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COVER:
John Cooper by Jacob Maentel, the artist who gave us a "record of Pennsylvania and Indiana small-town society from 1807 to about 1850—the encompassing dates of his known works."

Layout and Special Photography
WILLIAM K. MUNRO
JACOB MAENTEL: A Second Look

by Mary Lou Fleming and Marianne Ruch

Jacob Maentel's Harbor Scene, an oil-on-canvas firescreen (32 1/4 x 46 1/4 inches), was given by his granddaughter to New Harmony's Working Men's Institute. Discovered in the attic there, it was restored by Evansville artist Fred Eilers who took this picture. (Courtesy of WMI)

INTRODUCTION

A high water mark in the recognition of folk artist Jacob Maentel was reached in November, 1989, when the Evansville Museum of Arts and Science, assisted by Historic New Harmony, Inc., presented the first major exhibition of his Indiana paintings. The show contained thirty works by the artist who gave us a "record of Pennsylvania and Indiana small-town society from 1807 to about 1850—the encompassing dates of his known works." The seventeen paintings of Maentel's Indiana years were highlighted by a first-time showing of the six ancestral portraits of the Cooper family, a collection owned by Mr. and Mrs. Hugh B. Lee, of Terre Haute.

For the exhibition, the Evansville Museum published a thirty-one-page hardbound catalog entitled Simplicity, A Grace: Jacob Maentel in Indiana, with an introduction by Dr. Robert Bishop, director of the Museum of American Folk Art in New York City (where the exhibition's national tour ended with a showing in July and August 1990), and text by Mary C. Black. It was Black, a nationally known folk art scholar, who "provided the framework by which scholars and art historians have been able to identify several hundred portraits by Jacob Maentel dating from the early 1800s to the mid-1840s."

As Black herself has noted, much remains to be learned about the life of Jacob Maentel, but we do know that he was born in Germany two years after the
American Declaration of Independence was written, and eleven years before the French Revolution began—the Age of Revolutions which would sweep away old empires and ignite the struggles for the Rights of Man. The cause of freedom found a champion in Napoleon Bonaparte, but the Napoleonic Wars left the Old World a shambles. Millions of emigrants fled to the New World, to the dream of freedom and the opportunity for a new life. One of these was Maentel, who arrived in the United States in time for the War of 1812 (in which he briefly participated), and for the depression of 1819 that followed. Disappointed, in 1838 he left his home in Pennsylvania to follow the westward migration to Texas. But, due to illness, he and his family spent time in Indiana, where the artist spent his last years.

An article in an earlier issue of Pennsylvania Folklife (Spring 1988) included information from groundbreaking research on Jacob Maentel’s background in Germany. It also discussed at some length his portraits of Jonathan and Rebekah Jaques (now a part of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection in Williamsburg, Virginia), and the restoration of the Jaques parlor shown in Rebekah’s picture, and its incorporation into New Harmony’s decorative arts series as the Jaques Parlor Museum. This “second look” at the artist’s life will discuss new research done in connection with the Maentel Exhibition, including documented biographical data, as well as information on his Indiana years and a lengthy exploration of the background of the Cooper portraits, which were a prominent part of the show.

MAENTEL’S GERMAN BACKGROUND

Kassel, Hesse, located in an area known as the garden spot of Europe, was cultivated by the best farmers in the world—that “group of German tribes called the Rheinfranken, with an admixture of the Alemanni.” Situated at the foot of the Habichtsweld in a basin in the Fulda Valley, Kassel was chartered as a city in 1180, and became the residence of Landgrave Heinrich I in 1277. An extension, Neustadt (New Town) was added in the 14th century. Later additions included Oberneustad (Upper New Town) and Unterneustad (Lower New Town).

During World War II Kassel, a center for airplane and tank production, was fire bombed. As a result of this devastation the Kassel church books, “especially those of the nineteenth century,” are no longer available. Fortunately, the marriage contracts and the baptism and death announcements were published in a weekly newspaper of the time, the Kassel Polizei- und Commerzeitung, and lists have been compiled from that by the local genealogical society. It is from this source—starting with clues in family tradition—we learn that Johann Adam Bernhardt Jakob Mentel, born October 15, 1778, in Kassel, was baptized into the Oberneustädter congregation during the week of October 21-27, 1778; his godfather was the veterinarian Mr. Kersting of Hanover, with the manufacturer Mr. Balkeisen serving as proxy.

Jacob was the son of Friedrich Ludwig Mentel and Elisabetha Krieger who, according to the Court Community Records (Hofgemeinde), were married the week of November 23-30, 1759, when Friedrich was a groom in the government stables at Schloss Wilhelmsbüche. At the time of Jacob’s birth, however, his father was “beadle with the illustrious principal post office” in Kassel. Born March 3, 1731, Friedrich died March 13, 1805, at the age of seventy-four, shortly before Jacob emigrated to the United States. His burial is listed among the records of the Upper New City congregation for the week of March 6-13.

Jacob Maentel was the eleventh of fourteen children—twelve girls and two boys; one boy and one girl died in infancy, and another girl died in early childhood. This is in accord with Maentel family tradition which says that Jacob “brought miniatures of seven to nine sisters with him which were destroyed in a house fire in Indiana in 1858.” Another family tradition (which has not been confirmed) says that Maentel served seven years—“until his discharge because of ill health”—as a soldier in Napoleon’s army. Lending weight to this assertion are numerous references in Indiana sources to Maentel “as an old Napoleonic soldier.”

Kassel’s greatest period of economic and cultural flowering was at its height in the 18th century. Landgrave Karl laid out the Karlsauge, a beautiful natural forest park. Wilhelm VIII founded a famous art gallery which now contains more than 600 Old Masters. The neoclassical Schloss Wilhelmsbüche was built by Simon Louis du Ry and Heinrich Christoph Jussow for Landgrave Wilhelm IX, and the famous water cascades in the Schlosspark were laid out by the Italian Guinero. And, standing 230 feet high on a pyramid base on top of the Octogone, a copper statue of Hercules—symbol of the city—overlooked the castle and city below.

It was in this elegant city, where art and education were fostered, that Jacob Maentel grew to manhood. (Incidentally, the same cultural riches which nurtured the folk artist also nurtured his much more famous contemporaries, the Brothers Grimm.) He would have received an adequate education in the high school, but his name is not found on the roster of the University of Marburg. That Latin was part of his school curriculum is evident from his paintings. In his portrait of a seated man reading Virgil’s Aeneid, for example, the Latin words on the open pages are legible, indicating a familiarity with the text. And his portrait of Jonathan Jaques—one of only three to bear his signature—is signed “Jacob Maentel fecit.”
While at the time of Maentel’s birth in 1778 Hessen-Kassel Land (state) was part of the old Holy Roman Empire ruled over by an emperor (elected by the German princes and crowned by the pope), it came under the jurisdiction of Landgrave Frederick II. He, of course, is well-known in American history for providing troops to George III, king of both Britain and Hanover, during the Revolution. An *Index of Hessian Troops in America* (Marburg Archives, 1972) lists several soldiers under variants of the surname Maentel, including a Jacob Mantel/Mandel, born 1750/51 in Hohenkirschen.22

In 1803 Hessen-Kassel was made an electorate, but between 1807 and 1813 it became part of the Kingdom of Westphalia, which was created by Napoleon Bonaparte for his brother Jerome. It should be noted that during this period, “persons having standing in the government and the military remained as a rule at their posts, that is to say, they served under Napoleon in the so-called Kingdom of Westphalia.”23 A search of the Marburg Archives for some record of Jacob Maentel’s supposed military service under Napoleon was requested, but, as already noted, no such record was found.

Archivist Dieter Pelda also reviewed the emigration records or, as he says, “such [emigration records] as are preserved.”24 He notes that “unfortunately, for the time 1803 until ca. 1820 there are no emigration records with us,” and goes on to add, “besides, emigration at this time in Hesse was still forbidden . . . [it] was first legalized in the 1830s. Concerning the earlier departures (illegal!), only incomplete lists of names are extant, [and] I have been unable to ascertain such an emigration for Maentel.”25

MAENTEL IN MARYLAND AND PENNSYLVANIA

Just as no record of Jacob Maentel’s leaving Germany has been found, neither has a record of his arrival in America been discovered; but the city directories of Baltimore for the years 1807 and 1808 may give us some idea of the date. In them one finds listed a “Mattell” who calls himself a portrait painter and who gives his address as 46 South Street.26 Jacob Maentel has been tentatively identified as this man. A check has also shown that he is not listed in the 1810 federal census as the head of a family, although he may be listed as an inmate of another household. There are other early census listings of variant spellings of the surname: William Mandal in Baltimore City, 1800; William and Thomas Mentel, York County, Pa., 1810 (the former had appeared in 1800); Conrad Mentle, Philadelphia, 1810; and Henry Mentle, Allegheny County, Pa., 1810. No attempt has been made to link these families with Jacob Maentel.

From York artist Lewis Miller’s 1812 “Sketchbook,” this drawing shows Jacob Maentel and others engaged in target practice there. (Courtesy of the York County Historical Society)

The first indisputable and legal record of the artist’s presence in America is found on August 9, 1811, in the Calendar of York County Naturalizations when he declared his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States. Maentel claimed to be a native of Kassel, owing allegiance to the king of Westphalia. Citizenship was granted July 31, 1815.27 Another official record lists “Jacob Mantell” as “a Pennsylvania Volunteer in the Receipt Roll of a company of militia commanded by Captain Thomas Huston of the 2nd Regiment performing a tour of duty under the command of Colonel MaClure who rendezvoused at York under the general order of the governor, dated 26th August, 1814.”28

A pictorial record of Maentel’s presence in York can be found in three drawings by Lewis Miller. In his 1812 “Sketchbook,” Miller, who considered himself a chronicler/artist (the counterpart of the news photographer of today) has a drawing labeled “Musket fire.” It shows twelve men engaged in target practice near a flagpole, four with guns, eight as spectators. The caption above tells us this is taking place at the “Liberty Tree, in 1812, on the East Hill in the Borough of York.
Lewis Miller drawings of Jacob Maentel labeled 1816. (Courtesy of the York County Historical Society)

in main [sic] Street.” Miller wrote beneath the picture: “The following persons were Jacob Mantel, Jacob Nell, Jacob Buser, Nicholas Huber, old Mr. Ferdinand, Peter Wilt, Jacob Rupp, Lawrence Shultz, 1812.” In a later “Sketchbook” Miller has two drawings of Maentel, one labeled “1816, Jacob Maentel, Confectioner”; the other, “Jacob Maentel, 1816.” Both portraits show a portly man smoking a pipe—one figure inhaling, the other exhaling.

Concerning his marriage, family tradition has long held that Jacob Maentel was forty years older than Catherine Weaver when they were married in Frederick, Maryland, either 1818 or 1819. Unfortunately, the marriage records from the church the Weavers attended are missing from about 1816 to September 12, 1830. But we do know now that Maentel turned forty in 1818, while Catherine was about seventeen.

According to family sources again, the newly married Maentels moved to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where their children Frederick and Louisa were born. The 1820 census of Harrisburg, Dauphin County, does list one “Jacob Mently, a person engaged in commerce.” His age is given as “bet. 26-45,” and his wife’s age is estimated to be “bet. 16-26.” Two children are recorded: “1 male child, age under 10 yrs”; and “1 female child, age under 10 yrs.” These may be Frederick and Louisa, although no baptismal records have been found. Also listed as a member of the Maentel household in 1820 is an unidentified female, “of 45 yrs. and upwards.”

Baptismal records for three other Maentel children have been located. From the St. Luke’s Evangelical Lutheran Church (formerly Heidelberg Congregation) Parish Register, [1763]-1834, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania: “Wilhelm, b. Sept. 19, 1824, to Jacob and Catharina Mintel, sponsor, father; Wilhelmine, b. Apr. 12, 1826, to Jacob and Catharina Mendel; sponsor, Luisa Weber; Amalia, b. Nov. 30, 1828, to Jacob and Catharina Mendel; sponsors, Gottfried Kast and Sophia.”
Jacob Maentel’s portraits of Andrew and Margaretha Young (Jung) and their daughters of Harrisburg, Pa. The artist dated the father’s picture March 25, 1824; in November of the same year one of his own children was baptized in Schaefferstown. There is a striking re-
semblance—both in costume and pose—between Margaretha and her daughter and Maentel’s later portrait of Elizabeth Ferguson Cooper and her daughter. (Private collection, Pennsylvania. Photo courtesy of Hirsch & Adler Folk, New York)

The final census record of Jacob Maentel in Pennsylvania is that of 1830. Then he is listed as living in Heidelberg Township, Lebanon County: “Jacob Mendel. Age bet. 50-60 [he was 51 or 52]. Married; wf. bet. 20-30 [Catharine was 28-30]. 1 male child under 5 [Wilhelm]. 1 male child, age 10-15 [Frederick was somewhere between 10 and 12]. Two female children, under 5 [Wilhelmina and Amalia]. 1 female child, 10-15 [Louisa, also between 10 and 12 years old].”

Further information concerning Maentel’s whereabouts in America may be ascertained by examining the evidence of his dated portraits. The Artist Index, Inventory of American Paintings, NMAA, Smithsonian Institution, reported 128 paintings known to be by, or ascribed to, Jacob Maentel. Using this source as a means of determining the year he migrated to Indiana, we find his portrait of Henry Peter Sticher, of Upper Hanover Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, listed in the 1978 Sotheby sale catalog which dates it April 9, 1838. However, Maentel authority

Josephine Elliot discusses the same painting in Antiques (September, 1982), and gives the year as 1833. And, indeed, a close examination of the portrait does show that Elliot is correct. Elliot also calls attention to Maentel’s portrait of Johannes Heinrich Meyers, noting that his birth certificate is dated June 14, 1837. This is the last date for a Pennsylvania painting by Maentel she has found.

JACOB MAENTEL IN INDIANA

New Harmony, Indiana, has a unique history, and since the Jacob Maentel story is bound up with that of the town itself, brief mention of that history must be made. The site of two utopian communities, the town was built as a religious haven by the followers of George Rapp, a German who preached the imminence of Christ’s Second Coming. The Rappites had established their first home in America at Harmonie, in Butler County, Pennsylvania in 1804. In 1814 they sold that site and built a new community of the same name on the Wabash River in southwestern Indiana. This was sold in
1825 when the group returned to Pennsylvania and built a third town, Economy, on the Ohio River.

The town’s new owner (who re-named it New Harmony), was Scottish industrialist, philanthropist, and reformer Robert Owen. Owen distrusted religion and placed his faith instead in education; he thought the New World a perfect place to establish a new, ideal society. Owen’s partner in the venture was William Maclure, who also had been born in Scotland, but who had emigrated to Philadelphia, where he became an important part of the intellectual community. Like Owen, Maclure had a passionate commitment to education, and when the two met in Philadelphia he agreed to contribute his money and expertise to the new community where all property was to be held in common; all work was to be considered equal; and all would receive the same pay. An economic failure—it lasted just two years—New Harmony nonetheless did establish, for the first time in America, the first infant school, kindergarten, and trade school, and also became the site of the first U.S. geological survey.

Jacob Maentel, who would spend the remainder of his life among the former utopians of Robert Owen’s New Moral World, originally stopped in New Harmony only to visit an old family friend, the Reverend Jacob Schnee. The itinerant painter and Schnee, a printer as well as a preacher, had both worked in southeastern Pennsylvania and in Baltimore and western Maryland. And, as we have seen, Maentel’s last recorded Pennsylvania address was Heidelberg Township, the seat of the Schnee family since 1749.

According to family history, Maentel “had started with his family to Texas when some were taken sick and they came to New Harmony to their friends, the Schnees, whom they had known in the East, the father going on, the mother and children being taken by Mr. Schnee to what was afterwards Pelhamtown. He found work for the boys.” Indeed, the earliest confirmed record of Jacob Maentel’s presence in Indiana is found in the records of the probate court of Posey County concerning the Schnee estate and dated November 12, 1838 (Pastor Schnee had died in August of that year): “Jacob Mental” is listed under “Accounts Standing upon the Books of Jacob Schnee, Dec’d.”

The Reverend Schnee, too, had hoped to establish a religious commune, and in April, 1827, left Middletown, Maryland, where he was minister at Old Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church, to take an 806-acre lease from Robert Owen. Two weeks before the arrival of the Schnee party, Owen dissolved his New Harmony community. In his farewell speech he spoke of the English community, Feiba Peveli, east of the town, and of Maclurian (soon to be re-named Schneeville) now awaiting the arrival of Schnee and his German farmers. Owen said he looked forward to seeing their continued success when he returned from Europe the next year.41

Pastor Schnee’s followers, affected by the trauma of the departing utopians, became disillusioned and left for Indianapolis in November. Schnee then personally leased the acreage, built three mills and a fourteen-room brick house for his expanding family, and set up a Pennsylvania-type plantation and a successful trading business down the Mississippi River in partnership with W. E. Stewart, a lawyer in nearby Mt. Vernon on the Ohio River.42

It was to the above-mentioned brick house the Maentels came, welcomed by their friends. There was

Jacob Maentel’s portrait of Joseph Price of Poseyville, Indiana. Joseph (no relation to the William Prices whose Maentel portraits were lost in a tornado) was born in Hunterdon County, New Jersey in 1758 and lived in South Carolina and Kentucky before migrating to Indiana where he died in 1843; he is buried in Harmony Township’s Carnahan Cemetery. A veteran of the Revolutionary War (see Moss, Roster of South Carolina Patriots in the American Revolution, Baltimore, 1983), he could not collect his bonus since he was unable to produce proof of his service. (Courtesy of Mrs. L. M. Cecil, Ft. Worth, Texas)
work for the boys in the mills, in the orchard, and on the farm. When Maentel returned from Texas and decided to stay in Indiana, Schnee helped him lease a farm from the Owen brothers. A record of his residency is found in the Posey County Assessment Book for 1838: "Jacob Maentel, Twp Harmony 7 13 Range Value of Personal Property $100."

Not surprisingly in an agricultural community where money was scarce, Maentel used his art as a commodity. In 1840, for instance, after Catherine Maentel opened an account with William Price, a farmer living near Stewartsville,4 Jacob exchanged portraits of the Prices for goods. (These paintings were destroyed by a tornado in 1925.) And the six portraits of the Cooper family, painted in 1842, which figured so prominently in the 1989 Maentel Exhibition were also paid on account with John Cooper. The Cooper watercolors follow chronologically the portraits of Jonathan and Rebekah Jaques, painted in 1841.

In fact, the first reference to Jacob Maentel as an artist in Indiana concerns these Jaques portraits. It comes in an article by Thomas Hinde published in 1843 in the Western Christian Advocate. Hinde, who actually knew the couple and was writing about Jonathan’s death, said that he “was shown a pretty good likeness of the two old people”;44 he did not mention the name of the artist. Of course, these “pretty good likeness[es]” are now well-known, and today are a part of the collection of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center in Williamsburg, Virginia.

The second reference to Maentel as artist is found in the 1850 Indiana census. The census taker, David M. Schnee (1820-1909), who had known Maentel since his childhood in Pennsylvania, listed his occupation as “painter.”

A century later the folk artist was included, along with the trained artists of the state, in Wilbur D. Peat’s Pioneer Painters of Indiana.45 By then folk art had become a valuable commodity in the art market, and Peat described Maentel as “one of the most ingenious and untutored of the local painters; judging by the artlessness of his water colors . . . he had had no formal training in art, [and] his delineations are far from masterly.”46 In his discussion of the differences between “an inept dauber” and a “primitive painter,” Peat wrote:

A primitive picture is the work of an untutored painter with an innate, if elementary, sense of color and design. His compositions are naively devised, lacking linear or aerial perspective, and without foreshortening or normal overlapping of figures. While his drawing may be firm and strong, with emphasis on outline, he is unable to suggest the graceful articulation of arms, bodies, and heads . . . He is not able to cope with the modulations of tones that hold to create the illusion of mass or three-dimensional form, so his figures appear flat instead of round . . . the inept dauber has the same shortcomings . . . but lacks the primitive painter’s natural taste and sensitivity."7

Peat also listed the following Maentels which he had located in 1954: the Jaques portraits, owned by Arthur Jaques, who lived on the ancestral farm; the six Cooper paintings, in the possession of Mrs. Charles Ray of Terre Haute; James Overton and his Son Emory and John Cox and His Daughter Ovela, property of New Harmony’s Working Men’s Institute; and Thomas Robb and his Son James, then in the home of Winfield Robb on Church Street in New Harmony (there is no information as to its present whereabouts). The last two portraits of fathers and sons Peat described as almost identical in composition.

Members of the Faul family also sat for Jacob Maentel, but, although Peat investigated the Fauls both in Indiana and Illinois, he did not include the Faul portraits in his book.46 Nor did he include the two firescreens in oil given by Mary Mumford Thrall (Jacob Maentel’s granddaughter) to the Working Men’s Institute. These were found in the Institute’s attic by

Jacob Maentel’s Thomas Robb and His Son James. This watercolor was last noted in Wilbur D. Peat’s Pioneer Painters of Indiana, 1954; location unknown, 1991. (Photo courtesy of Indiana Historical Society Library)
The Thomas Mumford house, restored by Don Blair to the Harmonist Period. The 1860 census shows that after his own house burned in 1858, Jacob Maentel lived here with his daughter Louisa and her husband, Thomas Mumford. (Courtesy of Don Blair)

Josephine Elliot. One shows a farmhouse with animals, the other a harbor scene. They were restored by Evansville artist Fred Eilers, who described the stretcher strips as "crude, as if cut from a fence post."49

Eilers also said that Maentel probably would have made his brushes from the hairs of horses' tails, and could even have prepared his own pigments. This coincides with information in a letter from the artist's great-grandson, Dr. E. Bishop Mumford, who recalled seeing Jacob Maentel's "paint mixing mortars and pestles . . . stored in the landing where the stairs turned up going to the second floor"50 in the house of his grandfather, Thomas Mumford, on Church Street in New Harmony. This house had been the home of Thomas and Wilhelmina Maentel Cowles, before Cowles deeded it to his brother- and sister-in-law, Thomas and Louisa Maentel Mumford, after the death of his wife. The 1850 census shows that Cowles left his small son, George W., with the Jacob Maentels and returned to New Haven, Connecticut. After Maentel's house was destroyed by fire in 1858, we find him listed in the 1860 census as a member of the Mumford household on Church Street. (This Harmonist house, which had been enlarged, has now been restored and moved to North Street in New Harmony; it is known as the David Lenz House and is part of the Decorative Arts Series, 1820.)

Three other works executed by Maentel in Indiana should be mentioned. The two pictures (one a sketch, the other a finished portrait), which show a middle-aged man, James Maidlow, seated at a desk, were owned for years by his descendants.51 Maidlow, secretary of the English community (an offshoot of the Owen's group), Feiba Peveli, east of New Harmony, had first settled in Vanderburgh County, Indiana. He kept a grocery store across the highway from the Posey County fairgrounds, and his wife was an "herb doctor." After her death Maidlow sold his property and moved to Evansville, where he died December 24, 1851. The watercolor shows him in a setting with the same kind of secretary, carpet, and window as that found in one of the Cooper portraits still to be discussed.

The third painting came to light in 1972 when the Fred Cook estate sale was held on Brewery Street in New Harmony. The sale included the contents of the Harry Slater/William Ward house on Main Street; the Cook heirs had inherited it from Clara Tretheway Ward, a sister of Hattie Tretheway Cook. The combined sale makes it difficult to identify with certainty the subjects of the Maentel painting sold inadvertently to the Rudisell Antique Shop of Wadesville, Indiana. They had purchased one of two lots of frames auctioned, and a portrait of a mother and child was found beneath a print in one of these.52

The picture is a full-length pose of a woman wearing a dress similar in style to that shown in Maentel's 1842 portrait of Elizabeth Ferguson Cooper (see below). As in the Cooper portrait, the woman wears a dress with a lace shawl collar; unlike Elizabeth's however, the sleeve of this woman's dress has one balloon rather than two. A bald-headed baby is seated in a high chair on the mother's right; a chair and table to her left complete the setting. If this picture belonged to the Fred Cooks the
subjects would have had to be members of the Treheway family—the Cooks arrived too late to sit for Maentel. If from the Slater household it could have been a portrait of Mary Beal Slater and her son Harry, born in 1855.

Not all of Jacob Maentel’s works were preserved. Those belonging to his daughter Louisa were used to line drawers and later burned. The estate papers of son William who died in 1858 listed “7 col’d print pictures, valued at $1.40”; these have not been located. If Wilhelmina owned any of her father’s paintings, they may have been taken to New Haven by her husband after her death. No estate record has been found for Frederick, who died during the Civil War; he had eight children.

II

Jacob Maentel arrived in New Harmony in time to preserve a glimpse into the lives of those utopian who remained, settling for peace and security in individual property rights rather than in communal ownership. One former communitarian expressed the ideal of that day in these words: “My daily tasks done, I can take pleasure in the garden and then in the books...[these allow one] to luxuriate in the ideas of the mental giants, [and] to transport oneself to any bygone age and profit from the teachings of history and philosophy.”

Although recognition of Maentel’s works as significant art did not come in time to save many of his Indiana paintings from destruction, fortunately the six Cooper family portraits (painted around 1842), were preserved, for they, too, reflect that ideal of living so well expressed above. A Cooper family historian records that Maentel, “an old soldier of Napoleon who had a talent for painting...had painted pictures of the family. But the boys were unhappy with the results, and the pictures were hidden in a trunk. Seventy years later, Eleanor Hord Ray, a great-granddaughter, found them.”

BACKGROUND OF THE COOPER FAMILY

John Cooper, born in 1795 at Moore Park, County Surrey, England, was the eldest son of James and Ann Cranham Cooper and, about 1817, became the first of the family to migrate to Albion, Illinois, a settlement of English farmers and artisans across the Wabash River from New Harmony. Having a university education, he was assigned to teach in the community school there. A short time later he moved to Posey County, Indiana, where he taught in the Fraser settlement.

This was named for Hugh Fraser, who had been kidnapped in 1701 from the streets of Paisley, Scotland (he was seven years old), and sold as an indentured servant to a Quaker named William Cummins in Kent County, Maryland. When he was twenty-one Fraser married Cummins’ daughter, Peggy. In 1789 their daughters—Rebekah Fraser Jaques, Elizabeth Fraser Casey, and Mary Fraser Ferguson—joined a Boone party and migrated through the Cumberland Pass down the Wilderness Road to Kentucky. Then, in 1814 they bought 2000 acres of land in Posey County, and the following year forty-four members of the Fraser clan moved to their new home.

When the group arrived in Indiana, Elizabeth, the youngest of Alexander and Mary Fraser Ferguson’s eight children, was sixteen years old; when she was twenty-two she married John Cooper. After Robert Owen purchased New Harmony and 20,000 acres from the Harmony Society in 1825, the young Coopers joined the Owen Community where he was assigned work in the mill on Cut-Off Island. But in 1826 the Coopers were among a group of dissidents who refused to sign the new colony’s permanent constitution, helping instead to organize Community No. 3—Feiba Pevelie—east of New Harmony on Owen land.

The Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who visited New Harmony in 1826, described the defection: “Community No. 3 consisted of English country people, who formed a new association, as the mixture, or perhaps the cosmopolitanism of New Harmony did not suit them; [before that] they left the colony planted by Mr.
Birbeck, at English Prairie... after the unfortunate death of that gentleman, and came here. This is proof that there are two evils that strike at the root of the young societies; one is the sectarian or intolerant spirit; the other, national prejudice. No. 3 is to be built in a very pretty eminence; as yet there is only a frame building for three families begun."

According to records at New Harmony's Working Men's Institute the new community of small gardens and farms was short lived—soon dissolved and its holdings consolidated by John Cooper, James Maidlow, and James Elliot; the latter two farmers from the English settlement in Vanderburgh County. John Cooper's holdings consisted of one thousand acres, in three separate parcels, on which he raised shorthorn cattle and Merino sheep. Although many contemporary area dwellings were log houses, Cooper—as Maentel's portraits show—built a comfortable two-story clapboard farmhouse.

John Cooper was a charter member—and treasurer—of the Posey County Agricultural Society, one of the first six such societies organized in Indiana in 1835-39; the president was Jacob Maentel's old friend, Jacob Schnee. On October 6-8, 1836, the Society held its first fair on the fairgrounds (across the highway from the Cooper farm), which also had a one-mile racetrack built by the New Harmony Jockey Club. That Cooper, who built the pens for the livestock exhibits, was an excellent farmer seems evident, for he was awarded premiums for best bull in the county; for milk cows and a spring calf; for two Merino rams and Merino ewes; as well as for boars, sows, stall-fed beef, one lot of lamb's wool, and for the best lot of wool offered. Since the purpose of the fair was to dispose of stock and articles of domestic industry, an auction was scheduled for the third day. At this "John Cooper exhibited a beautiful specimen of English Oats, and disposed of it for seed. The oats weighed 43 pounds to the bushel. The net produce per acre [was] forty-two bushels. But [since] a quantity of it was actually destroyed by hogs, the gross produce was doubtless over fifty bushels per acre."

One of Jacob Schnee's granddaughters, Anna Pote, lived next to the fairgrounds and in her memoirs described the surroundings, the people, and the events of the little world she shared with John Cooper and his family. She told how, "along the main travel road near ing New Harmony, there dwelt a number of English families. Their homes, many of them about a hundred yards from the road, were at the foot of wooded hills and in springtime blooming orchards and flower gardens had a picturesque setting, like a bit of old England.""

She also remembered that "the farm's small acreage was enclosed by green hedgerows; the entrance [was] a high-posted gate often shaded by a large oak or elm tree. At some corner a stile afforded the pedestrian en-
Bishop Jackson Kemper, the first missionary bishop of the Episcopal Church in America, visited Cooper’s neighbor, Judge William A. Twigg, and baptized the Twigg children. In 1841, after the bishop dedicated a wing of the old Harmonist Church as St. Stephen’s Episcopal Church, the Cooper family became members. John Cooper is listed in the vestry book as a member of the choir and account warden from 1853-56. His son James was a vestryman in 1869.

And, in addition to being a founding member of the agricultural society, Cooper was a charter member of the Working Men’s Institute. This was organized with seventy-one members by William Maclure in November, 1838, and chartered in April, 1839. Membership was restricted to males who worked with their hands, and Maclure provided over 2000 books for their use. The membership roll lists John Cooper as a farmer from England, and his brother Thomas as a brewer from England.

The 1850 census shows that John Cooper was then employed as agent for the William Creese Pelham estate; Pelham had purchased the Jacob Schnee estate in 1843 from Schnee’s heirs. Pelham himself died in 1846, and his widow, Victoria, in 1850. In a letter written to Victoria Pelham on January 31, 1850, John Cooper reported on the state of her financial affairs, and then went on to impart local news. Nationally, the country was caught up in the California gold rush, and New Harmony had not escaped infection from the “Great Fever,” as Cooper called it. Noting that a Californian named Sextor had “gold to buy cattle and to drive there, but not to pay his debts” (he owed the estate $200), Cooper goes on to list the names of neighbors who will be setting out for California in April. He ends by saying: “May they never regret it.” Some did; Asiatic cholera broke out in the wagon train, and several members were buried along the trail.

Although the wagon train deaths were still to come when Cooper wrote in January, 1851, he does mention a cholera death that had already occurred; R. H. Fauntleroy had died from the disease in Galveston, Texas. Fauntleroy, husband of Robert Owen’s daughter Jane, had been with a group of New Harmony scientists making a geodetic survey when he was stricken. Describing the incident to Victoria Pelham he concludes with: “His remains have been brought home and buried in New Harmony graveyard. How the good & great Fall.” Cooper would later serve as administrator of the Fauntleroy estate and guardian of the Fauntleroy children from 1863-65, after the death of Jane.

MAENTEL’S COOPER PORTRAITS

As already noted, the Maentel exhibit mounted by the Evansville Museum in 1989 was highlighted by the first-ever showing of the artist’s portraits of the Cooper family. These were painted in 1842 when John Cooper (1795-1879) was forty-seven years old. Maentel’s painting of him shows an English squire, hat in hand, dressed in a brown wool greatcoat. One of three outdoor scenes among the family portraits, the tall, erect figure is painted against the backdrop of his English-style country home, a two-story white house with connecting barn. Built at the base of a wooded hill, the expanse of bluegrass meadow in front simulates the park-like setting of its Old World counterpart. Completing the scene, a dog looks up at his master, the very embodiment of the prosperous, successful gentleman we know him to have been.

John’s wife, Elizabeth Ferguson Cooper (1799-1889), was forty-three and the mother of five (four sons and a daughter) when she posed for Maentel. She is shown indoors, in a room with bright green walls, dark charcoal-colored baseboard, and wood trim painted light pink; the window has sheer red curtains edged with linen string lace and tassels, and the carpet is pink-and-green striped wool. The only furniture shown is a table and a green-painted chair.

Elizabeth was the niece of Rebekah Fraser Jaquess, whom Maentel had painted the year before. Rebekah is shown wearing a black silk dress which in the Maentel portrait has a pasted-on look. The artist was much more
successful in depicting Elizabeth Cooper's gown. Its brown, iridescent silk is shot with blue highlights in the folds, and these give a sense of perspective not found in Rebekah's portrait. Noteworthy, too, in the painting of Elizabeth is Maentel's treatment of the window glass. He shows blue skies and clouds to indicate transparency and to balance the bare wall to the left. (In Rebekah's portrait the glass is opaque with an elaborate design of triangular shadows to balance the Moses Eaton wall stencils on the left.) Indeed, Jacob Maentel is shown at his best in this work with its details of the lace shawl collar, the balloon sleeves, the gold brooch at the neckline, the rope necklace for the watch tucked into the blue sash, and the elegant lace-and-ribbon cap.

In this picture of a very proper lady of the period, Elizabeth Cooper's right hand touches her sewing basket on the polished table, while her left hand holds that of her small daughter, Elizabeth Mary. Wearing a sheer pink dress trimmed with blue rickrack and a blue bead necklace, the child holds three full-blown roses.

Four years old when the picture was painted, Elizabeth Mary Cooper (1838-1922) was sent by stagecoach when she was ten to St. Mary's-of-the-Woods in Terre Haute, where, for five years, she studied music, painting, and embroidery under the Sisters of Providence; she then studied two more years at Bishop Smith's Seminary in Louisville. A charter member of New Harmony's famed Minerva Society (1858-63), she served as its president in 1860. In 1864 she married Dr. Stephen J. Young, a surgeon in the Union Army; after the Civil War they settled in Terre Haute. Of their three children, only one survived—Eleanor Young (Mrs. Francis T.) Hord.

Horatio Cranham Cooper (1823-1864), the eldest son, nineteen, is pictured indoors, perhaps in a room which was the library. Educated in the law at Center College in Kentucky, he became "a lawyer of strong literary tastes and talent, and quite a poet," according to a family historian. He married Laura V. Moore in 1861 and became the father of two children. A government investigator for Indiana claims in Minnesota, he and his family made their home in St. Paul.

Maentel posed Horatio standing by the secretary, left arm akimbo, right arm slightly bent and with the right hand, holding a quill pen, resting on the edge of its writing surface which also holds a document of some sort. Large books fill the shelves above, and a varnished, decorated chair stands nearby. As for the painting's other details, the room's green walls, pink woodwork, dark, charcoal-colored baseboard, and pink-and-green striped wool carpet match those shown in his mother's portrait. In fact, all the interior scenes
William Ferguson Cooper, Jr.

show green walls, although the color varies in tint.

William Ferguson Cooper (1825-1910), the second son, was recalled as “strikingly handsome, [and] most romantic.” At the time Maentel painted him he was just seventeen, but already over six feet tall (as were all the Cooper men as adults), his height inherited from the family of his paternal grandmother, Ann Cranham Cooper, whose male members had served as “palace guards for the four Georges” back in England.

William “was the adventurer in the family. He served in the Mexican War... after which he and several other young bloods, fellows-in-arm, enlisted in a revolution in Yucatan and swash-buckled through Latin America for several months, wearing broad sashes, shiny swords and plumed hats. In 1849 he went overland to California to the Gold Rush and became owner of a large cattle ranch in the San Joaquin Valley.” William married Lavinia Hall in 1866 and fathered two sons.

Maentel painted William with an open book in hand, his hat perched on the stub of a sawn-oak limb. He is fashionably dressed in open collar and wide silk tie, with a gold stud in his shirt, a brown vest, and a blue suit with a long, flared coat. As in the portrait of John Cooper, one can see the family home and barn in the background; this picture though, includes the split-rail fence that enclosed the house yard, but which is not seen in the painting of the father.

John Cooper, Jr. (1827-1873), the third son, was the businessman in the family, a partner in the Cooper-Hunsden General Store in New Harmony. He married Anna Reed and was the father of two daughters, Eleanor and May. Fifteen years old when his portrait was painted, he is also posed in an outdoor scene and also has a book in his hand. Indeed, all the pictures of the boys have books in them, probably to indicate that they were students. All, too, were similarly attired. The distant background of house and barn this time includes the tenant house, home to George and Ceil, described by Anna Pote. The sky in this painting is yellow, but is blue with white clouds in the portraits of John, Sr. and William.

It is James Athenian Cooper (1830-1924), the youngest son, of whom we know the most. The family historian describes him as “the tallest of the four boys, standing six feet, three inches, straight and tall.” In the painting James, then twelve years of age, stands by his study table which is piled with school books, a seal, and an inkstand with pens. He is holding a slate tablet on which the figures are legible. A painted chair stands nearby; there are no curtains at the window.
Just three years later, in 1845, "James drove in a spring wagon to Bloomington [Indiana], to enter the State University. [There] he joined the Athenian Debating Society from which he acquired his middle name." In his third year of college he was forced to return home due to the illness of his father, but later studied at the College of Medicine in Evansville, where he received his degree in 1851. In 1852 he went to Europe and studied medicine for four years in Stuttgart, Vienna, Paris, and London. In 1855 Dr. Cooper married Florence Dale Owen, granddaughter of Robert Owen, in Naples, where her father, Robert Dale Owen, was chargé d'affaires.  

Returning home the following year, the young Coopers, along with other members of the Owen family, spent three days in New York. Since spiritualism was then, according to Florence, "all the rage," while there they visited the Fox sisters, "two of the best mediums." Apparently the sisters lived up to their reputation, at least as far as Florence was concerned, for she reported they were able to communicate with a younger brother of hers who had died at eight, and with the deceased mother of another member of the party. Moreover, there would be other such activities when they reached home.  

In New Harmony James and Florence received a warm reception, with a ball being given to welcome them back. The Cooper family was especially happy to have them home, and James's father gave him "a fine young horse," and his wife "a little white cow, the gentlest creature in the world." James had the "promise of patients" as soon as his office was established, and Florence was certain he would do well. She was not destined, however, to enjoy many years of that success; she had a son, Robert, in 1856 and died seven years later. In 1870 James was remarried to Emma William Stewart, daughter of Dr. William Stewart of Louisville, and set up practice in Terre Haute. There ten children were born to the couple.  

**CONCLUSION**  
Fittingly, descendants of most of the main characters mentioned in this essay met beneath the same roof in the Evansville Museum on November 11, 1989. In formal dress, amidst yellow chrysanthemums and lighted candles set in a row in the hushed Main Gallery, they came to view the "naive drawings" once so lightly regarded they spent many years concealed in a trunk. They came, too, to pay tribute to the painter of those portraits, Jacob Maentel, the German-American who left us a rich legacy of American folk art.  

Of Maentel's work we now know much; of his life—and death—questions remain. In fact, no official record of his death has been found. The only information that is known is the following, found in an unidentified, handwritten note in the card catalog of the Working Men's Institute:  

Maentel, Jacob  
Old Man Mentle, one of Bonaparte's old soldiers, died today (Apr. 28, 1863) he was near 100 years old born June 15, 1763.  

Since the birthdate is obviously wrong, a search was made for Maentel's burial record. No newspaper was printed in New Harmony at the time, but the records of area churches were examined without positive results. These included the oldest German churches as well as Johnson Methodist Church and St. Stephen's Episcopal Church. The latter, which had no minister from 1862-68, seemed especially promising since the 1860 census shows the artist was then living with Thomas and Louisa Mumford (his son-in-law and daughter), who were Episcopalians.
Even New Harmony's Maple Hill Cemetery, which has a small headstone marked simply "J. M.," has no record of Jacob Maentel's burial there. It may be that he was originally buried elsewhere and reinterred in Maple Hill on June 28, 1902, after Thomas Mumford, Jr. exchanged a cemetery lot and erected a marble memorial column to honor three generations of his family. Lending credence to this theory is the fact that during this period other New Harmony families were reinterring scattered family graves in large family plots.

Jacob Maentel spent twenty-five years in Indiana, but in comparison of his thirty years in the East, where he is credited with producing over one hundred paintings, they do not seem to have been especially productive ones. Age was no doubt part of the reason—he was, after all, sixty years old when he arrived—but other factors must be considered as well. As already noted, besides those paintings known to have been destroyed, it is quite possible others remain to be found. Then, too, Maentel's 1838 arrival in Indiana nearly coincided with a landmark event in the invention of photography, for in 1839 the daguerrotype process was announced by the Academy of Science in Paris. Only ten years later, according to the card catalog of the Working Men's Institute, a daguerrotype photographer stayed at Todd's Tavern in New Harmony and took pictures of local residents. Obviously the days of the itinerant artist in America were numbered.

* * *

Art historians today look for explanations for the popularity of folk art, aside from the high prices it brings in the marketplace. One reason for it may well be simply a desire to return to simpler times; a nostalgic longing for what seems to have been a utopian past. Not surprising, really, if one artist's assessment of the human condition as reflected in mid-twentieth century art is valid: "Perhaps we can develop again the simple approach and the utter sincerity of the Renaissance, but we live in a disbelieving age, and we have a disbelieving art. All the modern men, excepting a very few, show a conviction of the ephemerality of the present and no belief in the future. Brittle. And man no longer has contact with the processes of living. One can't have faith in machine production."

It may be, then, that the work of folk artists helps to fill an aching void in the human psyche. And it may be, too, that Jacob Maentel has managed, better than most, to preserve the longed-for utopian ideal, and in so doing has been able to secure a permanent place in the annals of American folk art.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ENDNOTES

1 John W. Streetman, III, is director of the Evansville Museum of Arts and Science; James A. Sanders is director of Historic New Harmony, Inc. On November 12, which was Jacob Maentel Day in New Harmony, Barbara Luck, Director of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center in Williamsburg, presented a slide lecture on American folk art, followed by tours of the Jaques Parlor Museum, the Working Men's Institute—where both Maentel and Jaques exhibits were displayed—and the Maentel gravesite. A reception was held at the New Harmony Gallery of Contemporary Art.


3 Eleanor Ray Lee to Mary Lou Fleming, Terre Haute, Dec. 8, 1989. Mrs. Lee is the great-granddaughter of Elizabeth Mary Cooper Young, the small child pictured with her mother in the 1842 Maentel painting.


the Calvin Kimbrough documentary video made to accompany the exhibition, and in it she is shown seated in the Jaques parlor.


'Prof. William T. Parsons to Mary Lou Fleming, Ursinus, Collegeville, 4 Nov. 1987: "Mentel and Maentel are exact same pronunciations. Mentel is a Hessian dialect spelling and is probably what the family used centuries back, before they paid much attention to a Standard German spelling ... Maentel is the accepted spelling both in the U.S. and in Germany today."

Jacob Maentel in his English inscription on Jonathan Jaques signed his name Maentel in 1841. In his German inscription on Johannes Zartmann (Translated Hartmann by Dieter Pelda) in 1828, he signed his name Müntel. Lewis Miller also used these two spellings in his "Sketchbook," 1812 and 1816, York, PA.


'Ibid.

'Pelda to Fleming, Marburg, Jan, 29, 1988.

'Pelda to Fleming, Marburg, June 18, 1989; the fourteen children of Friedrich Ludwig and Elisabetha Mentel were: Johanna Maria (1762-1762); Martha Elisabeth (1763); Johan Adam (1764-1764); Dorothea Maria (1765); Maria Sophie (1767-1771); Amalia (1771); Wilhelmine Sophia (1772); Caroline (1774); Wilhelmine (1775); Christine Dorothea (1776); Johan Adam Bernhard Jakob (1778); Christiana Dorothea Sophia (1780); Friederike Louise Elisabeth (1783); and Johanne Marie Anette Christine (1786).

'Thomas F. Mumford Papers, Louise P. Hill, letter, L. A., CA, 1939, property of Letitia S. Mumford, Griffith, IN. These papers consist of printed material plus two 20th century ms., written by 4th-5th generation descendants. Hill recalled conversations with her mother, Amelia Mumford Hill; Thomas F. Mumford remembered conversations with his great aunt, Mary Mumford Thrall (1845-1921).

'Ibid., If this assertion is true, Maentel would have enlisted around 1799 when he was twenty-one.

'Charlemagne (763-814) summoned prominent scholars from all over the empire and even from abroad, the most important being Einhard and Alcuin. A court library containing the works of the Church Fathers and those of ancient authors was established; a court academy for the education of young Frankish knights was founded; and he himself became a student. He then extended education beyond the court circle to include an intensive study of the Latin language and literature in the monastic and cathedral schools, educating the clergy and in the final instance the whole people. Enc. Brit., op. cit., Macro., Vol. 4, 46.

'Jacob Ludwig Carl Grimm, 1785-1863; Wilhelm Carl Grimm, 1786-1859. Born in Hanau, near Frankfurt am Main, in Hessen-Kassel. Attended high school in Kassel and studied law at University of Marburg. Besides the Kinder- und Hausmärchen (1812-22), which led to birth of the science of folklore, the Grimms did important work in historical linguistics and Germanic philology. Enc. Brit., op. cit., Macro., Vol. IV, 743.

Pelda to Fleming, June 6, 1989.

Josephine M. Elliott to Fleming. Owned by Berks Co. Hist. Soc., Reading, PA. Signed Wommelsdorf, den 20 den April 1825 wurde dieses Bild gemalt von Jacob Mantel. Book pages in portrait were translated for Elliott by Dr. Dan Seacove, US-Virgin, Aeneid, Book VI, lines 726-729. "First, the heaven and earth, and the watery plains, the shining orb of the moon and Titan's star, a spirit within sustains, and mind, pervading its members, sways the whole mass and mingles with its mighty frame."

Prof. Dr. Kurt Dülfer, Veröffentlichungen der Archivschule Marburg, ... Nr. 10, Hessische Truppen im Amerikanischen ..., Index nach Familiennamen, Bd. 1, Marburg, 1972, letter M. The following variant of Mentel are listed as members of Hessian troops hired by Geo. III of Britain during Amer. Rev.: Konrad Mendel of Raboldshausen; Friedrich Maentzel of Geer; Joseph Maentel of Seehof; Christian Mentel of Grebensteig; Jakob Mantel/Mandel (born 1750/51) of Hohenkirchen; Kasper Mantel of Helmshausen; Tiras Mantel of Heimbresser; — Mentel of Salzburg; Henrich Mentel of Raboldshausen; Johann Mentel, author of the "Gesetz," in Hamburg, where many of the Hessians troops remained in America. Mentel variants are found in early U.S. church records (1760) and census reports.

Lafayette greeted a company of former Hessian soldiers at Frederick, MD, 1824, "... our former adversaries whose gallant souls, indignant at the anti-social abuse of their valor, at the vile bargains for their lives and their limbs, made between European princip... have resort to the legitimate sovereign of which they have become a part—the people." See Williams & McKinsey, Hist. of Frederick Co., MD, 1:182, 184.

Ibid. to Fleming, June 6, 1989.

'Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. Marianne Ruch to Mary Lou Fleming, Nov. 30, 1989: "I double-checked the [Baltimore] City Directory, 1807 and 1808: Mattell, Portrait painter, 46 South St., There is no Directory for 1809, and Maentel is not listed in the 1810 Directory."


'See The Artist Index, Inventory of American Paintings, MMA, Smithsonian Institution, 1800-1860. The prints, portraits by Dieter Maentel, 3-30. Maentel painted portraits of Peter Wilt, Mrs. Sarah Catherine Wilt, Henry Wilt and Catherine Wilt.


'Ruch to Fleming, Derrywood, MD, No. 30, 1989; xeroxed at Hist. Soc. of York Co.

'Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. Marianne Ruch to Mary Lou Fleming, Nov. 30, 1989: "I double-checked the [Baltimore] City Directory, 1807 and 1808: Mattell, Portrait painter, 46 South St., There is no Directory for 1809, and Maentel is not listed in the 1810 Directory."

'Henry H. Holt and Co., ed. Ch., Harrisburg, all in existence by 

'See Fleming, op. cit., p. 102. Family tradition (Hill, op. cit.; no work has been done on the Weaver (Weber) family) also records that Catherine was born in Baltimore and that she had a sister and a brother named Louis and Martin. Her mother's name was Gutt, and she was from Alsace.

'Obituary and tombstone of Louisa Maentel Mumford show her birthdate as 1822. Memorials (altar rail, prie-dieu in St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, New Harmony) show 1820. Laura Grabman, Zion Luth. Ch., Harrisburg, church historian, found no Maentel records there (May, 1989).

'Donald R. Brown to Mary Lou Fleming, Harrisburg, August 29, 1989. "Daniel Brown, Ass. Dir., Col. Managements, PSL, examined records of Lutheran (and one Reformed) Church for these Dauphin Co., PA churches: St. Peter's Luth. Ch., Middletown, PA, baptisms; Sand Hill Luth. Ch., Derry Twp, Dauphin Co.; Zion Luth. Ch., Harrisburg, (orig. records of births, baptisms, marriages; found by John Fralish in PSL); Zion Luth. Ch., Hummelstown; and Salem Reformed Ch., Harrisburg—all in existence by 1800—also ShooP's; correspondence also searched by Warren Weirbach, Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc. Newspapers—Oracle of Dauphin, 1808-1827 and Harrisburg Advertiser; plus indexes, card files other than main catalog. No reference to the Maentel family was found in any of these records.

'However, the baptism records for 1819-1821 for Salem Reformed Church, John Winebrenner, pastor during those years, were missing. Winebrenner left the church and founded Churches of God and Winebrenner Seminary in Findley, Ohio.

J. Harvey Gossard, Prof. of Ch. Hist., Winebrenner Theological
Seminary, to Mary Lou Fleming, Sept. 12, 1989, Findley, Ohio. "If the records still exist, they would be at the United Church of Christ Archives, Lancaster, PA." A microfilm was obtained; the dates from 1819-1821 were missing.

vis. to Findley, Derwood, MD, 1985.

Janet Anderson, certified genealogist, Houston, checked all the census reports for Maentel.

Josephine M. Elliot, authority on Jacob Maentel; volunteer, 1950-58, librarian, 1958-60, archivist, Working Men's Institute; archivist emeritus, University of Southern Indiana. The article in Antiques discusses the collections of Sybil and Arthur Kern.

Thomas Mumford Papers, Working Men's Institute. Probably the epidemic raging in the Ohio Valley caused the death of Pastor Schnee, 54, on August 14, 1838. He was buried in his hilltop orchard next to his wife Catharine, 52, who had died the year before. On Schnee's grave are these words.

"Stranger, pause; and see who here does rest.
Friend and comforter to the distressed..."


Concerning the epidemic which was probably responsible for Schnee's death, see Also Dorothy Mackay Quynn, "Lafayette's Visit in Frederick, 1824," paper read before Frederick Co. Hist. Soc., Jan. 20, 1954, Maryland Historical Magazine, 290-299. See also Dorothy Mackay Quynn, "Lafayette's Visit in Frederick, 1824," paper read before Frederick Co. Hist. Soc., Jan. 20, 1954, Maryland Historical Magazine, 290-299. See David M. Schnee, "Lafayette," ms., private papers of Henry Conrad, Terre Haute: Jacob Schnee family had seen Lafayette on Maryland visit; Catharine Schnee tossed a bouquet into the barouche of the aristocrat and received a nod and a smile.)


Gellert Schnee Papers—Working Men's Institute.


Fanny Jaquess Papers, privately owned by Judith Lindell, New Harmony.


"Ibid.," p. 37.

"Ibid.," p. xvii.

Wilbur D. Peat, Archives, Indianapolis Museum of Art, Anne Marie Quets, Library Ass't. Correspondence of Wilbur D. Peat, which included Mrs. Frank O. Faul (Dorothy) of Robinson, IL, and Dr. E.B. Mumford, Indianapolis, Thomas F. Mumford, New Harmony. Peat was Director of the Museum in 1950. Apparently Peat was not satisfied with the result of the research and omitted the Faits in listing Maentel's Indiana siblings.

The Faits of Stewartsville (laid out in 1838 as Paris, renamed in 1853 when a P.O. was est.) are found in Carroll Cox, Tombstones of Posey County, 1814-1900, Evansville, 1979, 207-208: Ludwig Faul, b. Permans Reif Pfalz, Germany, 25 June 1808; Jacob Faul, b. 25 July 1834, wife, Caroline, 1841; Frederick Faul, b. 7 Oct. 1819, wife Elizabeth, (Dessen-Cattin), 1831. See also Frederick Faul, by Ann Wellborn, New Harmony Times, 1935-36; Annie Acton Wellborn, "History of Stewartsville," ms., 1916, paper read at Posey Co. Hist. Soc., 1920.

Fred Eilers to Mary Lou Fleming, June 13, 1990. Eilers is a native of Virginia and graduate of William and Mary at the time the Rockefellers were restoring Williamsburg. Eilers wrote: "Maentel would have mixed his own pigments...such as indigo for blue, etc. Clay could have been roasted to make red. Cochineal bugs could be crushed for red. Rusted iron could be scraped for red. He could have used gum arabic to bind the pigments. Both white and red lead were available, as also oil and turpentine to use in painting the frescoes. The same pigments were used with water as soluble for water colors." (See Thomas F. Mumford, and Eichbaum, Painters of Indiana, 1983: Jacob Fall, Oct. 7, 1819, wife, Caroline, 1841; Jacob Fall, b. 25 July 1834, wife, Caroline, 1841; Frederick Faul, b. 7 Oct. 1819, wife Elizabeth, (Dessen-Cattin), 1831. See also Frederick Faul, by Ann Wellborn, New Harmony Times, 1935-36; Annie Acton Wellborn, "History of Stewartsville," ms., 1916, paper read at Posey Co. Hist. Soc., 1920.


Visit to Mary Lou Fleming, June, 1990. Hattie and Clara Treheway were sisters, daughters of Parson William O. and Sarah Baldwin Treheway, the children of whom were born between 1868-1878, too late for Maentel. Is Sarah the baby?

Mary Beal was the daughter of John Beal, who built the Philanthropist, called the "Boatload of Knowledge," on which the scientists and Pestalozzian teachers were brought to New Harmony in 1826.

Eliora Cox from Posey County courthouse records.

"James P. Bennett, librarian at WMI, 1848-1850 and 1853-1855," writing to John Beal, builder of the "Philanthropist," keelboat which brought the scientists to New Harmony in 1826—who had gone to California during the Gold Rush. Bennett was reassuring Beal that he was happy he had not succumbed to the "gold fever." Maclure had given over 2000 books to the library, so Bennett was never short of reading material.

A detailed example of this ideal is found in William Creve Pelham's "Notes on Reading," ms., in which he had written quotations from Dryden, Pope, Swift, Shakespeare, Milton, L'Estrange, Guy Manning, Beggar's Opera, Nelson, etc. with copious notes from Jefferson's Writings. See Gellert Schnee Papers, WMI.

As a boy Pelham had been a student of Joseph Neef in Maclure's School on the Schuykill in Pennsylvania. Neef came to New Harmony to set up Maclure's School of Industry in 1826. William's grandfather—Peter Pelham, organist of Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg—had known Jefferson. Jefferson letters were found in the Pelham Papers. Pelham joined the New Harmony Community after his father, William Pelham, had joined in 1826.

"Cooper Family Papers, op. cit.

"The entire Cooper family settled in Illinois: James Cooper (1743-1837), Ann Cranham Cooper (1743-1833), and their children, Jane, John, Anne, James, Thomas and Isaac. Card Catalog, WMI. Allison was a settlement of English farmers and artisans in the Illinois territory, established by Morris Birkebeck and George Flowers—middle class English farmers—who sold their property in England to improve their own fortunes and also to give relief to English farmers suffering from the economic aftermath of the Napoleonic wars.

The two men travelled to La Grange outside Paris to discuss location with Lafayette, who referred them to Jefferson. Flowers spent some time at Monticello with Jefferson, who suggested the prairies in the Illinois Territory because they required no clearing of virgin forests and were across the Wabash River from George Rapp's Harmony Society in Indiana.

Numerous books and reviews advertising the settlement were written, in which prospective settlers were assured they would retain their
English customs and manners. See Charles Boewe, 

"See Nevin E. Danner, Cynthia Hunt, Journey's End of an American Pioneer Trail, Sesquicentennial Publications, Cynthia, IN, 1967, 54; see also The Fraser Clan, Fannie Jaques Papers, owned by Judith Lindell, New Harmony, IN; see also Fleming, op. cit., 98-111.

Snedman Whitwell — London architect, who planned Owen's philanthropic for 2000 people — devised an alphabetical unit "to give each locality a distinctive name by expressing in a compound word the latitude and longitude of the place," thus enabling one to locate any community geographically, e.g., Feibel Pevel, 38.11 North Latitude, 87.55 West Longitude. George B. Lockwood, The New Harmony Movement, New York, 1905, 114-115.

"See Harlow Linley, Indiana As Seen by Early Travelers, IN Hist., Indianapolis, 1916, 429; see also Karl Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenbach, Travels through North America, during the years 1825 and 1826, 1828, vol. 1, 105-124.

"Minutes of the Posey County Agricultural Society, 1835-1839, ins., WMI. See also Indiana Farmer, vol. 1, no. 15, Oct. 25, 1836, 118.

"Anna's Stories, ins., Youngblood Papers, WMI. Anna Pote's paternal grandparents, Thomas and Maria Coad Pote, came from England in 1838; her maternal grandparents were Pastor Jacob and Catharine Schnee.

"Ibid.

"Ibid. See Gypsies, CCWMI. Gypsy bands roamed the U.S. and Mexico in the 19th century. The king of the gypsies had come from England to Albion in 1821. They owned a campground of 12 acres near Pigeon Creek Bridge on Stringtown Rd., Evansville, known as Sherwood place. When a gypsy king died, bands from all over America converged there to elect a new king. They also owned a burial plot in Maple Hill Cemetery, where two gypsies were buried in the 1870s. Chippings describe the king's elegant wagon.


"Gellert Schnee Papers, WMI. Gellert was the eldest son of Pastor Jacob Schnee. Victoria Gex Pelham was the daughter of Louis Gex Obousier, who accompanied Albert Gallatin from Canton Vaub, Switzerland, at 19. Unbeknown to Cooper, Victoria had died on January 20, in Mobile, Alabama.

"Ibid.

"Ibid.

"The balloon or melon sleeve is described as a straight sleeve from the shoulder to the wrist, with a shirred balloon or melon at the elbow. Above this balloon a second balloon is doubled to form a flared bell.

"The scheme was organized by Constance Owen Fauntleroy, 1859-63. The 25 members were young women who had studied abroad or at good schools in the United States. Seven members, including Elizabeth Cooper, had attended St. Mary's-off-the-Wood. Robert Dale Owen had assisted the young ladies in writing a constitution. Until 1927 it was thought the Minerva Society was the oldest woman's club with a constitution in America.

"Cooper Family Papers, op. cit.

"Ibid.

"Ibid.

"Ibid. It was written of William that "his later life was overshadowed by many tragedies. He was in the San Francisco earthquake in 1906 and by some miracle was led safely through falling buildings and caving streets.""His widow, Anna Reed Cooper, became the third wife of Col. Julian Dale Owen in 1875.

"Cooper Family Papers, op. cit.

"See Indiana Almanac, Mar. 1, 1924, owned by David M. Cooper, Hampton, VA, retired naval architect, grandson of Dr. James Athenian Cooper.

"Robert Dale Owen was accompanied to Italy by his wife and children, his sister Jane Fauntleroy and her children, and the sons of brothers David Dale and William. The eleven Owen young people were educated in Stuttgart, Vienna, Paris and Nice. James A. Cooper joined them.

"Spiritualism, an ancient philosophy. Robert Dale Owen became interested in spiritualism during his stay in Naples. He wrote two books on the subject of psychic phenomena, Footprints on the Boundary of Another World, 1859, and Debatable Land Between This World and the Next World, 1872. Robert Owen also became a convert before his death. Robert D. Owen's daughter Rosamond became a well-known medium in England. Three Robert Dale Owen letters on the subject are found in Mary Emily Fauntleroy's Old Fauntleroy Family Papers, WMI.

"From a letter written by Florence Dec. 7, 1856, and addressed to "My Dear Girls": found in the Minerva Papers, OFH Collection, WMI.

"Margaret and Kate Fox, two sisters who claimed to hear strange rappings in their cottage in Hydesville, NY, 1848, and began to receive messages through a code established with the spirit of a medium. The Cooper family was primarily responsible for the American spiritualist movement in the 19th century.

"From the letter mentioned above is the following:"We had a sitting night before last, [and] last night... [but] Lizzie declares she will never sit again. She wrote the whole evening and felt badly all the next day. I never saw such violent emotion in my life, she knocked everything off the table, and wrote the queerest things, like 'You are a set of miserable people who believe in such foolishness,' and 'I don't wish you to go crazy over nonsense.' Then she drew a horrid lady and wrote below, 'Hurrah for my Heroine!' We laughed ourselves most to death over it and made such a noise, when her hand wrote 'Shut up.' Then she answered several questions and wrote, 'My dear William, I cannot tell you all I wish, this medium resists too much, we shall have better luck next time.' Then it wrote 'You must practice.' But she knocked about the bed all night and got up with such a headache that her mother says she must not try it again.'

"Ibid. We stayed 3 days in New York, 2 in Cincinnati, and arrived [in New Harmony] a week and a half ago. I wish you could have seen Alf [15 year old son of Dr. David Dale Owen], he just jumped up and down in the stage, we couldn't keep him still, in fact we were all almost crazy. We stopped out at Cooper's to let Jeems out, kiss them all around, and jumped in and rode on to town. Aunts saw the stage stop and flew out and embraced me right in the middle of the street. She took me in the house, and here we have been ever since.

"The next evening after we came George serenaded us. He came out to Mrs. Cooper's, Jeems and I were staying there all night. The band did sound so beautiful. We brought them in, two rooms full of men and boys, and gave them refreshments, cake, apples and sweet cider. They played four or five tunes and I pronounced our band a fine one, that it was sublime.

"See Maple Hill Cemetery Ass. records, charted in 1871.

"See Fleming, op. cit. for picture of Maentel grave.

"For example, David Dale Owen, (d. 1860) was first interred in the Mauch vault in grounds of Rapp-Maclure mansion; later he was moved to the Joseph Neel lot (his wife's family); then the two of them were reinterred in the Owen lots, which gathered all the family except Robert Owen (buried in Wales). Robert Dale Owen, d. 1877, was buried at Lake George, New York. "In 1877, he was buried at Lake George, New York. In 1877 he was reinterred in Owen lots in Maple Hill Cemetery, New Harmony. His grave marker is engraved with his name and the dates 1877-1951: ""Here lies the body of Robert Dale Owen, for many years an exiled American."


"Henry Hill McLellan, Jr., a former student of George Bridgeyman at the Art Students League, NYC, to Mary Lou Robson Fleming, Mobile, AL, September 1947, in response to a request for criticism of a paper, "Depression Art and Artists," given before Pensacola AAUW at that annual meeting, and "I ask you to take these WPA Art classes and flock to the WPA art shows."

He answered, "... I wonder if the 'Subsidized Depression' you mention was not a substitution. What those people [the ones i.e., the Sunday, NOT professional, painters] who 'saw' and 'participated' in painting, drawing, & sculpture) really needed to satisfy their souls was the producing, making, and above all, selling — of daily necessities. And they couldn't."

"Art, and the other things, may have simply served as an escape from uncertainty and fear that would come from having their lives suddenly emptied, — and if the worthwhile results, such as the American Design, etc., were incidental?" If, as has been stated, the artist's role in society, after the invention of photography, is not to record but to comment, one reviews Henry's comments today with deeper understanding as the nation stands poised on the brink of another depression.
The five-plate stove was unquestionably a central artifact within early Pennsylvania-German life. Writing about five-plate stoves in *The Bible in Iron*, Dr. Henry Mercer noted in 1914 that “American histories had overlooked them” and “popular tradition had forgotten them.” Thanks to Mercer’s pioneering work, the five-plate stove is now given its due. But it remains very much misunderstood due in part to that same work.

*The Bible in Iron* has become the bible for scholars interested in the heating techniques, as well as the symbolism, of the early Pennsylvania Germans. A valuable research tool, the book is nevertheless flawed in its understanding of the “first cast-iron house-warming stoves ever used in America,” because Mercer apparently did not attempt to test his ideas about their usage. Unfortunately, Mercer’s mistakes have been consistently repeated by other historians who relied on his work, and who never actually used a five-plate stove either.

Living history, like experimental archeology, has great potential as a research methodology. In attempting to recreate the past, the living history movement allows the testing of theories about the material culture of the past. It was a desire to re-create the past that led the Hans Herr House museum to purchase a reproduction five-plate stove in 1989. Depicting the Temptation of Joseph on its side plates, the stove was made by Don Stoughton using patterns produced during the casting of a similar stove for the Peter Wentz Farmstead, in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. Following installation in the stove opening in the attic of the 1719 Herr House, the stove was tested. In only a matter of minutes smoke began to pour out of the stove and, as the coals grew dim, the problems with prevailing theories about its operation became clear.

Mercer’s theories about the five-plate stove followed a common approach to the history of heating in America by putting the emphasis on the fireplace and considering the stove a supplement: “This blaze of log upon the open hearth, which, with the superabundant wood, was universal both for cooking and house warming in all American colonial homes, whether German, Dutch, Norse, or English, was never superseded by the stoves, and all the evidence shows that the German settlers used the latter always as adjuncts to the cooking hearth rather than as independent centres of heat.”

Mercer’s explanation was later affirmed by Henry J. Kauffman in his book *The American Fireplace*, where he reported, “In some houses, to supplement the heat supplied in the kitchen from the fireplace, a hole was cut into the back fireplace wall into which a stove was inserted, the body of which was in the parlor.” In this case Kauffman was writing specifically about houses in the Pennsylvania-German cultural area.

But both of these historians, accepted today as ex-
The five plates of a jamb stove: 1) left plate; 2) front plate; 3) right plate; 4, 5) interchangeable as top and bottom plates. (Dr. Henry C. Mercer, The Bible in Iron, plate 56; courtesy of the Bucks County Historical Society)

The evaluation of the five-plate stove as an adjunct to the fireplace is a result of the influence upon American material culture of attitudes like those voiced by Howitt. Preconceptions based on this mindset have kept many 20th-century Pennsylvania-German historians from recognizing the efficiency of the German five-plate stove, something which impressed even 18th-century English observers like Benjamin Franklin: "The German stove is like a Box, one Side wanting. 'Tis composed of Five Iron Plates scru'd together and fixed so that you may put the Fuel into it from another Room or from the Outside of the House; 'Tis a kind of Oven revers'd, its mouth being without and the Body within the Room that is to be warmed by it. This Invention certainly warms a Room very speedily and very thoroughly with a little Fuel." "

The difference in English and German approaches to heating can be traced to Roman times when the Germanic culture we know today was already forming. The houses of the different tribes were built of logs and usually had a single room with a hearth in the center. In most cases this hearth was simply a slightly sunken portion of the beaten-earth floor which was designated for the fire. No chimney was used and the smoke from the fire simply vented through the roof. Eventually a smoke cowl and chimney were added to gather the smoke. Even after the Germans' single-room houses gave way...
to houses of two or more rooms, the hearth and chimney remained in the center.

The Germanic use of the *stube* or stoveroom grew out of the central-chimney tradition. This was the main, and warmest, room of the house because it had a heating stove projecting into it. The stove protruded out of the wall shared with the kitchen. On the other side was the hearth area from which the stove was fed. Thus the heating and cooking areas, with their use of fueled fires, were consolidated.

This tradition met historical and environmental restrictions quite nicely. Not only was the stove warmer than an open-fireplace fire, it was more fuel efficient. This was of particular importance back in Germany where a succession of wars had destroyed many of the forests and the nobility had tight control over the use of timber. Despite the great abundance of wood in Pennsylvania, the tradition of fuel economy was maintained by the Germans. As late as 1789 Rush observed, “The German farmers are great economists of their wood. Hence they burn it only in stoves, in which they consume but a fourth or fifth part of what is commonly burnt in ordinary open fire places.”

German attitudes toward the use and conservation of fuel contrasted with those of their English neighbors. As England had moved into the seventeenth century, areas with shortages of wood started using coal for heating fuel. This practice became particularly common in the cities, where coal-burning fireplaces moved into the parlour and the wood-burning fireplace continued to be used in the kitchen for cooking (since coal was an undesirable cooking fuel). This contrasted with the practice of the Germans, who used the kitchen fireplace as access to the heating-stove that warmed their *stube*, using the same fuel for each. Since coal was not an acceptable cooking fuel, the Germans continued to use wood for heating as well as for cooking. Thus they took the various fuel conservation measures described earlier rather than making major changes in their heating technology as did the British. As late as 1843 Howitt remarked, “In Germany, coal is uncommon and wood is generally as dear as coal in London.”

As noted by Schoepf, the heating-stove tradition influenced the Pennsylvania Germans’ approach to their architecture. The farmhouses of the early Pennsylvania Germans were usually split into two, three, and four rooms, depending on their size. Each had at least a *stube* and a *küche*; four-room houses also had a *kammer* and a storage room. The chimney was placed in the center of the house so that the stove could project out of the back of the kitchen fireplace into the *stube*. The stove was so important to the *stube* that the Pennsylvania Germans referred to it in English as a stoveroom.

Iron five-plate stoves were commonly used for heating *stubes* in both Pennsylvania and Germany during the 18th century. These were brought from Europe in the early years, as noted in a 1734 letter where the writer remarked that “people from the Palatinate generally bring them with them.” In 1737 thirty such stoves were among goods confiscated from a group of German immigrants at the Port of Philadelphia.Apparently the Crown suspected they were being imported for sale rather than for personal use. By that time several furnaces in Pennsylvania were also making five-plate stoves.

Since the front door of many of these early German farmhouses entered the *küche* or kitchen, that room doubled as a hallway. While a variety of names have been given to this style of house, it is most accurately called a *flurküchenhaus* or corridor-kitchen house. Because of this function, the kitchen did not hold the same importance for the Germans that it did for the English. It was neither “the most important room of the house,” as has been asserted by Kauffman, nor was it the center of family life.

Family life in the early Pennsylvania-German house centered not on the kitchen, but upon the *stube* and its heating stove. Schoepf remarked that “one finds in the German houses everywhere a warm stove, good beer, and at this season, wurst, hog-meat, and sauerkraut, all of which they regard as national perogatives [sic].” He described the Pennsylvania-German *stube* as containing, “A great four-cornered stove, a table in the corner with benches fastened to the wall, everything daubed with red, and above, a shelf with the universal German farmer’s library.”

Like Franklin, Dr. Benjamin Rush was impressed with the efficiency of the Germans’ stoves. In 1789 he observed: “Their houses are moreover, rendered so comfortable by large close stoves that twice the business is done by every branch of the family, in knitting, spinning, and mending farming utensils, than is done in

Right stove plate depicting the Temptation of Joseph; this is the scene shown on the reproduction five-plate stove now installed in Lancaster County’s Hans Herr farm house. (Dr. Henry C. Mercer, The Bible in Iron, plate 81; courtesy of the Bucks County Historical Society)
houses where every member of the family crowds near to a common fireplace, or shivers at a distance from it, with hands and fingers that move, by reason of the cold, with only half their usual quickness." As late as 1828 the stoveroom continued to be central to the Pennsylvania Germans, as Anne Royall noted in a visit to an inn in Lehighton where, "I walked into a large stoveroom and took a silent cup of tea."

It is a failure to understand the centrality of the stove to the Germans, coupled with an English affinity toward fireplaces, that has led many historians to incorrectly assess the five-plate stove's effectiveness. Even though John F. Watson, the mid-nineteenth century Philadelphia historian, correctly addressed the importance of the five-plate stove to the Germans he, like many historians who had not experienced the stove, failed to recognize its effectiveness: "In their day every house was warmed in winter by 'jamb stoves' . . . The plate used to be made sometimes red hot; but still it was a poor means of giving out heat." 17

While there are 18th-century descriptions of five-plate stoves, there are no specific period accounts which fully describe their operation. Hence Henry Mercer made certain assumptions about how the stoves worked, assumptions based on a fireplace-centered orientation: "There was no fuel door or any means of placing fuel in this box after it was placed in position. As long as the fire in the open fireplace was burning some heat would find its way into this stove but, if more heat was desired, fuel would have to be passed through the opening in the rear of the chimney from the other or kitchen room of the house into the sixth side or open end of the stove. Enough draft would be found in these large stone chimneys to keep the fire in the stove burning and to carry off the smoke." 18

Here the emphasis was on the heat generated from the fireplace and somehow radiating through the stove. Given the tendency of heat to rise, such radiation through the stove would have been virtually impossible. Even when Mercer referred to fuel being placed in the stove, the emphasis was still on the fireplace and its chimney. This misunderstanding continued in the 1961 edition of The Bible in Iron, which was amended by Joseph E. Sandford: "Thus the kitchen fire, always burning, did double duty. The hot embers or burning fuel thrust through the wall into the iron box beyond and raked out or replenished in a moment, might, in the imperfect draught of the stove, smoke and smoulder, as they would." 19

So, in the absence of actually having used a five-plate stove, the prevailing theories about its operation have followed those of Mercer. In all of these, a fire is built in the fireplace and it provides burning coals and embers which are placed into the stove. In theory it is actually these, rather than a fire, which heat the stove.

The five-plate stove in the 1719 Herr House was used for the first time in November, 1990. The conventional theory was followed, with a fire first being built in the fireplace. After waiting over thirty minutes for a good collection of hot embers, these were shoveled into the stove. The fuel immediately began to smoke profusely in the stove and the embers soon died. On the next try a fire was built in the stove itself. The fire burned vigorously and the stove was warm in less than thirty minutes. The smoke and gases did not put out the fire but readily passed out of the stove into the chimney of the fireplace. It was clear that the stove was made to contain a fire, not just embers from a fireplace fire. In this respect it operated like its late 18th- and 19th-century successors. 20

Many of the stove sideplates depicted in The Bible in Iron are anywhere from one to three inches wider than they are high. Therefore, with all five plates together, a stove appears to be deeper than it is high. Mercer's illustration of a five-plate stove in position exaggerates this, showing a stove that appears quite deep in proportion to its opening. But, once placed into the stove opening, a five-plate stove is either as high as, or higher than it is deep. This apparently provides the right amount of space for the circulation of air. Fresh oxygen is drawn into the fire at the bottom and smoke escapes from the stove at the top. The fireplace is unnecessary as a source of burning fuel because the stove itself burns fuel actively. The stove in the 1719 Herr House did not smoke or smother the flames.
Given the efficiency of early Pennsylvania-German stoves, their fireplaces must be seen in a different light. In the case of the attic of the Herr House, the fireplace exists primarily to provide access to the stove and to provide a chimney for the stove. It is also a useful area to store wood to burn in the stove. Fires can be burned in both the stove and the fireplace. Neither affects the draught of the other. While the fireplace fire does provide some heat, it does not function as efficiently or effectively as the stove for heating the attic.

For those houses having stove openings in the back of the kitchen fireplace, the stove functions similarly. The stove itself provides the heat for the stube or stoveroom; hearth fires need not be used for heating, but instead simply provide energy for cooking. This interpretation has wider implications for understanding the Pennsylvania Germans’ approach to cooking and fireplace usage. Preconceptions about Pennsylvania German approaches to cooking, based on English material culture, have prevented most material cultural historians from seeing the evidence of Germanic raised hearths in the Pennsylvania-German cultural area. But without the need to maintain a fire on the hearth in front of the stove opening, a cook could easily stand at a raised hearth built within the fireplace. There would also be space to safely store wood within the fireplace.

The errors of the past are easy to repeat if the assertions of the past are not tested. The Bible in Iron is a very useful source but it is, nevertheless, a secondary source. In the field of experimental archeology, Thor Heyerdahl and others like him have demonstrated the importance of testing theories in the context of real life. Combined with other methods of inquiry, living history can also be a useful research tool for historians of material culture. While the Hans Herr House did not intentionally set out to test past assertions about five-plate stove operation, the exercise of living history allowed just such a test of past conclusions. To rephrase Henry Mercer, when American history has overlooked and popular tradition has forgotten, then the material historian must learn through first-hand experience.

ENDNOTES

4 Dr. Henry C. Mercer, 1961 edition, p. 48
7 William Howitt, Rural and Domestic Life in Germany (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1843), p. 92.
15 William Howitt, p. 92.
19 Kauffman, pp. 65-66.
20 Schoepf, pp. 23, 104.
21 Rush, p. 159.
22 Anne Royall, Mrs. Royall’s Pennsylvania or Travels Continued in the United States, Volume I (Washington, 1829), p. 141.
26 While it has been suggested that a fire in the stove might crack the plates, it should be remembered that the plates are quite thick. Actually the plates would be more at risk from the hot embers being thrown from the fireplace into the cold stove than from the gradual heating involved in creating a fire.
Back of the Stevenson farmhouse after a winter snow; the section this side of the chimney at left is a 1919 addition to the original house. At left is the smokehouse. During annual butchering the heavy six-by-six leaning against the apple tree at right was raised and the porkers hung from it while being cut up.

There were those who said Al Stevenson, my father, made a big mistake in 1903 when he bought the 106-acre Hess farm in Nicholson Township, Fayette County, east of the Monongahela River in southwestern Pennsylvania. Jim Nicholson, for one, predicted the land surface would soon begin subsiding into coal holes. The comment made Al so angry that he flailed his arms and muttered to himself as he fed his livestock at day's end.

In the early 1900s, James Witter Nicholson ranked among the elite in New Geneva, Pennsylvania. His great-grandfather, a man with the same name, was the brother-in-law of Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury under President Jefferson. The great-grandfather was also the son of Commodore James W. Nicholson, who served in the United States Navy during the American Revolution at the same time as John Paul Jones, the famous privateer.

Jim's predictions soon began to come true. By deed restriction, two acres of coal under and around the Stevenson farmhouse were not to be mined. Nevertheless, that first summer in 1903 when Ella, Al's wife, took canned fruit to the farmhouse cellar she could hear voices underground and the thump of miners' picks.

A few weeks later, the ground less than twenty feet from the corner of the house gave way one night under one of Al's best horses. Next morning, Al found it crippled down in the hole. There was only one thing to do. Shoot it and fill in the hole. When strippers bought the farm a half century later and tore down the house to get at the two acres of prime coal, only a small part of it remained.

By the third or fourth year after the Stevensons
bought the farm, subsidence holes had pockmarked three fields. The cave-ins occurred when mining was finished and props were pulled out. They came in unexpected places and Al feared for the safety of more of his farm animals. But it was impractical to fence them away from danger areas. And cave-ins were not Al’s only problem. Because of the underground mining operations, springs on the farm began to go dry. Soon all were gone, as was the deep-dug well located in the house’s backyard.

For a year thereafter, Al Stevenson hauled water in huge metal tanks from the Monongahela River at New Geneva, a mile away. At the same time underground cisterns were being built at both the house and the barn. The cisterns, twelve feet deep and the same in diameter, collected rain water from the roofs of the house and barn. A brick wall across the middle of each concrete cistern filtered the water. A square wooden pump pulled water from the filtered side. At the barn, water was pumped into a long wooden trough for the livestock.

Al Stevenson’s woes with the cave-ins and the lack of water were the beginning of the end for the Hess farm. For the next half century the farm went steadily downhill. Shortly after World War II, the farm became a wasteland—its former lush fields split by modern highways, its fertile surface turned topsy-turvy by strip mining, and all its stout buildings leveled as if they never had existed.

How and why this happened is the story to be told here. It is a story of waste caused by strip mining. During the years just after World War II, thousands of acres of one-time good farmland were turned upside down in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, and Illinois. Much of this land is now returning to the forests from which the pioneers saved it. Most of it is no longer any good for farming.

The story of the James Hess farm is typical. The land where this farm once existed lies in southwestern Pennsylvania along the eastern edge of the Monongahela River, midway between Georges Creek on the south and
Little Jacobs Creek on the north. The history of the farm began in the late 1700s when Richard Stephens patented the extensive Fort Hill tract. Why the name Fort Hill? Regional historians have no answer. The name appears out of the blue on early maps. Its summit is a good thousand feet above the level of the Monongahela; from it one can see for miles up and down the river. Indians knew Fort Hill as a camping-ground. One thing proves that — the thousands of mussel shells a farmer's plow has continued to uncover there over the years. Indians brought the mussels as food from the river below.

Part of the 106 acres that James Hess consolidated into a single farm in the middle 1800s came from the Fort Hill tract. The rest was split off from the 342-acre Elk Hills tract that John Wilson patented in 1785. The latter lay within the northern corner formed by the Georges Creek junction with the Monongahela River. The Fort Hill tract adjoined it to the north.

Perhaps the earliest home built on the Hess farm stood on a level area along the road to New Geneva near the farm's southern border. James Hess and his wife, a daughter of a neighbor, Michael Franks, lived there just after being married. It is believed that this house finally burned.

James Hess took his first step in assembling his farm by buying the three acres on which this house stood. The seller was the first James W. Nicholson, of New Geneva. His wife, Nancy, had inherited the Elk Hills tract from her father, Isaac Griffin, who in 1793 bought it from James Wilson, original owner of the Elk Hills tract. Next, on April 4, 1853, Hess bought twenty-three acres from his father-in-law, Mike Franks. The price was forty dollars an acre. Finally, on February 27, 1854, Hess bought an additional eighty acres from Franks, thus completing his farm of 106 acres.

James Hess prospered, mostly by raising sheep and selling the wool to mills in the region. Therefore, early in the years of the Civil War, he could afford to build a new house, a new barn, a smokehouse, a carriage house, a farm shop, a corncrib, and a pigpen — all located on the lower flanks of Fort Hill. Earlier, Hess had built a four-room frame house within this cluster of buildings.

Thereafter, the Hess family occupied the farm for more than forty years. James Hess died in the early 1890s, his wife on July 20, 1894. In his will, Hess appointed his son, John J. Hess, and his son-in-law, Ira W. Ross, his executors. They were directed to "sell at public auction, upon such terms as would be in the interest of the parties interested, my home farm."

Accordingly, the farm was put up at auction on July 20, 1894. An indenture dated the next day shows that the buyers were the three Hess daughters — Frances P. Zimmerman, Harriet N. Gallery, and Alsa C. Ross. The purchase price was one hundred dollars an acre — a total of $10,676.90. The sisters rented out the farm for the next four years.

On March 28, 1900, they sold it to Jasper Augustine, of Uniontown, Pa., for $23,824. By this time, potential buyers knew the value of the nine-foot (Pittsburgh) vein of coal underlying most of the 106 acres. Very quickly, Augustine sold just this vein of coal to the McKeeffrey Coal Company, which had extensive mining and coke-making operations at the village of Martin, along the Monongahela River a mile to the north. Content with his profit, Augustine sold the farm surface and the five-foot vein of coal to Elwood D. Fulton, of Uniontown, a lawyer and businessman at the Fayette County seat.

Al Stevenson and his wife bought the farm from Fulton by deed dated July 13, 1903. The purchase price was $4,000. This was for the land only. But in 1911, the Stevensons also bought from Fulton the mineral rights. These included from fifteen to twenty acres of five-foot coal, a possession that only a few years later proved of considerable value.

Ownership of the mineral rights also made it possible for the Stevensons to obtain free natural gas for use in the farmhouse. This was provided as payment for the right-of-way for the buried transmission pipe line across the farm; the gas came from a producing well on an adjoining farm. The line was tapped about 150 feet from the farmhouse to serve the Stevensons.

An early building on the farm was a log springhouse that covered a spring of clear water beside a brook that carried run-off water from the slopes of Fort Hill. Early residents of the farm carried water from there. Indians had known this spring, for they left behind some of their possessions. In its vicinity, the Stevensons found a perfect stone tomahawk and a pipe bowl carved from red sandstone, the bowl being in the shape of a snake's head.

Log springhouse along a small brook coming down from Fort Hill, the highest point on the farm. This was the first source of drinking water on the farm. The spring went dry after the nine-foot coal vein was removed.
Plan of stable level of Stevenson barn.
The big barn on the farm was built in 1863 by James Hess. This view is looking down the township road from the point where the Stevensons opened its first mine. A pigpen is located this side of the barn, and along the road in the distance is the new garage the Stevensons built in the late 1920s.

Still another original building on the farm was the log sugar house where maple sap was boiled down into syrup each spring. An early barn or stable must have existed somewhere on the farm, but no signs of one remained in the early 1900s. What did remain, though, was the barn that James Hess erected, for it was built to last. A typical bank barn, it had twelve-inch-by-twelve-inch oak beams, white pine siding boards one inch thick applied vertically and painted white, and a tin roof which was kept painted red. Carved into the stable door was a date: 1863.

In the stable section, first was found a line of four horse stalls off to the right of a driveway that ran the length of the barn on the river side. Beyond the horse stalls and paralleling them was a narrow feed room. At the back end of this was a steep stairway leading up to the barn level. Hay was forked down this opening, and grain carried from storage bins above in pails or baskets.

Beyond the feed room were three square box stalls, where cattle and sometimes sheep might be kept. At the northern end of the barn was a storage shed for binder, mowing machine and other farm machinery. Also at the end of the barn, to the left of the driveway, was a general utility room with a shed roof. Sheep sometimes were kept there or the space might be used to store bales of hay or straw.

On the upper floor, a wide open space ran crosswise, large doors opening on each side. Towards the river, the door opened on a drop of about ten feet to the ground below. A straw stack was built there when wheat and oats were threshed in the late summer. Two wide haymows occupied either end of the barn. Closed cribs for the storage of threshed grain were located on either side of the central open space. A ladder was kept in place to reach the haymow to the left. Bales of hay and straw were often stored in the space to the right.

Near the machinery shed at the north end of the barn was a pigpen with a one-acre forage lot beyond it. A corncrib, a narrow building with open-slat sides and outward slanting walls, stood near the road at the end of the barn toward the house. From the corncrib, a fence enclosed a livestock holding area below the barn. A long gate provided access to this area for horses and wagon, and a gate in the lower side of the fence made it possible to turn livestock into the field below.

In the early days, a builder used locally available materials as often as possible. It is not surprising, therefore, that the siding for the original six-room house was milled from black walnut. These trees were common on the farm, and black walnut stumps remained in the field east of the house well into this century. The black walnut siding was discovered in 1919 when the Al Stevensons made a three-room addition to the original six-room house. The walnut siding was removed from the end of the house where the addition was put on.

The original house was shaped like an upside down L, with two rooms across the front both upstairs and down, and two at the rear, one above the other. A center hallway separated the two front rooms. This ran from a door to the front porch to a door to the back.
Floor plan of Stevenson house

porch. Stairs within this hallway had an ornamental railing. Carpeted treads led up to a landing and then around to the left where three more steps completed the ascent to the second floor.

Al and Ella Stevenson used the room at the front end of the house as their bedroom. Ella also kept her constantly used sewing machine there. This room had no heat. The bedroom directly above was reserved for guests.

The middle room of the original house was the family living room. It housed a pump organ, a couch, several easy chairs and small tables, and a radio, when one was purchased in about 1921. This room had a fireplace and a coal grate but the Stevensons opted for a gas space heater there.

Originally, the room at the back of the house served both as kitchen and dining room. This room had a fireplace for burning soft coal. This burned steadily
from late September until mid-April, providing a great part of the heat for the entire house. A narrow stairway led up from this room to a bedroom above, shared by the three Stevenson sons.

When the house addition was completed, kitchen operations moved to its main downstairs room. The new kitchen had a natural-gas range, a work table, and over in the corner there was a sink and a hand pump to draw water through an underground pipe from the cistern in the yard outside. A door led from the kitchen into a small room that served as a pantry for the storage of foods and cooking and baking supplies and pans. Until the house was wired for electricity in about 1922, the family had no refrigeration, no ice box. Milk was stored in covered crocks on the cemented cellar floor.

Bessie Stevenson, the family’s first child, occupied the upstairs bedroom at the front corner of the house, across the hall from the guest room. A gas space heater warmed this room, the only upstairs heat. When the addition was complete, the other two girls shared the bedroom above the new kitchen.

In the early days, gas lamps overhead in the center of each room provided illumination downstairs. Kerosene lamps were available if light was needed upstairs. Kerosene lanterns were also carried to the barn.

A basement occupied the space under the front two rooms and the center hallway. Shelves along the walls provided space for canned goods. A bin held apples. Some of the milk kept in covered pottery crocks on the cellar floor was left to sour. It could then be churned into butter. Churning was done in the kitchen and was a twice-weekly ritual. Butter not used by the family found a ready market at the general store in New Geneva. Or it could be traded for supplies the family did need — sugar, salt, and other staples.

A bin in the cellar held the winter supply of soft coal. Eventually, a coal furnace was installed there, with a square metal grating in the floor at the foot of the front stairway. Access to the cellar was through a door on the back porch and down a steep stairs. One could also enter through an outside covered stairway at the end of the house toward the barn.

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**STEVENSON COAL COMPANY,**
**MINERS AND SHIPPERS**
**STEAM COAL, GAS COAL, BY-PRODUCT COAL.**

**MARTIN, PA.**

When the United States entered World War I in 1917, demand for soft coal increased sharply at once, and Al Stevenson was induced to go into the coal business to mine the five-foot vein under the farm. His partners in
the Stevenson Coal Company were L.L. LaClair, an official of the McKeeffrey Coal Company at Martin, and James Henderson, a businessman at Uniontown, the Fayette County seat. LaClair could arrange for coal cars to be made available on the McKeeffrey railroad sidings at Martin.

During the half century the Hess family had owned the farm, they had tapped the coal under it at two places, mostly for their own use. One old mine drove into the hillside under Fort Hill about two hundred yards up the township road from the barn. A second entered the nine-foot vein along the road below the house toward New Geneva. This opening was filled with water.

The Stevenson Coal Company decided to mine the five-foot vein through the old opening above the barn. It was cleaned out with pick and shovel and wheelbarrow, and railroad rails laid back under the hillside. Small mine cars pulled by ponies rolled on these rails to bring coal out of the mine and across the road to a tipple built there, using huge timbers and heavy planks. On the tipple, coal in the mine cars was dumped into two hoppers.

Farm wagons could then be driven under the tipple and filled with coal by pulling a lever to open a hopper. Al Stevenson provided two wagons and teams. The coal was hauled to the railroad cars on the Martin siding and there shoveled into the cars, either open-top gondolas or boxcars. After a few months the company bought a Republic truck. The truck could make more round trips each day from tipple to siding, but the labor of shoveling remained.

Finally, a new opening was driven into the hillside about one hundred yards from the first mine up the road toward Martin. There, the new opening could pass under the roadway and thus not hamper traffic. Right from the start, the company planned to take coal from the new opening down the steep hillside to open-top cars on a new siding to be built along the tracks that ran along the Monongahela River. Outside the new opening the first soil, rock, slate and other materials were formed into a flat work area. From this, twin tracks were
View from Fort Hill across the Monongahela River to Greene County, with the community called Old Glassworks in the foreground. Al Stevenson was born in the house barely visible near the top of the hill called Gabler’s Knob.

laid to lead down through the field to a large tipple built on the very edge of the steep river bluff.

When ponies had pulled loaded cars out of the mine, a loaded car was attached to a cable running through a pulley block. As the loaded car rolled down one track to the hilltop tipple, the other end of the cable pulled up an empty one. From the first tipple, the coal descended through a closed metal chute to a second tipple extending above the railroad tracks to the new siding. If railroad cars were not available, coal could be stored in the two tipples until they were.

By the end of World War I, full ownership of the mine had returned to Al Stevenson. Both of his partners had died and he had bought their shares. In the interval he had also bought two adjoining farms to the east — the 160 acres known as “the Gans place” and the equally large Franks farm, both located along the township road leading from New Geneva toward Old Frame. On both Al also had mineral rights. Considerable unmined five-foot coal remained under the Gans farm. The Franks farm had a producing gas well, still paying royalties.

During this period, Al Stevenson conducted normal farming operations on all three farms with his sons and hired help. But expecting a drop in demand, he decided to get out of the coal business. So he sold the mine, the field of the home place where the mine was located, plus the mineral rights for all three farms. The purchase price was $40,000.

But that was not the end of the matter. The new owners operated the mine for a year or two. Then the bottom did drop out of the coal market and the new owners were forced to turn back the property. Al Stevenson’s foresight had saved him from financial disaster. He later sold the Franks place and turned over the Gans farm to his eldest son, Edwin, when the latter married.

Now, let’s look back a little in time. In July, 1912, the West Penn Power Company had paid Al Stevenson an $800 fee for the right to run a power line across the farm. This line carried electricity generated at a plant at the Cheat River dam just across the West Virginia state line. Later, a branch power line was run from just below the Stevenson barn across the Monongahela River to serve customers in Greene County, located in the southwestern corner of the state.
Farmhouse from below, with garden space in the foreground; at left is the original township road. When it was muddy or snow covered, many autos would fail to make the hill and drivers would come to the house, night or day, asking for a team to pull them out.

Early in 1922, Al had both his house and barn wired for electricity. The cost was $359.22. After the work was complete, Al would stand in the dining room, turning the wall switch on and off. He could not quite believe that it was possible to have light that easily. In the house, all the old gas and kerosene lamps were outdated. The Stevensons could also have an electric refrigerator. Electricity brought refrigeration to the home for the first time.

For night work in the barn, kerosene lanterns no longer were needed. In August 1914, the Stevensons had lightning rods installed on both the house and barn. The cost was $110.45. Lightning never struck the house but at some time the barn took a glancing blow that did no harm. In the early 1920s, lightning struck the barn on the adjoining Franks farm, reducing it to ashes in half an hour.

For years, the original Hess four-room house had stood on the hillside east of the six-room house occupied by the Stevensons, the house built during the Civil War. In 1915, Al Stevenson had the four-room cottage removed from its foundations and then rolled across the lower edge of the garden to the township road. Then, over several days it was moved to the flat land beyond the bridge along the road to New Geneva. This was the same site where the Hess family had first lived about three-quarters of a century before. For years thereafter, this house was used by the families of men whom Al hired to work on the farm. A nearby spring provided water. This was the only spring remaining on the farm not affected by the mining operations.

Perhaps because he had been a teamster in early life, Al Stevenson was always an advocate of improved roads. But did he realize the implications of a State Highway Department decision to build a new highway across his land?

Originally, there were two township roads. One bounded the farm on the east. This led from New Geneva to Smithfield. The second came from New Geneva along the top edge of the Monongahela River bluff, passed by the moved house described above, crossed a bridge, and then went between the Stevenson house and barn on its way to the mining town of Martin a mile or so to the north. Farm fences bordered these roads.

The first highway the State built required a deep cut
through a hill along the eastern edge of the farm. The new road moved diagonally across two farm fields to connect the road from Smithfield to the lower road from New Geneva. From a point near the hired man's house, the State next built a second new highway toward Martin, its route passing through the field below the barn. The two new highways split the farm into three isolated sections. Besides taking much fertile land, the roads made the old fences useless. The State made compensation payments, of course, but no amount of money could really compensate for the damage done to the farm as a farm.

When AI and Ella Stevenson died in the early 1930s, the farm was inherited by their son, Will, who by then had married. Will continued farming operations until after World War II. But he finally acceded to the opportunities of a company of coal strippers, and sold the farm to them for $18,000. Will and his family moved away.

The strippers at once tore down the house to get at the supposed two acres of untouched coal under it. But less than an acre of it remained. All the topsoil was moved eastward into the ravine where a clear stream once had carried water from the slopes of Fort Hill. Huge stripping shovels moved all around the hillside, cutting away the surface to get at coal tailings left from the original tunnel mining of both the nine-foot and five-foot veins. The ground was turned topsy-turvy wherever there might be a little coal remaining.

In addition to the house, all the outbuildings were torn down. The barn remained standing for several years, but at last it too was demolished. Finally, the strippers were finished—and abandoned the farm. Soon thereafter, a sports organization used the steep incline of old Fort Hill on several weekends for a sports car hill climb.

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania eventually got around to passing laws requiring coal strippers to return the surface to at least a semblance of its original condition. But this came too late for the Hess farm. There, the only thing remaining as it was three-quarters of a century ago is the power line running across the land below where the township road used to run. And, in the distance, the view of the Monongahela River.

What does the future hold for this once productive farm? Not much. It would have little value as a farm. A new home has been built on the level land that used to be a pasture field below the original farmhouse. The rest of the farm land is gradually returning to the woodlands that existed there when white men first came into the region in the late 1700s. Perhaps that is for the best. Lumber will always be needed.
HENRY HARBAUGH, QUINTESSENTIAL “DUTCHMAN”

by Richard E. Wentz

Henry Harbaugh was a German Reformed pastor in Pennsylvania from 1843 until his death in 1867 at the age of fifty. Although he is little known outside the ranks of those familiar with that denomination’s history, Harbaugh is an important figure in the preservation of the distinctive folk culture of the Pennsylvania “Dutch” (as the Pennsylvania Germans are frequently known). In addition to being a pastor, theologian, and historian, he was a journalist and writer of poetry. As a poet, he ventured to write in the dialect of his people as well as in English. This was considered by many (including himself) to be a bold undertaking, inasmuch as the dialect was often assumed to be the property of the uncouth and unlettered. To write in the dialect was to jeopardize one’s stature among the arbiters of culture.

This essay is not meant to be a definitive biographical account of Henry Harbaugh. It is the result of reflection on his life, the result of research into his publications, his journals, and his correspondence as I have sought to make sense of that wonderful people to whom my soul belongs. Henry Harbaugh was the quintessential Dutchman. The quintessence of something is its most perfect manifestation. In life, as we know, there is very little perfection; yet we seem to know what perfection is, and we celebrate it in art, ritual, and thought. Harbaugh is quintessential Dutchman, not because he is totally representative, or because he is perfection, but because he is a human symbol integrating many of the unique characteristics of “the Dutch.” He was a storyteller, a popular speaker, a poet, a writer of sketches and occasional pieces of meditation, and a pastor among the farmers and craftsmen who predominated in the congregations of the “church Dutch” of Pennsylvania.

The towns and small cities of eastern Pennsylvania reflected the predominantly rural and yeoman lifestyle of the first half of the nineteenth century, and the congregations of Lutheran and Reformed people were never far removed from the soil and the romantic attachment to simplicity. In this respect, Harbaugh was the first in a long line of Reformed and Lutheran pastors who have preserved and extolled the folk traditions. More recently these “church Dutch” clergy have been joined by some of the “plain Dutch,” such as the Mennonites and Dunkards (Church of the Brethren), as the exponents of Dutch culture. During much of Pennsylvania history, Lutheran and Reformed pastors were called upon at least occasionally to conduct services and preach in high German as well as in English. However, many of them were “of the people” and spoke the dialect. As storytellers, popular speakers, and columnists, they frequently followed in the footsteps of Henry Harbaugh. It was he who began the liberation of the dialect culture from its disparaged status among the literati, setting it free for preservation and celebration.
FOLK PIETY AND REFORMED THEOLOGY

Elizabeth Clarke Kieffer, one of Harbaugh's biographers, says of him that he was a sentimentalist who looked back from years of tragic responsibilities and "thought of home as a refuge, of his parents as celestial beings, and of the joys of his childhood as unmixed with any sorrow save that of being teased about his red hair." An examination of much of his writing contained in occasional pieces in the journal he founded and edited for many years reveals the struggles with the death of loved ones and the pains of controversy with factions in his congregations. A deep Sehnsucht (longing) pervades many of these essays and meditations. It is true that much of Harbaugh's dialect verse speaks of Heemweh (homesickness) and sets a tone of longing for childhood and the scenes that represented comfort and innocence. Henry Harbaugh was born into and lived his relatively brief span of years in a culture that cast a romantic eye on heaven and earth at one and the same time. Illness was frequently cast in the devotional mode of a kind of Sehnsucht, and home was the beginning and end of every odyssey. Harbaugh's life was characterized by a kind of folk religiosity which was maintained in close relationship to more sophisticated theological perceptions. He lived under the spell of a sense of relentless change and the rapid passage of time. It served as a foundation for the expression of a spirituality that synthesized the earthly and homegrown experience of a Pennsylvania German farmer with the churchly Christianity of the Heidelberg Catechism. This spirituality was to become paradigmatic for generations of Pennsylvania Germans still to be born, some of whom were to follow in the footsteps of the quintessential Dutchman.

The more erudite aspects of Henry Harbaugh's spiritual heritage were nurtured in the churchly tradition of the German Reformed Church, in its mediating position between Lutheranism and the austerity of Calvinism. John Williamson Nevin, Harbaugh's teacher and friend and the eminent theologian of what came to be known as the Mercersburg theology, said the Heidelberg Catechism avoids the confessionalizing kind of authority so prevalent in the sixteenth century. It made the German Reformed tradition more ecumenical than confessional. Although the German Reformed Church in America was strongly influenced by Pietism and what Nevin called "the methodistical imagination of justification by feeling," it remained the church of the Heidelberg Catechism. It was a tradition that advocated the education of the clergy and the careful instruction of its laity. This was the spiritual home of Henry Harbaugh.

Harbaugh was to become a representative spokesman for the Mercersburg movement, one of several nineteenth-century reactions against the revivalistic evangelicalism of Protestant America with its increased emphasis upon "the methodistical imagination of justification by feeling." Mercersburg thinkers like John Nevin and the renowned historian Philip Schaff were influenced by certain trends in German theology, philosophy, and history. They favored a reclamation of the Catholic substance of classical Protestantism, and held a high doctrine of church, sacrament, and liturgy. Henry Harbaugh became the pastoral theologian of the movement, devoting a great deal of time to liturgical, devotional, and historical tasks designed to further the cause of Mercersburg. T. G. Apple says of Harbaugh as theologian:

He had fully wrought out his own system according to the Christological principle... his lectures give abundant evidence that he did not rest satisfied with merely retailing other men's thoughts. During the last year of his residence in Mercersburg, he had commenced a careful review [of his work]... Judging from the work as far as thus completed, it is not too much to say that if he had lived to finish it, he would have produced a system of Christological Theology which would have gone far beyond anything given to the public in this department in this country.

The Mercersburg movement and the Heidelberg Catechism were but one side of Harbaugh's spirituality. The other side was the folk religiosity of his people. A few months before he died, he wrote an article in which he told of an Indian who was taken to church services. Inasmuch as the Native American expressed appreciation for the sermon he had heard, his host invited him to go again that evening. "No, no," was the reply, "This man not yet done with one sermon. Not think it half over yet. This man hear it, but not chew it, not swallow it, not make blood of it yet. Indian not hear more till done with this. Indian eat it, must now make life of it." Harbaugh was substantially educated in the fashion of clergy in the German Reformed and Lutheran traditions of his day. He continued his education in history, theology, and the natural sciences. Although he had left the family farm under his father's protest, Henry was still a man of the earth who knew that anything worthwhile must be simple enough to be digested.

THE LIFE OF HENRY HARBAUGH

Henry Harbaugh was born in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, on October 28, 1817, the son of George and Anna Snyder Harbaugh. The old homestead lay on the Pennsylvania-Maryland border about four miles southeast of Waynesboro. George was the grandson of Yost Harbaugh, who had immigrated from Switzerland into Penn's Woods as early as 1736. The family had main-
The interior of the old Harbaugh church on the homestead farm; it was rebuilt in 1892. (From Linn Harbaugh’s Life of the Rev. Henry Harbaugh, D. D.)

tained a faithful connection to the Reformed Church from earliest times. In this country they were leading members of Reformed congregations, lending support to the precarious establishments and sometimes donating land and helping to construct buildings. Henry’s grandfather, Jacob, is characterized as a patriarch who regulated the life of the family with a concern for decency and order. He was a man who avoided extremes and kept a balanced eye on the moral welfare of the household. His son George apparently fell heir to his father’s religious perspectives. His grandson, Linn, said that he was a diligent elder in the church, “strictly temperate in his habits and moderate in his views. He was averse to all excitement in politics, wild speculation in business, and fanaticism in religion.”

Henry’s mother came from Anabaptist German origins, and was influenced by the more ardent and devotional ways of Pietism and Anabaptism. She was warm, pious, and perhaps sentimental, in complement to the more strong-willed spirituality of her husband. The boyhood of young Henry was spent on the farmstead in Franklin County. It was a simple existence; the house had bare floors and no curtains for the first ten years of his life. But he learned the ways and lore of an agrarian world. The farm and its animals were close to him, as were the streams, the woods, and the mountains. A uniquely American culture had been taking shape among the German-speaking folk of rural Pennsylvania and Maryland. It was the world of the Pennsylvania Germans (Dutch, as they are often called), a way of life not German, not English, characterized by a dialect and spirituality that were close to the soil of the New World. And Henry’s values were nurtured in a family very representative of that American folk culture.

Henry spent some of his early life in a little schoolhouse which he was to make famous by his nostalgic dialect poem “Das Alt Schulhaus an der Krick.” Summers he worked in the fields “turning the hay rows or following after the grain cradles.” He began to show a keen interest in study and reflection, qualities that George Harbaugh could not accept as the mark of a practical and industrious son. George could not understand his son’s concern for education and his inclination toward ordained ministry. The ideal life for George was the life of a devout and hard-working man of the soil.

By his eighteenth year, Henry’s ambitions made him restless. The family began to wonder: what is happening to our Henry? He left the farm and tried the miller’s life with his uncle in Harbaugh’s Valley in the Maryland hills south of Waynesboro. This lasted less than a year, when Henry announced he was going west, to seek his fortune in Ohio, land of development and opportunity. He was really seeking the means to collegiate education. He worked as a carpenter and mechanic for several years and, after revealing his musical talents in a church choir, he taught singing classes in the area around Massillon. His early education at home and in the “little schoolhouse by the creek” had given him some facility with the English language, and he had developed a flair for metaphor and the realms of poetry. Henry began to
write, composing stories and poems and publishing some of them in local newspapers. For three winters he taught school and attended two summer sessions at the New Hagerstown (Ohio) Academy. He wrote a great deal of poetry during his stay in Ohio and took full advantage of his time at the Academy, participating in its literary and musical opportunities. Finally, in October of 1840, Henry returned to Franklin County, Pennsylvania, to complete his education. Mercersburg was at that time home of Marshall College and a theological seminary, both of which were institutions of the German Reformed Church.

John Williamson Nevin was already there, beginning the studying, lecturing, and educational leadership that were to make him one of nineteenth-century America's most eminent theologians. Dr. Frederick Rauch was at that time president of the college, but was ailing. Rauch died in early March of 1841, leaving the college and seminary under the care and direction of Nevin. Harbaugh's time in Mercersburg was relatively brief. He studied in both college and seminary with Nevin and Philip Schaff, a young church historian, author of The Principle of Protestantism, and later a leading figure in the Mercersburg movement. Schaff's book advocated a historical understanding of the Church that accepted the early and medieval Catholic heritage (prior to the Reformation) as valid elements in Christian understanding. Needless to say, these ideas were to be somewhat controversial in the evangelical realms of nineteenth-century America.

Henry Harbaugh's first pastorate began in 1843 in the town of Lewisburg on the Susquehanna River, north of Harrisburg. Before assuming his duties he visited family and friends in Ohio, where he married Louisa Goodrich, whom he had met at the New Hagerstown Academy. Harbaugh preached in English and German, and built up the small Reformed congregation in Lewisburg to the point where it severed its ties with the Lutheran congregation with which it had shared facilities. A new building was erected in 1847, and Henry set off for a vacation in Ohio. On this trip Louisa contracted scarlet fever, from which she never recovered, dying on September 26, 1847. On November 14, 1848, he married Mary Louisa Linn of Lewisburg. His success as preacher and pastor soon earned him a call to the prestigious pastorate of the First Reformed Church in Lancaster. He left Lewisburg reluctantly in March of 1850. While there he had begun to edit and publish a monthly magazine, The Guardian. The magazine was devoted to the social, religious, and literary interests of young men and women. Its pages reveal something of the pastoral heart of the editor. Even more is revealed of the spirit of the times with their sanctimonious devotion to perfectionist morality. Harbaugh was dedicated to guarding the young through the
Philip Schaff was another leading figure in Mercersburg movement. Harbaugh studied under him at Mercersburg, at both the college and the seminary.

cries of life, hoping to provide them with the piety and moral suasion that would remain with them throughout their lives. Like an angel, said the editor, The Guardian flies monthly to hundreds of youthful hands. It would warm the heart, enlighten the mind, and "spring from our native soil... [possessing] fellow feeling."

While Harbaugh was a pastor in Lewistown, Pennsylvania, John Williamson Nevin's Anxious Bench came from the presses. Nevin's lengthy treatise was an attack on the new measures revivalism of Charles G. Finney and the Methodist movement. "I hate polemics," wrote Harbaugh in his diary, as he read Nevin's tract. Two years later he was disturbed by Nevin's historical and theological study of the Eucharist, entitled The Mystical Presence. It reflected a strong sacramental understanding of the Eucharist, which Harbaugh still had to reconcile with his pietism. Yet he was sympathetic with the Evangelical Catholic understanding of Christianity presented by Nevin and Philip Schaff. When the first issue of The Mercersburg Review appeared in 1849, Harbaugh greeted it in his diary with the words: "An Epoch!" He was an intellectual in the strange way of the Pennsylvania Germans. He could appreciate powerful truth and convincing arguments. But he was a conciliator and a man of the people who was displeased with ideas and people that were too hochmutig (high and mighty).

The ten years that Harbaugh spent in his Lancaster pastorate were very productive. He published several books, usually the result of his tendency to preach sermons in series, editing them for publication with the encouragement of church members and friends. But the years in Lancaster were also the years in which the Mercersburg theology was creating quite a stir, not only among the German Reformed people, but also among Lutherans and Presbyterians. Indeed, the ideas of Nevin and Schaff were a topic of discussion among groups as diverse as Roman Catholics and New England Congregationalists. Harbaugh had become very active on behalf of the Mercersburg movement and a strong advocate on the floor of classis and synod. He set to work with Nevin and others on the preparation of a liturgy that was in harmony with the tone of the Heidelberg Catechism (which he loved) and the Evangelical Catholicism that was finding expression in the Mercersburg movement. This Evangelical Catholicism was a movement very much against the mainstream of American Christianity. It advocated a "high" doctrine of the church in contrast to the American notion of the church as a voluntary association of believers. Its theology was sympathetic to the whole of Christian history, including much of its Roman Catholicism; and it opposed the individualistic understanding of salvation so prominent in the Evangelical Protestantism of the times. To the Mercersburg thinkers America was losing the Catholic substance of Christianity; and even the Reformed and Lutheran churches were succumbing to the revivalistic evangelicalism of the religious mainstream. The movement was Evangelical in its loyalty to the claims of the Gospel (a Protestant/Evangelical priority) and its rejection of papacy and hierarchical orders; it was Catholic in its devotion to the continuing sacramental necessity of the Church.

Harbaugh, like his Scotch-Irish mentor, John Nevin, was in many ways (in spirit, if not in mind) a typical nineteenth-century evangelical. In spite of the Christological and Catholic character of the Mercersburg movement, its exponents were moralists of rural American vintage. Harbaugh was an inflexible teetotaler who could not believe that a bartender or the owner of a distillery could possibly be a Christian, certainly not an officer of the church. This moralistic pietism, along with his outspoken advocacy of the liturgy and the Mercersburg perception of the Church, caused considerable disturbance among the Reformed congregation. Harbaugh managed to survive the controversies until October of 1860, when he resigned the pastorate of First Church to assume responsibilities at St. John's Church in Lebanon.
and the observance of the church year. However, he remained in Lebanon for a relatively brief pastorate. On October 28, 1863, he was elected by the synod of the church to serve as Professor of Didactic and Practical Theology at his old seminary in Mercersburg. His assignment at the seminary included lectures in theology quite beyond the range of what we would think of as “practical” theology. He brought to bear upon this task the guidance he had received under Professors Nevin and Schaff and the years of study that had gone into his work on the Heidelberg Catechism, the liturgy, and the fathers of the Reformed Church in Europe and America. He had published the Life of Michael Schlatter (one of the pioneer organizers of the German Reformed Church in America during the first half of the eighteenth century) and two volumes of the Reformed fathers before his death. The original manuscript of his inaugural address on “Christological Theology” was lost in the burning of Chambersburg by the Confederate Army in July of 1864. Dr. Harbaugh had to rewrite the lecture for publication. It represented the direction of his thought and was to serve as the foundation for a major theological enterprise which he did not live to complete.

Henry Harbaugh was not as rigorous and profound a scholar as his predecessors Nevin and Schaff. As a scholar he was a pastor, writer, and preacher. However, he was very prolific as an author, publishing poetry, stories, sermons, and books and essays on a great variety of subjects. In many ways he was not as sophisticated and consistent a spokesman for the Evangelical Catholicism as were Nevin and Schaff. He was too American, a child of the rural and pietistic landscape of eastern Pennsylvania and less steeped in the lore and rigors of German theology, philosophy, and church history. He studied German theologians, his diaries and correspondence providing evidence of an increased sophistication in these matters.

THE MAN OF LETTERS AND THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE

Early in 1867, Harbaugh gave up the editorship of his beloved Guardian and became editor of The Mercersburg Review. He died on December 28, 1867, at fifty years of age. In other parts of America, especially New England, New York, or Virginia, a person of Harbaugh’s accomplishments would have been the subject of reverence and continued study. But Henry was not “English,” he was Pennsylvania German, part of a culture much neglected in the study of American history, literature, and religion. If Harbaugh had been a New Englander or representative of the predominantly Anglo-American culture, he might well have belonged to a studied elite. Although it is difficult to compare him to a Horace Bushnell or a Ralph Waldo Emerson, he certainly deserves the level of attention accorded to a Lyman Beecher, a Theodore Parker, a George A. Gordon, or a Washington Gladden.

Professor Earl R. Robacker in his 1943 study of Pennsylvania German Literature made much of the prolific output of printed materials among the Pennsylvania Germans, from the earliest days of immigration. He pointed out that the works of Francis Daniel Pastorius were not inferior to those of Jonathan Edwards, and that the Paradiesches Wunderspiel of Conrad Beissel of the Ephrata Community was not inferior to New England’s Bay Psalm Book or the Day of Doom. To Robacker the Germans were simply ignored by the English-speaking scholars who studied American culture. John Joseph Stoudt, writing about the same time as Robacker, indicated that “the full-blown rose of mystical transcendentalism blossomed in Pennsylvania a full century before New England’s scrubby plant began to bud,” long before New England imported it secondhand from German Romanticism. Elsewhere Stoudt informs us that Pastorius wrote more lines of English verse than those produced in the rest of America in the seventeenth century.

As a man of letters Henry Harbaugh deserves attention in the understanding of American culture because he was a unique representative of one of its abiding folk subcultures. He first recognized the literary potential of the Pennsylvania German dialect and the need to preserve both dialect and culture in the midst of the onslaught of modernity, and the encroachments of the hegemonic Anglo-American world.

The people who make up this unique American culture were the sons and daughters of farmers and craftsmen. Many retained those modes of livelihood well beyond the first generation of immigration. We must remember that, although the dialect is a German dialect in which the speech of the eastern half of the Palatinate predominates, a general blending of German dialects took place in Pennsylvania. It is also true that the people lived for a time in ethnic distance from the English-speaking world. To this day the Pennsylvania Dutch (especially the Amish and Old Order Mennonites) may frequently be heard to use the word “die Englicher” to refer to “outsiders.” Yet there was sufficient necessary intercourse between the two worlds for English words and pronunciations to be “Dutchified” and added to the speech of the Pennsylvania Germans. In effect, the Pennsylvania Germans are not simply German Americans — not merely transplanted Germans who are eventually assimilated. They are a uniquely American culture produced by the idiosyncrasies of German dialect life in Pennsylvania.

They were a people of the earth, earthy. For generations, those who entered the mainstream of American
life and its professions maintained their folk characteristics and their devotion to the humble style of Palatinate and southwest-German origins. Nathan C. Schaeffer, in his introduction to Linn Harbaugh’s life of his father, published in 1900, says of Henry Harbaugh that he “was a typical Pennsylvanian German. The dialect and its range of ideas he acquired at his mother’s knee and from the companions of his childhood and youth. His powers of work and his love of fun were developed under the tutelage of the old farm and under the influence of its customs, traditions and forms of speech.” It was the same Rev. Dr. Schaeffer, Pennsylvania’s Superintendent of Public Instruction, who had heard Harbaugh speak at the commencement banquet of Franklin and Marshall College in 1866 (just a little more than a year before Harbaugh’s death). Schaeffer remarked that Harbaugh proved the fitness of the dialect for after-dinner speech. “Its humor and delivery made a deeper impression than the oratory of all the eminent men at home and abroad whom I have had the good fortune to hear at banquets, in the pulpit or from the rostrum.” Evidently the speaker on that occasion had employed the manners of an old farmer and laced his speech with dialect material that helped to rally support for an ailing theological journal, The Mercersburg Review.

“Es gebe sieva gelehrte sproche, Englisch und Deutsch, Lateinisch und Griechisch und Hebraeisch; sell sin fünf, Die sechst haest Pennsylvania Deutsch, die sievet is German Reformed.” (“There are seven learned languages,” said Harbaugh, “English, German, Latin and Greek and Hebrew; these are five. The sixth is called Pennsylvania German, the seventh is German Reformed.”) His audience loved the respected pastor and scholar who put on “no airs” and spoke the language of the folk, even as he made no pretense to being other than a son of the soil who had no time for putting on airs. Although Harbaugh was a gifted preacher and popular speaker who knew the skills of public address and proper use of the voice, he was not engaged in deliberate affectation. He was a pastor among people who had a saying, “Wie gelehrter, wie verkehrter” (loosely: the more educated a person is the crazier he’s likely to be).

**FOLK PIETY: HOMESICKNESS AND RELENTLESS CHANGE**

Two characteristics of folk piety emerge from Harbaugh’s lingering identification with the ordinary life of his people. In his writings we find evidence of deepening homesickness linked with the idea of heaven, and a sense of life as unrelenting change. This does not mean he was a morose or gloomy person. He seemed to exemplify a healthy Gemuthlichkeit (good humor), touched with a deep German piety. Those who read his works on Heaven and find only pathos are not contending with the quintessential Dutchman. And the fact that he wrote three volumes on the future life between 1848 and 1853 does not mean that he had some morbid fascination with the “heavenly home,” or engaged in Manichean speculation about the loathsomeness of the material order. Phillippe Aries’ studies of death posit four major periods in the Western appreciation of death. The third phase supposedly extended from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, a period in which the focus was on the death of the beloved, with an accompanying symbolic eroticization of death. It seems apparent that this love of death did not end with the eighteenth century, but was accompanied by Victorian sensibilities throughout most of the nineteenth century. There are reams of poetry, written in devotional arbor, that have seldom reached the attention of literary savants and anthologists. They are the poems of the folk, albeit in some sense literate, devout, and reasonably educated. Their works may not be great poetry, but they tell us much about the prevailing worldview. Of course, the poetry is not always focused on the death of the beloved. It is often a meditation on one’s own death and the theme of homecoming — completed pilgrimage. Yet there is the same eros, the Sehnsucht so evident in Goethe and Schiller.

Certainly it makes little sense to reduce our understanding of this phenomenon to some theory of emotional instability or deprivation which seeks solace by escape. Henry Harbaugh was a person who was very familiar with the precariousness of existence. But it was not the perilousness that occupied his mind, but rather the memory of home with its love and stability. Decay, he said, is a mark of natural existence; it results from the wearing down of earthly organization. But we observe this decay as residents of a world where memory provides a backward look which sees by faith the outlines of a heavenly home. Homescickness is always for the heavenly home, which really means that the earthly home is a precarious remembrance of our real destiny.

Harbaugh was a happy man, satisfied with the earthiness of farm and home, yet knowing that “the powers of the world to come bear heavily...on our spirits.” His Gemuthlichkeit was often taxied by the moralistic impositions of Reformed pietism and the nineteenth-century revivalism his theology at times deplored. In typical fashion he detested the use of alcohol as the Devil’s elixir and even opposed the election of an elder who owned a saloon. But he was the clown, the jokester, the friend of children, and a lover of nature who wrote poems and books about trees and birds.

His people were close to the barnyard with its manure, its odors, its mating and birthing. They were close to death, but they took life as it came and they lived with homesickness for the heavenly home. That is the way “the people live” and Henry Harbaugh never
lost his folk piety in spite of his education and familiarity with the work of philosophers, historians, and theologians. He remained linked to the simplicity of his childhood. "A child is often vexed, fretful, etc., but never sad. If sad, then morbid. I agree with you," he wrote to his friend Benjamin Bausman in 1857, "that we may well wish to be children again. That is a bright spot that comes but once in life. As we get older we are forced to fence off the world on account of its untrue character, and with it banish the heaven that lies about us in our infancy." (emphasis mine). The world was God's, especially the earth and its ways, and the Pennsylvania Germans made the most of it, cherishing home and family, and keeping their faith in that heavenly home where sorrow and grief would be overcome and life's imbalances justified.

Harbaugh's homesickness and longing for the heavenly home are linked to the experience of life as relentless change. Like the people among whom he had been born and among whom he labored in Lewisburg, Lancaster, Lebanon, then Mercersburg, he was deeply aware of change. There was a fragility to existence. Harbaugh's diaries express a deep sensitivity to the passage of time, the pathos of change and "no return." He had discovered very early in life that change is the one inevitable circumstance. One left home and lost it, spent the rest of life seeking to return.

THE POET OF THE PEOPLE: THE HEAVENLY MISSION

In the August 1861 issue of The Guardian there was an editor's note that read:

The following poem is written in what is generally called Pennsylvania German. This is a peculiar dialect, created by a strange mixture of all the European German dialects, with a large sprinkling of English words and pronunciations. It is passing away before the victorious progress of the English, and must ultimately become extinct. It will however remain as a curiosity in literature. This poem, written by a Pennsylvania pastor is here inserted at the request of literary friends who saw it in manuscript. It has, we believe, the ring of the true vernacular."

The editor and the "Pennsylvania pastor" who wrote the above-mentioned poem, "Das All Schulhaus an der Krick," were one and the same. And the most prominent of the "literary friends" who suggested that the poem be printed was none other than the church historian Philip Schaff, with whom Harbaugh had maintained a close friendship from the days when the latter's writing and speaking skills were enlisted in the cause of the Mercersburg movement." Harbaugh published his nostalgic piece about the old schoolhouse anonymously because he was not certain how it would be received. Was it fitting that a dialect, partially shaped by the exigencies of rural life among the Germans in Pennsylvania, should be an appropriate literary medium? After all, high German was the only language other than English that was considered proper in the services of the Reformed Churches in Pennsylvania. And the dialect was often considered the mark of the uneducated, the country bumpkin — Benjamin Franklin's "dumb Dutch."

Once he made the venture into dialect publication, Harbaugh's courage grew. Other dialect poems followed in other issues of The Guardian. Along with the poems, there continued to appear sketches and reflections upon rural life. In a piece entitled "Das Hausdach Gukerle," Harbaugh sketched the portrait of a mysterious wanderer whom he had observed as a child. "Das Hausdach Gukerle" was literally a little man who gazed at the roofs of houses. "When he walked, he always looked down on the ground just before him, as if he were seeking something lost." He wore a low-crowned, broad-brimmed hat deep on his head and his feet were bare in the summertime. He was never seen to laugh and he seldom spoke, but muttered mysterious words to himself. Always dressed the same, he seemed free from vanity. To the children he was a curiosity and somewhat of a dread. "Here comes the Hausdach Gukerle" they would shout to each other. In innocence, sadness, earnestness, the little man would stop in front of a house, lift up his face toward the top of the roof, and stand silently transfixed. Who was the Hausdach Gukerle? asks Harbaugh. Had he lost something?

"The very roofs on which he looked so earnestly have long since rotted away, and been replaced by new ones... The dust, which he was so pleased to stir with his well-worn pilgrim feet, has been swept away, and a new stratum has been powdered by the tread of the world's busy life... When he laid down to his last sleep, we hope it was at the foot of that mystic ladder which now touches the earth at all points where God's pilgrims stop to rest... There, if he has not found what he had lost, he will never lose what he has found!"

The sketch is typical of Harbaugh's style, steeped as it is in the ordinary, the commonplace. The Gukerle could be Harbaugh himself. It is interesting to me that there were times of great restraint in Harbaugh's moralism, so that the artistry of his literary skill itself is permitted to bear much of the weight of the meaning he wishes to share. Of course, that is not always the case. The editor of The Guardian often found it difficult to resist didactic moralism as he reflected upon rainbows, country churches, or a rainy day at the farmhouse. In that first dialect poem, he stood before the "quaint old schoolhouse door, close by [his] father's house," just twenty years from the time he had left. Memories flooded in:
Let those who dream of happier scenes,
Go forth those scenes to find;
They'll learn what thousands have confessed,
That with our home our heart's true rest
Is ever left behind.

Oh, where are now the school-mates, who
Here studied long ago?
Some scattered o'er the world's wide waste!
By fortune hither, thither chased!
Some, in the church-yard low!
My muse has struck a tender vein!
And asks a soothing flow;
O Time! what changes thou has made,
Since I around this school-house played,
Just twenty years ago!

Ye, who shall live when I am dead —
Write down my wishes quick —
Protect it, love it, let it stand,
A way-mark in this changing land —
That school-house at the creek.  

1861 was a year of great stress in the American experience! The Civil War was evidence that the great surge of energy that had driven the new nation onward was not an entirely benevolent force. In the midst of rising prosperity and the conquest of the Western frontier, there was the bloody and ugly reminder that there is no permanence except change itself. And in Harbaugh's own life there had been much sadness. The pastorate was not always an easy profession for one who was moralist, idealist, and scholar. There were hardships, struggles, disagreements, ravaged expectations. Through it all, Harbaugh reflected upon the circumstances of existence and visited old friends. He made trips to his old home and learned that home is a natural inclination of the heart that can only be fulfilled in an eternal home. Without "heaven," home is mere naturalism — "with our home our heart's true rest is ever left behind." In his farewell sermon at First Church, Lancaster, on October 30, 1860, he spoke of the constancy of change. "No changes of the finite can reach the infinite. No changes of the temporal can reach the eternal." He who is "in Christ" will transcend the inevitable change of the natural order.

Harbaugh read the German poets and Romantics. They spoke to the Sehnsucht, the Sturm und Drang of his own soul. But his homesickness in the midst of change was a folk Heemweh, not the sophisticated speculation of high culture. The poem "Heemweh" ("Homesickness") may have been influenced by a Ger-
man poem of similar theme. But when it appeared in an issue of The Guardian, it revealed a perception of the world born of the rural existence of Pennsylvania Germans:

I know not what the reason is:
    Where'er I dwell or roam,
    I make a pilgrimage each year,
    To my old childhood home.
Have nothing there to give or get —
    No legacy, no gold —
Yet by some home-attracting power
    I'm evermore controlled:
This is the way the home-sick do,
    I often have been told.

He cannot bring himself to open the door, but "fears the pain of missing all this home contained of yore." His father and mother are "presences" in Henry's visit. "Never to my fancy she as in her grave appears," he says of his mother. And his father sat often on the bench against the wall

    Hands meekly crossed upon his lap,
    He looked so lost and lone,
    As if he saw an empty world,
    And hoped to leave it soon.

Yet the poet knows that what is lost shall not be found. Death makes it all a dream and obliterates the hope of return.

    Such is the fate of earthly loves
    Where all things die and change.

Without heaven's fulfillment, life would remain sore and distressed. But in that heavenly realm there is no leaving home, no seeking graves, no experience of the eternal round of death.

    There we shall join our sainted dead,
    Who are but gone before.
    I'm fain, in lonely hours, to lift
    The veil that let them through,
    And wish it were God's holy will
    To let me pass it too;
    Yet patience! Till my hour shall come,
    To bid the world, adieu!"
Much of Harbaugh’s poetry bears the strain of romantic melancholy. Yet this is a mood he shares with the people, the folk who make passage through changing time, who cry and laugh in Gemütlichkeit, accepting in homey piety the idiosyncrasies of existence. The folk live ever with the memories of home and the hope that their longing will be fulfilled in another dimension of being.

When Henry Harbaugh began to write in the Pennsylvania German dialect (1861) he discovered another way to express his concern for the simple lessons of natural existence, and his belief that restlessness and homelessness find their proper rest only in a divine revelation that takes form within nature but is ultimately "heavenly" — transcendent. Harbaugh wrote his poems and sketches of Pennsylvania German life because they revealed a changing, dying, culture. He longed for the "home" that culture represented and hoped to preserve something of it. But he was realistic enough to know that "the fate of earthly loves" is that they die and change. The dialect, he knew, was "passing away before the notorious progress of the English, and must ultimately become extinct." The ways of the past, the memories of people and dialect, all pass away. Their meaning is not to be found in self-preservation, but in the ability of Divine Providence to fulfill on its own terms what people long for. Even the realms of nature confirm this truth. To Harbaugh, the lower orders of creation serve the higher. Humanity is of the higher order, but is fallen — disobedient to the Creator and self-justifying. Disorder is greater in the higher order than in the lower. The realms of animal existence may be somewhat in disarray because of the effects of human disorder; but basically, nature fulfills the Creator’s expectations. Therefore, we of the higher order are taught by the lower. "It seems," he wrote, "that the whirlwind of vengeance raised by sin, like a hurricane in nature, bore fiercest against the eminences, while the lower regions of nature lay comparatively unharmed." And so Harbaugh listened to the creatures of nature. He remembered what nature taught him as a child and young man on the farm. To recall such lessons was to prepare for the word of revelation.

Christ is the final revelation, to be progressively apprehended through the church. Harbaugh wrote a hymn that remains the official hymn of one of America’s well-known preparatory schools, the Mercersburg Academy, to this day. Its words can easily be mistaken for a typical example of evangelical American "Jesusohy":

Jesus, I live to Thee,
The loveliest and best;
My life in Thee, Thy life in me,
In Thy blest love I rest.

No doubt there is a measure of evangelical romantic piety to its four stanzas. But the hymn is a dignified work revealing Harbaugh’s Christological understanding. The Jesus of the hymn is not the companionable Jesus of scriptural record to evangelical piety, but the ever-living Christ, present in and through the Church. According to Harbaugh, all other principles are mere "doctrines." Christ is the prototypical new humanity, no mere individual, but a new reality only the Church can communicate. The persons who discover the truth of this revelation find themselves the enlightened creatures of this new creation — "My life in me, Thy life in me, In Thy blest love I rest."

The loss we experience in homelessness is raised to a higher level by Christ. He shows us transcendent reality — the heavenly home that was the lure of the restlessness of our natural existence. The Scriptures themselves, wrote Harbaugh in an essay about trees and birds of the Bible, reveal the God who was in Christ, aiding "mute nature in making itself intelligible," expressing "for nature what it groans to utter." It is interesting to note that in his Christological theology (still in sketchy form at the moment of his untimely death) there is no sense of an impending secular victory, no acknowledgment of the possible failure of the Church’s mission. Harbaugh was a man of hope who agreed with John Williamson Nevin that all things human had to be organically taken into the new creation. Art, music, painting, sculpture, poetry, philosophy, and science must participate in the redemptive process. The Church, wrote Harbaugh, "hails the advance of every species of humble and earnest inquiry as somewhat subservient to that widening of human apprehension which in reverent minds will only serve to open the way for the progress of the full sense of divine revelation into the consciousness of the Church. A finished theology is in its view already in a state of stagnation and decay." 

CONCLUSION

Henry Harbaugh extended the life of Pennsylvania German dialect and culture by serving as the paradigm for its preservation and a representative of its ways. He was a sophisticated pastor who never lost sight of the folk piety that lay at the roots of his own existence. He understood that piety as part of the natural order of homelessness to be fulfilled in the heavenly home of the new creation in Christ. That kind of thinking may have forced lesser thinkers into an intellectual casuistry much too hochmutig for the likes of the simple Germans of rural Pennsylvania. But Harbaugh preferred to share his thoughts in the prose and poetry of the folk. He shared their devotional and plaintive existence, their good humor and their earthy sentiments.
As the quintessential Dutchman he maintained his own gemuthlichkeit in the midst of change and decay. He had the education and the storytelling talents to preserve and pass on the ways of his people. And as pastor he was the natural custodian and spokesperson for a “worldview,” a perception of existence that was religious in its effective harmonizing of things sacred and secular. As pastor he ministered to the folk. As pastor he could respond to the profound call of a folk piety which he himself experienced, while at the same time offering the fulfillment of that piety in the sacramental life of the Church. The latter was a revelation of new creation that revealed the brokenness and shortcoming of natural folk piety while at the same time raising it, transforming it. The old, natural man, he wrote, is analogous to the new life of a plant which is quickened as fast as the old dies. The natural, wrote Harbaugh, is like the “covering of a new creature mysteriously begotten in Christ Jesus. This new being unfolds his powers under the larva of the old; till the time comes when the ‘body of death’ is entirely cast off.”

Harbaugh had the education, the talent, and the foresight to recognize the honesty of folk piety, to acknowledge the value of the dialect and culture of his people. He had the wisdom and gemuthlichkeit to pass them on. He became the first in a long line of Pennsylvania German pastors (mostly Reformed and Lutheran) who were the preservers of the folk tradition. They became its foremost storytellers, humorists, and folklorists. They collected stories, proverbs, and folk medicine. They remembered the legends and they spoke to the people of experiences shared, of things believed. They spoke in the dialect at Sunday School events, picnics, festivals, and family reunions. They wrote dialect columns for newspapers or shared the lore in English. In all these activities, they followed in the footsteps of the quintessential Dutchman, loving the earthy existence and the romantic fascination with change and the heavenly home.

ENDNOTES

5. Harbaugh served a short time before his death as a professor in the Mercersburg seminary where he had earlier studied with John Nevin.
8. Much of the following biographical material is condensed from the biography by his son, Linn Harbaugh, Life of the Rev. Henry Harbaugh, D.D. (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1900), references in the Mercersburg Review, The Guardian (Harbaugh’s own journal), and his diaries and correspondence.

"Linn Harbaugh, p. 88.
13. Henry Harbaugh, diaries in Archives of Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa., entry for June 19, 1846.
14. Cf. diary entries for December 27 and 29, 1848, January 12, 1849. "The Review was the theological journal of the Mercersburg movement, with official status in the German Reformed Church. It was a leading theological journal during much of the latter half of the century.
15. Diary, January 29, 1849.
16. Diaries and correspondence in the Lancaster Archives reveal the extent of Harbaugh’s reading theology, history, and natural philosophy. He read Swedenborg, for example, F. D. Maurice, Samuel Hopkins, as well as numerous German authors such as Isaac Dorner and J. P. Lange (his favorite).
17. Diary entry of October 5, 1862.
18. Cf. diary entries of April 4, 1850, and May 12, 1850.
20. Linn Harbaugh, Bibliography, i-iii.
27. Ibid., p. 5.
34. Linn Harbaugh, p. 173.
36. H. Harbaugh to Philip Schaff, September 8, 1859, Lancaster Archives; also Elizabeth Clarke Kieffer, p. 363; Robacker, p. 73.
37. The Guardian XII, 8 (August 1862), pp. 240-244.
38. Ibid., p. 244.
41. Diary entry for July, 1851, where Harbaugh refers to the “Heimweh” of Stillings.
42. "Harbaugh’s Harfe, p. 99.
43. Ibid., p. 102.
44. Ibid., p. 103.
45. Ibid., p. 105.
50. Harbaugh, Christological Theology, p. 72.
IN MEMORIAM:

William T. Parsons,
1923–1991

On April 23, 1991, we at Ursinus College lost a valued colleague, a respected scholar, and a trusted friend, Professor William T. Parsons. Our genuinely modest and always cheerful Bill was internationally recognized as an historian and expert in the culture and language of the Pennsylvania Germans, the ethnicity he called “The Persistent Minority.”

The foregoing tribute to Professor Parsons is from a Memorial Minute written by colleagues Judith Fryer (compiler of the Folklife indices), Thomas Gallagher and Evan Snyder (members of the Folklife editorial committee), and Robin Clouser, professor of German, whose own testimonial follows this.

Assistant editor of Pennsylvania Folklore from 1975-1978 and editor from 1978 to 1982, Professor Parsons was also archivist of the college’s Pennsylvania German collection, director of its Pennsylvania German Studies Program, and author of numerous books, pamphlets, and articles on Pennsylvania German history and culture. As impressive as the above listing is, however, it doesn’t begin to tell the story of the man or his work. Dr. Parsons had a love for the Pennsylvania Germans—his own people—that was based on admiration for their solid values and unassuming ways. In a time when such values are often denigrated, he unapologetically celebrated the love of God, country, family, and home, and the hard-working and frugal lifestyle that has always characterized much of the Pennsylvania-German community.

Professor Parsons was unusually obliging and unselfish in sharing his knowledge and expertise. Even when he was no longer editor of Folklore he would, if asked, read manuscripts and give advice and counsel on their merits or lack thereof; or spend hours helping to search for illustrations for articles about to be published. An expert on old German script, he gladly translated documents for other scholars or for those who had unearthed family papers from attics or basements. He often answered—at length—written requests as vague as “tell me something about the Pennsylvania Dutch,” or as specific as “did my ancestors live in Montgomery County in 1850?”

It was not unusual either for Dr. Parsons to make the short trip from his office or home to accommodate those who visited the Archives outside of regular hours, and then to answer any number of questions with no thought of passing time. I was often in the archives room when there were visitors, or when Dr. Parsons was conducting a seminar there, and on such occasions it was impossible not to be caught up in his enthusiasm; not to share at least some of his passion for his subject; not to want to know more about that subject. In fact, in any teaching situation he was at his very best, and that is the way I (and, I suspect, many others) will always remember him.

Nancy K. Gaugler
Managing Editor

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“Go West! Find out what the rest of America looks like!” This was part of Dr. William T. Parsons’ message in his 1962 course on the American Frontier: no mere dry facts, a call to action! To a first-semester senior who had never been west of Harrisburg, his enthusiastic injunction seemed daunting. What about wild Indians, stampeding buffalo, and masked hombres? From the safe distance of civilized Collegeville, Bleeding Kansas, Donner Pass, and Wounded Knee seemed wild and fascinating, rather like the history of China. But to go there myself was an entirely different matter. What
Dr. Parsons and Lamar ("Mountain Bumby") Bumbaugh—book buyer and seller, collector of wild herbs and folk-medicine plants, and collector and teller of folk tales—at the Kutztown Folk Festival.

was Dr. Parsons trying to get us into? Yet in 1965 I took his advice, and it forever changed my life.

In 1974 when I returned to join the Ursinus faculty after nine years in the American West, accompanied by a Western wife of pioneer stock, Dr. Parsons was still faithfully teaching history to a new generation of students. Although he had shifted his emphasis from the American frontier to what he called "The Persistent Minority" (the Pennsylvania Germans), Bill Parsons was just as enthusiastic, just as cheerful and every bit as modest as I remembered him. As a new faculty member I got to know him better as a person. He was one of those intellectuals whose curiosity never stopped. By working with him on old German manuscripts and helping to solve problems in dialects, I came to recognize in Bill that unending quest for new knowledge, old wisdoms, and eternal truths that is the hallmark of a true scholar and the raison d'être of published research.

Like so many outstanding teachers and scholars who labor in the dark with few rewards, Professor Parsons was largely unrecognized, even though he was one of the best teachers and most prolific publishers Ursinus College ever had. Dr. Parsons afforded his students the best in a college education by taking a personal interest in their lives as well as by making history come to life. It was his special concern for young people, and his unqualified exuberance for everything he did, that made Dr. Parsons so special in my memory.

We at Ursinus College recognize Bill Parsons today as one of the elite of the faculty corps. He set high standards both for teaching and for scholarship. We will forever honor Dr. Parsons and his legacy.

Dr. Robin A. Clouser
Professor of German
The Festival and its Sponsorship

The Kutztown Folk Festival is sponsored by the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, a nonprofit educational corporation affiliated with UR SINUS 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 UR SINUS COLLEGE.

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