact of their early prototypes.

Quilt collectors today ordinarily seek examples from the period 1860-1930, when natural fabrics and traditional methods combined to produce striking and durable bedcovers. It is likely that the majority of fine Lancaster County quilts have been purchased and removed from the area. However, some Amish families who were reluctant to sell their quilts five years ago are gradually doing so now, and a collector may see some fine quilts at farm sales and auctions throughout the county. Real bargains are rare, for the Amish have been taken advantage of in the past, and they are well aware now of the "going" prices for their quilts. Often they will sell quilts to a local antiques dealer who has befriended them, perhaps by giving them rides or moving furniture, and these dealers in turn carry their treasures to antiques shows and fairs. It is possible now to buy Amish quilts from private dealers and folk-art galleries in large cities, though naturally the price rises with each step away from the farm.

Quite apart from their escalating price, Amish quilts appeal strongly to students and collectors for several reasons. The utter simplicity of these textile paintings is refreshing in an increasingly complex and fast-paced society. Even on the outskirts of the Amish church districts, advertisements, billboards, and neon signs fight for our attention. As the Pennsylvania Dutch communities of Lancaster County become more crowded and commercialized, to the point perhaps where the native "plain" cultures may be destroyed or driven out, these stunning quilts speak eloquently about the farms and families which produced them. It would be misleading to say that Amish quilts radiate the peace of a plain and simple lifestyle, for, in fact, the most original and most brilliant Amish quilts may be the outcome of social or psychological tension in an Amish family or community. But the quilts most assuredly are the product of a quieter, slower, more relaxed society, one which values careful work done with a skilled hand. They are a vivid testimonial to the creative genius of a different lifestyle, one which has thrived side by side with highly industrialized communities.

ENDNOTES

3Interview with Gertrude Huntington, guest lecturer, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, November 20, 1975.
Market Square ("The Green") in Germantown; this ground was originally part of the Levering lot #10.

FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS,
PUBLIC SERVANT AND PRIVATE CITIZEN

By William T. Parsons

Author's Note: In preparing this paper as a special tribute to Francis Daniel Pastorius in this Tricentennial year, I have attempted to allow him to paint his own literary portrait. Thus I have followed the historians' approach, using original sources wherever possible. No paper in such concise form can begin to touch upon all of the interests or aspects of this visible public figure who was also a very private man. I have come to know him very well in research efforts since 1946. For some items recounted here, I could have resorted to recently printed articles or books, but where a handwritten account was also available, I chose to use the original.

This paper never pretends to be a critical edition of Pastorius, nor an essay on printed sources. It is not a literary review nor bibliography of Germantown's founder. It is simply an attempt to discern the individual and his interests. Note how this challenging personality, the very epitome of old world values, became a new man in Pennsylvania. It is an exciting prospect. WTP

Of all the persons associated with the early settlement of Pennsylvania, none has drawn more general acclaim nor more uncritical acceptance than the leader among the German speaking settlers, Francis Daniel Pastorius. Pastorius' actual name was Saeffer but, like many of his predecessors and contemporaries, he added to his dignities by assuming as his name the Latin form of "shepherd," which certainly became an accolade as well as an identification in Penn's Province. Pastorius was a leader. Despite the limitations of advancing age, he retained that respected status during his lifetime, not only among holländisch and rheinlandisch Mennonites (or German Quakers) who first settled, but among the Lutheran and Reformed German people as well. In so many ways, Germantown (or Germanopolis) was his village, then his rural and craft town.

In all his endeavors in the province, this prominent and outspoken leader took his place with other enterprising, active, and interestingly successful plain folk of English, Welsh, and now German, origins. Pastorius shepherded his followers in a quiet, receptive, yet expanding colony run by a small group of leading Friends. These Quakers were as unlikely a collection of political persons as had yet coalesced in America, for officeholders in Pennsylvania included the very people who had earlier objected to royal regulations in England and Ireland; it even included some who had refused to participate under an Anglican system. Much of the difference however, emanated from the requirement that officeholders in England take an oath, or that testimony be given under oath. These plain folk, whether Friends or Anabaptists, firmly believed that religious or political oaths were just as pernicious as was an oath one cursed. One and all were expressly forbidden by the Third Commandment.

An unanticipated blessing of English law was the protection received by migrants (including German speaking peoples) into the Quaker Holy Experiment, for by royal decree of King Charles II, full proprietary power
throughout the province was granted, without reservation, to the younger William Penn to repay a cash debt owed to the now deceased Admiral William Penn, who had been by no means a Friend. Therefore, all lands in the province rested at his benevolent disposal. Despite his contemporaneity in moral affairs and his tolerance, William Penn was incredibly ignorant of economic and financial matters. The Proprietor was always somewhat the benevolent nobleman, even in rural Pennsylvania. James Logan on the other hand, Friend and Land Agent for the Proprietors, possessed an assiduous concern for fiscal matters. He was as diligent, it appears, as Penn was unbelievably unconcerned. To be sure, James Logan never missed an opportunity to augment his own holdings with additional land commissions as Agent. Pastorius was surely more alert fiscally than was Penn, though not as fully immersed in financial deals as was Logan.

Still, the peculiarity of Francis Daniel Pastorius lay not in his holding offices in an English Pennsylvania, but rather in his feeling that his fellow Germans must consciously Anglicize in many ways in order to become full and complete Pennsylvanians. Other English speaking groups did the same, whether Swedish, Welsh, French, or, eventually, American Indian, though few from these other groups ever entered into local participation with the eventual enthusiasm of the Pennsylvania Germans. No contradiction there; indeed, as we begin to examine the record of local government, local commerce and hand industry, and the local churches and meetings, we find extensive records of participation. In seventeenth and eighteenth century Pennsylvania many German speaking citizens held political office, for example, although, knowing their English was not the best, they shied away from any office which required that English be used as language of communication. Thus, the six to eight thousand Germans in Lancaster County elected to the General Assembly one of the merely two hundred English Quakers who lived among them. They spoke good English for the Germans. German Pennsylvanians, even some of the most recently arrived, with newly acquired lands at stake, also signed their names to petitions for and against local political options. Many of those petition rolls remain untouched to this day in unused corners and on back shelves of historical societies, for lack of anyone to read them. But they did it; they put themselves on the line, and for so doing we have strangely honored them in the history of the United States, first by ignoring, then by forgetting them.

It is true that, as agent for the Frankfort Land Company, Pastorius acted early, while most of the busier activity of individual Pennsylvania Germans came later, after his death in fact. The Frankfort Company was an organization chartered in order to help fulfil the hopes raised when the notices and invitations of William Penn—calling upon farmers and craftsmen to come settle the new province where land was to be easily available—spread through the German Rhineland. It was a joint stock land company venture, a familiar device used to develop local tracts in America, while at the same time bringing profits to those who ventured their capital as investment and thus made settlement and colonization possible. There were many counterparts in the New World, but few which so successfully developed its area or were run in such a business-like fashion as was the Frankfort company.

Arriving early as the Frankfort Company's representative, and assisting virtually all succeeding Germans until his death in 1718, Pastorius enjoyed a recognition far beyond that of most of his fellow Germans. He also enjoyed land and commercial advantages through his Frankfort Company connections, since an observed (though probably unstated) rule of practicality gave the agent first choice of land parcels for himself and for his closest friends. The estate Pastorius established, outside the city limits of Philadelphia in a secluded section of Germantown, he called Krisheim, after the Rhineland Cresheim, a city of refuge for wandering Mennonites and other oppressed Anabaptists. It stands there today, a marvelous retreat in the midst of an all-encompassing urban-suburban spread, still true to his vision and spirit.

While it may be difficult to define his status in some aspects of his life in Germantown and Philadelphia between 1683 and 1718, Pastorius fits the designation of company agent and lawyer quite thoroughly. In Germantown he was the Pennsylvania factor for the heavy investors in the company who came from Frankfurt-am-Main, Duisburg, Wesel, Rotterdam, and London. He also acted as attorney in court for the land company; he was versed in the law that governed land use and conveyance, he knew inheritance statutes, he knew the people and could understand the convolutions of their agreements and transactions. Most important for them, they knew and trusted him and he spoke their language! He seems to have tried to play the impartial judge as nearly as he could manage complete fairness when disagreements did occasionally arise between company and farmer or craftsman, tenant, or new owner. Of course, he collected a fee for his services and many times from both sides in the same dispute. It is true that clerks and scriveners were scarce and expensive then.

To examine a particular case or two from the land transactions from the original 25,000 acre grant to the Frankfort Company, "der sobenahmsten Germantownship," one need only go through Pastorius. He was careful to put into every transaction his title on behalf of the company, and under which he operated: Theil-Gengz und Gevollmächtiger of the Frankfort
Company, or Land-agent and practising attorney [for the stockholding members]. Obviously, many land deeds spell out details in proper legal language which Pastorius then had to explain to his clients. The deed to original lot number 10 for Wigart Levering which he drew up in 1693 (though it was not actually recorded until 1735) may be typical. It reads:


Let it be known to each and everyone by this, that after Jacob Vanderwall, along with other friends gathered at Frankfurt-am-Main in Upper Germany, had had laid out for themselves 25,000 acres of land by William Penn, Property-Overlord [Proprietor] and Governor of the complete Province of Pennsylvania, and of which [Frankfurt Company land] they had already taken several thousand acres into their legal possession:

1. Francis Daniel Pastorius as Land-Agent, with full Power of Attorney for the thus-constituted Frankfurt Company, for himself and for all these other Members, grant to Wigart Levering an agreed-upon hereditary-lease, and deliver to him fifty acres / which they [those company members] and the aforementioned William Penn brought about for us Germans, being [constituting] the so-called German Township, according to the legal dimensions contained in the Law for Regulation of Completed Lots, 33rd Year of the Reign of Edward I, and has been printed, shall have been thus legally laid out / with all the rights, title and interest which duly pertain to ourselves as purchasers: accordingly and for that reason, that he, Wigart Levering, his heirs and assigns, shall have, hold and possess such 50 acres of land unmolested and in peace, without any single one of us or our successors, by any manner to have any subsequent claim.

To that end, Wigart Levering, for all and sundry, binds himself, his heirs and all who may gain access to this piece of ground, that he or they, those heirs and assigns, shall pay yearly to our Frankfurt Company, on the First Day of each First Month, commonly called March, Two Imperial Dollars or that is to say, Two Pieces of Eight, in perpetuity everlasting inheritance of the land. And in fact, to be willing to pay and possess such

The aforementioned fifty acres of the present contract lie right in the midst of other hereditary plots, at least 34.75 acres alongside Papen’s land, running 14 perches and 4 feet on the southeast side by land of Dick opden Kolck, and on the northwest side by that of Herman von Bon. In addition, the remaining 15.25 acres of the specified fifty, lie, on the other hand, southeastwardly by land of Dick opden Kolck and northwesternly by that of Herman von Bon, being 11 perches wide, in the same layout of surveyed lands, in front of all the other dimensions of that sector, where the remaining portion is laid out.

Francis Daniel Pastorius
Approved in the Court of Record, held at Germantown, 8th 6mo 1693.
Signed Arnold Cassell, Recorder
sealed Derick op de Graeff, Baylliff
Recorded ye 9th February 1735

To assume, however that legal affairs always (or even generally) ran smoothly, would be most unrealistic. Thus Pastorius again responded to a call for help to resolve a legal tangle in the year 1688. It concerned an earlier land agreement between Derck Op den Kolcke and Frankfurt Land Company shareholders Thomas von Wylich and Johan Le Brun [of Wesel.] Op den Kolcke had purchased a fifty acre tract of land in Germantown, but in the applicable contract, the workportion to be required of him as part payment was ambiguously stated. Since von Wylich and Le Brun were absentee landlords, F. D. Pastorius did represent their interest; he also convinced Op den Kolcke to agree to
sign a remainder-service contract which did attempt to correct the loose wording of the first instance, though first to submit it to a panel of citizens who would consider the complexities of the case. 4

A man of diverse talents—teacher, developer, attorney and scrivener—Francis Daniel Pastorius found many ways of supplementing his sources of cash income. As community leader and as entrepreneur, as well as in his legal activities, such instances continued to arise. He was chosen Justice of the Peace, a very English position superimposed upon the German community; indeed, he used the local judicial title (or at least the initials, J. P.) to ornament his name in printed listings and in published works. A modern scholar, Gerald C. Studer, summarizes Pastorius’ legal and extensive clerical activities: “conveyancer and notary, by writing leases, mortgages, deeds, articles of agreement, wills, marriage certificates and other legal documents, and sometimes letters and translations. For a lease, bond or will, he charged two to three shillings; for a deed on parchment from seven to nine shillings; and for a letter, four pence.’’ 5

Less than a decade after the town was founded, Pastorius served as Mayor of Germantown, elected to the office by his fellow townsmen. When the first schoolhouse was built there, it was natural that he should serve as first teacher. He tried always to set an example politically for his fellow Germans. Orally and in the written and published word, he used their precious German language heritage to lead, to rally, and to inspire them, and it is well here for the student of the German community in Pennsylvania, particularly in those early colonial days, to note that the basis of unity among Germans there was not national, nor hardly geographical, but was essentially a rather relaxed common thread of language. Both their vernacular Bible language and their various dialects tended to remind them of common purpose and common values they shared together. Solely in William Penn’s Pennsylvania, of all the English North American colonies, were they encouraged to continue the Germanic linguistic variable base they had brought along. Here, they were not only allowed to use it, but documents in standard German or in any of the dialects were allowed as legal when registered in the courts or declared by group custom. Here German language *Tauf-und-Geburtscheine* declared the initial facts of newborn life, while tombstones were carved with inscriptions in German.

Since Pastorius led the way for his fellow Germans in so many other ways, one is not at all surprised to find his name first in line on the very first list of non-English inhabitants of the Province who are to be naturalized. Surely this man, who revered old values, stood also for the acceptance of changing procedures where they were sensible. The attorney and schoolmaster, in light of his long experience with English and Scotch-Irish leaders, encouraged the Pennsylvania Germans both to retain their German languages and to learn English. Pastorius and Sauer sounded the same trumpet: in an essentially English community like Pennsylvania, a migrant of different origin does well to learn the language of trade and of society which he may hear around him. Neither of the German leaders saw any abasement nor any contradiction in that. It was simple good sense.

As previously mentioned, not all aspects of Pastorius’ life are easily defined; his religious views are a case in point. Almost all his contemporaries, particularly in the English settlement, assumed that Pastorius was a Mennonite. An even wider public regarded him as “the German Quaker,” not a surprising assumption considering the many traits the Friends and Anabaptists had in common. Even with modern scholarship, however, it is almost impossible to determine exactly what religious beliefs Pastorius held. Philadelphia was a city of great religious diversity and the mystics along the Wissahickon Creek belonged to no one, but set their own standards; yet Pastorius fit neither denomination, nor sect, nor mystic variation. We can only be sure he was a servant of God and a friend to man. Studer classifies Francis Daniel Pastorius in the same category as he does Christopher Dock and the elder Christopher Sauer: Followers of a Pietism unaffected by denominational distinctions or limits. Dock was a Mennonite schoolmaster and the other two are enigmas. The elder Sauer and Pastorius “simply lived, served, and worshipped with the Christians among whom they lived. They saw no need to join a human institution, when they... lived a life of discipleship.” 6

Pietist he surely was, and in living an exemplary life, Pastorius never hesitated to stand as an example and as a leader. Yet he did that in basic terms,
including value and achievement. He never espoused a life of poverty or of denial as did some of the mystics. Indeed, Pastorius was quite competent in acquiring land and did so on the same principle, if not to the same extent, as did his Quaker counterparts.

In addition to all his many other activities, our friend found time to join William Penn in spreading the good news of Pennsylvania to prospective migrants. Pastorius wrote a detailed account of the circumstances and early history of the founding of the province and made sure to accompany that with a concurrent account of the fortunes of Germans who lived and worked in early Pennsylvania. He spelled out the facts about Penn's Colony as he knew and had experienced them when, in 1700, he published at Frankfort and Leipzig, the *Umständige Geographische Beschreibung Der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provintz PENNSYLVANIAE* [Comprehensive Geographical Description of the most recently founded Province of Pennsylvania]. A concise account of the Penn experiment to 1700 (backed by substantiating letters from participants here), it is one of the best and earliest accounts which has survived, yet today it is virtually unknown by American researchers, scholars, and historians except as an entry in a bibliography.

In his book, Pastorius writes not only of the English and German settlement societies, but of the new land and the native peoples; he takes careful note of essential differences between the customs and developments of the Indians [die natürliche Inwohner] and those of the English. From a settlement of barely 4,000 souls in 1684, he finds that through the products of agriculture and handicrafts, numerous small settlements have developed. He prints the grant letter of 4 March 1681 from King Charles II to William Penn; it lists proprietary rights and legal assurances from the crown. Those terms sounded like heaven on earth to German farmers and workers who were accustomed to tithes, taxes, *teils* and other small but forced payments on free and unfree workers issued by Ducal courts or by local towns. But surely, might well the German reader ask, these rights and opportunities are to be reserved for Englishmen, nobles or others of unattainable status? No, no, even Germans are eligible. A fifty-acre land right was promised to each German head of family and to every free adult single male who came to settle. Like everyone else, they must make regular payment and shall also have to pay a small quit-rent, but they are not disabled and disfranchised.

In his promotion of Pennsylvania, Pastorius went on to examine other aspects of the migration and settlement rights of the Frankfurt Company for German settlement. Indeed, Pastorius was careful to spell out his credentials as representative in Pennsylvania for the Frankfurt Company, for any and all prospective migrant readers or for persons who heard passages read from the book. A chief focus of his attention (he spent Chapter Three on it) was the assurance of fair treatment to all in the Quaker Province. That key chapter was entitled, "Wie die Vormessung der Aecker an die Teutsche Societät abgelassen." [How surveying for the German Society shall be done.] He further assured them that he alone, Francis Daniel Pastorius, thereby became their factor on location. He continued with the good news that the Company was assured three types of land; Fifteen thousand acres for the new settlement; rights to three hundred acres of City Liberty Land between the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers; and three sections of city lots for building houses.

Having thus described the Company rights, Pastorius found on arrival that some alterations had occurred. Some of the specifically promised land had been given to others. Same old story, you say? Not quite, for the Quaker leaders made up the guaranteed land from other valuable land sources. Not quite specifically the same as originally promised, but still good land. Here then one sees the real organizational and bargaining genius of Pastorius; when he found that the Germans had been shortchanged—the house-lot land and Liberty Land was assigned before they arrived—he bargained on equal terms with the Quakers to assure the Germans of similar parcels of land in slightly different locations. And he told them so. For once the Germans rode a lucky streak on their way to Pennsylvania. Some of them, but not all, still built and developed town lots in the marvelous new Philadelphia with its hundred-foot wide High Street and Chestnut Street. They all had the right.

Most German speaking settlers, however, were farmers, with produce or crop-related employment, and Penn and Pastorius agreed that immigrants with Frankfurt Company origins should be encouraged to establish spinning and weaving production as well as viniculture. Both linens and wine would be saleable, but must be shipped through English ports under their merca-
tilist system. Pastorius, always the land-agent and promoter, could not help inserting a pitch for the new municipality he founded. The new town of Germantown lay on good black farming soil. Springs and streams abounded there. The Main Street measured sixty feet wide while auxiliary streets would be forty feet in width. Moreover, every family settler was assured a three acre homestead plot. When he told of the merits of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, this widely-travelled man had no apologies to make. The product was first rate, so he presented it boldly, talked it up and emphasized many small community details.

In a succeeding chapter devoted to the laws of the province, Pastorius emphasized financial obligations and peculiarities of English law to a non-English audience. Of at least as great importance to us in retrospect is the combined regulation which was absolutely basic in the province run by members of the Society of Friends. It concerned religion and worship, guaranteeing freedom of belief and worship to all settlers. None should be hindered because of their religion. Understandably, provisions and guarantees concerning religious freedom ranked at the head of the list for the very persons who would most likely seek refuge in a new and promising land. Pastorius knew his prospective readers very well; what they looked for, what seemed to them unlikely or puffed-up. Reading his work nearly three hundred years later makes it seem all the more remarkable, for he had the same kind of vision for the future as had William Penn. No wonder they felt a mutual sympathy. Smaller wonder still that they were friends and found time for pleasant conversation.

Astute man of business Pastorius undoubtedly was, yet his astonishing proficiency in languages seems even more impressive to us now in our modern American world that takes such a cavalier view of foreign languages. He was not only bi-lingual, but could read, write and speak in at least German, French, English and Dutch, with some of those competencies in another half-dozen languages. Pastorius was a veritable linguist who appreciated shadings and gradations of meanings. And of course, in addition to his abilities in contemporary languages, he worked in several ancient languages as well.

So that the reader may get the feel of his handling of words and of the way in which this world citizen fell comfortably into the verbiage of his day, I refer you to a short exchange of letters between Pastorius at Krisheim, in Germantown, and the elder Isaac Norris, political, economic, and sometime leader of Friends at Meeting. The German needed assistance from Norris to help clarify some land and estate matters in 1716 and 1717, perhaps at a time when he felt he must straighten out affairs with death not too far off; he wrote to the Quaker in fine eighteenth century Philadelphia plain language:

I question not, thou still rememberest, that when I was last time with our Friend James Logan in thy Room, you both, after a solid Consideration, did Promise me a Patent &c., the which he, James, repeated to me at his house.

Isaac Norris the Councillor not only did what Pastorius requested, but he simply added his own endorsement to the note he had received and sent it on to Logan, expressing the mutual friendship all three enjoyed:
"Were it not for my lameness, I would have seen thee ere now . . . However . . . we must rest in ye Will of God." Norris also encouraged Pastorius who then was gravely ill: "Cheerfulness & humanity sit well upon a religious mind and methinks I see those Charrecters remain beautifully on thee in thy affliction."²²

The answer by Pastorius would reflect credit to any native speaker of a given language; consider only that this was written in an adopted tongue, then judge what an achievement it was:

Isaac Norris, My Rare and Real Friend, as I at present may Justly Stile thee according to the Old & tru Saying, "A Friend In Need, A Friend IIndeed." Thy Letter seemed little Inferior to me than if thou hadst Personally Visited thy poor Friend . . . One Favour more of thee, as concerns the Patent, Carefully to read it over, so that after the Great Seal is affixed thereto, no error may be found . . . A few days ago, I never thought to have troubled my head so much about this fading spot of ground, being desirous to launch forth into the vast Spaces and Mansions of Eternity, However, since upon the Instance of my Youngest Son, it is now Carried so far, Let it (under God's ordering hand) be finished."²¹

Perhaps, though, as with many persons, the greatest genius of this enigma, our so-called "German Quaker," who was neither, yet in many ways was both, shows up at its most spectacular when he was at his leisure. Then his mind really does leap for joy at the sheer possibilities God-given in man. With Logan, he shared that fierce desire to develop land and to see something productive grow upon it. With Isaac Norris, he enjoyed the delights of wildflower horticulture, and both had spectacular gardens on their respective estates. With a very young Isaac Norris the younger, he shared a delight in rhyme and poetry, but the difference in age cut that appreciation off far too soon for both Isaac II and Francis Daniel.

Pastorius, Logan, and Norris after 1716, lived within several miles of each other, for the Logan estate, Stenton, was in Germantown, while Norris' newly constructed country plantation, Fairhill, stood slightly to the southeast, in the Northern Liberties, but on the main road from Germantown to Frankford on the Delaware River. Country delights were reserved in some measure for those who could find leisure time, or who made it for themselves. Where did Pastorius find time to write poetry, given all his official duties, all his occupation with family and neighbor difficulties? Who knows, indeed? But we have a marvelous product of Pastorius' efforts in a small handwritten book of poetry. It deals mainly with subjects which relate to his garden, to garden plants and such. But also, as that type of writing will allow, he philosophizes often; he compares people under differing circumstances, he compares people with plants. He toys with word meanings and with the niceties of rhyme and word structure. For many of us who deal at length with dialect poetry or otherwise Mundartdichtungen Pastorius maneuvered, exchanged, played with and experimented through what John Birmelin more than two centuries later would call Werdtscapelerei. Try some of them, they are both readable and have reasonable rationale.

Again, remember that to Germans in Pennsylvania, the rhyme is the key to poetry: if it does not rhyme, it is not poetry. On the other hand, no matter how forced the rhyme, if it rhymes, it is poetry. A selection from his Garden Book Follows:

Deliciae Hortenses or Garden Recreations of Francisci Danielis Pastorii MDCCXI²²

Honest Country-man, Cultor virentis Agelli
Thy Garden, Orchard, Fields,
And Vineyard being planted
With what good Nature yields,
Brave things to thee are granted;
Besides the Gifts of Grace.
Therefore, go on, and gather,
Use each kind in its place:
And bless our God & Father,
Who gives thus liberally,
What's needful for our Living;
And would have us reply
In bowed-down Thanks giving,
To him, to whom belongs
All Praise, in Prose and Songs.
Halle - Ju - Jah!
Halle - Ju - Jah!
Soli DEO Gloria!
In Sempiterna Secula,
Amen.

A few lines to the unprejudiced reader, vide infra in situ page 19.

Pastorius mixed languages in a singular poetic effect; translation of those items into a single language lacks a similar impact:

[F. D. P. page 19:] Consulens rerum Natura, Consistor horit
Omnis tuli punctum, qui miscuit Utile Dulci.

He certainly is in the Right,
Who mingles Profit with Delight.
Eignich und Kluglich hat's Jenor bedacht,
Und alles nach unserer Meinung gemacht.
Many Men have many things, None has all, what Nature brings,
Bethyl Gardner or Kings.
They that would boast of Ev'ry thing,
Nor have the Devil's Golden Ring,
And yet Wolfs-Lice and Flea-bane wort,
Are still you see, of four things scart.

To the Impartial Reader:
Whoever takes these Sheets in hand,
I first would have him understand,
That by my Contemplations
His mind should not, they being naught,
Be drawn from any better Thought;
And then, before he does slight this,
Pray, let him Grant m’a Sight of his
Rare Garden Meditations.
Perhaps we shall be one at once.

Omnibus Naturae Judices, non Artifices fecit.
Alas! What great a Pity, The Userlives in the City!
And he who is oppest Must pay him Interest;
Eat in his thatched Cottage A Peas-or Barley-Pottage
And carry from his Field What good things that doth yield
To Usurers in the City Alas, what great a Pity!
Der Reiche frisst den Armen, Des will Sich Gott erbarmen.

Charity begins at home,
Keeps the Best: Of the Rest
It gives its Neighbours Some.

A man of Words & not of Deeds, Is like a Garden full of Weeds;
Is like the Fig-tree Christ did curse. He that is so, will still have worse.

Cowslips never hurted none; But Let Girleslips alone;
Thereby many were undone!

Schwarze Augen, rothe Lappen; Zwey bekannte Schifternach Lappen.
My hopes and hops do grow together, And both exceeding brave;
However if God change the weather For Ought I nought may have.
Mein Hoffnung und mein Hoffes zart Sind alle beyd von einer Art.
Das gut und bode Wetter Steff, oder welek ihr Blatter.

Many Women, many Minds, All of quite contrary kinds,
Six miles one comes to set tulips, Six more the other to sell turnips,
This laughs at that, and that at this,
Each thinks that thou, not I am miss.

Nectar et Ambrosia, id est
A little Time of Leisure Full of the greatest Pleasure
A mouthful of fresh Air among my Bees,
The sweetest of all Birds man ever sees.

Brave - harmless Creatures, which do always sing,
Hymn hum! & Never bite, but sometimes sting
Unschaste or Wanton-ones, and Drunkards too;

Vor ihnen Gute Leid hab’n gute Ruh.
That is to say, All those for them have Rest,
Who truly may be call’d Good, Better, Best.
Thou that art none of Such, the smallest Bee
Here in my Garden is Convincing Thee
Of thy Mis-doings, and we want no more.

A thousand Witnesses! My Friend, Therefore
Repet of all what’s bad; Amen, and then
A sure Reward will Crown the End. Amen!

If God will bless, As I do guess, The Increase of my Hives,
I shall have more (O strange! what store?) Than Solomon had Wives:

And Concubines; Something inclines My heart to hope, My Bees
Will Multiply, like wheat & rye, Like Worms in German Cheese.
Panisperist numerare Pecus, Set Alvears ist ut
Non numerabit Apes, nec Philomusum Operes.

Tag und Nacht an Gott gedacht, heisset die Zeit wohl zugebracht.

To every thing there is a Season and a Time to every Purpose under heaven: A Time to plant, and a Time to pluck up &ca.
These are the very words of wise King Solomon,

Who near three thousand years agoe is dead and gone,
But he does nowhere tell, When your works should be done
In Orchards, Gardens, Fields: Therefore my Friends look on
An other Book of mine, I mean The first-born Son
Of Husbandaria; A youth so stout that none
For him can have their Rest, by him be let alone
Till they do yield & say: The prize of Sloth is won.

What does the above say of Pastorius? Not a classic poet by any means, but again, indicative of the man’s incredible versatility.

As for the whole man, Francis Daniel Pastorius, was a leader in the political, legal, moral, and cultural realm. He was accessible to people who came to depend upon him. He had a lively interest in the many possibilities of this new world in Germantown. Like fellow Germans and Hollanders in the province, he had very little inclination to return to the Old World. By his interests and the results of his many endeavors, he became a first son of Pennsylvania and a thoroughly American man.

ENDNOTES

*Francis Daniel Pastorius, Umständige Geographische Beschreibung Der zu allerletzter erfundenen Provinz PENSILVANIAE, In denen End-Gränzen AMERIKA in der West-Welt gelegen (Frankfurt & Leipzig: Andreas Otto, 1700), 23.


1Pastorius, 35.


1Deed, Pastorius to Levering, 143-144.


1Studer, 18.

1Studer, 84-85; Pastorius, Umständige Beschreibung, introduction. For the copy of the original of the Pastorius book in the University Library at Heidelberg. I am indebted to efforts by Antje Sommer, Geschichts-Seminar Lehrerin there and to Karl Scherer, Leiter of Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern. They assisted me in many ways too numerous to mention.

1Pastorius, Umständige Beschreibung, 5-7.

1Pastorius, 2.

1Pastorius, 13-14.

1Pastorius, 15.

1Pastorius, 15.

1Pastorius, 16.

1Pastorius, 17.

1Pastorius, 23.

1Pastorius, 18.


1Isaac Norris to F. D. Pastorius, 13 March 1716/17, G. W. Norris Coll., (H. S. P.)

1Francis Daniel Pastorius, Delicius Hortenses (MS), The German Society of Pennsylvania, 611 Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia, PA. All subsequent selections are taken from this hand written, quite casually paged manuscript booklet in oftimes most miniscule script. Although the handwriting of Pastorius is eminently legible, he is toying with form and squeezing items into mere interstices here. It’s really a book of poetic and horticultural delights nonetheless. A printed edition of Delicius Hortenses has now come on the market but this research was done from the original handwritten copy at 611 Spring Garden Street.
LIFE WITH GRANDFATHER:
Growing up in a Plain Pennsylvania German Community in the 1920's

By Harold C. Miller

It was early on a Wednesday morning, although it could have been any day of the week during the summer produce season. The voice of my grandfather rang loud and clear as he called out “Sweetcorn, potatoes, tomatoes, apples, beans, redbeets, radishes” and whatever else was in season then. Grandpa was about sixty years old at the time and I, about fourteen, was his constant companion and assistant. Back in the twenties we—meaning my grandfather, myself, our horse “Old Frank,” and the heavily laden springwagon—were a common sight on the south side of Goshen, Indiana. Each morning we traversed our usual route, starting on Third Street at the courthouse and working our way to its southern end. Then north on Main Street, south on Fifth Street, covering all the parallel streets up to Tenth or Eleventh, depending on when our supply of fresh produce was sold out. Grandpa’s cries—he disdained the use of an old brass bell as used by competitors—brought the busy housewives to the street to make the daily selection of fruits and vegetables that they required for the day’s meals.

I well remember a particular day when one of our customers loudly proclaimed that a competitor was selling sweet corn at a nickel less than we were charging. Grandpa merely replied: “That’s the place to get it. Giddap.” Old Frank reacted to the command and we went rolling on our way, leaving the complainant standing there open mouthed. And we got so that we completely ignored an old lady, living by herself and requiring but little food, who pinched every tomato on the wagon before buying a few cents worth of merchandise. She would come running out of the house, screaming and waving her arms, and we refused to stop. I can imagine the imprecations she heaped upon us as we drove away.

Goshen, now a thriving industrial town of about twenty thousand inhabitants was, at that time, a rather sleepy town of ten thousand. Populated by a churchgoing and law-abiding group of people it was one of those places where the theft of a bicycle was considered a major crime. Many of the people in the city and the surrounding area were of Pennsylvania Dutch or German extraction, the various church congregations consisting of Amish, Mennonites, Old Order Mennonites, Church of the Brethren (Dunkards), and others. Their similar and distinctive dress was a customary sight on the streets and in the stores of the city. Also common were their one-horse or two-horse teams attached to odd-looking buggies, tied to the hitching posts which completely surrounded the old county court house. The court house still stands, but the hitching posts are gone.
My grandfather’s name was Israel Cripe, but he was everywhere known as “Izz.” He was, perhaps, one of the best known men in the city. He came from a large family where every one of the children was given a Biblical name. There were Israel, Samuel, Joseph, Emanuel, Sarah and others whose names I cannot recall. All were respected people living up to their Biblical background. We lived on Dewey Avenue on the west side of town, in a house which still stands and must be a hundred and fifty years old. The walls are insulated with saw dust, and why the termites never found this ready-made feast is still a mystery to me. The front part of the structure is two-storied, with a bedroom, parlor, and living room on the first floor, and three bedrooms on the second. Attached to this on the west is a single-story, tin-roofed structure which contained a kitchen, dining room and bath. Further to the west is the old pump house, where we hung our work soiled clothes and washed ourselves in the long sink serviced by two pumps. One had a choice of pumping water from a driven well, or from a cistern which was kept full by rainwater collected on the roof. And, attached further to the west was a huge two-storied “summer house” where we cooked and ate. Its second floor was an attic which contained all sorts of boyhood treasures.

Presiding over the activities of this rambling house was my grandmother, Malinda, known affectionately by all as “Lin”. She had a charming personality, made friends easily, and was one of the hardest working women I have ever known. Her chief tasks were cooking the food and doing the washing for her family of six children and two grandchildren. Cooking chores were shared by the daughters, but she personally took care of the laundry. In those early days there were no washing machines, and clothes were washed in a round, galvanized iron tub, using an old-fashioned, rough wash board. My job was to pump endless gallons of water, which were heated in a copper boiler on top of the wood burning stove and in a reservior on the side of the stove. Clothing, of course, was hung by hand on the outside line to dry. This was an extremely uncomfortable job on an icy, windy winter day.

Preparing food to last throughout the long winter was an enormous job. By means of a sharp knife the kernels of sweetcorn were cut from the cob, then spread to dry on a clean sheet laid out on the flat tin roof. Mosquito netting covered the corn to keep the flies away as the hot sun dried out the milk, a process which could require several days. The dried corn, hard as cement, later was soaked for several hours to make it edible. Cabbage was made into sauerkraut in a neighborhood effort. Grandpa furnished the cabbage and the space. The neighborhood women came in and helped to clean and slice the cabbage. We children did our part by endlessly stomping, using a heavy wooden mallet to press down the cabbage as it was placed in large crocks. If I remember correctly the only thing we added to the cabbage was a bit of salt. The entire neighborhood got its kraut this way.

The making of a winter’s supply of apple butter was another autumn neighborhood event. We supplied the apples, sugar, spices, and other ingredients. The neighborhood women peeled, cored, and quartered the apples, which were then placed in a huge copper kettle (also used during the winter in our butchering operation) under which a hot fire burned. It took several hours to cook and convert the ingredients into apple butter, and during the entire period it was constantly stirred with a large wooden paddle attached to a handle at least ten feet long. No one could get any closer to that hot fire.

Canning the Kentucky Wonder corn beans, which grew to at least a foot in length, was quite a chore. The beans had to be picked, the ends broken off, and the strings removed. They were then placed in hot glass jars which had been previously boiled, and the jars sealed. Many vegetables and fruits were canned, and I particularly mention the sour, red cherry. We had an orchard of about a dozen trees, and just picking the cherries was a tedious job. But the worst was yet to come. In those days fruit trees were not sprayed to kill the bugs, and many cherries contained a little white worm. So every single cherry had to be opened, the pit removed, and the end product carefully examined to make sure no worm existed. Wormy cherries, of course, were discarded. I imagine we tossed out at least twenty-five percent of the fruit because of that little white worm. Never will I forget the time we were invited out to some farm for a big picnic. The usual array of food was served, and the desserts included a large bowl of canned cherries. We were all warned by my grandmother not to eat the cherries, as the presence of that worm was clearly evident. Ugh! Some one had done a very poor job.

On a hillside across the street from our house stood our old barn. The upper level was reached from the street. The lower level, where the horses and cows were stabled, led out onto ground which gently sloped away to the marsh. The marsh, consisting of a rich and deep black loam, extended from the barn to the Elkhart River which was perhaps a half-mile away. We owned sixteen acres of this rich farmland, and rented and farmed adjacent areas. With the melting of the snows in the spring the river normally overflowed and covered the entire acreage right up to the barn. It deposited a rich covering of organic debris as it receded, revitalizing the land. The use of commercial fertilizers was unknown, although we augmented the natural richness of the ground by spreading horse and cow manure on it. This was a highly odiferous job.

My earliest recollections of my grandfather are of him
sitting in the corner of the kitchen in his comfortable woven reed rocking chair. This was his favorite spot, and he spent many hours rocking me (his first grandchild) or the other grandchildren. He never tired of this rocking, or of singing to us the old, old folk-songs passed down through the years from his father and grandfather. Looking back, I often wish I had a tape recording of those old songs which have by now been forgotten by everyone. All babies adored him and I frequently wonder just what it was about him that attracted them to such an extent. I'm sure my grandmother loved us just as much, but she was just too busy to give us so much attention.

Other recollections come easily. On Sundays we walked a long block to the West Goshen Church of the Brethren, established over a hundred and fifty years ago by my great, great, great-grandfather, Daniel Cripe. The young married couples entered either of the front doors and took their positions in the middle section of seats. The older women entered the right door and took their seats in the right hand section, while the older men entered through the left door and took their seats on the left side. In my younger days I accompanied my grandmother, but I soon learned that the left side was for males and thereafter I sat with my grandfather.

Grandma always wore a long, dark dress and her old-fashioned bonnet, but the latter was replaced with a tiny lace cap as she entered the building. Hats were a sinful thing and women were forbidden to wear them at any time. Grandma wore a dark suit, a collarless shirt with a stiffly starched detachable collar, and no necktie. Ties, also, were banned. The service was normally preached by unpaid laymen, generally farmers, who had studied the Bible and were authorized to preach. There were several who alternated at leading the service, including Mehl Stutzman, Jim Hayes, Bill Hess, and others. I particularly remember the latter, as he preached at my mother's funeral—she died when I was but six years old.

Jim Hayes' wife conducted the congregational singing sessions, at which we sang favorite old songs taken from aged hymn books. We sang without the aid of a piano, another item banned from the church. On Sunday evenings, at the so-called Young Folk's Meeting, most of the children sat in the front row, under Mrs. Hayes' watchful eyes. My brother, three years younger than I, was quite a cut-up, always creating a disturbance of some sort. Many times Mrs. Hayes "accidentally" struck him on the head or shoulders with the long wand she used for conducting the singing.

There were two big days in the church, Communion Day and Harvest Day. For the first, long tables were set up in the basement of the Church, with the women on one side and the men on the other. A feast of boiled beef and soup was served, followed by grape juice and unleavened bread. After that, foot-washing was conducted, in which each person, emulating the foot washing by Christ, washed the feet of the member who sat beside him or her. Children who were not members of the Church were prohibited from participating in the rite, but we were not neglected. My grandfather served as cook to prepare the beef donated by one of the farmers, and he was always present at the rear of the Church, outside, to give us huge slabs of home baked bread and pieces of the delicious beef.

Harvest Day, however, was our real feast day. Late in the Fall, after harvesting was completed and while the weather still permitted outside gatherings, we set up tables on the church lawn, under the spreading maple trees. Each family brought heaping hampers of food—chicken, beef, ham, meatloaf, potatoes and other vegetables, salads, pies, cakes and other goodies—and placed the food on the tables. Diners then wandered along the tables and selected the food they desired. Accompanying the affair, of course, were church services for the purpose of giving thanks to the Creator for the abundant harvest.

Each night after supper (dinner was served at noon) when the weather permitted, grandpa walked a few blocks to Ira Ganger's grocery store. Ganger's was the only store in the neighborhood, and we were forced to buy our groceries there unless we wanted to patronize some of the larger markets in town, about a mile and a half away. Grandpa's cronies gathered at the store each night and sat around smoking their cigars, swapping stories, covering the gossip of the day, and eating ice cream drenched with soda pop, which was considered a real delicacy. At that time I was living with my father and his second wife, and we resided just four doors down the street from my grandfather's home. So, each evening as he passed our house, he was joined by my brother and myself, for we, too, wanted to participate in that ice cream delight. And a big cone was our nightly reward. All the kids in the neighborhood selected Al, Ira's wife, to wait on them, if that could be arranged. She poked the ice cream way down to the bottom of the cone and gave a real nickel's worth. Ira was a known tightwad and quite likely to ignore that bit of space at the bottom of the cone.

Grandpa engaged in two distinctive types of business. During the summer he raised the various kinds of vegetables we peddled on the Goshen streets. He plowed the land as soon as the weather moderated and the frost disappeared from the ground, and he planted seeds as soon as the danger of frost had vanished, for it was the early produce which brought good prices. Even so, no seeds were planted until the Farmer's Almanac had been consulted and the moon was determined to be "right." Some seeds had to be planted in the dark of the moon, others in the light of the moon, otherwise the crops would fail. When the sprouts first appeared the back breaking job of weeding developed, and it was the young
children of the family who performed this detested chore. Crawling on our hands and knees in the black muck, straddling the row of plants, and with the hot sun beating down on our backs, we moved from one end to the other of interminable rows of vegetables, pulling the weeds. In those days there was no such thing as child labor laws which prevented a youngster from helping in the difficult job of making a living. By the time I was fourteen years old I was driving a team of horses hooked to a plow and turning over the earth, or driving a single horse cultivator between the rows of corn or other larger vegetables, controlling the weeds between the rows and breaking up the top soil if it became crusty due to lack of rain.

If child labor laws were unknown, so was the eight hour day. Our day began with the cleaning out of the stables occupied by the horses and the cows, the feeding of the horses, cows, pigs and chickens, and the milking of the cows. All this was done before breakfast. Grandma participated in this ritual in only one way—she milked the cows. But we had to get the stalls cleaned and the cow’s udders and teats washed before she entered the picture. After these preliminaries to the day’s work our breakfast was a welcome relief. It normally consisted of pancakes (buckwheat in season) piled deep with homemade butter and our own good maple syrup, sausage or ham, eggs, homemade bread, and often apple pie. The serving of pie at breakfast was a common practice among the Pennsylvania Dutch.

After breakfast we worked in the fields, until the time when the vegetables were ready for harvesting. When harvesting we generally picked one hundred dozen ears of corn, which was immediately piled on the grass and watered down to keep it fresh. We also picked bushels of Kentucky Wonder corn beans. Radishes, red beets, carrots and the like were pulled, tied into bundles, laid out and washed with the aid of the hose. Tomatoes were picked, carefully sorted by size, wiped, and placed in neat rows in bushel baskets. Tomatoes sold at fifty cents per bushel, corn at fifteen cents a dozen, and potatoes, apples, peaches and other fruits and vegetables were sold at comparable prices. Late in the evening the old spring wagon was loaded so we could get an early start with our peddling on the following day. Our morning on the streets generally ran from about eight until eleven-thirty, by which time we were generally sold out. So back to our home, to wash up, eat our lunch, and to get into the fields to pick the merchandise required for the following day. Many times our working day did not end until nine o’clock, or even later.

Grandpa was very particular that our products met the highest standards of quality. For instance, every ear of corn was pulled back to assure that it was completely filled out and contained no worms. Worms were few and far between, as the pestiferous corn-borer had not yet seriously struck the area. One year we rented some land from a neighbor and planted it in sweet corn. The owner accompanied us one day on a selling trip, and I remember grandpa tossing some undesirable ears under the seat of the wagon, to be taken home and fed to the cattle. The owner complained about this practice and tried to redeem the corn from below the seat, for the purpose of showing it off on an unsuspecting customer; he said he had to get his money out of the crop. Grandpa did not allow the owner to get away with this, and my regard for that particular neighbor took a sharp drop.

Grandpa was quite generous, donating to the Church and various charitable organizations. His particular pet was the Salvation Army and he never overlooked their requests. But I think one of his finest gestures occurred each fall, at the time he called a halt to our harvesting and selling activities. He permitted the more unfortunate families of the neighborhood to enter the fields and salvage all unharvested produce; and large quantities of tomatoes, potatoes, corn, beets, and similar items were carried from the fields by such groups.

While growing and selling fresh produce was grandpa’s summertime job he turned to an entirely different type of work during the cold months. He became a butcher, scouring the surrounding country side for hogs, then butchering them and selling their various products. On Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays we would butcher the hogs and hang out their carcasses to cool. The butchering took place at the “butcher house” below the hill, adjacent to the barn. Hogs were shot, their throats cut, and permitted to bleed. As soon as they had stopped quivering, indicating that they were dead, their hind legs were attached to a spreader bar. The bar and attached hog was hoisted by rope-and-pulley above a copper kettle, stoked with wood, which held a great quantity of boiling water. The body was dipped into this hot water for a few minutes, removed, and then two men with sharp discs scraped the hair from the carcass. This work took place outdoors, many times in below zero weather. My part in the operation was to pump all the water required for this and other activities. After the hair had been removed the carcass was taken into the butcher shed, hung from overhead rafters, the belly slit with a sharp knife, and the stomach, intestines and unusable parts removed. Many buckets of water were required to pour over the body to remove unwanted blood and hair, as well as other impurities.

The heart and liver were salvaged for later sale. The intestines were stripped of their contents (an extremely smelly job), turned inside out, scraped, and stored in salt water for later use in stuffing sausage. The other entrails were hauled to a nearby field and buried, a difficult task when the ground was frozen. At the end of the day we normally had the carcasses of six or eight hogs hanging from the rafters, where they remained all night to cool. At that time there was no such thing as
mechanical refrigeration, at least in our humble home, and our activities were limited to cool weather so the meat would not spoil.

On the morning following the butchering activity the carcasses were hauled up the hill to the meat shed behind the house. Here they were cut into various types of meat, such as ham, shoulders, spare ribs, backbone, pork chops, pork tenderloin, or whatever the market demanded. The fatty parts were cut into small pieces and rendered into lard in a large copper kettle. The boiling chunks were ladled by hand into a press operated by a hand-turned wheel to force out the hot liquid. This was drawn into pails of different size, where it solidified into lard for later sale. The remainder, called “cracklings” was sold at a cheap rate or fed to our hogs and chickens. Those cracklings were delicious, and I’ll never forget their tastiness, especially if eaten while still hot. Kids from around the neighborhood frequently called to get their free handouts.

Odds and ends of meat were obtained as trimmings or were cut from the head. These were cooked in the lard kettle once a week, and it was a real treat to select a tasty morsel from the pot and gulp it down as soon as it had cooled. After this final cooking the meat was made into head cheese, or souse, which had a ready sale. A similar product was liverwurst, using up the livers which did not always have a ready sale. Kidneys were normally discarded, but we had a postman who had a great yen for them, and many free kidneys were toed away by him. Many free “footballs” were also carried away. These were bladders filled with air by blowing through a straw, the filled bag then tied off to prevent the air escaping. After a bladder had dried it made a practically indestructible football, and every kid around depended upon us for this toy.

Certain parts of the carcass were made into sausage. Meat was finely ground, salt, pepper and other spices added, and the combination well stirred. This mixture was placed into the sausage press, and the cleaned intestines placed over the press outlet. Again I came into the picture, as I turned the press, not a difficult but a tiring operation, while my grandmother guided long rings of sausage as the ground meat emerged to fill the casings. Some of the sausage was sold fresh, but most of it went into the smoke house for curing. This sausage stuffing operation was the only one in which my grandmother participated.

The smoke house contained hundreds of hams, shoulders, sausages, and bacon sides. These products had to be carefully prepared before being hung there. Most of them had to be soaked in brine, then rubbed with a mixture of brown sugar and certain spices such as salt, pepper, and saltpeter. Smoke was provided by setting on fire hickory wood and after it was burning well, covering it with hickory shavings or sawdust; this denied oxygen to the fire and created smoke. This dense smoke made it unpleasant to enter the building during the smoking operation which lasted a couple weeks. The hickory was cut from the woods of “old Johnny Fox”, my grandmother’s unmarried brother. Many a day my grandfather and I tugged on the ends of a long crosscut saw to reduce tree boles to a size we could handle. Again, this was a difficult task for a kid, but somehow I managed to survive.

Johnny Fox was one of the Pennsylvania Dutch tribe, and he had some rather odd qualities. He was unmarried and lived alone on his farm west of Goshen, somehow taking care of his enormous brick house. At least once a week he made a trip into the city to buy his provisions, including a number of bottles of hard liquor, for which he had a taste. He never used a buggy, but always travelled in a light, two-wheeled cart pulled by a fast and high-stepping horse. This cart was exactly like the racing carts used in today’s sulky races. The merchandise he bought in town was normally tied, in bags, to the axle of the cart, and this method generally sufficed. But I remember that one time, as he was passing our house, a gunny sack containing his liquor broke loose and fell to the pavement. Johnny must have been under the influence of some of his goodies, because he did not notice his loss. My grandfather picked up the bag and salvaged one unbroken bottle. He was not much of a drinker, and I guess the bottle was put away to be used for medicinal purposes.

Johnny had another peculiarity. He carried a broom, a dust pan and a sack on his sulky, and if the horse had a bowel movement he stopped, cleaned it up, and proceeded on his way. He was probably the nation’s first “pooper scooper.”

But to get back to the meat processing. There must have been hundreds of dollars worth of meat hanging there for curing during the cold months, and I believe that we never lost one piece due to theft. We did, however, lose considerable money through sale of meat to deadbeats, who bought on credit and failed to pay. Grandpa knew who they were, but somehow they could always prevail on him to provide just a bit more on credit. Over the years grandpa became quite famous for his smoked meat products, and numerous times we mailed smoked hams or sausage as far away as Florida and California, serving old customers who remembered and liked his products.

Each Fall we made a barrel of grape wine and each Spring a barrel of cherry wine. Occasionally we put away a barrel of apple cider and permitted it to take its natural course and turn hard. Keeping it from turning into vinegar was a problem, and I don’t remember how he avoided that. During the long and cold winter evenings our old dining room was a sociable place. All of grandpa’s cronies gathered there each evening to talk and put away the wine. I was considered too young to imbibe, but I occasionally managed to sneak a small
portion for myself. In any event, it was enjoyable to sit in the warm room, heated by the old-fashioned wood-burning stove, and listen to the men as they told their stories and discussed their problems. It was always difficult to break away and head for the cold room upstairs where I slept, heated only by the warmth which percolated up the open stairway. Fortunately, we had plenty of heavy bed clothes.

If grandpa had a hobby it was attending sales auctions. Auctions were a common event around the area, and he truly tried to make them all. Early Spring, after the butchering operation had ceased and it was not yet time for plowing, or late Fall, when the harvest was over and it was not cold enough to butcher, were our easy times of the year. In these periods grandpa thrived on auctions. He liked to buy junk items no one else wanted. Time after time the auctioneer would fail to solicit a bid for some item or group of items, such as a box full of old tools, nuts and bolts, and he would call out: “sold to Izz Cripe for ten cents.” Our old buggy shed was always full of the stuff he picked up this way, and for which he had no use. But it was a heavenly place for young boys who could go through it and come up with a bit of treasure.

In this discussion of Pennsylvania Dutch life I must not forget to tell about one of grandma’s great accomplishments. She was a medical practitioner—in the old days she might have been considered a witch. She had quite a reputation for curing minor ills, especially those of young children. I remember some of the “cures.” Many times an egg was involved. The egg would be placed inside the stove, on hot coals, and kept there for the allotted time. Then it was broken, prepared in some mysterious way, and the resulting concoction rubbed on the afflicted child. Or, sometimes, an ordinary piece of string was looped, and this loop passed over the head of the ailing child while unknown words were chanted.

I guess I was ten or twelve years old when the following occurred. A cousin was afflicted with asthma, creating difficult breathing. He was taken to the apple orchard and stood up against a tree. His height was accurately marked on that tree, a hole drilled at that spot, a lock of hair cut from his head and tucked deeply into the hole, and the hole sealed. I really don’t know how efficient these cures were, but the old-timers believed in them.

Grandma could also tell you how to cure warts. You stood with your back to the chicken yard, rubbed a grain of corn over the wart, and tossed the bit of corn into the yard. One must be careful not to look and observe which chicken ate the corn, as that would void the action. Or, you could take a slice of potato, rub it over the wart, then bury it next to a stump during a dark period. Day time would not do. This practice was not a local peculiarity, because I somehow remember that Tom Sawyer once cured a wart by this method.

This close and comfortable association with my grandparents ended, much against our will, when my father married for the third time and took us to his house to live with him. Soon it was time for high school, then college, and a job which took me far from the homestead. I seldom saw my grandparents thereafter. They both lived to a ripe old age, suffered the usual ills of the aged, and are buried side-by-side in the cemetery of the West Goshen Church. My biggest regret is that they did not live until I became affluent enough to show them some pleasure for the time and effort they gave to me. But it was not to be. I was not even able to attend their funerals, as I was in Europe, serving with the army, at the time of their deaths.
The six daughters of Bishop Jonas Martin: first row, l. to r. Susan, Sarah, Lydia; second row, l. to r. Lizzie, Mary, Annie. Picture taken on Ascension Day, May 24, 1928.

A TEAR FOR JONAS MARTIN: Old Order Mennonite Origins in Lancaster county
By Amos B. Hoover

The Old Order Mennonites represent a conservative vein of Mennonites located initially in northeastern Lancaster County, with concentrations heaviest in the three Earl townships, but with large numbers also in Caernarvon, Brecknock, East Cocalico, and Ephrata townships; it is an area often known as the Weaverland-Groffdale district. The history of the Old Order Mennonites in this district can be divided into four distinct periods. The first period, from 1871-1893, saw the rise of the Old Order movement as polarization developed in the Lancaster Mennonite Conference and, by 1893, reached a point where the group could no longer operate as a single unit. The years 1894-1915 could be called the Golden Age largely because there was now a choice, and members were Old Order Mennonites of their own election. During this period, Bishop Jonas Martin and Deacon Daniel Burkholder had full control of the group. The years 1916-1927 were a period of decline and dissension, but from 1927 to the present there has been realignment, expansion, and growth. Today we have three groups (known locally as the Weaverland Conference, the Groffdale Conference, and the Reidenbach Group) all descended from the Jonas Martin Old Order Mennonite group.

The first period of Old Order Mennonite history is the only one that will be considered in this study. As previously noted, it began about 1871, in the Reconstruction Period following the Civil War. In that era, many local Mennonite congregations met for worship only once every four weeks, yet there was a piety not always understood by succeeding generations; in fact, it is not always understood today. By studying a diary from the 1870's, I discovered that although the Martindale congregation held regular services only every fourth Sunday, on that Sunday they became a host congregation. The sisters would provide extra food, and numerous people would stop in for dinner without previous notification; a grand period of fellowship followed the meal. Also, visiting ministers from other areas would drop by and hold meetings on week days, and if funerals are counted, extra meetings could easily exceed regular meetings. Funerals were also complex fellowships; when the burial was completed, most of the mourners returned to the home for meals and visiting. Actually funerals developed into legitimate vacations, often attended by 500 or more persons; they were occasions of great fellowship and community.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, most Lancaster County towns still had dirt streets, many beggars walked the roads, all cattle were driven to market on the hoof, threshing was done by horse power, and tobacco culture was just getting started. The Herald of Truth, begun in 1864, had become the first official Mennonite church paper, and bilingual parochial schools had been crushed for a generation. By 1871 there were many young people who could read and comprehend English better than their native German, and although preaching was firmly maintained in the German, the stage was set for an industrial and cultural revolution within the Mennonite Church. The real issue at the time was: How fast do we accept new values and lifestyles? The old Anabaptist concept was that we as Christians must be “But strangers and pilgrims” not at home in this world. So the basic question was not doctrinal, but rather: How much should we adapt to surrounding society? How fast
may we become acculturated and Americanized? In 1871 two events occurred which brought this problem into sharper focus, and which led to the schism in the Lancaster Conference Church.

The first event occurred in the Spring of that year when the Lancaster Mennonite Conference convened and made Sunday schools legal. The second took place in the Fall when the Indiana Conference ruled that their senior bishop, Jacob Wisler, could no longer serve as bishop because he had opposed Sunday schools. This decision soon led to the formation, in Indiana and Ohio, of an Old Order group often known as the Wisler Mennonites; the conservative Mennonites of Lancaster County—including, most importantly, the bishop of the Weaverland-Groffdale District, George Weaver (1818-1883)—sympathized with Wisler and his followers. In addition, there was an increased desire among the less traditional members for English worship. They questioned the wisdom of worshipping in what they considered to be an archaic German tongue. There was also a yearning for more factual Bible knowledge, and some families had begun to send their children to area union Sunday schools. Others within the church claimed the only way to keep our young people was by operating our own Sunday schools. By 1881, Sunday schools had come into most of the Lancaster County districts except the Weaverland-Groffdale District.

In that year another significant event in the history of the Lancaster District took place: Jonas Martin became Bishop George Weaver’s assistant bishop. A soft-spoken, mild-mannered man, Martin at first was quite popular and was known affectionately, as “Yolie” Martin. (Jonas is normally pronounced “Yonas”, but in the dialect we tend to drop endings.) Because he was at the center of the 1893 church division, however, he has been stereotyped as a fierce character; I suppose if a cartoonist were to make a drawing of him, he would be pictured splitting the church. In time the term “Old Yolie” came to mean any conservative Mennonite with a queer 19th century outlook; it retains that meaning even today.

Jonas Martin was born on a farm north of Goodville (Lancaster County) on January 15, 1839, and brought up in the Mennonite faith. He was the fifth generation of Martins in America, being descended from Swiss Mennonite immigrants. When he was twenty-four he married Sarah Witwer; after her death in 1889 he married Annie Wenger in 1890. They had fifteen children, eleven of whom grew to adulthood. A slightly heavy man of medium height, Martin had what we would now call an Amish-style haircut, and after marriage he wore plain clothing with the bowtie characteristic of Old Order Mennonites at the time. He had a pleasing appearance and believed in being neatly dressed; for example, when his children polished his shoes he encouraged them by saying, “Make them black.” This was in a period when his stalwart colleagues would march through the weeds on the way to church in order to remove from their shoes any luster conducive to pride. His home and farm were also kept in the same orderly manner.

Baptized at age twenty by Bishop George Weaver, Jonas was ordained a minister of the Word on December 1, 1875; he was again ordained to the “full office” or bishop’s office on May 31, 1881. In that office Martin felt duty-bound to follow his senior bishop in opposing the establishment of Sunday schools in the Weaverland-Groffdale district. They—and a great many other Old Order Mennonites—felt that Sunday schools are a product of outside society and can fill no place among nonresistant, unassuming Mennonites. If you were to have taken a survey 100 years ago, the overwhelming majority of these opposed would
Weaverland Mennonite Church before the 1966 expansion; two groups descended from the Jonas Martin church meet here on alternate Sundays.

have given as their reason: Because the Sunday school fosters pride. Here is part of a letter written to Jonas Martin by Old Order Mennonite Abraham Blosser of Virginia on May 22, 1885:

... So I concluded I would go there also (until meeting commenced) and see how they carry on. When I got there, there was a considerable concourse of people there, young and old. The ministers' bench behind the ministers' stand was crowded from end to end with ministers and deacons, so there was no want of our own ministers there. There were more there than necessary to preach to that goodly number of hearers. But I am pained to tell you what more. There was an ex-Methodist preacher standing on the floor between the ministers' stand and the audience teaching the Sunday School, and another outsider assisting him. Our ministers sitting behind the stand looking on. I just thought to myself, If one of our old forefather ministers who have gone to the Spirit land, 25 or 40 years ago could come back here personally, he would sigh, "Oh what has become of our church." The Sunday School superintendent at Brenneman's Meeting house if I am rightly informed is Jasper Hawes, a schoolteacher and government officer, of the dressy character. We think there could be no quicker and more certain way to destroy and demoralize our church than by such a mixture of fashionable teachers...

A less quoted, but more important reason for opposing Sunday schools was that they increased the authority of the laity, while substantially reducing ministerial authority. The Old Order Mennonites get a lot of mileage out of I Timothy 5:17: "Let the Elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor." If and when a church becomes a democracy—rather than letting its ministers and older members govern it—it becomes more vulnerable to accepting influence from outside. Old Order Mennonites feared the following results were Sunday Schools to be permitted: (1) The English Language would be brought into that segment of the church without the least bit of resistance; (2) it would be easy to invite other Christians to take part in teaching, creating more of an atmosphere of ecumenicity even with groups that do not teach nonresistance and nonconformity; (3) women teaching in the assembly would be easily introduced; (4) literature other than the Bible would be easily introduced; (5) harmony (part singing) would be brought in; and (6) lay members would teach and lead in prayer, responsibilities Old Order Mennonites believed should be left to the ordained, who had had their faith especially examined.

These fears proved to be well founded, for all of the above events did occur in churches where Sunday schools were established. However, for the traditional Mennonite community of faith, language changes were the most subtle and caused the most severe losses. The easiest way to cut ourselves loose from our own precious heritage is by changing languages. When we accepted English hymns—written mostly by Methodists—we not only forfeited our long chain of martyr-tested hymns, we accepted subtle changes in our theology as well. Preacher John Gross (1814-1903) of the Doylestown and Deep Run Mennonite congregations had to weep with grief whenever an English hymn was sung; he left a fine admonition for his children favoring German:

... Oh children we have German worship and hear so many beautiful sermons, should we then drop German? That would not be right. You have learned English in school. You will not forget this. Therefore use German at home and take the German Testament often to hand, read a chapter because our worship is always in German, and because I have so many beautiful German books and writings, and you my dear children should you not be able to read these? Oh how sad this would be, that our youth do not consider these books any more. Once the fathers are gone these books and manuscripts will stand there idle!

The Sunday school question was the most important, but not the only issue dividing Lancaster County Old Mennonites in the late 19th century. The pro-Sunday school people were leaders in the temperance movement as well, and this was another source of strain within the
Reidenbach church, school, and horse sheds.

Mennonite community. In that era, limited use of alcohol was acceptable among Mennonites, and when the temperance movement came along many were not inclined to vote or join organizations formed to bring legal pressure. Thus, the Old Order were often put in the awkward position of seeming to defend whiskey. One brother wrote to Jonas Martin in 1889: “I am constrained to appeal to you to use your influence for the constitutional amendment. Anyone who stays at home on Tuesday is voting for liquor.” Another brother wrote: “I hear you do not favor the new amendment which is to put a stop to the great rum evil.” In 1912 a delegation of Goodville citizens, headed by his friend Bishop Benjamin Weaver, asked Martin to sign a petition to force the hotel keeper out of business. He replied, “No that I will not sign, but if you want to buy him out, I will help put up the money.”

Another situation that proved to have far-reaching effects for the local community was the controversy that arose in 1889 when a pulpit—consisting of a one-step platform and a lectern—was installed in Lichtys’ new church building. Bishop Martin and the conservatives were very much against this innovation, and just before the dedication, the lectern was discovered on a pile in the basement; an old-fashioned preacher’s table was in its place. Bishop Martin thought it best that no one know who had torn out this worldly piece of furniture. It is likely that he felt the pulpit had come into the church in an underhand manner, and it was no worse having it removed in the same way. So Martin got the blame for the “crime” and a number of the brethren would not confess peace until Martin admitted guilt; it was a charge his critics used against him most of the rest of his life.

Other matters divided the Lancaster Mennonite community as well. About 1864, Christian Bomberger became the first Mennonite minister to solemnize marriages of non-members; other ministers followed his example. Jonas Martin, again following the lead of his predecessor, Bishop Weaver, struggled fiercely against this innovation. Martin and his followers also strongly opposed the corporation formed in 1887 by the Kauffman’s Church charter (the chairman of the Lancaster Conference, Jacob Brubacher, was also named head of the charter corporation). The conservatives felt the charter brought the Mennonite community into too close proximity with the law. They opposed a fire insurance plan—where use of a charter was pending—for the same reason. Evening meetings (and later, revival meetings) were also a source of dissenion and dispute. In 1878, Preacher John Weaver of Yellow Creek, Indiana, listed minor changes which had made their way into the Indiana Old Mennonite church; he also correctly predicted their migration to—and their potential for causing trouble in—the Pennsylvania and Ontario churches. Another source of annoyance to the Old Order, these changes included: Replacing the opening sermon with mere meditation; replacing the first silent prayer with an audible one; the other ministers who testified to the sermons now arose to do so, when previously they had remained seated; deacons were allowed to preach; ministers spread their hands to bless the people in the benediction; viewing of the dead was done inside the church; Mennonite participation in Union Sunday school conferences, originally one day, became two; and evening meetings were held in a series.

All of these issues and grievances were in the background when, in the summer of 1891, a number of the laity—completely bypassing the ministry—moved ahead and started a Sunday school in the Weaverland-Groffdale district. It was held the first Sunday in the Weaverland schoolhouse with 110 present; it moved into the church the following Sunday. When Deacon Daniel Burkholder and Bishop Jonas Martin heard Falling-top Wenger carriage; considered “worldly” when first introduced in the early part of the 20th century, it is now an accepted mode of transportation for young people.
Groffdale Mennonite Church: minister uses door on left, women use center door, unmarried girls use door on right. Men's entrance on far side of church not visible.

about it, they demanded a vote be taken on the issue; an overwhelming majority (about 80%) favored closing the school. Ill-will ran very high, as may be sensed in this newspaper article written by a pro-Sunday school brother:

NO SABBATH SCHOOL.
The Weaverland Mennonites Decide Against Having One. Think It’s the Devil’s Work.
Rather See Boys Race Horses than Study Bible Lessons.

Weaverland, July 17.—Sunday school or no Sunday school is the great question at this place. At the general semi-annual conference of the members of the Mennonite church last spring it was earnestly requested that a Sunday school should be organized in every church of the denomination.

To comply with this urgent request the more progressive members at this place organized a large Sabbath school in the public school house in the early part of the summer. The church and the school house stand side by side, and for fear that the matter would arouse considerable opposition, the school was started in the school house. The demand for a Sunday school was well founded, for on the first Sabbath the church house was overcrowded. The young people who were anxious to become members, and many others were obliged to remain on the outside for the want of room. The following Sunday permission was obtained to go to the church.

Then the anti-Sunday school members, hosted by Bishop Martin and Elder Burkholder, also the leaders of the anti-pulpit faction, said the church should not be desecrated by having a Sunday school within its walls. For several weeks the battle waged fiercely and was the leading discussion at the dinner table and in the harvest field. The young people are unanimous in favor of the new order of things, or, as they put it, “We want what they have in other churches,” while the older anti-school people say they don’t believe in it and it makes the children proud and too smart.

It’s a notorious fact that there is more devilment to the square foot going on in this vicinity among some of our own people on Sunday than in almost any other community, such as ball playing, horse races, social parties, breaking colts, etc.

These two schools of thought became increasingly difficult to operate as one unit, and on the conference floor in Mellinger’s Church on October 6, 1893, Bishop Martin said: “For a number of years I have been agreeing, against my conscience, to articles ratified by conference, and I can do this no longer.” Martin, Deacon Burkholder, and a few others withdrew from the conference and formed their own little group with semi-annual conferences which convened at Weaverland. Its progress and history will need to be written at a later date. Suffice it to say that today’s Weaverland and Groffdale conferences (both with about 4500 members) and the Reidenbach Mennonites (about 200 members) owe their existence to Bishop Jonas Martin, and his influence is evident in the other major Old Order communities (in Ontario, Ohio, Indiana, and Virginia) as well. In addition, some Old Order Mennonites have, since 1893, returned to the Lancaster Conference, and many have joined the Eastern Pennsylvania Mennonite group (founded in 1968); thus, these two groups have also inherited conservative elements from the Old Order movement. They too are heirs—although in a less obvious way—of Bishop Martin. In fact, I have come to count Jonas Martin with the great Reformers of the Christian Church; Reformers such as Menno Simons, Jacob Ammon, and Martin Luther.

ENDNOTES

"This term refers to the followers of Bishop Jonas Martin and may have come into general use around the time of the First World War; the much older term “Old Mennonites,” used in this article to refer to members of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference, has probably been used since about 1812.

"Weaverland Conference Mennonites are popularly known as Horning or “Black Bumper” Mennonites, a name derived from Bishop Moses G. Horning who allowed members to use black, undecorated automobiles; Groffdale Conference Mennonites are also called Wenger Mennonites after Bishop Joseph Wenger who opposed the use of the automobile—Wengerites use the horse and buggy instead; both groups use the same meeting houses but on alternate Sundays. Reidenbach Mennonites are also known as “Thirty-fivers” since their sect was begun by 35 adults who left the Wengerites. Reidenbach Mennonites also use the horse and buggy and have their own meeting house and school."
The Dutchman and Pennsylvania Folklife

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This book was produced as a source textbook for college classes in ethnic studies, migration and minority history. Heavy in materials of German background because those documents are most often missing from such collections, even when available, and from others, namely, English, Welsh, Swiss, Basque and European Jewish origins.

A voyage contract, ship lists, letters to the folks back home, immigrant inventories, and assessments by descendants of culture and linguistic values comprise this short selection. Most valuable for items not accessible to scholars in so handy a collection.


Selection is geared to a 15 week semester. It was indeed developed as a text for my own course [PGP 307] in Penna. German folk culture and folklife. There simply was no textbook in that course area. It contains articles, items, and comments from The Pennsylvania Dutchman, Vol. 1, #1 (1949), to Vol. 31, #1 (1981), of Pennsylvania Folklife.
REPRINT SERIES:


Gleim's work, reprinted here intact in its original German-language edition, but reprinted two pages-to-one, carries a very brief introduction in English by Parsons. Betty Gleim (1781-1827) broke trail as a feminist leader, in which status she shared ideas and experiences with Mme. de Stael and other similar liberated ladies of the French court and of some German states. It was written as a guide to young ladies, yet also as a consolation to those no longer young, by one of their own who had lived a very full life. She wrote with feeling of life's exciting experiences.


Life stranger than fiction, Wilhelmine von Klencke has to be the storybook heroine of the Age of Reason. Married to the intolerable Baron von Hastfer [could you invent a better, more hateful name than that real one?] she simply walked out on him after two years of inexpressible boredom, at the tender age of eighteen. Then, ah joy, she took up with the romantic Orientalist Antoine Léonard de Chézy in Paris and became the toast of Empire society. To enhance the picture, she wrote a heroic romantic poem which served as basis for lyrics to an opera by von Weber: Euryanthe [unfortunately so, said his friends].


Although this second volume is in many ways a natural successor to de Chézy's initial production, it is very different in content and in mood. Whether de Chézy herself realized the degree to which the task of trailing in the footsteps of the great lady and intellect, Madame de Stael, debilitated and demeaned her as a German, teased, taunted and debased in the French court by French society which was certainly heartless, if not vicious, it is difficult to detect. In this second volume, admiration for the great de Stael does stand in contrast to the great lady's sharp tongue. Parsons finds an interesting parallel, but check it yourself and see!


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The Kutztown Folk Festival is sponsored by the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, a nonprofit educational corporation affiliated with URSINUS COLLEGE, Collegeville, Pennsylvania. The Society's purposes are threefold: First, the demonstrating and displaying of the lore and folkways of the Pennsylvania Dutch through the annual Kutztown Folk Festival; second, the collecting, studying, archiving and publishing the lore of the Dutch Country and Pennsylvania through the publication of PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE Magazine; and third, using the proceeds for scholarships and general educational purposes at URSINUS COLLEGE.

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