AMISH CHILDREN

Courtesy Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission
A feature of the Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania German Society, held at The Pennsylvania State University in October, 1955, was a panel discussion of the Changing Pattern of Pennsylvania German Culture, 1855-1955. In response to numerous requests, the short papers presented by the panelists are herewith published. A few deletions have been made in the interest of brevity; but, in order to preserve the informality of the discussion, the papers are here presented with a minimum of editorial emendation. Discussion, both by the panelists and from the floor, was spirited and stimulating. Apparently an annual-meeting audience, such as was assembled for this occasion, much prefers a series of short papers to longer and more pretentious presentations. This has encouraged the Program Committee of the Society to consider a similar subsequent program. There are, of course, many other

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aspects of Pennsylvania German culture that could be considered profitably from the point of view of recent culture-historical changes. The dates subsumed by the topic are those of The Pennsylvania State University's first one hundred years. The Society met on the campus in 1955 in honor of the University's Centennial Year. The program was planned by Professor Walter E. Boyer, and the panel was moderated by Dr. Maurice A. Mook, both of The Pennsylvania State University.

FAMILY LIFE AND RECREATION

By RUSSELL WIEDER GILBERT*

IN LOOKING at the changing pattern of Pennsylvania German culture since 1855, one thinks of the old Adams County gristmiller's words, "Life is chust one darn sing after anudder." Surely, things have played a great role in the vast changes that American civilization has undergone during the last hundred years. Nonetheless, sing does express the joy of life with which the Pennsylvania Germans have faced reality and hardships amid these changes. It may have been a Volkslied (folksong) or a Kaerrichelied (hymn) that expressed their feelings.

My purpose is to discuss transitions in family life and in recreation. At the outset one must point out the paucity of research that exists here. Wide gaps in our knowledge draw attention to the need for further studies. Perhaps, too, the romantic longing for die gute, alde Zeide (the good old times) creates a nostalgia for the traditional which may hide or hamper our understanding of present reality. We must remember, also that our present comparisons between the old and the new are not all-inclusive, for the Mennonites and the Amish, who may have preserved more of the traditional, will be considered separately in this symposium. What is true of the sects may not be true of the Lutherans and the Reformed, the so-called "church people." Another consideration in rating changes in the family life and recreation of the Pennsyl-

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PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN CULTURE

The feeling of family unity naturally grew more rapidly on the single farmstead. Since many Pennsylvania Germans were farmers, they had an initial advantage in family consciousness. One must keep in mind not only the intense family loyalties but also the strong position of the father in early Pennsylvania German life. He was the regal and legal head, even though mother sat as the power triumphant behind the throne. The patriarchal father was an integral part of the family system: as pater familias he ruled in typical German fashion. Failure to greet him or to recognize his entrance into the room sometimes meant punishment. When company came, children were to be seen and not heard in the gute Stube. Beforehand they were told to sit in a corner or in some other specified place. The modern theory of self-expression was nonexistent. Has there been a general trend away from a patriarchal system? Have the Pennsylvania Germans preserved more of the traditional patriarchal concept than other ethnic groups, or have they succumbed to the pressure of the present? I believe that the family influence has been somewhat stronger with the Pennsylvania Germans than with others. The early strength of their family system allowed more of its influence to penetrate into the present.

My statement must not be taken to mean that the Pennsylvania Germans have not adjusted to the transitions of the times, for they have shown an ability to adapt the old customs in Germany to new circumstances in America. That times and trends have altered is beyond question. The Hausfrau, for instance, felt such great pride in her ability to prepare delicious food that it would have been an insult to leave the homestead for a meal. Few public
places, moreover, served food. Taverns did, to be sure, but they were intended merely for travelers and suspicious characters.

Values have fluctuated so much as a result of changes in modes of living, that what was essential years ago has little importance today. Money meant little, for most things were made on the farm. The wills of the Pennsylvania Germans reveal the great simplicity of their life, with a hard struggle for necessities. Objects were important: the Bauchzuwuer or bucking tub, windmill and cutting box, Fleeschgawwel or meat fork, the corner cupboard, a Windsor chair, linen and linsey-woolsey, and what not. An outright gift of money per year was usually small or not made at all in the wills. A horse to ride or a cow to milk (the "Milch Cow") were more significant than dollars. The children were willing to stay and work on the farm to the age of twenty-one or longer without expecting pay, for they realized that loyalty to the family meant an ultimate reward. The reward for loyalty and the price of disobedience were all of one piece in the family picture.

Years ago the pattern of family life forced each member to earn those essentials which to the modern seem meaningless. Today it is different; the parents give directly to the children. "I don't want my son or daughter to have to struggle as I struggled," is the common parental comment. The desire for possession is the same, but the object has changed: then the horse and carriage, now the automobile. The male member of the couple about to be married asked, "What does this now cost me?" Back came the reply, "This can cost you plenty yet." A marked change in the Pennsylvania German pattern has taken place. The same love for the children predominates, but the expression of it is different. The earlier Pennsylvania Germans believed that parental affection was best shown by giving children opportunities to work, whereas the later generations have concluded that only an outright gift can cushion their progeny against the vicissitudes of life in a complex society.

The compass of the world has changed. What was a narrow, provincial area has become a broad expanse of thousands of miles—traversable, however, in a comparatively short time. In a century we have moved from horse and buggy to jet-propelled plane. In earlier days the lack of outer communication threw greater emphasis on the family center. Today the stress has shifted from a nation of families to a family of nations. The family reunion
among the Pennsylvania Germans, however, may be a reminder of their continued insistence upon compact internal ties.

What about transitions in recreation? Years ago recreation among the Pennsylvania Germans meant productive work with the added pleasure of sociability, usually in some family activity such as quilting parties, snitzing bees, applebutter cookings, and cornhuskings—a combination of work and pastime. The roasting of chestnuts on the coal stove while members of the family sat in the kitchen in typical Gemuetlichkeit was a group activity. Hunting chestnuts on hikes to hilltops was a family project. The popping of the popcorn, the sizzling of chestnuts, and the roasting of sliced potatoes on the stove plate were familiar sounds for the whole family. And mother’s snitzing of apples for the children before bedtime helped to create an atmosphere of family solidarity.

Sleighing parties provided much enjoyment. Oldtimers aver that their longer and colder winters afforded more days and nights of sledding weather (Schliddewedder). Here, too, recreation has changed. Whereas in years past the horse and sleigh or the horse and buggy were the vehicles of friendship and courtship, today it is the automobile. The end is the same but the means are different. At the carpet-rag parties the family and neighbors cut left-over cloth into strips, rolled the cuttings on balls, and took them to the carpet weaver or else wove them themselves. Again, the Pennsylvania Germans created their own activity when they gathered around the parlor organ and sang hymns or folksongs. The Singschulen were typical, like the one at the Freeburg Academy in Snyder County. The picture album likewise stressed the role of the family and helped to create family loyalty and pride in kinship. Many an evening was spent over a family album in reminiscence and amusement, and many an album turned friendship into courtship or hastened the step from courtship to marriage. The church, too, was a greater center then than now. The Sunday School pointed to a local Kameradschaft and to a unity of families. In early days both the family and the church assumed larger roles in building the ethnic community.

All types of games were played. It may have been Eckballe (corner ball) in the manure pen (in die Mischlben) during a vendue, or Blindemeisel (blindman’s buff) and other parlor games as the families met in a home. Boys matched physical strength
as they wrestled in the haymow. The game of dominoes was sometimes played like cards, even though playing-cards were the devil's workshop. The card game of Old Maids was permissible, while pictures on cards associated with gambling were disturbing, sinful, and thus verboten.

Recreation in early Pennsylvania German days was a relaxation in which all participated. Today participation is gone: we are merely spectators. Besides, we pay for recreation today, whereas earlier we made it for ourselves and had it free of charge. Recreation had been creative, whereas today we passively expose ourselves to recreation created commercially for us by others. We watch television, movies, and games played by others, without allowing creative self-expression. Television has forced us even to neglect the old art of conversation.

Festivities for the Pennsylvania Germans revolved around the great familial events of life: birth, marriage, and death. In the early days of slow travel, mourners at funerals were invited to return to the house for dinner and supper. The family was thus extended to include a part of the larger community. There were also those who were regular attendants at funerals and suppers. Some few were a sort of Voresser, a word coined to indicate one who eats ahead of the rest, like the Vorsinger who sang ahead of the rest at worship services.

Recreation was the creation of the family and the individual. It was similar to the conflicting modes of expression by two brothers of Powder Valley in Lehigh County, Thomas and Isaac Stahl. Thomas believed in the imitative ideal of old designs and decorations, in the truly traditional; whereas Isaac, the younger, advocated the individualistic use of independent ideas. The development of the last hundred years of family life among the Pennsylvania Germans has been a product of the conflict between the forces of imitation and tradition (a sort of Volksgeist) on the one hand and the powers of individual expression on the other.
THE early German settlers in Pennsylvania were bilingual. Coming from various sections of Middle and South Germany, particularly from the Rhenish Palatinate, Württemberg, and Switzerland, they used for their normal everyday discourse the German dialects peculiar to the sections in Germany from which they had come; in their churches and schools they employed Standard High German (i.e., High German colored by the peculiarities of their dialects).

With the enactment of the common school law in 1834 and the subsequent transition from German to English schools, a large majority of the Pennsylvania Germans became trilingual.

Later, i.e., toward the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, as German education declined in Pennsylvania, English gradually replaced High German as a second language.

Today, the majority of the Pennsylvania Germans are bilingual, speaking both English (or what is sometimes referred to as “Pennsylvania Dutch English”) and a dialect popularly called “Pennsylvania Dutch.”

Now, if we compare this so-called Pennsylvania Dutch dialect, which is spoken today by several hundred thousand people over a large portion of the State of Pennsylvania, with specimens of the dialect written around 1855, we observe that the dialect has not changed greatly during the past hundred years. This is especially true of the morphology of the dialect, and, as nearly as we can determine from the orthography, also of the phonology.

The dialect, it is true, has become more homogeneous. There are, as one might expect, fewer regional variants. Several years ago I made a study of the regional variants in the Pennsylvania German dialect as it is spoken in the different sections in Pennsylvania, and, although I did find quite a few differences, I did

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not find as many as one might expect to find. Also, I discovered that, even though the form used by a speaker in one area may differ from that used by a native of another area, the variant forms, nevertheless, will generally have been heard at some time or other by each speaker. For example, the Pennsylvania German who always says, Der Hund gautst (for "the dog barks"), will usually also understand Der Hund blafft, and vice versa. Whenever in my interviews I mentioned a variant form, my informant would frequently say: O ya, sell hauwich schun aa gheert ("Oh yes, I've heard that too already"), or O ya, sell kann mer aa saagge ("Oh yes, one can say that too"). Thus, speakers from all areas are easily mutually intelligible.

The percentage of English loan words used by speakers of Pennsylvania German today, especially by the younger generation and also in the sections on the periphery of the dialect area, is naturally much higher than it was a hundred years ago. Such an increase of loan words is to be expected in a nation where the official language, the language of the schools, is English. The Pennsylvania Germans have never hesitated to borrow an English word if they needed one for their purposes.

However, it cannot be emphasized enough that the percentage of English loan words is much lower than many people estimate. The average layman is not aware of the linguistic relationship between English and German, and therefore he regards many of the words which are not derivatives but simply cognates as English loan words. My investigations have revealed that the percentage of English loan words used today by speakers of Pennsylvania German varies from two to eight per cent, depending upon the particular dialect area, the subject of the conversation or discussion, and the age of the speaker.

I should also like to point out that English has had almost no influence on the phonology and morphology of the Pennsylvania German dialect during the past hundred years.

This so-called Pennsylvania Dutch dialect which is spoken today, is still a German dialect (with a small percentage of English loan words) and happens to resemble most closely the dialects spoken today in the eastern half of the Rhenish Palatinate in Germany.

During the past few years I have heard Pennsylvania Dutch
described in various ways. Here, for example, are some definitions I have heard or read:

1. Pennsylvania Dutch is a combination of German and English language. The words are mostly English with German prefix and suffix.
2. Pennsylvania Dutch is a mixture of German words which correspond to the English words.
3. Pennsylvania Dutch originated in Pennsylvania and is composed of German and Pennsylvania sayings.
4. Pennsylvania Dutch is a Low German Dialect.
5. Pennsylvania Dutch is a corruption of the German.
6. Pennsylvania Dutch is a mixture of English and German languages with German roots and English prefixes and suffixes.

Pennsylvania Dutch, as I have already shown in several articles and monographs, does not fit any of these descriptions. It is not a mixture of English and German. It is a respectable German dialect, and the English influence, as I have just pointed out, is relatively slight.

Nor is the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect, as it is spoken today, a corruption of German or Low German. Too many people, even high school and college teachers, I am sorry to say, compare the forms of the dialect with Standard German and then label everything which is different as “corrupt” or “Low German.” They call it “Low German” because they believe that the terms “Low German” and “High German” refer to the quality of the German. I have been amazed to discover a number of high school and even a few college teachers of German who did not know that the Low German dialects are called “Low German” because they are spoken in the lower or northern part of Germany and that the High German dialects are simply called “High German” because they are spoken in the mountainous regions of the South. Now, as I have pointed out before, the Pennsylvania Germans did not come from the northern part of Germany; they came from various sections of Middle and South Germany and Switzerland, where the High German dialects are spoken. Our so-called “Pennsylvania Dutch” is therefore anything but “Low German.”

Also, too many people, I am sorry to say, are completely unaware of the fact that “dialects have always been the feeders of literary
language,”¹ and that the progress of historical linguistics has shown that “the standard language is by no means the oldest type, but has arisen under particular historical conditions from local dialects.”²

It may be interesting to consider differences which took place in the second language of the Pennsylvania Germans, namely, English.

The influence of the dialect on the English spoken by the Pennsylvania Germans has always been present. It is still present, even in the speech of those who live on the periphery of the dialect area and in sections where the dialect was formerly spoken but is now no longer spoken.

The extent of the influence of the dialect on the pronunciation and intonation and the number of Pennsylvania Dutch words and loan translations current in the English of any given part of the Pennsylvania German settlement area, varies directly with the strength of the German element in the population, which in turn largely determined the time of the transition to English, first as a second language, then as the only language spoken in the section. The later the transition, the larger is the number of “Pennsylvania Dutch” relics in the English of the present day.

Probably the most striking feature of the English spoken in the Pennsylvania German area, particularly to the outsider, is the peculiar intonation or lilt. Frequently I have heard outsiders say to people living in the Pennsylvania German area, “I can tell you’re a Pennsylvania Dutchman by your accent.” What they really meant was that they could tell by the peculiar intonational melodies or patterns used by these people that they were Pennsylvania German.

Every language or dialect has certain intonational melodies which are peculiar to it. In the speech of the Pennsylvania Germans this intonation is most prominent in questions. Instead of the more or less level intonation with the voice raised at the end, as in most American speech, the majority of the speakers in the Pennsylvania German area raise their voices on the next to the last accented syllable: e.g., “Didn’t you GET it yet?” Or “Aren’t you GOing today?” Then there is another peculiar intonational pattern in the type of question generally asked when someone makes a statement

which is startling or difficult to believe. For instance, if someone were to say, “Mary's gonna go to California next week,” the listener would probably reply by saying, “IS she though” or “IS she gonna go?” In other words, in this type of question the finite verb which is in the initial position takes the principal accent, and the rest of the sentence “slopes downward.”

The influence of the dialect on the vocabulary and syntax of the English spoken today in the Pennsylvania German areas is also immediately apparent. Let me mention a few words and expressions which seem quite “Dutchified” to an outsider, but which are the accepted currency of everyday speech to the great mass of people living in the Pennsylvania German areas. Most conspicuous among these Pennsylvania German survivals in the English are words concerned with the simple, intimate life of the home and farm, and particularly words for certain food stuffs and dishes, and affectionate nicknames for animals and calls to animals: e.g., pammhaas; schmierkees for “cottage cheese”; speck for “fat on meat” or “lard” or “bacon”; thick-milk for “curdled sour milk”; faasnachts for “doughnuts”; kluck for “a setting hen”; hannie for “call”; and wutzie or wutz for the call to pigs.

Here are some “Dutchified” expressions I have heard used recently in my home-town in the northern part of Dauphin County:

- It wonders me how he found that out (Pennsylvania German, es wunnert mich).
- From little up I hated that (Pennsylvania German, von glee uff).
- We made that out weeks ago (for “We had planned that weeks ago”—(Pennsylvania German, Mer hen sell ausgemacht).
- What for a car is that (Pennsylvania German, Was fer en Kaer iss sell)?
- Don’t let me keep you up (for “Don’t let me detain you”)!
- Until I get home it will be 12 o’clock (for “by the time that”).
- I’ll spritz you, if you don’t watch out (for “I’ll splash or squirt you”)
- Come here once! Let me see that once! Let’s go there once!
- He’s been gone long already (for “He has been gone a long time”—(Pennsylvania German, schun lang).
And so we could go on. These are just a few of the evidences of the influence of the dialect on the English spoken in the Pennsylvania Dutch areas. One hears many of these expressions used not only by those who live in the heart of the dialect area and speak Pennsylvania German, but also by people who live on the periphery of the dialect area and do not speak Pennsylvania German at all.

CHURCH LIFE AND WORK

By William J. Rupp*

An old Adam and Eve story has recently made the rounds in Pennsylvania "Dutch" style. According to this latest version, Adam and Eve were walking down a country lane after their expulsion from the Garden of Eden and Adam was grumbling all the way, mumbling to himself as they trudged along. Finally, Eve asked what was the matter with him. Adam heaved a heavy sigh and replied, "Ei, ich hab yusht gedenkt, was die zeide sich awwer ferennert hen!" ("Why, I was just thinking, my, how times have changed!") When we asked a good old Pennsylvania "Dutch" churchman about changes in the church life of the Dutch country during the last century, he replied, "It's not the way it used to be."

A century ago the life of the Pennsylvania "Dutch" rural community turned about three points: the rural home and the family-owned, family-operated farm; the village with its store, post office, tavern, blacksmith's shop and wagoner's shop; the church, with the week-day school close by and with a Sunday school struggling to

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be born. In these communities our people lived their common, self-sufficient and somewhat confined life. The growing city with its strange ways and tempting allurements was far, far away, and the machine age was just beginning to dawn.

Not to overlook what went on at the public places in the village and such home and farm activities as husking bees, barn-raisings, sales, sleighing parties, haymaking and harvesting and threshing parties, parties for apple-butter making, quilting and sewing carpet rags, we may say that the social life of the people centered in the local church. There they went, for worship to be sure, but also to visit and for fellowship.

Therefore the churches were filled, partly for the above reasons, partly because there was a service only every two or every four weeks, and partly because the spiritual life of the community was on a rather high level. Folks were church-minded in a healthy sort of way, and the tall steeples on the hills, with the bells that rang out on Saturday evenings and Sunday mornings, never allowed them to forget God's House.

Statisticians say that in 1850 only 16 per cent of the population of our country held church membership, that this figure rose to 23 per cent by 1860, and then fell below this mark for three decades before it reached 36 per cent in 1900; but we venture to say that in the Pennsylvania German community the percentage of church members in the total population was very much higher. Those who did not belong or who did not attend were the rare exception and were known and marked accordingly.

Our people went to church by families and most likely worshipped in a "union" church, a building used alternately by a Lutheran and a Reformed congregation. In most families there was a mixed membership, some Lutheran, some Reformed. A Reformed father had a Lutheran wife, and so all the boys joined the Reformed "wing" while all the girls joined the Lutheran "wing"; or all the children "went" as the father did, or as the mother did, meaning all were confirmed Reformed, or all Lutheran. In these union situations, the family generally belonged to two congregations and had two pastors and went every time there was a service; and it rarely happened that all the members of such a family stood side by side to receive the Holy Communion!

Many of these union churches were new. From 1741 to 1770,
seven union churches were started in Berks County and ten in Lehigh; from 1771 to 1800, six in Berks and four in Lehigh; from 1801 to 1830, eleven in Berks and three in Lehigh; but from 1831 to 1860 twenty-four in Berks and twelve in Lehigh. From 1861 to 1890, only six were started in Berks and only six in Lehigh; and with that the matter of founding union churches ceased. Just a few years ago there still remained 239 of these union churches, most of them in southeastern Pennsylvania.

Meanwhile many older union churches were being rebuilt, and there had been a wave of such building in the several decades prior to the Civil War. In some places a second church, a stone building, was erected on the site of an earlier log building. After the Civil War there came another wave of building which gave us the large fine stone and brick churches with their tall spires which now dot the countryside.

Once inside the church, the people did not sit by families. The boys and young men sat on one side gallery, the better to see the girls seated opposite them on the main floor of the sanctuary. The married men sat on the other side gallery, and could see their wives opposite them on the floor below. The choir and organ were on the rear gallery, and on the main floor of the sanctuary there were special seats for the old men and women and for the elders and deacons.

Most of the churches had an organ and an organist who also served as “vorsinger.” Sometimes there was a choir to help with the singing. In some churches there were pocket-size German hymnals, either kept in the church, or carried to the services, and the members sang from them. Where there were none, or to help the members learn the German hymns, the pastor “lined out” the hymns, reciting a line or two, after which the congregation sang them. Occasionally there would be a “special number” by the choir, sung from one of the large old choir books or “chorale books,” as they used to call them.

Worship was rather formal but plain and simple, without all the ecclesiastical trappings of our time. There were no vestments, no processions, no candles, no crosses, no flowers. Generally there was no central or high altar. The pulpit was in the center, showing where the emphasis was put in the total life of the church. The communion table in front of or below the pulpit served as an altar.
or what may have looked like an altar served to hold the sacramental elements, the sacramental vessels, and the parish record books. What is now commonly referred to as the chancel was then known as "the altar."

Although there were some prescribed forms for worship, especially for the sacraments and rites, such as those in a book like the old Marburg hymnal, the usual Sunday morning service followed an order of the pastor's own devising. Worship, therefore, did not follow the book, and there was little liturgy and not much ritual. The several denominational battles over the formation and publication of denominational hymnals and liturgies were just getting under way. Denominational leaders were getting up a lot of steam over liturgical questions, problems of polity and matters of doctrine, especially so in the face of the "new measures movement" and the revivalism and religious awakening that were spreading like wildfire across the land.

One denomination woke up to find a full-grown liturgical controversy in its lap. Another struggled with problems of jurisdiction and polity, and found itself to be a house divided. The student of church history will know what is implied by such phrases as Mercersburg versus Ursinus and Gettysburg versus Mount Airy—and English versus German! Meanwhile the excesses of the revival movement, of the long meetings and the camp meetings, and the arrogant commercialism of the hucksters at church festivals, were making life miserable for the preachers and gave them plenty to do.

The preaching our people heard was done in somewhat of a classical style, quite formal, orthodox, doctrinal, expository, based largely on the Bible and the Catechisms. Sermons were long and, judged by present standards and tastes, rather dry and dull. A Mose Dissinger was the rare exception! Many of the old preachers, or at least some of them, were prophets who dared to be direct, immediate, and personal in their preaching, and who could attack any evil of their day without batting an eye.

Despite some anti-clericalism, some suspicion about the clergy, probably a hangover from the days of the hireling and the exploiter, the people had a wholesome regard for the pastors. The average "Dutchman" was just enough of a rugged individualist to be able to say about preachers that he could "take them or leave them," and he was not at all averse to picking a fight with the local
preacher and giving him a rough time; but generally he "took it and liked it." Proof of the place these men held in the common life of the people and of the respect and affection in which they were held, is found in the many "preacher stories" that were put into circulation. Most of them were told by good church people about the preachers they really loved the most, and only rarely were they circulated maliciously.

Preachers existed on was fallt, that is, on whatever they happened to get in cash, in goods, and as perquisites. Generally they were poor and underpaid, but they managed. This matter has changed somewhat, with fixed salaries, retirement benefits, parsonages, utilities, car and office expenses all provided for in our day; but some statisticians claim that pastors' incomes still are only on a level with the wages of semi-skilled and unskilled labor.

Most of them were trained and good men, worthy of their hire and compelled to fight for it. The Lutheran and Reformed parties had their theological seminaries by this time, and there the younger pastors had been trained. The older pastors had been trained in the private schools of prophets of an earlier generation. Gone were the impostors and the "independents," the home-made preachers and hirelings—well, most of them were gone anyway!

The parochial school was gone and the public school had come in. Therefore Sunday Schools were being started, sometimes against considerable opposition. After the Civil War, this innovation led to the building of the two-story churches.

Confirmation took place every two years, usually in the fall, with spring and summer for the period of instruction. Better transportation and other matters have moved this to Palm Sunday or Whitsunday annually. Communion was celebrated twice a year, spring and fall; and now it is celebrated at least four times a year and sometimes at the beginning of every great season of the church year and at the time of every high festival.

Marriage took place at "the preacher's house." Parsonage marriages are coming to be the exception now, and the formal, elaborate church wedding is the rule. Baptism usually took place either in the parsonage or the parents' home, and now this, too, is done mostly in the church.

Funerals, by our tastes and standards, were crude, cruel, morbid affairs; but death was real to our people, and it was treated that
The funeral then was a neighborhood affair, and the neighbors dug the grave, announced the funeral to the community, and assisted with preparations at the house, helping to feed the funeral party. The coffin was made by a local craftsman, the body prepared by loving friends, and the service held at the call of the church bell.

There were no flowers, no full dress parades, no attempts at camouflage. No effort was made to spare the bereaved and no attempt made to hide or disguise or postpone the inevitable. The service at the house with the singing and the short sermon, the service at the grave again with singing and a brief exhortation, then the long service in the church while the grave was being closed, the dolorous music, the black garb of the mourners, all these and many other customs and practices were quite different from present-day funeral services.

An old Pennsylvania "Dutch" grandmother shakes her head sadly and talks about how different everything is in church these days: the singing, the worship, the preaching, the matter of finances, the Sunday School classes, the equipment and the furnishings. Some will tell you that there just isn't anything like the "church-going in the olden times," but one remembers that this has been the complaint for quite a long while. A pastor who has seen five decades of service in the Lord's vineyard, one of the surviving horse-and-buggy preachers, says that he "just can't get used to all the changes." A younger pastor who has seen only two decades of service observes how much more intense the work has become, how organizations within the church have multiplied, how activity has increased, and how a pastor must be a jack-of-all-trades these days.

Yes, things have changed! Gone are such things as these: the old-time Christmas festivals; the old observance of Ascension Day, Good Friday, Whitsunday, "second" Christmas, Easter Monday and Whit-Monday, with their various beliefs and superstitions: preachers on horseback, or in frock coats; the Parres Esse (feasts prepared for the preacher and his family in the home of a parishioner); the genuine "trial sermon"; the funeral feasts; the preparatory service with an elder or a deacon making a list of those entitled to receive the Sacrament; the "common cup" and the use of home-made wine and home-baked bread as sacramental elements. Gone are the days when "pillars" of the Church fought
against the innovation of Sunday schools (*Kinner-schule* or *Ketzwer-schule*) because they were afraid children might spoil the church furniture; when men prayed into their hats; when preachers served parishes of six, eight, or ten congregations; when members made up work parties to clean the church; and when penny offerings were in style. Gone, at least in part, are the days when people resisted the claims of the foreign missions enterprise as they would resist the devil, and when words like "apportionment" and "benevolence" and "missions" were hated and under suspicion, and when you might give twenty-six cents for missions, twenty-five cents supposedly to get one cent to the right place.

What has come in? Most of you know this full well: the new emphasis on the Lenten season; a new use of the other festivals and seasons of the church year; in some quarters such silly emphases as "Church Paper Day" and "Pensions and Relief Sunday"; colorful vestments; organs with chimes; music of chimes and bells amplified and broadcast from the church steeple; candles; high altars; stained glass windows; duplex envelopes; film projectors; church kitchens and fellowship halls; nurseries; stages and recreation rooms and most of the gadgets that go with this modern era. These things also have moved in: better church school curricular materials; new translations of the Bible; a new kind of catechetical instruction; all sorts of choir music; newer and better hymnals; all kinds of auxiliary organizations from women's guilds and missionary societies and men's leagues and brotherhoods to youth fellowships and Scouts and basketball teams.

The list would be almost endless. There is much more organization and activity. Church buildings are well-heated and well-lighted (if not yet well ventilated!), and they are in use almost every day of the week. A lot of wheels are turning and a lot of noise is being made. There are many more members, much more money is being given for church work, especially for benevolent enterprises, and "the program of the church," meaning the denominational program, is being put across. There is better equipment and the program is more diversified. Instead of waiting for the community to serve the church, attempts are now being made to have the church serve the community, and so there is two-way traffic in the business. The German language has bowed out, preachers are better trained, parsonages are new and fine and modern with a vengeance, audio-
visual aids are employed generously, budgets are adopted and pledges called for. Such are some of the marks of church life after the passing of a century.

Certainly community life is less church-centered than it used to be. The church today is but one of many institutions and enterprises clamoring for the people's time, talent and treasure. When people go to church, they do so because they really want to, and not because it's the only thing to do. Generally the attendance is good and getting better. With so many churches and a service regularly every Sunday, things are looking up.

We venture to say that today there is a more enlightened, more intelligent, and more vital churchmanship than of old. Witness the great new interest in the best in Christian education, in equipment and furnishings, in missionary and evangelistic work, in music and the fine arts, in audio-visual aids, in building programs and financial campaigns and world-wide benevolences. Once "church" was pretty small and cheap, but now it is big business—sometimes so big that one must have a sense of humor in order to bear up under such an overwhelming and bewildering thing!

Things have changed, perhaps more than we realize. No matter how much we may sigh for the good old days, we must take things as we find them now, and we must try to believe that we have made progress and that the Kingdom of God is that much nearer. As outward things go, the church prospers famously now. In matters of the spirit we have certainly worked and worried our way around a good many corners, and we have come a long way in these hundred years to cover what may be a disappointingly short distance.

Some of the old fires have gone out. New fires, lots of them, have been kindled. Some of them cast a strange light and not a few shadows. It remains to be seen how much they will really warm and purify the heart and thaw out the frozen places in our common life.
THE MENNONITES AND AMISH

By John A. Hostetler

A. THE MENNONITES

The Mennonites derive their name from the outstanding leader of the Anabaptist movement in the Netherlands, Menno Simons (1492-1561). Along with other nonconformist groups of the Continent, they came to America, establishing the first permanent settlement in Pennsylvania in 1683 at Germantown. They have always been relatively small in numbers, but they have played a significant role in the life and culture of the New World. They have made major contributions to agriculture in the Palatinate, in the Ukraine, and in North America. They are well known for the stable rural communities they have established wherever they have colonized.

Those Mennonites who came to Pennsylvania were largely of Swiss and Palatine background. There are no statistics of membership for the Mennonites of one hundred years ago, but there may have been about twenty-five thousand of them. In 1855 most of them were in Pennsylvania, but there were some also in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Ontario, Canada. Today they are found in most of our states and in all the western Canadian provinces, the total United States and Canadian membership being approximately 212,000.

One hundred years ago, the German language predominated among them. They had no Sunday schools and no interest in promoting education; in fact, they were opposed to it. They had no colleges of their own, no trained scholars, no historians, and no church institutions carrying on missions, publishing, or education. Today they have some fifty-five elementary church schools, eleven Mennonite Church-operated high schools, and several colleges. During the past hundred years the Mennonites not only have developed these scholarly institutions, but have in great measure overcome their opposition to public education and to the use of the English language. Some of their members now attend graduate

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schools and universities for the study of subjects of wider interest and concern to their group. There are now over a score of Mennonite Church members who have doctoral degrees. In 1855 every effort was made to survive by adherence to tradition. Now their leaders—historians, ministers, and administrators—seek every conceivable scientific technique for the preservation and promotion of their community, family, and church life.

One hundred years ago their religious services were informal, their leaders were elected and ordained from among their own members, none of whom had any formal education. Their religious life was not organized formally, and they entered few professions. Today there are church conferences, regional conferences, boards, committees, institutions, administrators, policies, workshops, corporations, and an active program of missionary work.

One hundred years ago the Mennonites had no publishing headquarters, no official church organ, no Sunday school publications, no common journal where opinions were expressed. Since the establishment of a church publishing house at Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, in 1908, no less than 244 books have been published. In addition to this, religious tracts, a dozen periodicals, and Christian educational materials in several languages are now produced and distributed. Among outstanding volumes published are the Ephrata Martyrs' Mirror (1938), The Complete Writings of Menno Simons (1956), and a four-volume Mennonite Encyclopedia, the first volume of which appeared in 1955. The Mennonite Quarterly Review, founded in 1926 and edited by Harold S. Bender, has made a significant contribution to Anabaptist scholarship.

Active foreign missionary work was begun in India in 1899, and the Mennonite Central Committee was organized in 1920 in response to famine conditions in Russia. Since then Mennonite relief in the form of goods and personnel has entered at least twenty-five countries. Today there are over two hundred missionaries in foreign fields.

One hundred years ago there were very few divisions among the Mennonites, whereas today there are a considerable number. Some of these are due to differences in cultural heritage because of migration from Europe at different times and from different places. Others are local developments in this country, both in Pennsylvania and elsewhere.
B. The Amish

Some people have assumed that Amish beliefs and practices have not changed from the time of the origin of that body in 1693. Close examination, however, reveals that surprising changes have taken place among this very religious and tradition-centered group.

The Amish came to this country from Europe as early as 1730. They originated as a conservative offshoot of the Mennonites in Switzerland and Alsace, differing from the Mennonites largely in the severity of their practice of "shunning" errant members.

In 1855 Amish communities were to be found mostly in Pennsylvania, although in 1803 they had established some also in Ohio, in 1845 in Indiana, and in 1848 in Iowa. Today their congregational communities are found in nineteen states of the United States, and in Ontario, Canada.

The Amish of one hundred years ago attended the public schools. Some of their progressive members even served on school boards. Today, however, some twenty Amish communities have their own elementary schools, not in order to teach religion more effectively,
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but to avoid participation in the secular school system. Today they oppose abandoning the one-room schoolhouse for the consolidated school, because they believe such a change would be a violation of their religious principle of separation from and nonconformity with the world.

Their manner of worship a hundred years ago was probably no different from that of today. The "Old Order" Amish as a distinct and separate group from the Amish Mennonites evolved during the last hundred years. There was no "Old Order" until there was a "New Order." The New Order came into being during the latter half of the last century, when some congregations accepted certain prevailing practices, such as the use of meeting-houses, ministers' meetings, church conferences, Sunday schools, the use of the English language in worship, and missionary work.

Today there are several groups of Amish. First, there is the Old Order, who have resisted change most effectively. They worship in private homes, use horses instead of tractors and automobiles, oppose the use of electricity in their houses, prohibit the use of musical instruments, and in general refuse to conform to the world's ways. Each church is independent. They choose their church officials by lot. Second, there are the Amish Mennonites, who during the last half of the last century organized their churches into three regional conferences. These conferences have merged with the main body called the "Mennonite Church" and have lost all trace of their Amish derivation. Third, the Conservative Amish Mennonites organized a separate conference in 1912, consisting of Old Order congregations which had become interested in having Sunday schools and in supporting welfare work and missions. They, too, have largely lost their Amish identity and have changed the name of their conference to "Conservative Mennonite." Fourth, there are the Unaffiliated Amish Mennonite congregations known as the "Beachey Amish." They are Old Order congregations who in recent years have accepted automobiles, tractors, electricity, and other modern conveniences. They are also interested in supporting missionary work. In some instances they have built meeting-houses.

One hundred years ago there were very few books published or privately printed by Amish members. Shem Zook of Mifflin County was an exception. He published an edition of the Martyrs' Mirror in 1849. He was an unusually enterprising Amishman, who is re-
ported to have been employed by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to purchase land for its right of way through Mifflin County. He was a member of the first school board organized in Mifflin County, and helped to decide the allocation of funds for the early schools. According to local tradition, a delegation from Harrisburg approached him, proposing that he run for governor of Pennsylvania. But, in conformity with the principles of his religion, he declined the offer.

There is evidence that the traditional Amish pattern of life is slowly changing. A certain prosperous Amish farmer today, for example, has no electric lights, uses no rubber-tired implements on his farm, and has no telephone. By avoiding these, he abides by the rules and regulations of his church. But this same Amishman has a propane gas installation, and his wife uses the latest style of kitchen range. His family has also a gas-burning refrigerator, an automatic gas water-heater, and a gasoline engine that keeps up the water pressure in the house and barn. There is a fully equipped bathroom with toilet and shower, and the kitchen has the latest style of sink and worktable. Though he has no electricity, he has compensated for it in other ways, without disobeying the rules of the church. He owns no automobile, but he feels free to hire his Mennonite neighbor to drive him to any destination.

Though the Amishman of today may be Amish in the letter, he is a long way from the tradition and spirit of the Old Order Amish of a hundred years ago.
TO DISCUSS the arts and crafts of the Pennsylvania Germans is no easy task. Even though more pages of printed material have been devoted to this subject than to any other phase of Pennsylvania German culture, the task remains difficult. Excellent accounts of limited phases of this topic have been published, but a comprehensive account remains to be written. Some writers in this field have published good accounts of designs, but have failed to consider the utilitarian aspects of the objects upon which the designs appear; others have relied on religious and philosophical concepts to explain motifs; some find symbolism where others find decoration; few take into account the place where an object was made and when; none takes into account how frequently a particular motif was used; and none has considered the possibility that a motif may have been used only at particular times and upon particular objects.

Members of the Pennsylvania German Society are well acquainted, of course, with the excellent reproductions to be found in the Borneman books. If one were to study no other books than these, one would be able to formulate a working concept of Pennsylvania German art at its best. Yet the accurateness of the reproductions is only half the story; the fact that all the examples date from before 1850 is the other half. It is this latter fact that is of more importance to us today. By being dogmatic, my presentation could be abbreviated to this: by 1850 an unselfconscious folk art that was expressive of the homogeneity of a culture was dead and the folk crafts were altered, if not absorbed, by the growing factory system and the expanding market of manufactured merchandise.

In my exhibit of our folk art,1 I have tried to show that in the decoration of the artifacts made prior to 1850 five motifs were

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1. Dr. Walter E. Boyer, Instructor in English Composition at The Pennsylvania State University, is co-author with Albert F. Buffington and Don Yoder of Songs Along the Mahantango.
2. An exhibit of Pennsylvania German Folk Art, arranged by Mr. Boyer, was on show at The Pennsylvania State University Library during October, 1955.
dominant and that each one of them seems to have been used more frequently in some particular craft and on certain objects. In this discussion, however, I want to emphasize that whatever sense of a motif's function was evinced before 1850 was lost afterwards, and that once this sense was lost, the motif was altered in form and its organic relationship with other motifs was changed.

There is not enough time to speculate on why this happened, but let us see what did happen. In the exhibit there are two Taufscheine that can serve as illustrations. One is by Otto, an itinerant folk artist, and the other is by Peter Montelius, a well-educated school teacher and an experienced printer. Both of these artists used the same motif, a heart, and they produced their work at about the same time.

In the Otto Taufschein the heart is painted beneath the fraktur-ed record of the birth and baptism. The heart seems to be growing out of the earth, which is shown by vibrant lines and vivid green color. Within the heart two flowers are joined together at the base. From the top center of the heart, where the two halves are joined, two branches of tulips are drawn. Both of them droop earthward, one on either side of the heart. Thus one can say that the organic relationship of the heart with the ground and flowers makes the total composition a simple "Tree of Life" motif. This motif is then repeated in a different form to serve as the left and right side borders of the Taufschein.

In the Montelius work such organic relationships between parts do not exist and, whereas one is tempted to believe that Otto's work has ideographical content, one is satisfied to accept the Montelius art as being entirely decorative. Montelius uses the heart as a border for the baptismal record but he does not draw it, he prints it. Around the heart he places abstract yellow flowers and dark green leafage. These motifs have only a spatial relationship to one another. Such composition is not traditional. It is akin to the decoration that is found after 1850. In fact, it is the art found on plank-bottom chairs, which are late 19th century.

If the art during the last century lost its traditional character, what of the crafts? The story is much the same. In 1851 at the International Exhibition of Manufactured Articles, held in London, the United States was hailed as a leader. This exhibit may be thought of as pivotal. We may think of it as marking the time when
the homesteading craftsman was supplanted by the commercial manufacturer as the chief source of domestic wares.

With this change came new points of view which in many instances were opposed to those of the homesteading craftsman. What impressed the world about the American products was the emphasis upon repetition of design and decoration, and the economy of production. In other words, in the interest of a cheap and profitable product, we have mass production, with its inevitable emphasis upon quantity rather than quality, and its insistence upon a uniformity of design that deprives the craftsman of his creativity and makes him a puppet of patterns and a sketcher of stencils. Now the emphasis is not upon what the individual produces but upon what the machine reproduces, not upon the traditional in design and decoration but upon the novel, not upon creation but upon repetition.

This change may be illustrated by the salt-glazed stoneware jugs which are found throughout Pennsylvania and with which you are undoubtedly familiar. The gallon jugs are particularly interesting since they dramatically illustrate the change. Until the middle of the nineteenth century the Cowden company in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, made gallon jugs having an oval-shaped body and bearing a decoration that was painted free-hand in cobalt blue. These decorations were often akin to the decorations found on tulip-ware. Around 1850, however, stencil work replaced free-hand brush work, even though the jug retained its former shape. So the skill of the traditional potter was not yet endangered, but this change meant that the skillful decorator could be dispensed with and anyone who could hold a stencil in one hand and wield a brush with the other could replace him.

Nevertheless decoration was on the way out. Stencil decoration lasted for approximately twenty years and was then abandoned. At the same time, the last vestige of folk origin disappeared when the gracefully tapering sides of the jug became straight. The “new look” had arrived.

Throughout this progression it may be readily noted how the skilled craftsman was replaced by a less skilled workman, and how the union of beauty and utility was destroyed, slowly but inevitably. Fifty years later, John Dewey described this divorce and preached reform to professionals and laymen alike.
The same type of progression may be seen in the making of glass objects. In 1826 patents for pressing machines for making glass objects were taken out; by 1845 virtually every American home had pressed glass; and by 1865 pressed glass had almost supplanted china. But what of the glass-blower's talent? It was replaced by a wooden mold. And what of the decorator's talent, so richly expressed in Stiegel glass? It was usurped by the carver of molds.

Or take the matter of embroidery. As early as 1830 manufacturers offered embroidery kits which included the necessary colored yarn and ready-made patterns which had been stamped upon the cloth. No longer was it necessary for the young girl to count threads, and no longer was it necessary for her to compose designs that would be uniquely her own. She could now have for her hope chest what every Mary and Mabel and Sarah of the neighborhood had. But, then, a hundred years later we can do no better, as the popularity of painting by numbers reveals.

There is, however, one folk art that continued to be practiced within this century. It is the art of patch-work, the making of quilts. From about 1840 on, the Pennsylvania German housewife could buy a wide variety of cotton materials at comparatively low prices, since the number of textile mills had increased rapidly and one no longer needed to depend on imports.

For her the art of quilting may not have been traditional, but how was she to put the quilt together? When she took a look at her rag-bag, she knew that there was a quilt in there, providing she could piece it together. But how? One way was to make a "crazy-patch" quilt. It probably seemed easier to her, although I doubt that it was. (By the way, should not more respect be shown to this kind of Deppich? I must confess that I get more warmth out of them than I do from the abstract, geometric paintings of her 20th century imitators.)

Another way for her was to use a more controlled motif, perhaps a representative one, or a naturalistic one, or a symbolic one. At this point a sort of rebirth of freedom for the folk artist took place. The quilter was forced to rely on tradition, to recall what she had seen and heard from an earlier generation. In the quilts that were thus made one may see a traditional feeling for line, for symmetry and for duplication of form in representations of characteristic
Pennsylvania German folk art motifs such as the tulip, heart, triangle, rising sun, pomegranate, etc.

English magazines, at that time, were publishing quilt patterns with fancy names, and selling them to their subscribers—*Godey’s Lady’s Book*, for example. But the influence from this source was probably slight, inasmuch as not many Pennsylvania German housewives during the nineteenth century were spending their time reading English magazines. Their daughters in the 20th century would read English magazines, and some of them would be devotees of the new while others would be satisfied to collect the old.

In discussing this topic, I have been concerned chiefly with how the arts and crafts were affected by the rise of industry. A similar account could be written by tracing the influence of institutionalized education, or of the new printing and publishing. However, the conclusion would be the same: in the main, by 1850 traditional folk art had passed and the folk crafts had been radically changed, if not already dismissed. Since the 1920’s they are being revived. They may yet save the autonomy of man. Perhaps we may not need to surrender everything to automation.