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Pennsylvania
FOLKLIFE



WINTER 1974-75



St. Walburga

Contributors to this Issue

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*St. Walburga, 19th Century devotional picture from
Wissembourg in Alsace, center of popular religious
printmaking. Editor's Collection.*

**Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 37:
Grandparents in Traditional Culture**
(Inside back cover)

Contributors to this Issue
(Inside front cover)

The Cult of St. Walburga in Pennsylvania

By HILDA ADAM KRING

"Deliver us from evil." These words from Christ's own prayer often stand for one of the multitude of illnesses which plague man. And many a man after going to a doctor turns with a fervent plea to the Divine Physician. Sometimes, feeling exceedingly humble, he may seek Him through an intercessor, an intercessor who appears to have been touched by God to help the sick. For some, such an intercessor is St. Walburga of Eichstätt who originally came from England to Germany as a missionary in 748 and as a guiding light to the United States in 1852 when the first Benedictine Sisters of St. Walburga came to America from Eichstätt in Bavaria to start a convent at St. Marys in Elk County, Pennsylvania. Twenty-one convents have sprung from this foundation.¹ But our immediate focus of St. Walburga returns to the Eichstätt Mother House which in troubled 1931 sent Mother Leonarda Fritz, O.S.B., with forty nuns to St. Vincent's

¹St. Joseph's Convent, St. Marys, Elk Co., Pa.—1852. St. Benedict's Convent, Erie, Pa.—1856. St. Gertrude's Academy, Ridgely, Md.—1857. St. Benedict's Convent, St. Joseph, Minn.—1857. St. Benedict's Convent, Crookstone, Minn.—1858. St. Walburga's Academy, Covington, Ky.—1859. Sts. Benedict and Scholastica's Convent, Chicago, Ill.—1860. Mt. St. Scholastica's Academy, Atchison, Kan.—1863. Convent of the Immaculate Conception, Ferdinand, Ind.—1867. St. Edith's Convent, Bristow, Va.—1868. St. Walburga's Convent, Elizabeth, N. J.—1869. St. Mary's Convent, Pittsburgh, Pa.—1870. St. Scholastica Convent, Ft. Smith, Ark.—1878. St. Scholastica Convent, Shoal Creek, Ark.—1879. Holy Name, St. Antonio, Fla.—1889. Villa Scholastica, Duluth, Minn.—1892. Benedictine Convent, Lisle, Ill.—1895. Catholic College, Guthrie, Okla.—1897. Sacred Heart Convent, Cullman, Ala.—1902. Sacred Heart Convent, Garrison, N. D.—1910.

College, Latrobe, Pennsylvania, to serve as dietitian and cooks. From here the remarkable Mother Leonarda planned a convent-retreat complex at St. Emma's² in nearby Greensburg. After Mother Leonarda's death in 1965, Mother Emmanuel continued to be a great inspiration for the shrine of St. Walburga. Unfortunately her death in 1973 prevented her seeing its completion. Now Mother Agnes carries on the work. Today they have for the retired nuns and novices a property of several hundred acres, a convent, a retreat-house, a rectory, two chapels, and a shrine—a Wayside Chapel—in honor of St. Walburga, dedicated on May 12, 1974.

The history of this shrine goes back to St. Walburga in Eichstätt and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In 1903 St. Walburga Abbey received a letter from the Reverend George Guenther who had announced one day in a Pittsburgh mission church that the new edifice to be built would be named after the first person who gave a substantial donation. Receiving a thousand dollars from a parishioner named Walburga, he had to turn to the book of saints which led him to Eichstätt. Through the generosity of the parishioners, St. Walburga's in Pittsburgh rose enhanced with magnificent stained glass windows made in Munich, Germany. They tell of St. Walburga's life and death, and the healing "oil" of her relics. For half a century St. Wal-

²Mother Leonarda named the new convent St. Emma in honor of Emma Robertshaw, daughter of the Robertshaws from whom she bought the property.

St. Walburga in ecclesiastical art. Originals in Eichstätt, Bavaria.





Benedictine Convent of St. Walburga, Eichstätt, Bavaria.

burga Church of Lincoln and Campania Avenue held Novena Devotions for the sick every Thursday evening at 7:30. But by the late sixties the German-American Catholics had moved from the area. The parish was dissolved and the church was sold to a Negro Baptist Community. At that time the stained glass windows were given as a gift to St. Emma's. At the request of the sisters, Architect Francis Church designed a shrine using these windows as walls of a star-shaped chapel.³ It is a long time and way from May 1, 893, in Bavaria where Walburga received her first recognition to May 12, 1974, in Greensburg where a shrine was dedicated to her.

The "oil" appearing as dewdrops on the bones of St. Walburga is not an oil, but water—crystal clear, odorless, tasteless. It is called "oil" only because the dew-like liquid takes a long time to drop and thus resembles oil and because of its healing power through God as it is stated in St. James 5:14.

Is any man sick among you?
Let him bring in the priests of
the church and let them pray
over him, anointing him with
oil in the name of the Lord.

Walburga's "oil" has appeared on the bones of the saint every year (with few exceptions⁴) since 893 which also is the year for her canonization. The "oil" "flows" from about October 12, the date of the translation of her remains from Heidenheim to Eichstätt, to February 25, the date of her death. Her remains encased in Eichstätt-area limestone lie under the high altar of the convent church. The stone coffin itself rests on a stone slab 0.5 meters in length and 0.5 meters in width. Silver grooves from the coffin on through the stone slab channel the "oil" to gold-plated cups. The side walls of the burial case are covered with gold-plated copper.

³This "star" could also be thought of as a crown in memory of St. Walburga's noble ancestry. She is often pictured wearing a crown.

⁴It is interesting to note that the "oil" did not flow at times when the nuns were under extensive duress. For example, the "oil" started flowing at the proper time after King Louis of Bavaria re-opened the convent for new members after they had been condemned to extinction.

The outer part of this area is covered with pewter engraved with tulips and vine branches, coats-of-arms and the names of the persons responsible for the reconstruction of the burial place after its plunder on February 7, 1634. Fortunately for hagiology, the Thirty Year War thieves, although destroying some important parchments, were more impressed with the glitter than the bones.⁵

The nuns from St. Walburga Abbey take the "oil" from the cups and pour it into small glass vials which are given to those who ask and believe. Very much depends on faith and the pure intentions of the would-be users. To be in the state of grace is an absolute necessity to be healed by the Divine Healer. So the first step is a spiritual healing which is left to the individual. He should do this through penance and Holy Communion; he may say the following prayers:

Merciful God, all our hope and confidence are placed in Thee. Thou, who hast glorified St. Walburga by miracles, grant that, by her merits

⁵*St. Walburga Eichstätt Kloster und Pfarrkirche* (Eichstätt: Funk-Druck, 1967), p. 24.



Altar at Eichstätt Convent.

and through her intercession, we may be delivered from all afflictions of soul and body. Thou dost not cease, O Lord, to shower upon us Thy gifts of grace nor to show us the power of Thy love. Let me, too, experience the powerful supplication of Thy Saint before Thy throne of mercy. Grant that I may strive to imitate her wonderful example and that she may obtain for me my petition, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

St. Walburga, from whose relics God has allowed a spring of heavenly medicine to flow for over 900 years, by which countless multitudes were to recover health; thy tomb has become a fountain of God's healing grace, whose waters we may drink with joy. There thousands have obtained what they had ceased to hope for from any human remedy: St. Walburga, who dost not cease to help the afflicted, look down upon me, also, in my necessity. And when thou hast helped me, I shall never cease to thank thee, praising the merciful compassion of Almighty God.

The "oil" can be taken from a spoon with a drop of water, but it should not be mixed with any other liquid. If it is applied externally to the eyes or to a wound, it should be applied with something that can be burned. After the use of the "oil," a prayer should be said. For example:

God, full of mercy and compassion, thou dost not cast away those who come to Thee with confidence and humility; grant, through the intercession of St. Walburga, that we may partake of the fulness of Thy Mercies. Help us, that, as we know Thee as a God rich in miracles, we may also love and adore Thee as a merciful Father. Amen.

Then follow with the Lord's prayer.

The account of the "oil" in the *St. Walburga Buchlein* mentions the fact that oil flowing from blessed remains was bestowed not only on St. Walburga but also on St. Andrew of Amalfi, St. Theresa, St. Nicholas of Bari, St. Elizabeth of Thuringia and others. St. Elizabeth of Thuringia after leading a dedicated religious life died in the year 1231. When she died her body lay unburied for four days and gave forth a spiced perfume which refreshed all. After her body was laid in the tomb at Marburg, oil was seen to flow from it.⁶

When the city of Myra in Asia minor fell into the hands of the Saracens, St. Nicholas' relics were removed to Bari in Italy. It is said that his body was uncorrupted and that it gave forth a sweet smelling essence known as "the manna of St. Nicholas" which had healing power.⁷

While today is not the era of relics, St. Walburga's medieval Christianity found Biblical support for its doctrines.

In Exodus 13:19 —

And Moses took Joseph's bones with him; because

⁶Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), pp. 675-689.

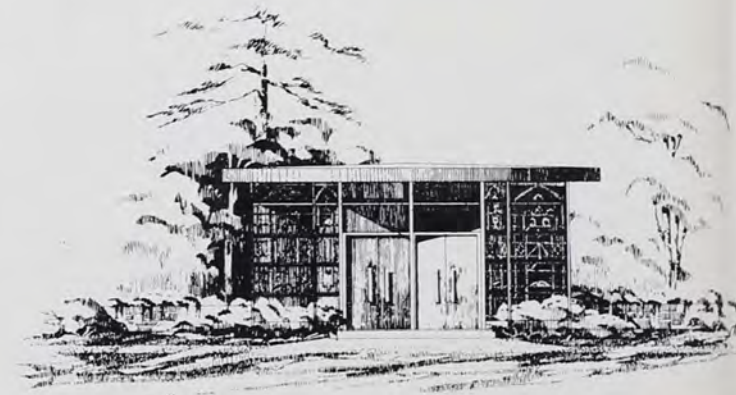
⁷Christina Hole, *Saints in Folklore* (New York: Barrows and Company, Inc., 1965), pp. 1-16.



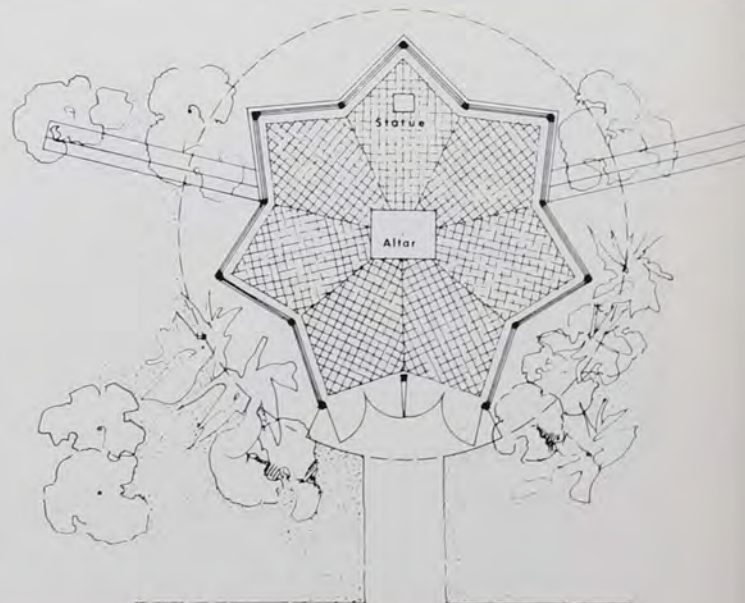
Mother Agnes.



Mother Emmanuel.



Wayside Chapel in honor of St. Walburga, St. Emma's Convent, Greensburg, Pennsylvania.



he had adjured the children of Israel, saying: God shall visit you. Carry out my bones from hence with you.

In Joshua 24:32 —

And the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought out of Egypt, they buried in Shechem in that part of the field which Jacob had bought of the sons of Hamor the father of Shechem, for a hundred pieces of silver; and it became the inheritance of the children of Joseph.

In 2 Kings 13:21 —

And it came to pass, as they were burying a man, that, behold, they spied a band of men; and they cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha: and when the man was let down, and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived, and stood up on his feet.

In Acts 5:15 —

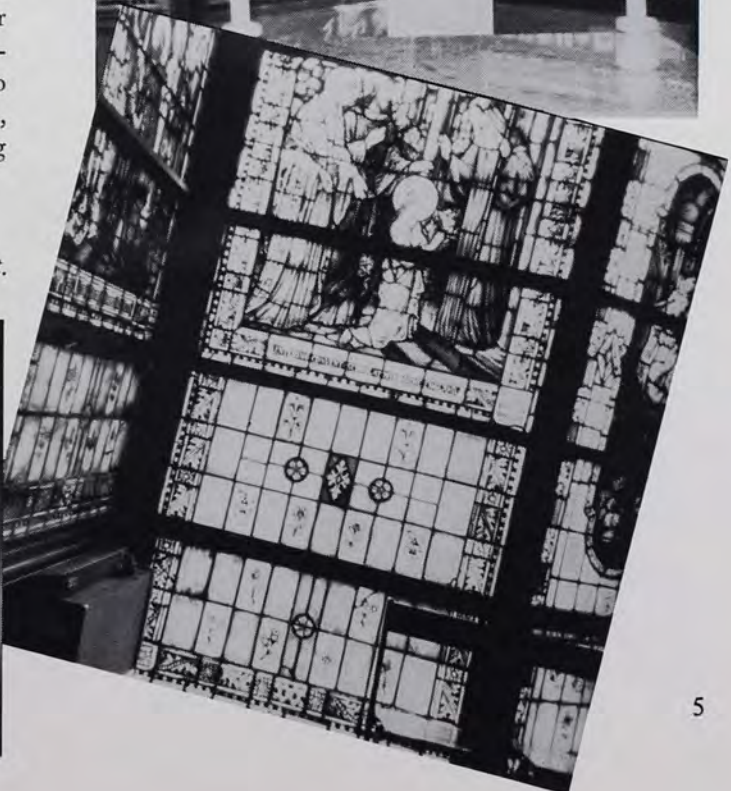
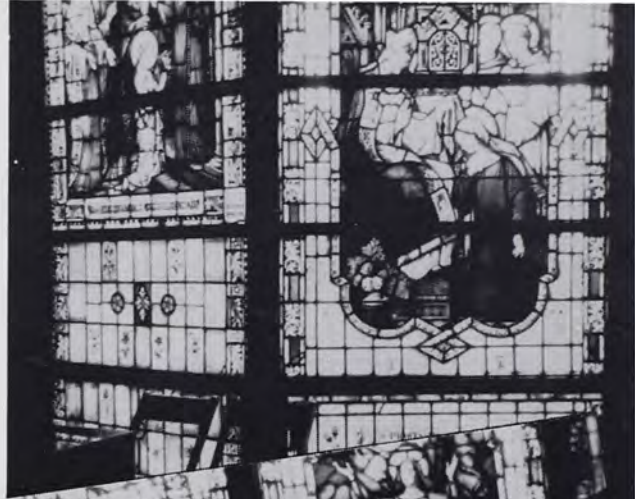
Insomuch that they brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them.

In Acts 19:11-12

And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: So that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them.

From the many miracles ascribed to St. Walburga it is apparent that St. Paul was not the only one favored by God to aid the sick. Who actually was this St. Walburga of the holy "oil?" Her story is as often told in representational art as it is in script. In Eichstätt it is told by tapestries found in the convent and by the hundreds of votive pictures adorning the walls of her burial crypt; at St. Emma's it is now told by the stained glass windows mentioned above. The first picture depicts Walburga's family. Born in 710 in Dorset, England to Richard (later St. Richard) and to Wuna (later Blessed) she was destined for a most devout Christian life. Her uncle Boniface and her brothers Wunibald and Willibald, leaders in the medieval church and missionaries to Germany, were all to become saints. She also was related to saints Sola, Lioba and Thekla, all of whom served in bringing Christianity to Germany.

Memorial windows depicting life of St. Walburga, St. Emma's Convent, Greensburg.



The second picture depicts Richard with his sons making one of their three pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Richard died during the first pilgrimage, and was buried at Lucca in northern Italy.

The third picture shows Walburga at school at the Benedictine Abbey of Winborne where she learned Latin, spinning, weaving, and obedience. Christian living and the Scriptures were of prime importance.

The fourth picture explains that Winborne was the usual double monastery, the nuns being entirely separated from the monks, though usually governed by an Abbess. Walburga becomes a nun.

The fifth picture relates her farewell to her mother and home. She is about to follow Lioba to Germany at the invitation of Boniface to bring Christian teachings.

The sixth picture tells of her first miracle. When they crossed the channel a terrible storm arose. According to Bishop Philipp of Eichstätt (1307) she prayed, stood up and calmed the sea. After landing, she went by oxcart from Amsterdam to southern Germany.

The seventh window shows her welcome by the missionaries.

The eighth picture tells of another miracle. It appears that St. Walburga inspired by God went to the home of a nobleman whose daughter lay dying. Appearing poor, Walburga was about to be attacked by angry dogs and questioned by an angry nobleman when she replied that the One who sent her would protect her from all things. And further, if he would believe that her Sender was the greatest of healers his daughter would live. The nobleman recognizing Walburga asked forgiveness. Walburga stayed and prayed through the night. The child recovered.

The ninth picture shows her in missionary training by Lioba at Bischofsheim.

The tenth picture brings her to Heidenheim in 761 after the death of her brother Wunibald who had been abbot there. Under her direction the first double monastery was established on German soil. Their activities included prayer, Christian education for children, and comfort to the poor and sick.

The eleventh window depicts her death in 779. She is surrounded by her nuns and her brother Willibald, the first bishop of Eichstätt. Bishop Philipp in his biography of St. Walburga states that at her funeral all the candles and lamps were lighted by an unseen hand.

The twelfth picture shows the miraculous flow of "oil" described above. It should be noted that her remains stayed at Heidenheim for 90 years during which time many pilgrims came. Then Bishop Otkar decided to enlarge the church. It seems that some of the laborers were too earthy for the spirit of St. Walburga who appeared in a dream to the bishop. She complained and predicted that one of the walls would cave in. When this actually happened, Otkar decided to remove her remains to Eichstätt to be buried in the cathedral next to her brother Willibald. The official reception was at the *Kreuzkirchlein* (Little Church of the Cross). But as the procession wanted to move on, the horses refused to go. Since no inducement could convince the horses to move, they decided to rebury the relics in the *Kreuzkirchlein*. Old accounts and painting testify to this fact.

While some of the nuns of Heidenheim decided to stay in Eichstätt others went on to Mohnheim. In time they wanted some of the relics of St. Walburga. While this dismembering of saintly bodies had always been a custom in the Eastern branch of Christianity, the West had frowned upon it. But because the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 decreed that all churches must have relics under the altar, resistance had to give

Booklet of Devotions used in novenas to St. Walburga. St. Walburga's Church, Pittsburgh.



St. Walburga and her holy oil

...

St. Walburga is one of about thirty nuns who sailed from England to help St. Boniface convert the heathens in Germany to the Christian Faith. She was St. Boniface's own niece, and a sister of SS. Willibald and Wynibald, who both worked in close cooperation with St. Boniface in the mission fields of Germany. Her father, St. Richard, was a wealthy Saxon noble, who left his earthly possessions and his wife and children to accompany his eldest sons, Willibald and Wynibald, on a pilgrimage to Rome, and died on his way there.

St. Boniface, helped by St. Willibald and many others, founded a number of monasteries in Germany. These were to act as strongholds for the faithful already converted, and as powerhouses for radiating Christianity further.

St. Walburga became Abbess of the monastery founded by her brother Wynibald at Heidenheim in Bavaria. She was cherished by all the folk living around the monastery for the care she took of the suffering, for her love of the poor, for her gentleness and her liberality. She died on February 25th, 779, after being abbess for about 25 years, and was buried at Heidenheim. Some 100 years later her body was exhumed and solemnly transferred to Eichstätt. It was placed in a little church, God showing by a miracle that this was the spot He Himself had chosen. Some time later the relics were

divided, and it was then, in 983, that for the first time the bones were found bedewed with drops of a precious liquid. Part of the relics were again enshrined in the same place, under the altar, and the church soon became known as St. Walburga's Church. Then drops of the liquid started to ooze from under her shrine, and it was found to possess healing properties through the intercession of St. Walburga, so that soon crowds flocked to get some of it. A Benedictine monastery grew around St. Walburga's Shrine, and her relics are now under the care of the nuns, who gather the liquid and fill it into tiny flasks. It is called the oil of St. Walburga and flows continuously during more than four months every year. People all over the world have claimed to owe their cure to St. Walburga, God glorifying her earthly remains to this day with many miracles.

Instructions for using the holy oil

...

In using the holy oil very much depends on the faith and the pure intention of those who have recourse to it.

We must, of course, be in the state of grace and should, if possible, go to confession and Holy Communion; it is also usual to make a novena in honor of the Saint. We must rely upon St. Walburga's help entirely, and with childlike confidence, trusting in God's boundless mercies and in the power which He has con-

way to demand. And in Eichstätt Bishop Erchambold finally agreed to share some relics of St. Walburga. When on May 1, 893, they opened the grave, they were astounded to see the bones covered with a delicate mist. It was evident to them that St. Walburga was truly one of the Lord's anointed. But according to Bishop Gundekar (1057-1075) the "flow of the oil" as it is known today did not come into realization until October 12, 1042, at the dedication of the new St. Walburga church built on the spot of the old *Kreuzkirchlein*.⁸ As a result she was named not only the patron of Eichstätt, but also of Christian schools, churches, towns, gates, fountains, streets, squares. Hundreds of girls were given her name. Everywhere celebrations and pilgrimages were engaged in on February 25, the day of her death; on May 1, the discovery of the "oil;" on August 4, her arrival in Germany; on October 12, the day of the translation of her bones. For nine hundred years St. Walburga has been honored in Bavaria, Württemberg, Hessen, Westphalia, the Rhineland, and Brunswick. This devotion crossed into Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland and Austria. And now it has come to western Pennsylvania.

Because it is Pennsylvania where relics are not part of the folk-culture, Father Norbert at the dedication of St. Walburga's Shrine did not speak of the "oil." But spiritual healing is understood in Pennsylvania; so in his glorious sermon about the beautiful Christian qualities of St. Walburga Father Norbert did weave the thought of possible miracles through her intercession. Through the nine hundred years thousands of people have attested that her prayers have helped as they asked the Savior's mercy and healing hand. For those who believe no explanation is necessary; for those who doubt, let us reiterate from St. James 5:14—

⁸900 Jahre Abtei St. Walburga (Augsburg: Haas and Grabher, 1934), p. 80.

Is any man sick among you?
Let him bring in the priests of
the church and let them pray over
him, anointing him with oil in the
name of the Lord.

And sing the hymn Sister Mary Benedict wrote on
February 21, 1974:

HYMN TO ST. WALBURGA

Holy St. Walburga,
Hear our humble plea,
Ask our dearest Jesus
Hear and answer thee.

You worked many favors
For all those in need,
Show your favor to us,
For us intercede.

Crossing o'er the Channel
Calmed the angry storm,
Calm the storm within us,
Keep us all from harm.

When the tempests rage
Help our faith be strong,
And help us find peace
When things seem to go wrong.

Thank you St. Walburga
For your help in need,
And once more we beg you
Strengthen us we plead.

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ferred upon His saints of granting us special favours—if they be for His greater glory and the good of our soul.

In using the holy oil we should therefore start by laying our petition before God in prayer and fervently invoking the help of the Saint.

The oil can be taken in a spoon with a drop of fresh water, but it should not be mixed with any other liquid. If it is applied externally to a wound or an afflicted eye, it should be applied with a feather or something similar, which can afterwards be burnt.

We can still confidently rely on St. Walburga's help, even if we should have no oil at hand, for many miraculous cures have been obtained by just applying the little empty bottle in which the holy oil had been stored.

Prayers before applying the holy oil

Almighty and merciful God, who allowest trials and suffering to come upon us, that we may have recourse to Thee for help, I throw myself with childlike confidence before the throne of Thy mercy. I adore Thee to whom I owe all that I have and all that I am. By the help of Thy grace I am ready to suffer, for I know that Thou art a gentle and loving Father who ordainest everything wisely and lovingly for the salvation of our souls. I know that it is Thy Holy Will that we should not despair but seek refuge in Thee. I therefore humbly ask

Thy help in the name of my crucified Saviour, through the intercession of Mary, the blessed Mother of God, and St. Walburga. Thou wilt help me. Thou wilt relieve me in my distress. I shall always be grateful for the favour which Thou wilt grant me, and try to spend the rest of my life doing good to others for the sake of Thy infinite mercy.

I beg of Thee, my God, have mercy on me, accept my good resolutions, hear and answer my petition, if it be for Thy honour and for the good of my soul.

Pray for us, St. Walburga, that we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ.

Merciful God, all our hope and confidence are placed in Thee. Thou, who hast glorified St. Walburga by miracles, grant that, by her merits and through her intercession, we may be delivered from all afflictions of soul and body. Thou dost not cease, O Lord, to shower upon us Thy gifts of grace nor to show us the power of Thy love. Let me, too, experience the powerful supplication of Thy Saint before Thy throne of mercy. Grant that I may strive to imitate her wonderful example and that she may obtain for me my petition, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

St. Walburga, from whose relics God has allowed a spring of heavenly medicine to flow for over 900 years, by which countless multitudes were to recover health; thy tomb has become a fountain of God's healing grace, whose waters we may drink with joy. These thousands have obtained what they had ceased to hope for

from any human remedy: St. Walburga, who dost not cease to help the afflicted, look down upon me, also, in my necessity. And when thou hast helped me, I shall never cease to thank thee, praising the merciful compassion of Almighty God.

Prayers after applying the holy oil

Our Father, Hail Mary, Glory be (3 times).
Pray for us, St. Walburga, that we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ.

God, full of mercy and compassion, Thou dost not cast away those who come to Thee with confidence and humility; grant, through the intercession of St. Walburga, that we may partake of the fulness of Thy mercies. Help us, that, as we know Thee as a God rich in miracles, we may also love and adore Thee as a merciful Father. Amen.

St. Walburga, who mercifully leadest the sick and helpless to Jesus, that He may heal them all, lead me also to Him, who is thy divine Spouse, the Good Samaritan, and ask Him to deliver me from my suffering and from the troubles that afflict my soul. Be my consolator and my helper; for thou canst and wilt help me, if it be God's Will. Full of confidence I ask this favour of thee . . . and when thou hast helped me, I shall never stop thanking thee. Amen.

May the most just, most high and most adorable Will of God be in all things done, praised, and magnified for ever. Amen.

Novena in honour of St. Walburga

Convert us, God our Saviour, and turn away Thine anger from us. God, come to my assistance. Lord, make haste to help me. May the most just, most high, and most adorable Will of God be in all things done, praised, and magnified for ever.

Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me. Pray for us, St. Walburga, that we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ.

St. Walburga, I approach thee with childlike confidence; I humbly lay all my wants before thee . . . If thou wert still on earth, it would be quite impossible that thou shouldst leave me without comfort; how much more now that thou not only clearly seest all my wants in God, but also, through God's help, art so powerful to assist all those who are in distress. Be to me a faithful and loving mother, and pray for me; for I shall never cease to have confidence, and to hope that God will bestow a special blessing on me and hear my prayer.

Our Father, Hail Mary, Glory be. St. Walburga, pray for us (3 times).

An Old Order River Brethren Love Feast

By BEULAH S. HOSTETLER

INTRODUCTION

It was on a lovely Saturday morning in August of 1973 that we drove into the barnyard of Earnest Sauder's large farm near Silver Springs, in the southwestern part of Lancaster County. We had been invited to attend an Old Order River Brethren Love Feast. It was 9:00 A.M. and congregational singing had already begun. This service, as with most religious meetings in the group, was being held at the home of a member. The group has no churches or meeting-houses. In the winter worship services are held in the houses of members or occasionally in a school house, and in the summer they are frequently held in barns.

A few persons were walking through the yard, apparently finishing some task that had been assigned to them for the benefit of the group. One of these was the deacon's wife. It was she and her husband

who had extended to us the invitation. She greeted us cordially, then invited us to enter the barn where the service was being held.

The open barn doors made a very wide entrance way, probably twenty feet in width. One section of the barn had been cleared and prepared for the meeting. Across the far end of the barn were two long tables, with women wearing crisp white caps and long dresses of a uniform design seated on both sides of each table. To our right another table extended nearly the depth of the barn. Men were seated along both sides of this table. Their large black hats rested on straw bales behind the table. The barn floor had been covered with worn, but clean, oriental-type rugs. Everything seemed perfectly ordered and arranged.

In the central part of the barn were two groups of chairs which we learned had been provided for the

The Ernest Sauder farm, Silver Springs, Lancaster County, site of the Old Order River Brethren Love Feast analyzed in the article.



guests. The presence of guests at River Brethren Love Feasts is an old custom. Phebe Gibbons, writing of a visit to the group before 1882 says: "The River Brethren allow all present to partake of the love-feast or paschal supper. Some of them have said the paschal supper is an expression of the love of God for all mankind, and love toward all men constrains them to invite all to partake thereof. But from the Lord's Supper they exclude all strangers".¹ Seated among the guests were not only "outsiders," like ourselves, but also Old Order River Brethren belonging to sister groups.

The Old Order River Brethren are a plain sect with members in Ohio, Iowa, and Pennsylvania. Although the sect is very small—probably fewer than 400 members—it is divided into four distinct groups that hold only limited fellowship with each other.² The group described in this paper is the Strickler-Keller group, made up of two distinct groups which united on March

¹Phebe Earle Gibbons, *Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1882) p. 135. Myron Dietz, a member of the Old Order River Brethren and teacher of Mennonite History at Lancaster Mennonite School, says the Old Order River Brethren do not use the term "paschal supper" with reference to the evening meal.

²Membership was given as 340 in 1960. See Ira Landis, "The Origin of the Brethren in Christ Church and its Later Divisions," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XXXIV (1960), 304. A. W. Climenhaga, *History of the Brethren in Christ Church* (Nappanee, Indiana: E. V. Publishing House, 1942), says that the membership of the group never exceeded 500 persons. The various divisions are discussed below.



9, 1969. This group includes fewer than 150 members, and they reside in three states: Ohio, Iowa, and Pennsylvania.

Preparations for the Love Feast begin on Friday evening and three services are held on Saturday, climaxing in the serving of the Lord's supper, or Holy communion, on Saturday evening. A service is held as usual on Sunday morning, followed by the customary noon meal.

The group being described in this paper holds a Love Feast three times annually: in March, June, and August. The other groups hold a Love Feast once or twice each year. Prior to the March Love Feast, which is held only in the Strickler-Keller group, each family is visited individually by the deacons. At this time each member is invited to share with the deacons any concerns which they may have about the life of the group. At the March Council Meeting time is devoted to the discussion of these problems. It is at this time, and in this setting, that problems internal to the group such as dress regulations, are discussed. These concerns are not preached to the public.

THE FORENOON SERVICE

Present at the morning service we were attending were members from Ohio, Iowa, and Pennsylvania. Bishop John Sauder, a slight but eloquent man with completely white hair and beard, was leading the service. He requested the singing of hymn number 285 from *A Collection of Spiritual Hymns . . . Especially Designed for the Use of the Old Order River Brethren*.³ The words of the song anticipated the tone of the meeting. Bishop Sauder read the words of the hymn, then it was sung by the congregation:

Come on, my partners in distress,
My comrades in the wilderness,
Who feel your sorrows still;
Awhile forget your griefs and fears,
And look beyond this vale of tears,
To that celestial hill.

Beyond the bounds of time and space,
Look forward to that heav'nly place,
The saints' secure abode;
On faith's strong eagle pinions rise,
And force your passage to the skies,
And scale the mount of God.

Who suffer with our Master here,
Shall there before his face appear,
And by his side sit down:
To patient faith the prize is sure:
And all that to that end endure
The cross, shall wear the crown.

The singing of hymns was followed by the reading of Isaiah 53 and prayer. All present knelt for the

³*A Collection of Spiritual Hymns . . . Especially Designed for the Use of the Old Order River Brethren*, 1971 (No address: No publisher), p. 185.

prayer, turning to face their chairs as they did so. Two brethren led in audible prayer. The first prayer was extemporaneous, and the second prayer was very brief, concluding with the Lord's Prayer.

It was then time for the Experience Meeting, or the sharing of personal testimonies by the members. This is an important and distinctive feature of every Sunday service of the Old Order River Brethren, as well as of the Love Feast. Both men and women, and members of all ages, participate in the Experience Meeting. A distinctive pattern of procedure is followed. An individual, while seated, reads the first line of a hymn and gives the number of the hymn. One verse is sung by the group, then the individual arises and gives his or her testimony.

The testimonies given by members during this period are quite different in emphasis and content from those the writer has heard presented in modern fundamentalist-type groups. Modesty and humility are much in evidence in these testimonies. There is stress on the unworthiness of self and the need to give one's self to Jesus. There may be recognition of temptation and there is frequent mention of the devil or the evil one. How a spiritual truth has been revealed to the individual may be shared. But in several hours of testimonies on several different occasions the writer only once heard a person recount benefits they had received other than spiritual peace. In this instance a person completely prepared for surgery appears to have been healed just before being taken to the operating room. Her accounting of the incident was so modest it was necessary to ask her about it afterwards in order to understand what she was relating. What frequently appears as near-boastfulness in testimony meetings was completely absent. Graphic personal details were seemingly avoided. The testimonies were often accompanied by tears.

The Experience Meeting was followed by a sermon, and by a testimony to the sermon given by another minister. The group then knelt again for two prayers, and after the prayers were finished, sang a hymn. Following this the congregation was dismissed for the noon meal, which all present were invited to share.⁴

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Circumstances surrounding the origin of the River Brethren are somewhat obscure. Almost no primary sources exist for the first century of the movement. Secondary historical accounts vary considerably in de-

⁴The complete order of service for the morning, afternoon, and evening sessions is outlined in Appendix I.

⁵Carlton O. Wittlinger says, "Such sources for the period are limited to a manuscript confession of faith, two sentences from the pen of a founder, and several entries in public records." Carlton O. Wittlinger, "The Origin of the Brethren in Christ," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XLVIII (1974), 55.

tail. Jacob Engle (1753—1832) was unquestionably prominent in the formation of the group. George R. Prowell⁶ and Abraham H. Cassel⁷ give very nearly parallel accounts of the early events, and both claim to have had original documents as source material.

The group originated in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, some time between 1773 and 1785. It appears that by 1773 or 1775 Jacob Engle had become convinced that baptism by trine immersion was the only true form. Beginning about 1776 he and a small group of like-minded persons began to meet together for fellowship, and continued to do so informally for several years.

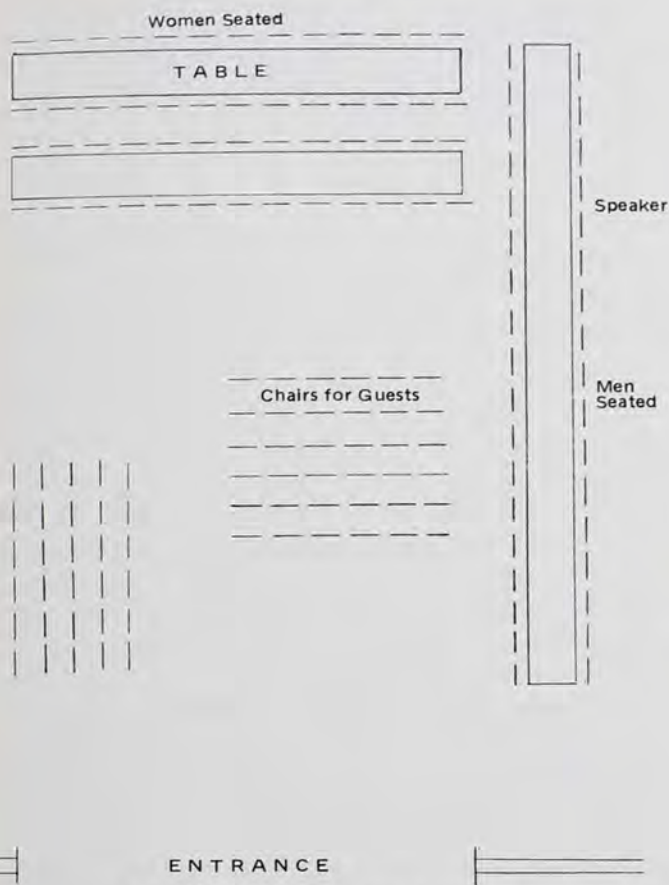
In the setting of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in the latter half of the 18th Century, baptism by trine immersion and crisis conversion—two of the chief tenets of the River Brethren—were far from novel ideas. The Seventh Day Baptists of the Ephrata Cloister, who practised baptism by immersion, were at the height of their influence. The entire membership of the Church of the Brethren (Dunkards) had come to America between 1719 and 1729. The Brethren practised baptism by immersion and had diverted a significant number of Mennonites to their group in Lancaster County and elsewhere. An evangelical movement was active throughout Pennsylvania and Virginia during this era. It attracted Protestants from all groups and some Mennonites and Dunkards as well. Among the incidents recorded from the era is that of a preaching service held at the Isaac Long barn near Landis Valley in 1767. Martin Boehm, a Mennonite, preached a powerful evangelistic sermon, following which he was embraced by the Reverend William Otterbein, a Reformed minister, with the words, "*Wir sind Brüder*".

In 1784 Martin Boehm conducted a remarkable revival in Donegal Township. Both Prowell and Cassel claim to have documents written at the time of the occasion and still surviving at the time of their writing which show that Jacob Engle and five of his followers attended some of these meetings. Four of those accompanying Engle were Hans (John) Engle, John Stern, Samuel Meigs, and C. R. Rupp.⁸ The members of the group are said by Prowell to have requested baptism from Otterbein, but because they had already been baptized he refused to baptize them a second time. They then went to George Miller of the Swatara Brethren Church. From him they requested baptism by immersion, but stated that they did not wish to become members of the Brethren Church. He refused to administer baptism under these conditions, and it

⁶George R. Prowell, *History of York County* (Chicago, 1907), I, 173.

⁷Abraham H. Cassel, "Origin of the Brethren in Christ," written in 1882. Exhibit I, A. W. Climenhaga, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-339.

⁸*Ibid.*; also, George R. Prowell, *op. cit.*



Arrangement of Barn for Love Feast.

is said that he suggested rather that they do as Alexander Mack and his followers had done in 1708; baptize each other. This they subsequently did, drawing lots to see who would be baptized first, and promising never to reveal who had received baptism first. Both Prowell and Cassel give 1786 as the date for this mutual baptism.⁹

The early connections of the group with Martin Boehm and the United Brethren are suggested in several other sources. The Church of the Brethren committee of 1915 reported, concerning the beginning of the United Brethren and the River Brethren:

They elected William Otterbein and Martin Boehm as superintendents or bishops; and agreed that each should act according to his own convictions as to the mode of baptism. Now this meeting was said to have been held in Donegal Township, and resulted in many conversions. But not all were ready or willing to unite with this new denomination, believing there is but one mode of baptism that is right, and that is trine immersion. Jacob Nissley, a minister of the River Brethren, who is dead for some time, told the writer, that a delega-

⁹Both Prowell and Cassel report their going to Miller. Cassel does not report the visit to Otterbein.

tion of those dissatisfied ones went to the vicinity of Manheim, to confer with Elder C. Longenecker, with a view of uniting with the Church of the Brethren, but that Elder Longenecker told them that the Brethren Church was not any more on the true foundation. Mr. Nissley had this information from the founders of the River Brethren Church. The delegation as above-said were Jacob Engle, Hans Engle, C. Rupp, Hans Stern, a Mr. Heiges, and Schaeffer . . . Abraham Gibbel told the writer that Hans Stern, one of the delegation of six, as aforesaid, unhesitatingly told him, that after they went home from Elder Longenecker, they consulted and concluded that they would take the advice, but none of them being baptized they went across the Blue Ridge to Elder George Miller in the Swatara Church; and asked him to baptize them, but told him that they would then organize for themselves, upon which he refused. They then began their church by one baptizing another and he then baptized the rest.¹⁰

C. A. W. Drury, in his *History of the Church of the United Brethren* reports:

After the Isaac Long meeting, Mr. Boehm spent more and more of his time preaching. He early appears as preaching regularly at three special places. He preached at Pequea [to "the Pequea brethren" of his own neighborhood], and at Donegal [to "the Conestoga brethren" in the Long neighborhood]. For the meetings at his own place, he fitted up the old house he had built, and was occupied by his father. The congregations were all principally made up of Mennonites. The congregations on the Susquehanna proved too conservative for Mr. Boehm's rapidly advancing apprehensions and methods. His enlarged associations with others whose history was so different from that of the Mennonites created difficulties. There were also objections to his liberal views and practices as to baptism. The congregation was made up of converted people; but from some diversity in the original elements of the congregation, as well as from other causes, peculiarities were developed and soon thereupon an aversion to change. While there was no ill feeling and no formal opposition, it was yet significant to Mr. Boehm that "he was too far in advance" for his services to be acceptable. This congregation some time afterwards, about 1776, became the mother congregation for the denomination known as River Brethren. They seem to have no tradition of the fact given here, and they sometimes give themselves a Dunker rather than a Mennonite origin.¹¹

Ira Landis quotes accounts of the origins of the River Brethren from more than a dozen sources. He accepts Prowell's statement that the temporary organization took place in 1776 and the permanent organization soon after 1784, following a revival conducted by Martin Boehm in Donegal Township. He says: "Thus

¹⁰*History of the Church of the Brethren of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania*, by the committee appointed (Lancaster, 1915) p. 386.

¹¹C. A. W. Drury, *History of the Church of the United Brethren* (Dayton, 1924) p. 103.

the dates would be about 1776 and 1785, which gives them time to move from a Mennonite background, as generally admitted, through the United Brethren transition which is reported in both Drury and Prowell.¹²

C. O. Wittlinger recognizes Engle's leadership in the group (he uses the spelling Engel), and the fact that only Mennonite origins can be documented for the early members. He recognizes the influence of Martin Boehm in the formulations of the religious convictions of the River Brethren, but is reluctant to recognize any structural connection with Boehm. Wittlinger refers to the viewpoint that the Brethren were under the administration of Boehm but rejects this idea. He also refers to the possibility that these groups were "conventicles". In the flux of the times, it seems entirely possible that Boehm may have preached regularly to these groups, as the above sources suggest, without his necessarily having had any sort of official administrative responsibility for them. Wittlinger says:

This gradual and spontaneous emergence of the Brethren movement under Martin Boehm's influence fits the general picture of the founding of the Brethren given by the most reliable early historian of the group. This author states:

Between sixty and seventy years ago, awakened persons of Mennonites, Lutherans, German Reformed, Brethren or Taeufer, "whose hearts were closely joined together—had a common interest, not only in regard to the general cause of religion, but in each other's edification," and they met in the capacity of a social devout band, from house to house, to make prayer and supplication for the continued influence of God's spirit—out of these social circles, was organized the Religious Association, now [1840s] commonly known as the RIVER BRETHREN.¹³

These incidents, recorded in various sources, suggest that the group became distinct and autonomous through a successive series of events. Bryan Wilson¹⁴ points out that although one of the basic characteristics of the sect is its exclusiveness this characteristic may be reversed in its initial stages. At that time they may stress unity of spirit and disregard organizational bonds. The early River Brethren seem to have manifested this characteristic, and it helps to account for the difficulty in establishing a beginning date for the group.

The view proposed by A. W. Climenhaga, who wrote *The History of the Brethren in Christ Church*, does not stand up against examination. He held that the initial members of the River Brethren had not belonged to any church prior to their mutual baptism, and that they did not have an individual founder. All of the

¹²Ira Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 302. It should be noted that technically the United Brethren did not exist at this time.

¹³C. O. Wittlinger, *op. cit.*, p. 62. A Familiar Friend, "History of the River Brethren," *History of All the Religious Denominations in the United States* (Harrisburg, Pa.: John Winebrenner, 1848) p. 553.

¹⁴Bryan Wilson, *Religious Sects* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1970).

sources examined, except Climenhaga, clearly attribute the initial leadership of the group to Jacob Engle. That Engle came from a Mennonite family has now been conclusively established.¹⁵

DIVISIONS IN THE RIVER BRETHREN CHURCH

For a time the River Brethren prospered, and grew quite rapidly. By the late 1830's tensions were developing within the group between progressive and orthodox factions. By 1842 or 1843 Jacob Strickler, Jr. (1778—1859) became the leader of an orthodox faction. Most of the River Brethren of York County chose to side with Strickler, as did Bishop Christian Hoover (1793—1867) of Franklin County and his followers, and a small group of followers of Christian Musser (1803—1892) in Lancaster County.¹⁶ It appears that this group was a faction within the main body until about 1855. This group called itself the Old Order River Brethren, after the 1855 division but was known popularly by the name "Yorkers" as well. From the beginning the group was small, and is said never to have numbered more than five or six hundred members.

A three-way split occurred in the main body about 1855. River Brethren were moving to the frontier in Dauphin County. It was not possible under frontier conditions to build spacious houses and barns. Meeting in the homes for worship thus became more difficult. This frontier group, led by Matthias Brinser (1795—1889), in February of 1853 unanimously voted to erect a meetinghouse to supply this need. This move was objected to by the brethren in Lancaster County. They, too, held a meeting, and a letter dated May 16, 1853, gives the signatures of 26 brethren who say they unanimously oppose the construction of the meetinghouse.¹⁷ After reading the letter Brinser is reported to have remarked, "*Sie fressen einmal was sie now kutzen.*" (They will sometime eat what they now vomit.) Brinser and his group failed to yield to the wishes of the majority and were excommunicated in 1855. The group was first called "Brinsers" or "Brinsrites," but soon chose the name "United Zion's Children." They accepted a close working relation with a group called by the name of Grumbines.¹⁸

¹⁵See Harold S. Bender, tr., "A Swiss Mennonite Document of 1754 Bearing on the Background of the Origin of the Brethren in Christ Church," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XXXIV (1960), 308-309.

¹⁶It is difficult to piece together the events of this schism. Wilmur J. Eshleman, "The River Brethren Denomination," *Lancaster County Historical Society*, LII (1948), 188-189, says that Jacob Strickler, Jr., was excommunicated for his defense of orthodoxy. Laban T. Brechbill, *History of the Old Order River Brethren* (No address: Brechbill and Strickler, 1972) p. 35, holds that our knowledge of events is unclear, and that it may have taken as many as ten years to precipitate the division. Martin Schrag says simply that the orthodox faction "withdrew".

¹⁷Wilmur J. Eshleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191.

¹⁸Charles D. Spotts, ed., *Denominations Originating in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Franklin and Marshall College Library, 1963), pp. 20-23.

The progressive wing for a time simply retained the name "River Brethren." When they were required to register during the Civil War, they selected the name "Brethren in Christ."¹⁹ This segment included by far the largest number of members following the three-way split. Prowell reports that in 1880 there were 80 ministers, 100 congregations, and about 9,000 members.²⁰

DIVISIONS AMONG THE OLD ORDER RIVER BRETHERN

The Old Order River Brethren constituted a single group for approximately the first 75 years. Following 1921 they experienced a series of splits, as illustrated in Figure 2. Published information concerning these divisions is scanty. In 1921, following the death of Bishop Jacob S. Hostetter (1832—1920), the group divided.²¹ No information is given on the details of the division, but Simon H. Musser (1878—) became the leader of one group, and apparently Maurice M. Siegrist (1886—1945), became the leader of the other group, which is now known as the Horse and Carriage group. Shortly after this initial division Tobias Musser (1884—1930), with his son-in-law Charles Weidman (1884—1954), withdrew from the Simon H. Musser group and were later taken in by the group led by Siegrist.²² Between 1919 and 1929 automobiles became an issue, and a number of members were expelled for owning automobiles. They joined together to form the Keller group. Daniel M. Hawbaker, Jr. (1893—) became the minister of the group. The group apparently derives its name from Hawbaker's ordination by Jacob W. Keller (1862—1934).²³

In 1948 another group separated from the Simon H. Musser group. This time the separation was led by John M. Strickler (1885—) and his son-in-law, Abraham K. Kneisly (1905—).²⁴ The Simon H. Musser group drove automobiles beginning in the 1950's, but restricted the type of automobile to station wagons painted black.²⁵

In 1960 dissension over the ownership of automobiles led to a division in the Horse and Carriage group. Jacob L. Horst (1885—), following a vision, concluded that automobiles were not wrong, and he and his followers formed a separate group.²⁶ Bishop Daniel M. Meyers (1891—) and Bishop Christian E.

Myers (1886—) lead the segment of the group that chose to continue to drive horses and carriages.

A union of two separate Old Order River Brethren groups took place on March 9, 1969. At that time the Keller and Strickler groups formalized a union at the home of Norman R. Bricker (1922—). The names of the ministers present, the resolution read, and the names of members present are recorded in Laban T. Brechbill's *History of the Old Order River Brethren*. Members from Ohio, Iowa, and Pennsylvania were present at this meeting. This group has experienced considerable growth since its union. In May, 1971, the group baptized fourteen converts in Lancaster County and nine in Franklin County.

THEOLOGICAL EMPHASIS AND TYPOLOGY

The only surviving document from the first century of the River Brethren is a confession of faith, dating probably from 1780. Martin H. Schrag has made a detailed analysis of this confession.²⁷ He shows first of all the influences of Halle Pietism on the confession. Secondly, he says, the confession emphasizes the church as a disciplined, gathered community and in this respect reflects Dunkard-Mennonite influence.

On our first visit to an Old Order River Brethren service on a Sunday morning I was deeply impressed with the apparent influences of Pietism on the religious forms and expression of the group. The testimonies and songs of the Sunday Morning Experience Meeting centered in the believer's personal experience of the reality of Jesus as Saviour, friend, and intermediary. Little mention was made of God. The unworthiness of the individual testifying was stressed. Some of the songs spoke of Jesus in quite intimate terms, and the wounds of Jesus were frequently mentioned in the hymns, for example:

Stretch'd on the cross, the Saviour dies,
Hark! his expiring groans arise:
See, from his hands, his feet, his side,
Runs down the sacred crimson tide.

But life attends the deathful sound,
And flows from every bleeding wound;
The vital stream, how free it flows,
To cleanse and save his rebel foes!

Can I survey this scene of woe,
Where mingling grief and wonder flow,
And yet my heart unmoved remain,
Insensible to love or pain?

Come, dearest Lord, thy grace impart,
To warn this cold, this stupid heart,
Till all its powers and passions move
In melting grief and ardent love.²⁸

¹⁹This name was officially adopted by a council meeting in Lancaster, Pa., 1863. See Laban T. Brechbill, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

²⁰George R. Prowell, *op. cit.*, p. 143. Prowell does not give a source for his statistics. Perhaps this was total population rather than members, for Martin Schrag gives the number of members in that year as 3,618. Martin H. Schrag, *The Brethren in Christ Attitude Toward the World*. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation (Temple University, 1967) p. 78.

²¹Laban T. Brechbill, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 65.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 69.

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 65-69.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 69. Brechbill says the fifth decade of the twentieth century but an informant told the writer "about 1953".

²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 54-56.

²⁷See Chapter III, Martin Schrag, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-54, for a discussion of the extant texts of the confession, and for an analysis of the confession itself. Two versions of the confession are reproduced in Schrag's dissertation: Appendix A, 310-316, and Appendix B, 317-322.

²⁸*A Collection of Spiritual Hymns, op. cit.*, No. 116, p. 74.

²⁹Martin Schrag, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.

Many gave their testimonies with a depth of emotion that is not frequently seen in public meetings today. Yet the meeting was in every way restrained. Wesleyan Holiness, which was accepted by the progressive wing of the movement, was not accepted by the Old Order River Brethren.²⁹

Schrag hypothesizes that during the early period the emphasis on the church as a gathered, disciplined community overshadowed the emphasis on crisis conversion. His main reason for this hypothesis is their rejection of revival meetings and their lack of organization for evangelistic outreach. This viewpoint appears to me to confuse the issue. Revival meetings were primarily a technique, developed in a particular setting to bring about certain ends. Halle Pietism was not dependent on revival meetings to bring about crisis conversions, and neither were the River Brethren.

Crisis conversion is strongly emphasized by the Old Order River Brethren. However, the use of protracted meetings or revival meetings as a technique to bring about conversion is unacceptable. Brechbill says:

Bishop Jacob Engle was acquainted with revivals or evangelistic meetings and has the credit of attending some conducted by Rev. Otterbein and Rev. Boehm; although he did not practice this method to stimulate membership. Neither do any of his followers at the time of this writing practice that method to attract repentance and conversion.³⁰

Preaching repentance and confronting the audience with two eternal alternatives is something that Brechbill considers necessary in the regular preaching service. He says:

Those who heard and became concerned about the salvation of their soul, could then, as of today, any time fall upon their knees and plead with Jesus to forgive them, and make their desires known by explaining what had taken place with them. When those new voices began to speak; very silent is the audience and all ears are pricked to hear the remarks. This may be known as the crisis method, nevertheless it is the true method and still practiced by the O.O.R.B.³¹

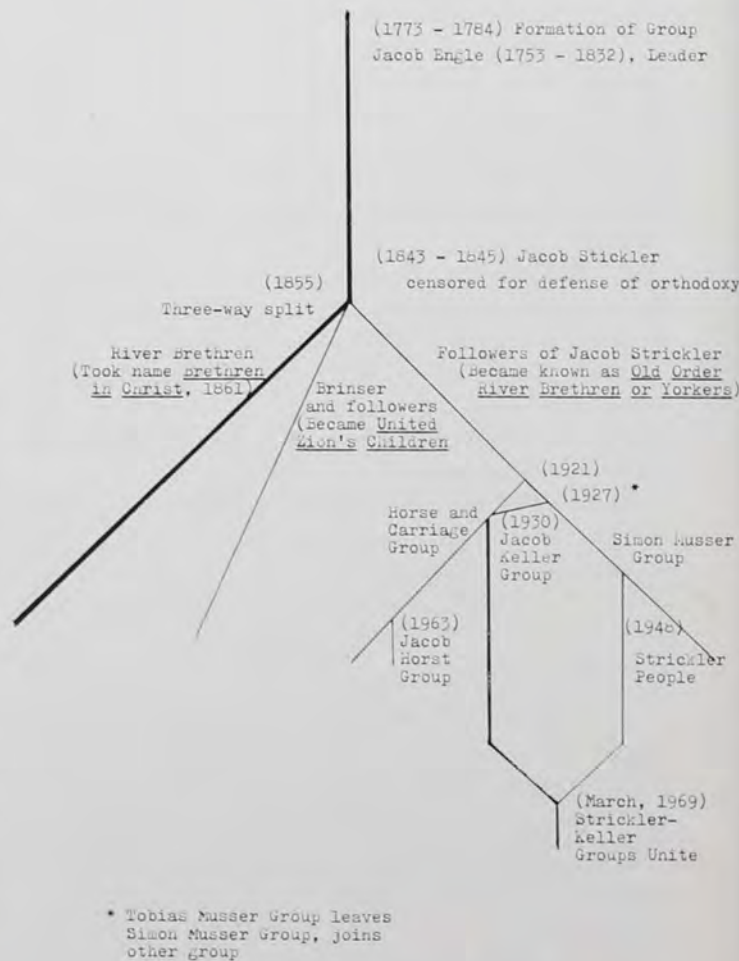
The necessity of a crisis conversion experience, and baptism by trine immersion are, according to the statement of members, the two distinctive emphases of the Old Order River Brethren as an Anabaptist group. As an Anabaptist group they are also Biblicists who stress voluntary church membership, adult baptism, obedience to the New Testament commandments, the separation of church and state, non-resistance, non-swearing of oaths, and non-conformity to the world. All of these teachings attempt to find expression in and through a gathered, disciplined church. Brechbill, the group's chief historian, stresses repeatedly the group's emphasis on Pauline theology.

²⁹Laban T. Brechbill, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

³¹*Ibid.*

Schrag argues that the chief issue in the three-way split of the 1850's, and the twentieth-century splits of the Old Order, was the degree of accommodation to the world that is acceptable. Personality clashes within the leadership also seem to have been an important factor. In addition, I would hypothesize that crisis conversion was not a factor in any of these splits for the simple reason that it was never called into question by any of the factions.

Although the River Brethren can be shown to have stemmed organically from the Mennonites, certain of their practices resemble more closely those of the Church of the Brethren, with whom they apparently never had an organic connection. Most obvious, of course, is their mode of baptism, which follows that of the Church of the Brethren, not the Mennonites. The Old Order River Brethren consider baptism by trine immersion



Divisions in the River Brethren Church.

to be the proper mode. The Church of the Brethren also baptizes in this manner, whereas Mennonites baptize by pouring.

The Love Feast is also practiced by both the Old Order River Brethren and the Church of the Brethren, but not by the Mennonites. Ira Landis points out that although the beard but no moustache was an essential requirement for male membership among the River Brethren from the start, beards were never worn by Lancaster County Mennonite men.²² The River Brethren also followed the Church of the Brethren pattern of voting for ministers rather than selecting them by lot, as was the custom among the Mennonites.

In terms of sect typology the Old Order River Brethren are probably a combination of an Introversionist sect and a Conversionist sect.²³ The boundary-maintaining mechanism of the group seems to be considerably different from that of other Anabaptist plain sects, particularly the Amish and the Hutterites. According to the sect typology delineated by Wilson the Old Order River Brethren can best be described as a Conversionist sect. The group can be entered only by a second birth, by "dying" to the world and being "reborn" into the fellowship of Christ. This is accompanied by emphasis on obedience to the commandments of God, and of Jesus. The second birth is considered desirable for all men, but only through this individual process can the community be entered, or emulated.

The Old Order River Brethren, unlike many 19th and 20th Century American communities, have no intention of serving as a model for the larger world. They are, rather, a part of that sectarian communitarian movement which developed in America in the 17th and 18th Centuries. The earliest religious communities in America were founded by persons who despaired of finding salvation in the social order. These communities were religious in nature, and their interpretation of religious experience was in practice inseparable from its expression in a setting of community or *Gemeinschaft*.

Schrag says of the River Brethren in the 19th Century:

The Brethren in that century believed that the central purpose in God's redemptive activity was the creation of a new society consisting of converted, committed, sharing and disciplined people called out of the world. The concepts of the new birth and discipleship were shaped by this understanding. The locus of existence was the redeemed life in the brotherhood where harmony, love, and mutuality were to be living realities. The Brethren sought the mind of Christ for their common life

and were led to assume responsibility for one another in all areas of life whether they were religious, economic, or social. The climax of *agape* or *koinonia* was the love feast including feet-washing and the Lord's Supper.²⁴

The above in its essential features seems to be an accurate description of the Old Order River Brethren today as well.

Currently the group discussed in this paper accepts modern transportation, members are employed in a variety of occupations, they may go to high school or college if they choose to do so, and the English language is used in both church and family life. The boundaries of the group seem to be maintained by patterns of dress, by recognition of crisis conversion and baptism by trine immersion as essential, and by an intimate bond of face-to-face fellowship that is climaxed three times each year at the Love Feast.

COSTUME

One quickly becomes aware of the costume of the Old Order River Brethren. It is similar to that worn by other plain groups in Pennsylvania, yet distinctive. Brechbill in several places describes the costume. In every instance these descriptions are associated with the relating of a conversion experience, for example:

Some time after their marriage they repented and undertook to live a life that God is pleased with. Out of this Florence did not crop her hair, but did accept the head covering and put on plain attire. Her dress above the waist consisted of a close fitting jacket-like waist or bodice, covered with a three pointed cape. Her skirt had fullness and its length patterned as of the old sisters near the ankles, nor did it have any floral or other designs, but was plain. Then George, he too desired to let his light shine, by discontinuing the use of the razor, also allowing his hair to be polled even with the lower terminal of the ear. He desired the broad rim hat; the necktie was discarded, the plain shirt was also accepted. His coat and vest were of the plain frock style with broadfall trousers. Many people say such activities are not necessary, it is just a formalism. We assume that preacher George G. Myers would reveal the fact it is the formalism that God has involved in his commandments and statutes.²⁵

Figures 3 and 4 illustrate the typical indoor costume. Brechbill also describes the outdoor, or travel, costume.

Their travel attire consisted of a cape bonnet, shawls, plain hightop shoes, and probably home knit woolen gloves or mittens when cold. This constitutes the highest virtue, simplicity and humility among womanhood. This virtue is still practiced by the Old Order River Brethren in 1970. It was with men as with women, they were all dressed the same, a deacon or minister could not

²²Ira Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 303. Myron Dietz has challenged the statement that beards were never worn by Mennonite men of Lancaster County.

²³Bryan Wilson, *op. cit.*

²⁴Martin H. Schrag, "The Brethren in Christ Attitude Toward the World," Research Note, *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XLVIII (1974), 112.

²⁵Laban T. Brechbill, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

be distinguished by his dress. It consisted of a broad rimmed high crown hat, swallow tailed coat and vest, broadfall trousers with long legs, and very often hightop boots, with a cape overcoat in winter.³⁶

Unlike the Amish, and unlike some of the early plain groups in Pennsylvania, the apron, dress, and cape are of one kind and color of material, although Dietz says the earlier custom was to have the dress and apron of different materials. The material may be a synthetic or a natural fabric of varying weight, but is a solid color, not patterned. A small, simple woven design apparently is acceptable. Medium blues, greens, and browns were most common. Earlier in the century grey was the predominant color. The cap is made of white, opaque material. Shoes and stockings are always black. The length of women's skirts vary, from a few inches above the ankle for younger women to as long as the shoe tops for older women. The number of pleats in the *mutze*, and its size, vary with the individual. Some of the women wear pleats around the skirt, others wear them gathered.

The cap ribbons are tied snugly under the chin, in contrast to the Amish, who tie the strings against the chin, then let the bowed ribbon drop loosely to the neck.

Both men and women wear their hair with a center part. Brechbill attributes a symbolism to this, saying this shows the dividing of good from evil: "In the latter days his rather thick, slightly gray hair was parted in the center of the head. This showed the dividing of good from evil."³⁷ Men's hair is not shingled, but polled, or cut straight at the back at a length even with the lobe of the ear.

The beard is considered very important for men, the moustache is optional. To wear the beard is to retain the image of God. Brechbill says of the beard: "As to the beard; from the day of organization until today (1970) the tradition handed down is—the convert will out of love for his God (The first and great commandment) wear his beard. The O.O.R.B. doubt whether Jacob Engle prescribed or made it obligatory to wear the beard which is equal to a church law, rather than obeying God's command to love Him, both inward and outward. To make application for membership without a beard, they concede is minus the proper kind of zeal and love for his God and would not be admitted."³⁸

Children do not wear the costume until after they make an initial commitment to become members of the church.

Members of the sect assume their form of costume is co-existent with the history of the sect. It is highly probable that they did have an accepted costume, and that there was consensus on what this costume was,

³⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 45.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 16.

and where and when it was worn. Distinctive costume is a common feature of both folk and sectarian groups. Don Yoder points out: "Folk costume is the visible, outward badge of folk-group identity, worn consciously to express that identity. . . . In every case the costume is distinct and identifiable; it identifies the wearer to the outside world as well as to his own community; it is prescribed by the community and its form is dictated by community tradition."³⁹

Little can be said about the specific history of the costume. It has almost certainly undergone adaptations in the course of the group's history. Men wear a style of clothing identical with that worn by the Old Order German Baptists. The style of cape and dress worn by the women is very similar to that shown on a number of photographs of Mennonite women circa 1880.⁴⁰ The frock coat was also worn commonly among Mennonites in the late 18th and 19th Centuries.⁴¹ Don Yoder points out that the overcoat with a cape for men was a very stylish garment around 1820.⁴²

These similarities with costumes worn both by other sectarian groups and society in general suggest that there has been adaptation of the costume through time. As with the Mennonites, the Brethren in Christ began passing resolutions concerning dress around 1870 but this does not supply one with any firm evidence for an earlier period. There are no written records of resolutions for the earlier period.

For the members of the Old Order River Brethren, the wearing of the costume is very closely associated with the religious experience of the members of the group. The costume of the Brethren not only expresses modesty and separation from the world; it also symbolizes obedience to the commands of God. Brechbill, for example, writes:

They became converted, —that is discontinued to do things that Jesus does not approve, and do things that please God. . . . They did lay away the fashions or styles of clothes at that time such as bustles, gold pins, rings and adopted the plain garb worn by the brethren and sisters which made them look out of step with the world. This was the visible proof of the inward humility and separation desired; also outward humility and separation. If this had been done because of a church law demanding it, it would be equal to legalism. But the legalism it was equal to was God's legalism when he says, "Keep my commandments, Come out from among the world and be ye separated."⁴³

Various members of the group asserted that dress is never preached. However, the main morning sermon

³⁹Don Yoder, "Folk Costume," *Folklore and Folklife*, ed. Richard M. Dorson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 295.

⁴⁰Melvin Gingerich, *Mennonite Attire Through Four Centuries* (Breinigsville, Pa.: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1970), pp. 29, 75, 99, 107.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, pp. 38, 47, 51.

⁴²Don Yoder, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

⁴³Laban T. Brechbill, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, 169.

at every Love Feast centers on Paul's teaching on women having their heads covered during prayer. The cut of men's hair was also referred to in a sermon at the Love Feast. Teaching on dress appears to be very strongly internalized by members of the group. The structures of the group seem to have become the structures of the consciousness itself.⁴⁴

THE COMMUNION SERVICE

As we entered the barn for the evening service we noted that the table had been covered with white cloths in preparation for the Love Feast. The sisters and brethren again took their respective places. Seated among the guests were a number of Old Order River Brethren who were not participating in the Lord's Supper because they were from different groups. Bishop Sauder opened the service, and served as moderator throughout. He asked Norman Bricker to have the "opening". Brother Bricker introduced his part with Hymn No. 1030:

O thou precious love of Jesus,
Through our souls abundant flow,
That our ways by love be driven,
Pure and chaste our hearts may glow;
That with zeal we may endeavor
To draw nearer to Thee ever,
That Your suffering, Lord, at length,
Ever gives our souls new strength.

His words of edification were concluded with the reading of verse five from Hymn No. 112, which was then sung by the congregation:

If ask'd what of Jesus I think,
Tho' still my best thoughts are but poor,
I say he's my meat and my drink,
My life, and my strength, and my store;
My shepherd, my husband, my friend,
My Saviour from sin and from thrall;
My hope from beginning to end,
My portion, my Lord, and my all.

After the singing of the hymn the entire audience knelt for prayer, turning around to face their chairs as they did so. There were two prayers, as is always the case, led by two different individuals. The first was a spoken prayer, composed by the individual who was leading it. The second prayer was much briefer and concluded with the Lord's Prayer.

After the prayer Stanley Funk, a visiting minister from the church in Iowa, was asked to preach the footwashing sermon. Earlier in the day, as we were walking to the garage for our noon meal someone had commented to Stanley Funk: "I guess we will be hearing from you, too." He responded with "I haven't been asked yet." The sermon, as is usual, was intro-

duced with a hymn which was first read by the minister, then sung by the congregation:

In Jesus' name once more we meet,
To honor him who said:
Ye ought to wash each other's feet,
As I the way have led.

Then come, like loving brethren, bound
To tread the paths he trod;
Come, do his will, and walk the ground,
Which leads to heav'n and God.

Shall we forget the sacred rite
Our dying Lord ordain'd,
Upon that dark and solemn night,
When he our woe cup drain'd?

With words of love, sublime and sweet,
He cheered each fainting heart,
And wash'd, and wip'd those loved ones' feet
From whom he soon must part.

Girded to serve, the Lord of all,
Thus taught humility;
And still his voice doth on us call,
"Fear not, but follow me.

"If I, your Lord and Master, thought,
A servant's office meet,
Be not ashamed, but know ye ought
To wash each other's feet."

Yea, Lord, we will remember Thee,
And keep this plain command;
O, may our hearts obedient be,
In one united band.

The scripture (St. John 13: 1-17) which describes the occasion on which Jesus washed the disciples' feet was read, and this was followed by the sermon. Footwashing began almost as soon as the sermon. At the women's tables the two inside rows of women reversed their chairs so as to sit facing each other in two long rows. The bishop's wife and the deacon's wife had made preparations, assisted by men in bringing in low pans of water. The women quietly and quickly removed their shoes and stockings. Two sisters girded themselves with towels as Jesus is described as having done (John 13). Large towels had been prepared for this purpose by sewing on apron bands, and the banded towels were tied on just as an apron would be. The first woman in the row, who had girded herself with a towel, knelt and washed the feet of first one, and then a second sister. The second woman dried their feet. They then passed their aprons on to two other women and seated themselves at the foot of the row. The ceremony continued until each person had had the opportunity to have his own feet washed, and to wash the feet of another member.⁴⁵

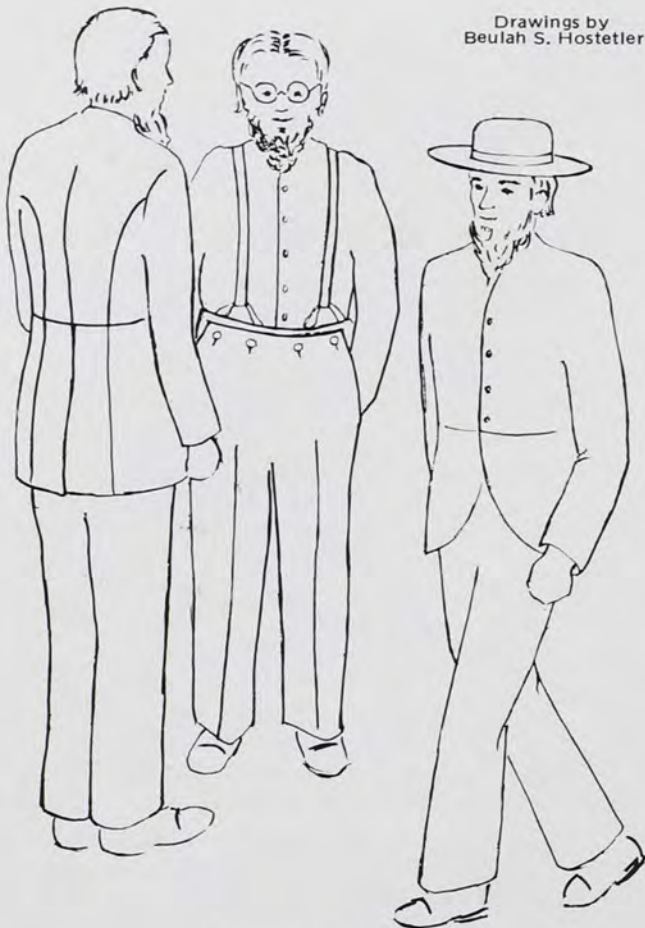
Brother Funk concluded his remarks before the

⁴⁴See Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy* (New York: Anchor Books, 1969), pp. 14-18.

⁴⁵All of the hymns in this section are taken from *A Collection of Spiritual Hymns*, op. cit.

⁴⁶The scene looked very much like that depicted in an engraving of a Moravian footwashing service in the 18th Century. See Jacob John Sessler, *Communal Pietism Among Early American Moravians* (New York, 1933).

Drawings by
Beulah S. Hostetler



Costume of the Men.

ceremony was finished. Bishop Sauder spoke as the service continued. He reminded each member that at the time of their baptism they had promised on bended knee that if they saw a fault in another member they would go and bring it to that person, first alone, and if he failed to "hear" them they would go again to him with several witnesses.

When the feetwashing ceremony was completed Preacher George Meyers was called upon to introduce the communion ceremony. This he did by reading Hymn No. 273, which was then sung by the congregation.

Hark! the voice of love and mercy
Sounds aloud from Calvary;
See it rends the rocks asunder,
Shakes the earth and veils the sky!
It is finish'd;
Hear the dying Saviour cry.

It is finish'd! O what pleasure
Do these charming words afford;
Heav'nly blessings without measure
Flow to us from Christ the Lord.
It is finish'd!
Saints, the dying words record.

Finish'd all the types and shadows
Of the ceremonial law;
Finish'd all that God had promis'd,
Death and hell no more shall awe.
It is finish'd!
Saints, from hence your comfort draw.

Happy souls, approach the table,
Taste the soul-reviving food;
Nothing half so sweet and pleasant
As the Saviour's flesh and blood.
It is finish'd!
Christ has born the heavy load.

Tune your hearts anew, ye seraphs,
Join to sing the pleasing theme;
All on earth and all in heaven,
Join to praise Immanuel's name—
It is finish'd!
Glory to the bleeding Lamb!

The communion sermon described intimately the cross, the wounds of Christ, and the process of dying on the cross. The minister described how the wounds in the hands must have festered, reminding the hearers of how painful the festering of a tiny sliver can be—but here the festering was from rusty nails and must



Costume of the Women.

have been incomparably greater. From the contamination in these wounds, blood poison would have set in. He described the crown of thorns, with the thorns representing the curse of the earth. In dying on a cross, he said, the weight of the body on the arms caused the chest to collapse and every breath required a conscious effort. For every breath it was necessary for the victim to raise himself by his wounded feet so that the lungs could expand and receive the air. He described, with the help of bodily motions, how it was necessary for Jesus to raise himself by his wounded feet for each breath he took. Then he called attention to how blood and water gushed forth when Jesus' side was pierced. He said that in his work with poultry and animals he has learned that after death the blood separates into water and a thick, red, blood-substance. Because blood *and* water came out of Jesus' side he must already have been dead for some time when the soldiers pierced his side, for then water and thick chunks of blood came out.

When the sermon was finished all those seated around the tables arose, and the "Kiss of Unity" was passed from one member to another around each table, giving an appearance again very much like the Moravian practice pictured in Sessler.⁴⁸ Following the Kiss of Unity they remained standing and sang the familiar song, "Blest Be the Tie that Binds." The young women held hands around their table during the singing, but the other tables did not join hands. The members remained standing, and a prayer of thanksgiving was offered for the communion bread. Wafers of unleavened bread, about 9" by 2", which had been baked by members of the group the night before, were then distributed by ministers and deacons to perhaps every eighth person around the tables. Each person who received the bread quietly and solemnly broke off a piece, turned to the person next to him, and giving him the portion, said: "Beloved brother (sister), this bread which we break is the communion of the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." The wafer was then passed to the person who had just received his individual portion, and he spoke the same words as he served the person next in line. This was continued around the circle until each had received his portion. They were then all seated, and together ate the bread.

When they had eaten the bread they again rose to their feet, and a prayer of thanksgiving was offered before the wine was served. The wine was served from a common cup; but numerous cups were in use at the same time. Each individual in turn took the cup. When he had received it he turned to the person next to him, saying: "Beloved brother (sister), this cup which we drink is the communion of the blood of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ." He then took a sip, and passed the cup to the person to whom he had been

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

speaking. The pattern continued until all had participated. While the cup was being passed songs were sung: Hymn number 139 from the 1926 hymnal; "Go to Dark Gethsemane" from memory, and the familiar chorale, "O Sacred Head, Now Wounded." This was followed by a lined hymn, "He that Drinks Shall Live Forever." Following the serving of the cup everyone again knelt for two prayers, the second of which was The Lord's Prayer. This marked the close of the service. A joyous atmosphere followed the conclusion of the service. A spell seemed to have been broken, and warmth radiated everywhere.

Turner and Wilson have noted that any analysis of the culture of a people should include some translation of the meaning of the symbols used in that culture.⁴⁹ The Lord's Supper as it is observed by the River Brethren is symbolic not only of the death of Christ and its soteriological effect for the believer: equally it emphasizes the brotherhood, peace, and the gathered community. Washing each other's feet symbolizes the willingness to assume a servant role in relation to fellow members. Each is the servant of the other. One not only washes the feet of a fellow member; he also has his own feet washed. He is willing to be served as well as to serve. All participate in the ceremony, no one is omitted. All are on an equal basis.

The Kiss of Unity symbolizes oneness, love, and brotherhood. Equality is also demonstrated in the manner of serving the bread and the wine. Each member present receives the bread and the cup from a fellow member *and* administers the bread and the cup to a fellow member.

The discipline of the gathered church is represented in "close communion": only those belonging to the particular group and willing to uphold its discipline in full are allowed to participate. The "gathered" aspect is emphasized by the fact that every member is expected to be present and to share in the Lord's Supper. Only the most extenuating circumstance would make an absence excusable. The possibility of an offense against the group by a participating member was also recognized during the service, and ritual instructions were given as to how such an offense should be dealt with.

This emphasis on equality and brotherhood is a phenomenon that is perhaps widely expressed in religious rites, for Turner describes the liminal states that occur in rites as blends of "lowliness, sacredness, homogeneity and comradeship."⁴⁹ However, in the River Brethren, this emphasis on equality, brotherhood, and community also symbolizes their acceptance of the disciplined community as one of the fundamental aspects of their faith.

⁴⁸Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969), p. 9.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 96.

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APPENDIX I

Outline of Events

Love Feast, Saturday, August 18, 1973

Held at Eugene Sauder's farm.

Morning Service, 9:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.

(We arrived after the first or second hymn).

Service moderated by Bishop John D. Sauder

Hymn #285 selected by Sauder. Read by him, then sung by congregation.

Isaiah 53 read by Bishop Sauder

Hymn: "Nothing Between My Soul and My Saviour," sung from memory.

Prayer. All knelt, turning to face their chairs as they did so. First a lengthy, extemporaneous prayer is led by Bishop Sauder, then he called upon another minister to lead the second prayer. Second prayer is brief, closes with the Lord's prayer.

Experience Meeting

Bishop Sauder begins Experience Meeting with hymn #344. This is followed by other members giving the number of a hymn, reading a verse of the hymn (which is subsequently sung) and giving their testimonies.

317, v. 1 (Male)

62 (Male)

10, v. 1 (Female)

194, v. 1 (Female)

190, v. 2 & 3 (Male)

358, v. 5 (Female)

702, v. 1 (Female)

126 (Male)

10:15 a.m.: *Sermon* by Norman Bricker

196 selected by Bricker

I Cor. 11: 1-16. This passage is always used for the morning sermon at the Love Feast. Sermon adheres quite closely to an exegesis of the passage. Cross reference to Genesis where Rebecca veils herself to meet her master.

Testimony to Sermon by George G. Myers.

Prayer. Kneeling. First prayer by Bishop Sauder.

Second prayer brief, ending with Lord's Prayer.

Song (lined). Followed by a single prayer.

Dismissal.

Noon Meal. Ready soon after dismissal. Song, followed by prayer. Served in garage

Menu (Apparently not traditional)

Scalloped potatoes and ham
Bread: brown and white, buttered and plain
pepper cabbage
apple sauce
red beets
sliced tomatoes
fresh peeled peaches
assorted cookies
coffee

Afternoon Service, 1:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.

Service Moderated by Bishop John D. Sauder

Hymn #23 v. 1, 5.

Scripture Reading: Hebrews 12: 22-24

Calls on Deacon John Strickler to open meeting

Lined hymn. John 12:15.

Prayer. Two prayers. Second prayer brief and ends with Lord's Prayer.

Second Speaker: Abram N. Kneisley.

Hymn # 171 (1926 hymnbook) "Keep Your Covenant with Jesus".

Scripture from Ephesians. Paul's teaching on the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

Main Sermon by George Myers, on the suffering of Christ.

Hymn # 114. All verses.

Scripture reading: John 19, entire chapter.

Testimony to Sermon by Joseph H. Brechbill.

Hymn # 125. All verses.

Experience Meeting

#842 (Male)

#605 v. 5, 6 (Female)

#238 (Female)

#361 (Male)

#30 v. 4 (Female)

#98 v. 5 (Male)

#651 Selected by Bishop Sauder as the closing.

Evening Meal:

Menu: Wieners and buns
left over cold slaw, beets, applesauce, sliced tomatoes, peaches, assorted cookies, coffee.

Evening Service:

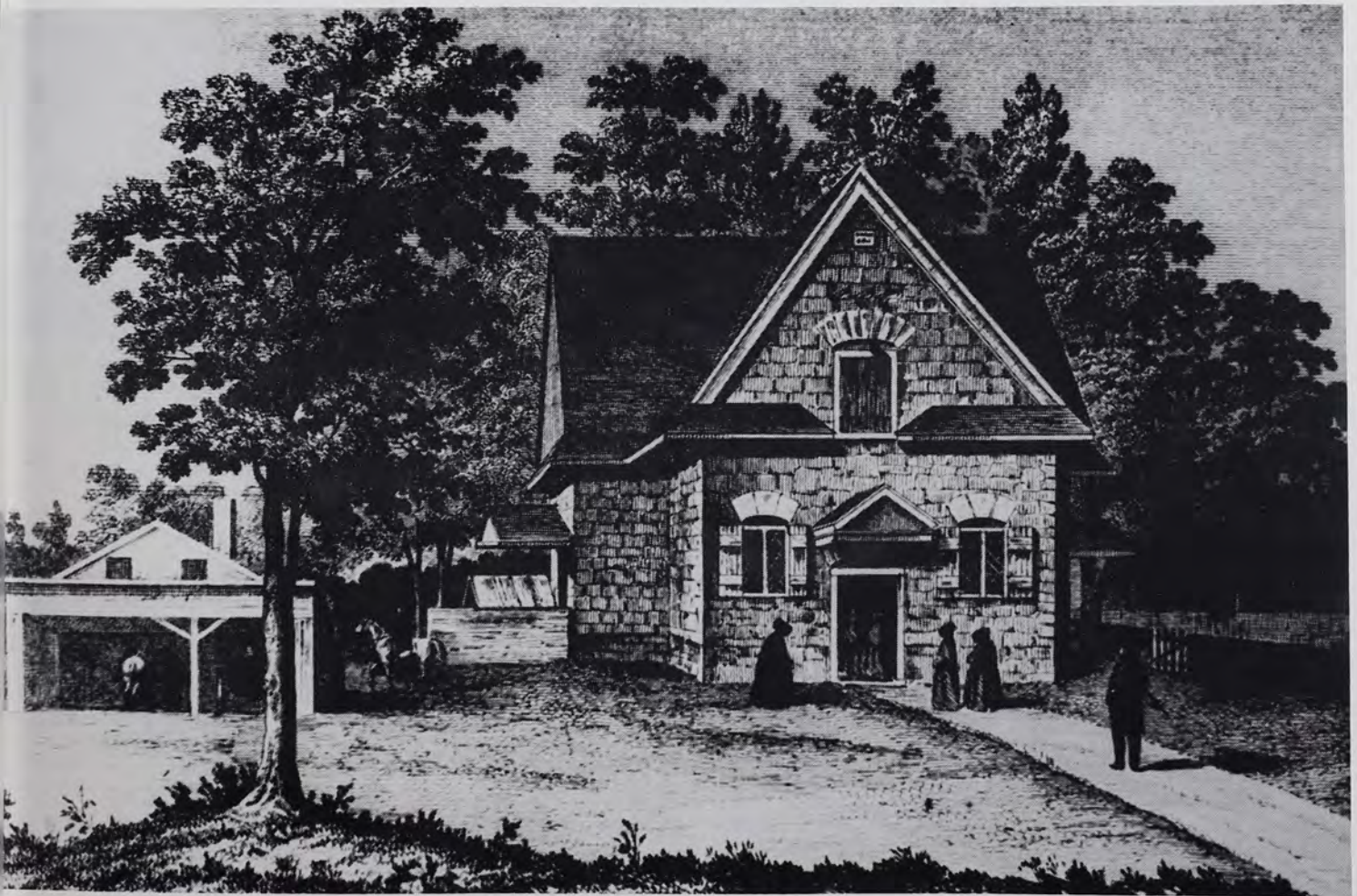
Began at 6:30. Is fully described in paper.

The Porches of Quaker Meeting Houses in Chester and Delaware Counties

By FRANCIS J. PUIG

Nothing has ever been written which deals with the porches on Quaker meeting houses, yet these porches are almost universally associated with them. In this paper I will show, primarily by a comparison of photographs and architectural dates of meeting houses found in the Matlack Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, that the large porches or verandas found

on meeting houses today were built, almost without exception, in the second half of the 19th Century. By the same means I can show that these porches were preceded, in many cases, by smaller pedimental porticos added around mid-19th Century, or that before these there were only hoods over the doors. Of course there are exceptions to this theory; occasionally a small por-



Nineteenth-Century Engraving of Merion Meeting House, built 1698, showing hood over door. Matlack Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Darby Meeting House, erected 1789. Photograph from Matlack Collection showing 19th-Century porch.

tico was added late in the 19th Century, or meeting houses without porches or hoods seem to have existed when almost all others had them.

Before there can be discussion on any aspect of Quaker architecture it is necessary to understand Quaker philosophy. In a manner very similar to the Puritans of Massachusetts, "the Quakers believed in the universal and direct revelation of God to each individual and that this "inward light" or "Spirit of Christ" could be best found and cultivated by silence and meditation without the distraction of barriers by outward or worldly things which they believed to be non essential. . ."¹ As a result, all Quaker architecture from the founding of the society until the present day

¹Horace M. Lippincott, *Quaker Meetinghouses and a Little Humor* (Jenkintown: Old York Road Publishing Co., 1952), p. 17.

has been extremely simple and devoid of superfluous decoration.

In Chester and Delaware Counties, the addition of porches seems to have been influenced to a great extent by trends in architectural taste exhibited by society in the 19th Century, but despite this, the porches were still built very simply. Even "Victorian" porches have few "Victorian" characteristics. What apparently allowed these outside influences to infiltrate the Quaker community was the loss of Quaker power and control in Pennsylvania after the American Revolution, but though direct control was lost, even as early as the end of the Seven Years War between France and England, from 1756 to 1763, Quaker influence remained strong in Philadelphia long after.² It is this that I

²Frank Cousins and Phil M. Riley, *Colonial Architecture of Philadelphia* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1920), p. 7.

believe prevented a radical change in architectural styles. Speaking of the period after the American Revolution, the authors of *Colonial Architecture of Philadelphia* state that the "staid and sober Quakers and gay 'World's People,' were ever being drawn more closely together. The early severity of the Quakers had been greatly tempered by increasing worldly influences about them."³ These influences, however, can not have completely destroyed the Quaker dislike of superfluity, but merely left their mark, for today's Quaker meeting houses are nearly as "simple" and undecorated as they were in the early 18th Century.

Porches on Quaker meeting houses were not American innovations. In England, Colthouse Meeting (1688) and Swarthmore Meeting House (1688) had "porches" and these were among the earliest meeting houses.⁴ The porches on both these structures and on most other English meeting houses of the same period are of stone and resemble Gothic 'portals' more than the porches we are used to in this country. "The majority of the North Country meeting houses have deep projecting porches bearing a strong resemblance to the local farmhouse porch. In the south, King's Lynn (1700) and Lewes (1784) are exceptions in having timber porches."⁵ Significantly, these meeting houses are more likely to be mistaken for private dwellings than for centers for Quaker worship.

In Philadelphia and surrounding counties as well as the rest of America, the meeting houses erected in the 17th Century also looked more like private dwellings than meeting houses. Following Quaker philosophy, there was a conscious avoidance of anything that looked like the architecture of the churches. In fact, George Fox, the founder of the Quaker society, "referred to them (church buildings) in a disparaging way as 'steeple houses,' and the trend towards a distinctive appearance of meeting houses would surely have drawn censure."⁶

None of the American meeting houses have porches of the type found in England and porches of any type were generally the exception in all Philadelphia architecture of the early period.⁷ Much more common and almost universal were the hoods which can still be found on many surviving meeting houses which date up to the "middle" of the 19th Century. Around this time there seems to have been a classical influence resulting in small pedimental porticos supported by columns. With certain exceptions, the majority of houses built prior to the "middle" of the 19th Century

have only hoods on the main facade. Those with porches or porticos generally appear to have had them added at a later date.

Meeting houses of the first type, with hoods only, which are illustrated in this paper and which are all in either Chester or Delaware Counties in Pennsylvania, are Merion, Haverford Orthodox, Providence, Old Kennett, and Concord. Several of these are shown before and after the addition of porches.

Merion Meeting House (see photograph) dates to 1698 and is one of the oldest meeting houses in Pennsylvania. It has changed surprisingly little after more than 250 years. However, "in 1829-1830 the Meeting-house was 'repaired.' The rough stone work was covered by a thick coat of plaster or rough cast. . ."⁸ The

⁸Thomas Allen Glenn, *Merion and the Welsh Tract* (Norristown, 1896), p. 374.



Detail of front hood at Providence Meeting House. Author's photograph, 1974.

³*Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴Hubert Lidbetter, *The Friends Meeting House* (York: The Ebor Pres, 1961), p. 15.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶Edwin B. Bronner, "Quaker Landmarks in Early Philadelphia," *Historic Philadelphia, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, XLIII:1, 211.

⁷Cousins and Riley, p. 119.

primary change with which we are concerned, in any event, is the replacement of the front hood with a small pedimental portico. Most likely it dates to the time of the repairs.

Haverford Orthodox Meeting House is located on Buck Lane in Haverford and was built in 1837 with hoods over the doors. Today it has a large porch on the front facade which is the result of a renovation in 1894.

Providence Meeting House is located on Providence Road near Baltimore Pike at Media and was built in 1815. There are two hoods on the front facade and a porch of the shed or lean-to type along the southern end that is adjacent to the carriage sheds (see photographs).

Old Kennett, on Route #1 near Kennett Square, was built in 1710. Here the main entrance has a hood with double doors under it, one for men and one for women. To the side there is a door under a small "provisional" porch where can still be seen the beams which once supported a hood, projecting from the wall, illustrating that the porch was a later addition and that originally there were only hoods over the doors.

Concord Hicksite Meeting House was erected in 1728 and enlarged in 1778. ". . . the house was burned January 27, 1788 and rebuilt to appear much as at the present time, but the porches were added in 1872."⁹ Curiously the porch "with the neat brick floor on a level with the ground which bends around three sides of the building was built by the Orthodox, and they also modernized the benches within making them much more comfortable."

Other meeting houses in Chester and Delaware Counties which either have or had hoods are Marlborough Hicksite and New Garden. And again, when alterations were made in the 19th Century they included an enlargement of the hood to a pedimental portico or a full blown porch.

Abington Meeting House, in Jenkintown, Montgomery County, was built in 1699-1700 with additions to it in 1786-1787, but though it is outside of the area of study it is interesting because it is one of the very few meeting houses for which I have been able to find documentation for the addition of the porch. Here "there can still be seen the marks of the hoods that were over the doors until 1863 when a committee was appointed to erect a 'shed' to be attached to the front of the Meeting House."¹⁰

Photographs available of Marlborough Meeting House (1801) in Volume V of the Matlack Photo-

graphic Collection which date to between 1928 and 1933 show that this structure has only hoods over the doors.

New Garden Meeting House, also in the Matlack Collection, Volume VIII, was erected in 1743 and the north end was added in or about 1790. There was little change to it until 1887. As can be seen from the photographs in the collection, before 1887 the house had two doors with hoods on the main facade and only a pent roof at the gable ends. After 1887 it has a large porch and a porch cochere added to the front and southern gable of the house. Both are supported by square brick columns which sit upon a stuccoed wall. Today the columns no longer rest on the wall, but extend to the ground.

Birmingham Hicksite Meeting House was built in 1736, but from the photographs available in the Matlack Collection¹¹ it appears that it has had an addition built to it. There are a total of three doors in the front facade. Two of these are together as they are at Old Kennett, with one hood flanked by one window on either side. There is another door and window, however, which seems to be the result of an addition or an enlargement of the original building and this addition also has a porch on its gable end which extends into part of the front elevation of the building so as to permit passengers to be dropped off under its protection in inclement weather.

Around the middle of the 19th Century the worldly influences of which I spoke before seem to be among the reasons behind the adoption of restrained classical and "Victorian" motifs. Even in England, "classicism had its effect when with a tardy adoption of the more classical type of architecture in the larger urban meeting houses, the portico became a feature."¹² Simplicity was still sought after, however. Tottenham (1833), because it has the "embellishments" of a doorway with fluted pilasters and Ionic capitals, is duly noted as an exception to the unwritten rule of simplicity in Lidbetter's *The Friends Meeting House*.¹³

In America, at this time, the firm of Town and Davis (1829-1844) which designed many buildings in a 'classical' style most certainly had a great influence. But so did their contemporaries working in Philadelphia. In 1824 Strickland designed the Second Bank of the United States, in 1833 Thomas U. Walter designed Girard College and also in that year the residence of Nicholas Biddle, Andalusia, had the addition of its famous classical portico. During this period, ". . . the very fabric of mid-19th Century life experienced so sudden expansion in every direction as to out-

⁹Matlack Manuscript Notebooks of Quaker Meeting Houses in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁰Lippincott, p. 17.

¹¹Matlack Photographic Collection of Quaker Meeting Houses in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Volume V.

¹²Lidbetter, p. 19.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 19.



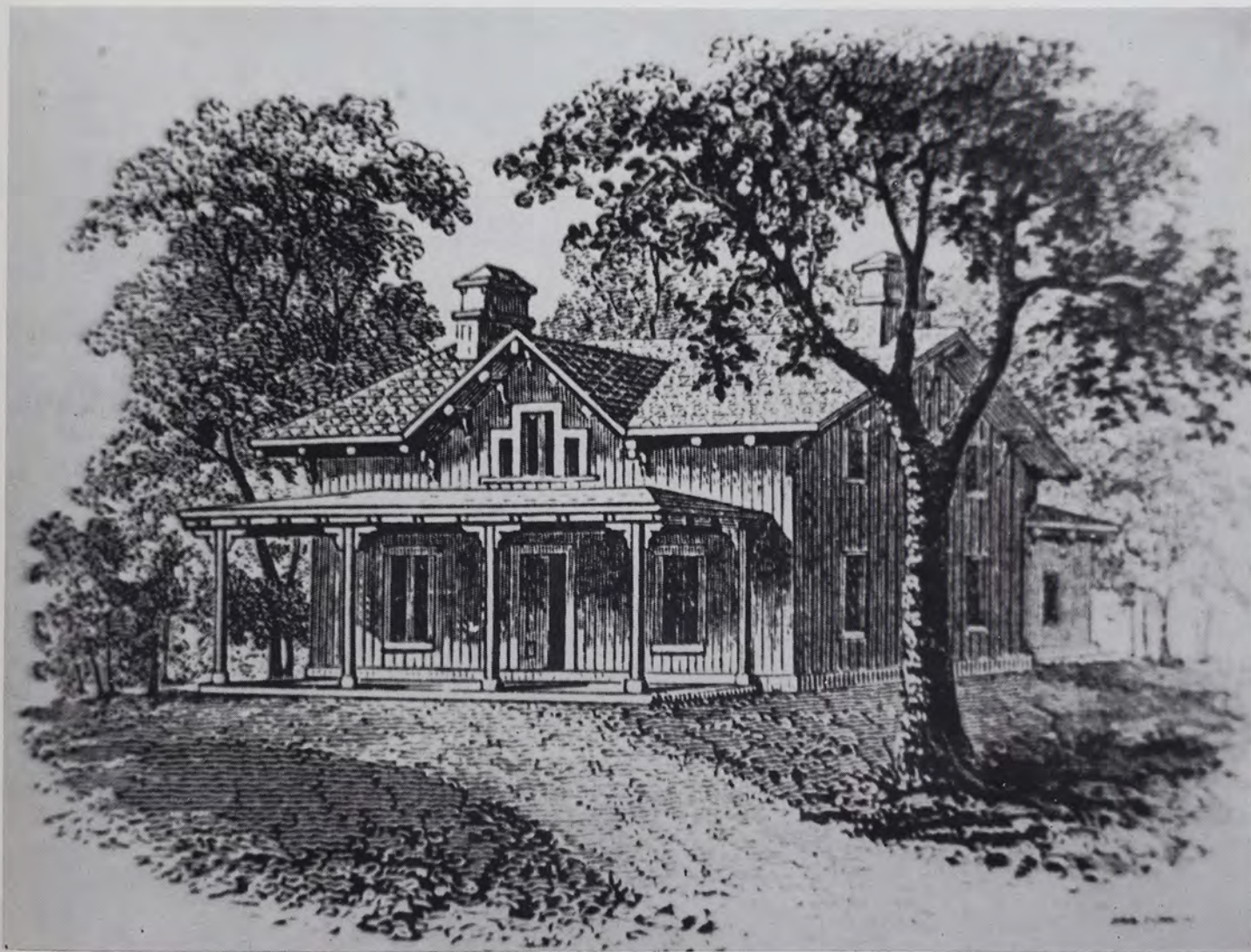
Concord Meeting House (1728) before alterations of 1872. Note hoods over men's and woman's doors. Matlack Collection.

mode a building idiom almost overnight.”¹⁴ “The sudden advent of industrialism, with all its implications, such as mass production, speed, centralization, and prosperity could not leave the old spheres of architecture unscathed.”¹⁵ It is at about this time that I find meeting houses first showing up with porticos in Chester and Delaware Counties in Pennsylvania. Among these are Goshen Orthodox, Unionville, Parkersville, London Grove, Springfield, West Chester Hicksite, and Birmingham and Middletown Hicksite Meeting Houses. I should reiterate that I have not found information or proof supporting the building of porches or even porticos on meeting houses before the 19th Century.

Goshen Orthodox Meeting House, built in 1849, is a “small, one story green serpentine building. . . an

¹⁴Roger Hale Newton, *Town and Davis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), p. 313.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 313.



Victorian porches on domestic architecture served as precedent for the porches added to Pennsylvania's Quaker meeting houses in the 19th Century.

unusual feature on the front are two individual porches with brick floors and two supporting pillars. Another door on the north side opens under another small porch."¹⁶ These "porches," however, are really porticos. Also on the south side there is a shed-type porch supported by columns, "unto which Friends could step from their carriage."

Unionville has the pedimental porticos over the doors of the front facade.¹⁷ This house was built in 1845 in East Marlborough Township in Chester County. Both of the porticos on the front facade of the house are supported by simple iron columns and the tympanum of each pediment is not solid as in most others. Instead there is an attractive yet simple design composed of three wooden boards radiating from the center of the base of the tympanum. On the western end we find the very same design on a hood supported by brackets of wood.

Parkersville Meeting House was built in 1837 and burned down in 1917.¹⁸ Views of it at the time of its destruction show it with a large wooden porch on the front facade, but even earlier photographs in the Matlack Collections show it had two pedimental porticos over the two doors on the main facade before it had the porch.

A 1902 photograph, by Gilbert Cope, of London Grove Hicksite Meeting House, built in 1818, shows it with two small porticos over the front facade doors. There is also one larger porch at the gable end which in a later photograph has been enlarged and curves around the corner to encompass one of the front porticos.¹⁹

Springfield Meeting House was built in 1851 and also has the two front entrances with pedimental porticos supported by square columns.²⁰

West Chester Hicksite Meeting House is another structure with pedimental porticos, but it was not built until 1868. "In 1868 the western half of the building was torn down leaving the eastern half standing as a rear addition to the larger new building (the present Meeting House) which was then erected. It had the separate portico over each front door as the older pictures show. These were replaced by the present large porch in the latter part of 1909."²¹

The earlier meeting house mentioned above was built in 1813 of fieldstone. This older building had a large porch at the time of its destruction which is visible in the photograph in the Matlack Collection,

¹⁶Helen W. Shortlidge, *Chester County Collections*, Number XIX (April 1939), 437.

¹⁷Matlack Photographic Collection of Quaker Meeting Houses in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. VII.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, Volume VII.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, Volume VII.

²⁰Matlack Manuscript Notebook of Quaker Meeting Houses in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

²¹Miscellaneous Papers of the Matlack Quaker Collection, part II, envelope 15.

but is not the one which is standing as a back porch to the present large building, for where the original porch appears to have stood, there is a driveway. The porch which is at the back of the structure today has a decided Victorian flavor and was probably added after the construction of the present meeting house in 1868, but because of its style, probably before the Neo-Classical porch on the front was added in 1909.

Birmingham Orthodox is still another meeting house in the Matlack Collection with porticos. It was built in 1845 and in appearance it is very similar to Goshen Orthodox, but only a bit larger.²²

In a photograph dated 1900 and found in Henry Graham Ashmead's *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs of Chester and Delaware Counties*,²³ Middletown Hicksite Meeting House (1700) is shown with two porticos on the front facade, but in the Matlack Collection, a later photograph shows it without the two porticos. In their places are windows and at the gable end there is a large new porch.

With only one or two exceptions, these few houses with the pedimental porticos, and others which I have not mentioned, were built around the middle of the 19th Century. In studying these examples one realizes that the "porch adding" period came just a few years later and extended into the early years of the 20th Century. Houses with the larger porches, I believe, were the outgrowth primarily of the architecture expounded by architects such as Alexander Jackson Davis (1803-1892) in his later years, and Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852). It is especially Downing who I believe was extremely important to American architecture from 1850 on because of his book, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, which was first published in 1850 and by the Civil War had already gone through nine printings! "In it Downing set forth his philosophy of what seemed to him the ideal American way of life and prescribed the most appropriate and satisfactory houses and furnishings in which he felt his fellow Americans should best live it."²⁴ Downing, however, was much more of a popularizer than an innovator. "In *The Architecture of Country Houses*, for instance, he relied heavily on the ideas of other architects and writers, reproducing many designs by the former and quoting liberally from the other."²⁵ In his book there are three villa designs of A. J. Davis, one of Richard Upjohn, several designs from Gervase Wheeler and designs of others dealing with architecture and also furniture. I should note that about two-thirds of the designs in the book are of cottages and farmhouses,

²²Matlack Manuscript Notebooks, *op. cit.*

²³Gilbert Cope and Henry Graham Ashmead, *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs of Chester and Delaware Counties* (New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1904), II, 111.

²⁴J. Stewart Johnson, introduction, in Andrew Jackson Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1969), p. vii.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. vii - viii.



Portico on Radnor Meeting House. Author's photograph, 1974.



Goshen Orthodox Meeting House (1849), with porticos. Author's photograph, 1974.

not villas, and that in almost every design a porch or "veranda" is considered essential.

Upon first thinking of Downing as an influence on Quaker architecture one might well think that the type of architecture he proposed was completely contradictory to Quaker philosophy, but if one can help oneself from interjecting 20th Century values on those of the 19th Century, one will find that they are not. Porches then were important living spaces and symbolic of an ideal that had infiltrated all lifestyles. To Downing and his contemporaries, "verandas" and certain other architectural details "are the most valuable general truths in Domestic Architecture."²⁶ When speaking of a certain house, Downing remarked that the "absence of all veranda, arcade, or covered walk—without which no country house is tolerable in the United States," is a marked defect.²⁷ It is statements such as these, which are plentiful throughout his book, a book easily read and understood by all, and the many drawings and architectural illustrations available in the periodicals and inexpensive prints of the time, that we must keep in mind when we consider meeting houses built after 1850.

I have located and studied eighteen Quaker meeting houses in Delaware and Chester Counties with large porches. Of these, I have been able to attach approximate or exact dates to the porches of fifteen. The other five, I also believe, had their porches added in the late 19th Century, but I have not yet been able to date them. The ones which have been dated to this period and a little later are Haverford Orthodox, Media Orthodox, New Garden Hicksite, Parkersville Orthodox, London Grove Hicksite, West Chester Hicksite and Orthodox Houses, Concord, Darby, Valley, Malvern, West Grove Orthodox, and Middletown Hicksite.

Haverford Orthodox Meeting House, located on Buck Lane in Haverford, had two remodelings. One was in 1894 and the other in 1904.²⁸ Because of the dating on an early photograph in the Matlack Collection taken "before the remodeling in 1894," and by the appearance of the porch in subsequent photographs, we can conclude that the present large porch was added at this time.

Media Orthodox Meeting House, at the junction of Third Street with North Street, was built in 1875. The porch on the side dates to this time. It appears originally to have extended around the front also, but was removed and replaced by a classical entrance at a later date.

Of the porch added to Abington Meeting House in 1863, Lippincott states in his *Quaker Meeting Houses*

²⁶Downing, p. 32.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 281.

²⁸Matlack Manuscript Notebooks on Quaker Meeting Houses, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

that "many carriages drawing up to the entrance in stormy weather needed a haven to deposit their occupants. And as a place to gossip and barter after meeting the porch or veranda was indispensable."²⁹

New Garden Meeting House (1743, enlarged in 1790), in Chester County, was mentioned before. Here the porch and porch cochere were added to a facade with hoods in 1887.³⁰

The large porch on Parkerville Meeting House dates to after 1837 when the house was built, but it is not original. Originally it had two porticos on the front facade, and this is evidenced in the Matlack Collection.³¹ Later photographs dated 1917 show it with the larger wooden porch.

London Grove had its porches added around the turn of the century. As late as 1902 it still had the two front porticos supported by columns.³² Photographs after this show that the southeastern porch on the facade has been enlarged and comes around the corner to incorporate the porch on the eastern entrance which is by the drive.

West Chester Hicksite has already been discussed in detail. Here I believe the porch quite definitely dates to the period between 1868 and 1909 and the other large neo-classical porch to 1909.

West Chester Orthodox was only recently demolished. It, like Malvern, was built of Serpentine. It was constructed in 1844, but "the porch in front was a much more recent addition. . ."³³ This would set it in the second half of the century, at least.

Concord Meeting House had its porches erected in 1872.³⁴ Before this time there were only hoods on the structure built in 1728 and enlarged in 1778.

Darby, on the north side of Main Street above Tenth Street, in Darby, was built in 1889 and as a result we can date the porch to that period.

Valley Meeting House was built in 1871 and has a very large porch around the south and east end of the house.³⁵ Here even the architecture shows a "Victorian" influence, for on the front facade there is a small gable on the roof line which is not structural to the support of the roof, but merely acts in much the same way that a dormer might. This gable is a type found often in Downing's *The Architecture of Country Houses*.

Malvern Meeting House was built in 1880 and is situated at Woodland Avenue and Roberts Lane, in Malvern. It too has a large porch original to the house.

²⁹Lippincott, p. 30.

³⁰Matlack Photographic Collection of Quaker Meeting Houses in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. VIII.

³¹*Ibid.*, Vol. VIII.

³²*Ibid.*, Vol. VIII.

³³Miscellaneous Papers of the Matlack Collection in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Part II, envelope 15.

³⁴Matlack Manuscript Notebooks of Quaker Meeting Houses in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³⁵Matlack Photographic Collection of Quaker Meeting Houses in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. V.



West Chester Hicksite Meeting House (1868). Author's photograph, 1974.



Side Porch at West Chester (1974).

West Chester Hicksite Meeting House (1868) before alterations of 1909. Note porticos over men's and women's doors. Matlack Collection.



Details under side porch (1974).



West Grove Orthodox Meeting House was originally built in 1786, but it was torn down and rebuilt in 1903. At this time the building was greatly enlarged and a large porch was also added which is in some respects similar to Haverford Orthodox. It also has extensions under which a coach can drive and let off passengers.³⁶

Middletown Hicksite Meeting House appears to have had its porch added after 1900. It has been discussed previously.

Other Meeting Houses with porches, but to which I cannot attach dates, are Middletown Orthodox, Willistown, Newtown Square, Old Haverford, Radnor and Marshallton.

Willistown Meeting House we know had alterations in the 19th Century. "Some changes were made in the latter part of the last century when the gallery was removed and the small window panes were replaced by larger ones."³⁷ Unfortunately the porch is not mentioned. This very large building is on Goshen Road near the village of Whitehorse.

At Newtown Square (1791) we can get some idea of the age of the porch by comparing it to Haverford Orthodox (1894) and West Grove (1903), both of which have very similar porches.

Old Haverford and Radnor are two very old structures, 1700 and 1715 respectively. We know that Haverford, in 1800, was "modernized somewhat in its outside appearance, by changing the pitch of the roof and in substituting wooden sash in the windows for those of lead."³⁸ The reason for the change of the roof was to match it to an addition in that same year.

Marshallton is very interesting. As you can see from its photographs, the building originally had pent roofs at the gable ends on a level with the roofline. The fact that the pent roofs still exist above the present flimsy porches is proof that the porches were a later addition. Also above the doors at Marshallton can be seen patchwork in the cement between the stones which is not original. I believe that this patchwork is evidence that at one time there were hoods over the doors such as there is at the eastern end of the building.

Marshallton Meeting House brings me to the conclusion of this paper. From the information I have given, one can see that there has been a definite trend in the addition of porches to Quaker meeting houses. First came the hoods over the doors; second came the small porticos, and these seem to have been added mainly around the middle of the 19th Century, and lastly came the larger porches which I believe were influenced by the architectural styles prevalent during the second half of the 19th Century, especially the

³⁶*Ibid.*, Vol. VIII.

³⁷Dorothy B. Lapp, "Churches of Willistown Township," *Chester County Collections*, Number 11 (November 1936), 61.

³⁸Matlack Manuscript Notebooks of Quaker Meeting Houses in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Haverford Orthodox Meeting House 1837.



Haverford Orthodox Meeting House today. Author's photograph, 1974.

"Victorian" styles. It is very possible that similar studies of domestic architecture would yield the same "periods" for the addition of porches.

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John Daniel Eisenbrown, Frakturist

By MONROE H. FABIAN

While researching the life and work of the Pennsylvania German schoolteacher and fraktur artist John Spangenberg for a previous issue of this magazine ("The Easton Bible Artist Identified," Winter 1972-1973) my attention was called to a two page fraktur bookplate in the collection of the Library Company of Philadelphia (Fig. 1). It was suggested that this might be a

piece by Spangenberg. At first glance, the right hand portion did have the overall effect of his work, but was most certainly by a different hand. A careful reading of the lower portion of the inscription at the bottom of the left hand page of the bookplate, which had once ornamented a Bible owned by Johann Heinrich Wind, showed that it was fully signed. The first line of the



Figure 1a. Bible bookplate written by John Daniel Eisenbrown for Johann Heinrich Wind sometime after November 4, 1818. Library Company of Philadelphia.

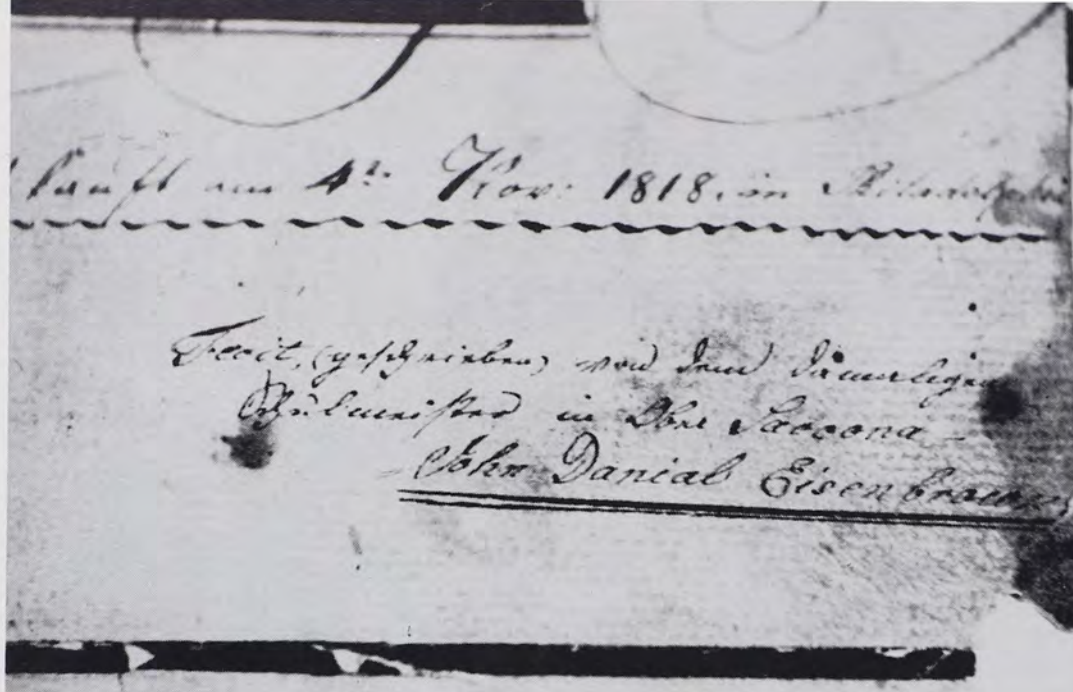


Figure 1b. Detail of the inscription in the bottom margin of the Wind bookplate. (Photo by Stephanie Munsing).

inscription reads in translation, “Bought on 4th Nov: 1818, in Philadelphia.” The last three lines: “Made, (written) by the onetime schoolmaster in Upper Sau-

con—John Danial Eisenbrown.” Our schoolmaster, evidently in an overzealous effort to show off his command of English, had actually spelled his own name incorrectly—Danial for Daniel. Here was information concerning an unrecorded fraktur artist, but since the information was not pertinent to the John Spangenberg project, it was noted and filed away.

Upper Saucon Township is in Lehigh County and so, some time later, while on a weekend visit to Allentown, I decided to see if any of the Eisenbrown family still lived in the area. I resorted to one of the more valuable tools of the genealogist—a local telephone book. Turning the pages, I saw the listing, “Eisenbrown, Paul D.” A track record for a researcher seeking his man may have been set at this point, for within a matter of seconds I was speaking with the great-grandson of our newly discovered frakturist, John Daniel Eisenbrown.

A short conversation with Paul Eisenbrown made it obvious that he was interested in, and well informed concerning the history of his family, but neither he, nor any relative he consulted, had ever heard of their ancestor having created any pieces of fraktur. My bit of information and my questions about the life and work of his great-grandfather prompted Paul Eisenbrown to do further research in family records and as time passed we conversed and compared notes as he made new discoveries.

The first discovery was that there was indeed another piece of fraktur in family hands, and as a type it may be unique, for it is a birthday greeting (Fig. 2) written on 16 April 1817 for Charlotta Barbara Wolf of Egypt, who was to become the wife of John Daniel Eisenbrown three years later. At the bottom the artist has lettered his name in correctly spelled German, “Johan Daniel

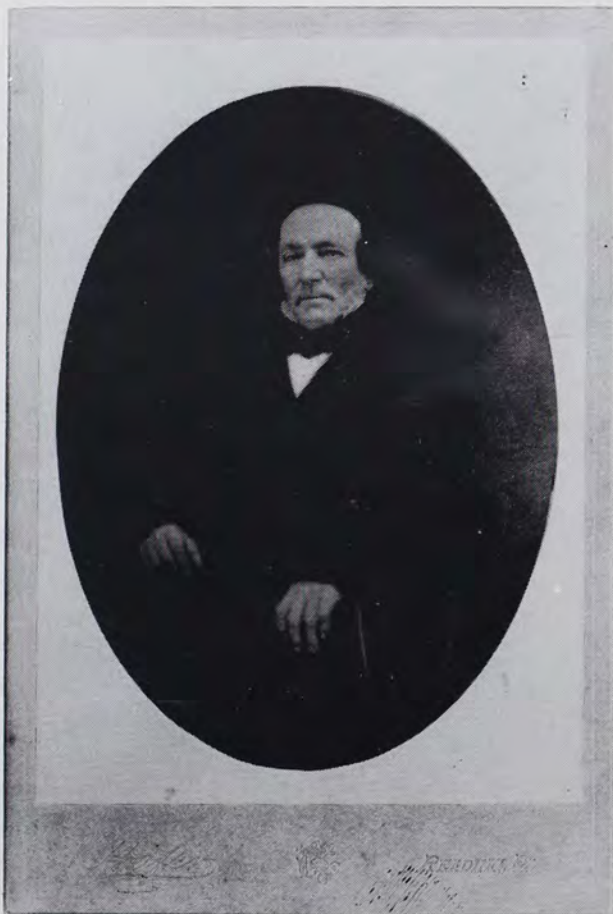


Figure 3. John Daniel Eisenbrown, Hafer Studio copy photo of a daguerreotype of about 1850.



Figure 2. Fraktur birth-
day greeting written for
Charlotte Barbara Wolf
by John Daniel Eisen-
brown, April 16, 1817.

Eisenbraun.” The birthday greeting was truly an exciting find, but what came later was even better. During another of my visits to Paul Eisenbrown, he pulled from a manila folder his latest discovery among family papers—an actual likeness of our fraktur artist (Fig. 3). The picture was a cabinet photo printed by the Hafer Studio of Reading, probably about 1900. It reproduced a now lost daguerreotype of John Daniel Eisenbrown which may have been made as early as 1850 judging by the costume and hair style. How rare, indeed, to see a portrait of one of our Pennsylvania German artists of the first century of our nation’s history.

At this point it was hoped that more of John Daniel Eisenbrown’s elaborately decorated fraktur would come out of family records. Unfortunately, this has not been

the case, but perhaps this article will bring to light examples in other private collections and in institutions. A third and final piece (Fig. 4) discovered in family ownership during Paul Eisenbrown’s diligent search for information is a page removed from a family Bible that must have been in use around 1832 or after when it lists—in a handwriting matching that of the marginal note on the piece made for Johan Wind—the birth of William Jonas Eisenbrown and the death of his mother, Charlotta, six days later. The lettering is a straight forward style and the piece thus lacks any of the decoration seen on the other two.

Paul Eisenbrown’s interest in his family’s history and his research which took him to local historical societies, church cemeteries, newspaper “morgues” and published

Familien Register.

Geburten.

Geburten.

Maria Franziska

ist geboren am 15^{ten} October
im Jahr 1821 - in Upper Merion
Township Lehigh County. Der
Taufzeugen waren: die Eltern selbst
J. George Wolf... u. Anna Maria...
getraut am dem 1sten October 1821

Charlotta

ist geboren am 24^{ten} März 1828
in North Whitehall T. Lehigh County
Taufzeugen waren: die Eltern selbst
getraut am dem 1sten October 1828

Constantin Edward

ist geboren am 8^{ten} December 1823
in Upper Merion Township Lehigh Co.
Taufzeugen waren: die Eltern selbst
getraut am dem 1sten October 1823

Wilhelmina

ist geboren in der Stadt Lehigh
Berks County am 14^{ten} Junius
im Jahr 1829. Taufzeugen waren
J. Wolf... u. J. Wolf...
getraut am dem 1sten October 1829

Charlotte Mathilda

ist geboren am 6^{ten} August 1824
in North Whitehall Township Lehigh Co.
Taufzeugen waren: die Eltern selbst
getraut am dem 1sten October 1824

Friederich Penrose

ist geboren in der Stadt Lehigh
Berks County am 3^{ten} April 1831. Taufzeugen waren
Friedrich Wolf... u. Elisabeth...
getraut am dem 1sten October 1831

Anna Maria

ist geboren am 13^{ten} November 1822
in North Whitehall Township Lehigh Co.
Taufzeugen waren: die Eltern selbst
J. George Wolf... u. Anna Maria...
getraut am dem 1sten October 1822

William Jonas

ist geboren am 12^{ten} October 1832 in North
Whitehall T. Lehigh County. In seiner
Kindheit passirte die Mutter- und die
Taufzeugen Jonas Deagel und sein
Garon Para-musson das Kind an
Lindas Pott inf.

Carolina Louisa

ist geboren am 25^{ten} Junius 1827
in North Whitehall T. L. Co.
Taufzeugen waren: Daniel Rodler
und sein Gefahrte
† Todt am Tage 1828

Figure 4. Family Register page from the Eisenbrown family Bible.

local histories has provided us with a rather full account of an early 19th Century teenage German schoolmaster who matured into a notable businessman in his adopted country, and all the credit for the biographical information printed here must be given to him. This knowledge adds just a little more substance to a comprehensible picture of life in the German areas of Pennsylvania in the 19th Century.

John Daniel Eisenbrown is believed to have been born in or near the village of Adelberg, Württemberg, on 2 December 1795. He may have arrived in Philadelphia as early as 1811 and was most certainly already in Egypt in 1817 and in Upper Saucon Township before 1818 when he executed the Bible bookplate for Henrich Wind. The Wind family was associated with Friedens Lutheran Church in what is now Friedensville and it is quite possible that Eisenbrown was the schoolmaster for that congregation. On 22 October 1820, John Daniel married Charlotta Barbara Wolf, daughter

of John George and Anna Maria (Bauer) Wolf of Zion Hill, Springfield Township, Bucks County, where she was born 16 April 1798. John George Wolf is said to have been a wood carver and turner specializing in making spinning wheels. In 1824 John Daniel took a position as organist, choir director and schoolteacher at Egypt Church. Five years later John Daniel, possibly after being trained in carving by his father-in-law, moved to Kutztown where he maintained a tombstone-cutting establishment until 1834. Two years earlier Charlotta Eisenbrown had died after the birth of their ninth child.

A few years later John Daniel married Margaret Troxell, born in Egypt 12 August 1812, a daughter of Christian and Barbara (Horn) Troxell. This union was blessed with eight children. The second and third died in infancy and were buried in Zion Reformed Church cemetery in Allentown, where the Eisenbrowns had moved from Kutztown.

Beginning in 1844 John Daniel Eisenbrown operated a tombstone-cutting firm in Minersville until he removed again to Allentown in 1855 where he established the same sort of business with his son Penrose Frederick Eisenbrown. The business was situated on the northwest corner of Ninth and Hamilton Streets—the present site of a prestigious department store. In 1859 Penrose went off to Minersville and later to Pottsville to operate a branch of the family business again in those towns while his Father continued to manage the Allentown firm until his death. Having acquired considerable experience in the cemetery memorial field, Penrose Frederick went to Reading in 1874, where he established the business on a much larger scale. Today, nearly a century and a half after his father, John Daniel, founded the family business in Kutztown, it is still operating in Reading and is under the ownership of the founder's great-great-grandson, Penrose Frederick Eisenbrown, III.

Did John Daniel Eisenbrown continue writing fraktur in his later years, or were the family Bible annotations his last efforts at this schoolmaster's art? Only additional discoveries of his work could tell us more about that aspect of his life story. But the little that we know of him as an artist with a pen makes him of more interest to us than he must have been to his contemporaries who looked at him doubtless only as a respectable citizen and a purveyor of a utilitarian craft. The Allentown *Daily Chronicle* of 16 March 1874 noted his passing with that calm that is reserved for those who have led ordinary lives:

“JOHN D. EISENBROWN, an aged man, residing on Tenth Street, died last night, aged over seventy-eight years. Deceased was a stone-cutter by trade, and was well known in this city. Some time ago he fell and since then had been bedridden with a broken thigh, which never was perfectly cured.”



Figure 5. Tombstone of Charlotte Eisenbrown (1798-1832).

Pennsylvania German Astronomy and Astrology X: Christopher Witt's Device

By LOUIS WINKLER

INTRODUCTION

The physician and mystic Christopher Witt and his astronomical-astrological device have been discussed briefly in Articles III and VI, respectively, of this series. The device (Figure 1), which is sometimes referred to as the *Horologium Achaz*, is mentioned in virtually every book on sundials. It has a number of rather unusual features incorporated in it and is a

unique instrument which requires about as much talent to use as is required to use an almanac.

The *Horologium Achaz* was constructed in 1578 by Christoph Schissler of Augsburg, Germany. By the late 17th Century the device came into the possession of Johann Jacob Zimmermann.¹ He was the spiritual

¹J. F. Sachse, "Horologium Achaz," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XXXIV (1895), 21—26.



Bottom of basin
(*American Philosophical Society*).



Horologium Achaz (Courtesy of American Philosophical Society).

leader of the Pietists who migrated to America in 1696 and settled in the Wissahickon area. Just before the group departed from Germany, Zimmermann died and the device was acquired by Johannes Kelpius. Kelpius, who became the new spiritual leader, is also described as an astronomer. The group, however, disbanded in 1708 when Kelpius died and the device was passed on to another group member, Christopher Witt.

The first description of the device, a brief one, is given by Uffenbach of Ulm, in the early 17th Century. While Uffenbach indicated that the device was too imprecise for his use, the Librarian at the University of Oxford valued the instrument and its use. Ulm is further related to the device through Johann Fabricius, who presided over the University there and was also a tutor of Kelpius.

Witt became the last individual to own the device because it was passed on to the American Philosophical Society upon his death in 1765. At the time that the Society acquired the device, the basin and base were in separate pieces. In 1895 Sachse³ joined the two finely wrought alloy pieces with three cylindrical rods. It is surmised that the basin and base were originally connected with a mythological figure. The basin has engravings on both sides and the figure on the rim can be moved around. The top of the base has figures in

relief while the bottom of the base has additional engravings.

DESCRIPTION AND USE OF BASIN

The overall diameter of the basin is 12" and it is 1-3/4" deep. The Latin inscription on the bottom of the basin (Figure 2) shows that the device was fabricated by Christoph Schissler of Augsburg in 1578. Schissler was a master artisan who worked with metal and constructed devices which were of astronomical or astrological nature.

Much of the nature of the basin has been described by Bobinger.⁴ When the basin is oriented properly, the shadow of a centrally located vertical gnomon or pointer (which is missing) could be used to indicate a variety of useful information. Readings can be made very much the way they are for an ordinary sundial.

With the simplified half of the basin (Figures 1 and 3) toward the north, Civilian and Italian time of day can be read.⁵ Civilian hour numbers start at noon or midnight and go to twelve, while Italian hour numbers start at sunset and go to twenty-four. Use of the basin as a sundial by the Pietists is quite possible since mechanical timepieces were not yet mass-produced by the mid-18th Century. The described sundial aspect is somewhat unusual because it gives the hour as a

⁴M. Bobinger, *Christoph Schissler der Aeltere und der Jüngere* (Augsburg, Brigg, 1954), p. 117.

⁵It is difficult to photograph the basin because it reflects light somewhat like the mirror objective in reflecting telescopes.

³Memoirs of Zacharias von Uffenbach published at Ulm, I, 252; II, 542; III, 101, 102.

⁴*Op cit.*

function of the time of year in terms of birth signs rather than the signs in which the sun appears.⁶

With the more complex half toward the north the Civilian time and information regarding the position of houses can be read with the gnomon. Houses are twelve divisions⁷ of the ecliptic (in addition to the signs) which are of importance in astrology. Each of the houses governs various aspects of life and the positions of the sun, moon and planets (seven ruling "planets") in these houses determine which aspect of life is governed and how. This feature of the *Horologium Achaz* makes it a most useful astrological instrument. Information regarding the number and position of the houses can not be obtained from almanacs and often requires much laborious computation. The determination of the information concerning houses corresponding to a specific time and geographic site, often involves most of the effort of an astrologer in casting horoscopes. The Pietists are known to have cast horoscopes to determine times of appropriateness.

The complex half of the basin emphasizes the astrological nature of the device since it includes an ordinary table for the seven ruling "planets" (i.e., reading of the table does not depend on the gnomon shadow). According to astrological tradition these bodies rule in hourly sequence for each day of the week. On Sunday each hour is ruled by each of the "planets" according to the sequence Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, etc. The ruling sequence then continues with the moon at the beginning on Monday, Mars on Tuesday, Mercury on Wednesday, Jupiter on Thursday, Venus on Friday, and Saturn on Saturday. In view of the astrological nature of the basin it seems quite appropriate that Witt should have come into possession of the device. Witt was also known as a *Hexenmeister*.

BIBLICAL REFERENCES

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the device is the use of the basin with water to simulate the Biblical miracle of Isaiah. The Latin inscription on the bottom (Figure 4) reads:

This semi-circular shell explains the miracle of the 38th chapter of Isaiah. For if you fill it to the brim with water, the shadow of the sun is borne backward ten or twenty degrees. Moreover it indicates any common hour of the day, with what is called hours of the planets.

⁶This difference has been increasing over the last two millennia. For example, the sun appears to be in the constellation of Aquarius between February 20 and March 20 but the birth sign of Aquarius corresponds to the interval between January 21 to February 20. The difference is caused by a slow motion of the spin axis of the earth called precession.

⁷A common way to designate houses is to make uniform divisions starting with the point defined by the intersection of a given observer's eastern horizon and the ecliptic. The ecliptic is the apparent path of the sun which runs through the signs of the zodiac.

This is a reference to the Biblical miracle which reads:

Behold, I will bring again in the shadow of the degrees, which is gone down in the sun-dial of Ahaz (*sic*) ten degrees backward. So the sun returned ten degrees, by which degrees it was gone down.⁸

Many historians and astronomers have speculated as to the meaning of this Biblical statement. Ahaz was the eleventh king of Judah and he erected a sundial in the eighth century B.C. The Biblical statement is the oldest known definitive reference to a sundial.

A use of the basin with a liquid however would not exactly reproduce the miracle of Isaiah. The indicated time of day with the liquid would be advanced before, and retarded after noon, by variable amounts, relative to the indicated time without the liquid. However, the portion of the basin used as a refractive sundial appears to be the oldest extant one of this type.

The bottom of the base also has two panels with figures which refer to the Bible.⁹ In the figure on the left, King Hezekiah is depicted sick in bed while the prophet Isaiah points to a vertical sundial. The other panel refers to the passage which reads:

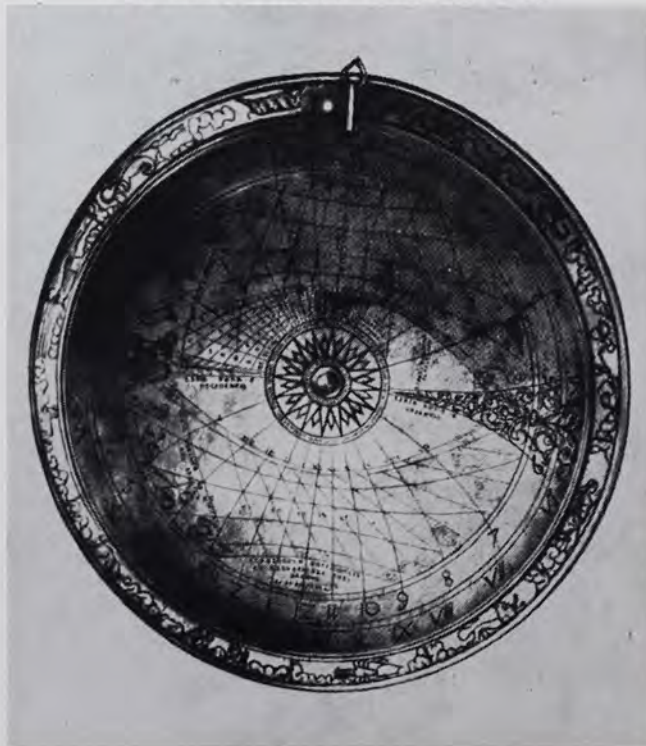
For Isaiah had said, let them take a lump of figs and lay it for a plaster upon the boil, and he shall recover.

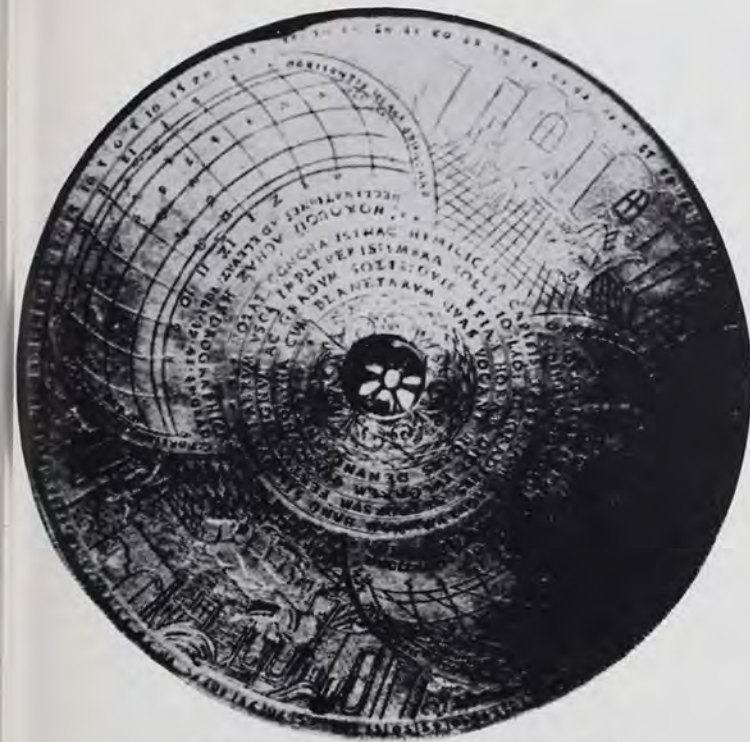
Here, King Hezekiah is depicted having his leg treated by an attendant with figs.

⁸Book of Isaiah, 38:8.

⁹Book of Isaiah, 38:8, for the figure on the left and Book of Isaiah, 38:21, for the figure on the right.

Surface of basin (Brigg Verlag, Augsburg).





Bottom of base (Brigg Verlag, Augsburg).

DESCRIPTION AND USE OF BASE

At one time the top of the base contained a compass which could be used to orient the basin. The magnetized needle is the only missing part of the compass. The figures in relief around the compass are mythological in nature and appear to be only decorative.

An inspection of the Latin inscriptions on the bottom of the base show that the phrase *Horologii Achaz*, is used in six different places. This is the source of the name of the device, *Horologium Achaz*.

Very little has ever been given regarding the use of the graphs (see Figure 4) on the bottom of the base. On the lower half Civilian and Italian time are specified as they are in the basin. On the upper half Civilian and Planetary time are specified. Planetary hour numbers start at sunrise or sunset and go to twelve. On the periphery of the base, the direction of the sun in a given observer's plane (i.e., azimuth) is given in degrees.

Solar azimuth, time of year, and time of day are related, and their relationship can be found by drawing an imaginary line from the center of the base to an azimuth value. Given two of the three (solar azimuth, time of year, and time of day) quantities, the third can be read off the graphs. Thus a likely way to utilize the device is to read the time of year and day as indicated with the basin and its gnomon, and then draw the appropriate line on the base and read solar azimuth. Solar azimuth is not a quantity which could be found

in almanacs and thus required some calculations or additional tables. The utility of the solar azimuth as a function of the time of year and day appears to be primarily of academic value. Solar azimuths at sunrise and sunset could be helpful in locating the ecliptic for other purposes.

CONCLUSIONS

Photographs of the device show it in a variety of configurations. In some photographs there is no string but a gnomon where the string is fastened to the basin in Figure 1. In other photographs there is no string and no pointer. The foregoing analysis of the basin show that the operation of the device does not depend on the string, eccentric gnomon, or even the figure on the rim. Unfortunately examinations of Schissler's other works and works of others around the time that Schissler flourished, offer no clue as to the nature of the figure.¹⁰ When one considers the missing compass needle and mythological figure(s) between the basin and base, and the unexplained moveable nature of the figure on the rim, it can be seen that the *Horologium Achaz* is far from being restored.

A relatively small size for the device results in modest precision for any readings. This is further suggested by the fact that the device is to be utilized over a wide latitude range. (It is strange that there are four different latitude ranges specified on the basin and base covering 12°). The small size of the device also results in some arrangement problems with the engravings. Not all of the zodiacal figures are depicted and different abbreviations of the same words are used.

The principal practical utility of the device includes use as a clock, for casting horoscopes, and determining ruling bodies. The only information obtained with the device that overlaps the almanac, is time of sunrise and sunset.

Consequently the device is not much of a substitute for an almanac. A role as an almanac substitute arises since the first German style and German language almanac was only published in America in 1730.¹¹ However, although the device is often referred to as a sundial, it is much more than that.

The general condition of the four-century-old device is fairly good,¹² and it suggests that the device was not heavily used. Since the device has three Biblical references and the Pietists combined astronomy and astrology into their religion extensively it is likely that the *Horologium Achaz* was primarily their religious relic. It certainly is a unique horological device as well as museum piece relating to the early development of America.

¹⁰Bobinger, *op cit.*, and M. Bobinger *Alt-Augsburger Kompassmacher* (Augsburg, Hans Rösler, 1966).

¹¹E. F. Robacker, *Pennsylvania German Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943).

¹²That is, the bottom of the base is not particularly worn and there is no large collection of dents.

The American Breakfast, Circa 1873-1973

By PAMELA JAMES

Breakfast is, without a doubt, the most controversial meal of the day. It has been written that "it is a meal about which there are more attitudes, more likes and dislikes, than any other. Some like breakfast large and varied. Some like the same every day. Some like it light and indeed some do not eat it at all." These attitudes are as varied as the many different physical, psychological, economic, and ethnic characteristics of the individuals who make up the American people. It is here our purpose to consider the breakfast habits of several groups whose members, although distinctive in some respects, are all of European origin and most of whom are presently living in southeastern Pennsylvania.

The discussion first involves the breakfast of farmers living from the 1860's until the 1940's. It then turns to the suburbs and cities (primarily Philadelphia) of the period between 1900 and 1940. The information for both of these subjects comes from a variety of materials, including cookbooks, magazine articles, waitressing guides and several published first-hand accounts. By far the most detail is provided by the answers to a breakfast questionnaire distributed in three areas of southeastern Pennsylvania—rural/small town Gettysburg, suburban Swarthmore and Media, and urban Philadelphia.² The last section deals with the years from circa 1940 until the present. For this, the questionnaires yielded the breakfast pattern of the informants today. There were more magazine articles available about this period, and also more cookbooks, which are compared to what these individual families are actually eating.

The material in this paper was not compiled from a large quantity of sources. I received between fifteen and twenty answers to my questionnaire from each of the three areas mentioned above. Other sources were about fourteen magazine articles, nine cookbooks, two waitress guides, and two accounts of 19th Century farm breakfasts. Because of this limited number, my results are not statistically representative. However, the very randomness of the selection of sources must be con-

sidered an advantage which will offset this difficulty to some extent.

I

The majority of the American population lived on farms in the third quarter of the 19th Century,³ and although many left the farm for the city with the industrial boom, small farming was still practiced on a wide scale before World War II. Today there are many conflicting opinions among doctors and nutritionists about the importance of breakfast. Some believe it is essential while others say that it is entirely a matter of individual need. Our farmer ancestors, however, had no doubts about the importance of this meal. As Meta Given explained to her audience of housewives in the 1940's,

Eighty years ago, 80 per cent of the population lived on farms; and in those days there were few of the labor-saving devices which all of us take for granted in this age of electricity and Diesel engines. Men and women, boys and girls, all worked with their hands and it made them hungry. They lived in colder, draughtier houses too, and needed food to keep them warm as well as to make energy.⁴

On many farms the family rose at dawn or earlier to spend an hour at chores before sitting down to breakfast. This meal was usually very substantial, one which today's more sedentary American might regard as complete enough to be a holiday dinner, in some cases. One such meal is described in *Farmer Boy*, a book written by Laura Ingalls Wilder about her husband's childhood in northern New York State where his father owned a prosperous farm. This particular meal was served on a cold winter morning in 1868. It is probably typical of the winter breakfast Mrs. Wilder served to her husband, two sons, and two daughters.

Almanzo opened his eyes again, and the candle was sputtering on the bureau. Royal was dressing. His breath froze white in the air. The candlelight was dim, as though the darkness were trying to put it out.

Suddenly Royal was gone, the candle was not there, and Mother was calling from the foot of the stairs:

"Almanzo! What's the matter? Be you sick? It's five o'clock!"

¹Sue Tribus, *The Wonderful World of Breakfast* (New York: London House and Maxwell, 1964), p. 1.

²Gettysburg—members of the Adams County Historical Society, mostly older people; Swarthmore/Media—members of Trinity Church, Swarthmore, and family friends, mostly families with children still at home; Philadelphia—some employees of the University of Pennsylvania, people living in the Northeast, and others.

³Meta Given, *The Modern Family Cookbook* (Chicago: J. G. Ferguson, 1943), p. 19.

⁴Given, p. 19.

He crawled out, shivering. He pulled on his trousers and waist, and ran downstairs to button up by the kitchen stove. Father and Royal had gone to the barns. Almanzo took the milk-pails and hurried out. The night seemed very large and still, and the stars sparkled like frost in the black sky.

When the chores were done and he came back with Father and Royal to the warm kitchen, breakfast was almost ready. How good it smelled! Mother was frying pancakes, and the big blue platter, keeping hot on the stove's hearth, was full of plump brown sausage cakes in their brown gravy.

Almanzo washed as quickly as he could, and combed his hair. As soon as Mother finished straining the milk, they all sat down and Father asked the blessing for breakfast.

There was oatmeal with plenty of thick cream and maple sugar. There were fried potatoes, and the golden buckwheat cakes, as many as Almanzo wanted to eat, with sausages and gravy or with butter and maple syrup. There were preserves and jams and jellies and doughnuts. But best of all Almanzo liked the spicy apple pie, with its thick, rich juice and its crumbly crust. He ate the two big wedges of the pie.⁵

Quite a large meal for a nine-year-old boy.

Answers to my questionnaires, all from people now living in the Gettysburg area, confirm the practice of working before eating a large breakfast. One woman wrote that her grandparents, farming in Connecticut, got "up early to light the wood stove and attend the farm chores. By the time we as [presumably visiting] kids would go downstairs the house was warm and breakfast was ready." A retired school counselor wrote a more detailed account of her grandparents' home circa 1860—1927. They were farmers and had a large family.

The family did the chores at the barn before breakfast was served. (The men did the barn work and the women did the cooking and the housework—house was cleaned, beds were made). There were plates of fried or scrambled eggs, country home-cured ham, bacon, fried potatoes (sometimes but rarely, waffles, hot cakes, biscuits). Toast was rarely made, but there were always pies and cake to finish off the meal and all kinds of homemade jellies and fruits. I remember my father saying that his father said, "Use plenty of butter but not too much molasses, because we have to buy molasses!!"

Della T. Lutes wrote of her family's "Breakfast, Old Style" in a 1935 *Atlantic Monthly*. Said she:

My memories go back to a childhood in Southern Michigan fifty years ago [1887], when men worked from sun to sun, and women longer. . . .

My father came to the breaking of his night's fast after a preliminary hour's wrestling with chores, and he went from the table to a day's work in which fields had to be ploughed, seed sown, hay cut, grain reaped, corn husked. To men like him, breakfast meant meat and potatoes—the chief staples around which the meal revolved.*

⁵Laura Ingalls Wilder, *Farmer Boy* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1933), pp. 36-38.

A woman from York Springs described a similar early morning routine on the farm she and her husband worked from 1942 until 1959:

We had three children Our son helped outside in the morning before going to school For quite awhile breakfast was together when the barn chores were finished.

A variation on this apparently typical morning routine was explained by a retired school psychologist. Her maternal grandparents farmed near Gettysburg and they ate two breakfasts. The first one, which was eaten around 5:00 A.M., "before doing the barn work, milking the cows, watering horses, and feeding chickens and pigs," consisted of coffee, rolls, hot cereal, or freshly made cornmeal mush. The second meal eaten at 10:00 included fruit (not citrus but canned or dried other), eggs with bacon or ham or sausage and coffee. Pancakes with sausage, liver pudding and hominy grits, and fried cornmeal mush were other breakfast foods. Another Gettysburg informant wrote that "farmers had a second breakfast brought to them in the fields at mid-morning, usually fruit or berry pies and something to drink."

The reason for eating the large breakfast described by the above accounts was, of course, to supply the energy needed to do a full morning's physical work. This fact was mentioned by several informants. One man who lived in Kansas during the 1880's and 1890's wrote about his childhood in what he described as a "farm family and poor":

Breakfast was as important as any other meal. Father and older boys who worked hard would have eggs or a slice of meat in addition to what the children had. The younger children would have oatmeal, milk, bread and butter and maybe something from the garden. Hot cakes and molasses was occasionally served. . . .

Breakfast important because of hard work and long hours; served not later than 7:00 A.M.

This is corroborated by another informant:

When I was a child, our breakfasts were larger and heavier in calories. We would have hot breads with butter, honey, or jelly. Living on a farm, it was considered that one could not work well without a large breakfast.

We now come to a consideration of the specific foods eaten at these farm breakfasts. The information in the following chart was compiled from eighteen questionnaires which dealt with farm life and the published material of Della Lutes and Mrs. Wilder. In all, these sources supplied menus, usually several, for the morning meal eaten in twenty homes from 1868 until 1959. Most of the menus, though, came from the

*Della T. Lutes, "Breakfast, Old Style," *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1935, p. 347.

¹One man who grew up near Gettysburg mentioned that scrapple was also called "ponhaws." He added: "My mother made her own scrapple after that made during butchering was all used by cooking pudding (made by cooking ground pork scraps) with cornmeal."

first three decades or so of this century. The chart below lists most of the foods mentioned, including the number of times they were designated as a part of a family's breakfast.

<i>Cereal Foods</i>		<i>Protein Foods</i>	
hot cereal	14	eggs	11
bread	11	sausage	9
potatoes	11	fried ham	9
pancakes	9	bacon	8
fried mush	6	scrapple'	7
pie	6	salt mackerel	3
hominy grits	4	meat/liver pudding	2
buckwheat cakes	3	dried beef & gravy	1
fried bread		fried pork	1
(French toast)	3		
doughnuts	2		
dry cereal	2		
cake	1		
cookies	1		
waffles	1		

As evidenced by the chart, pork products, eggs, cooked cereals, bread, and potatoes formed the backbone of the country breakfast. Each meal usually included at least one protein food, often two or more. Sometimes two or more cereal products were served together. Cooked cereal appeared often with several protein foods and another cereal product, perhaps bread. Coffee, cocoa or hot chocolate, and milk were mentioned by nearly all the informants. The place of fruit on the breakfast menu is very interesting here. Only five families apparently served it with any regularity. All of these, though, were canned or dried fruits. No one seems to have eaten citrus fruits regularly as we do now. This was probably because these were more difficult to obtain than they are today.

A question about breakfast foods that were considered festive on my questionnaire yielded at least one unusual item. The egg played a major role in Easter Sunday breakfasts, in some cases. Four people mentioned this:

Our families never made a special day any different than any other except at Easter time my husband ate hard-boiled eggs.

At Easter I remember eating two eggs instead of one . . .

Nothing unusual or festive except that eggs for everybody was a must on Easter Sunday morning. East Sunday we ate eggs, fried, boiled, or hard cooked.

Also in answer to this question, I found that one family only had oranges at Christmas time. For another, homemade doughnuts were a special treat and for a third pancakes were usually only encountered on Sundays. This last restriction was not a common one, pancakes appeared often on other informants' weekday menus.

In reference to the manners accompanying breakfast, most of the replies about farmers' habits were similar. The mother and daughters prepared breakfast while the men did the chores outside. Breakfast was eaten in

the kitchen and everyone ate together. One man wrote that his mother believed in togetherness at breakfast so she only had to cook one meal. Another said that "yes!!" his parents considered it important for the family to be together for the morning meal. He added, "I remember once when one member didn't show up!!"

Another thing mentioned in most comments on rural life was that most of the foods eaten for breakfast as well as other meals were produced on the farm. For example, one man wrote:

Please note—the only food above mentioned that was purchased at a store were oatmeal and perhaps cornmeal. Everything else came from garden, cows, chicken house, and butchered hogs and steers—the meat being preserved in brine (salt) in barrels—true for all meals.

[circa 1900—1910, Kansas]

A woman who grew up near Coatesville, Pennsylvania, made a similar comment:

Also, none of our food was processed as it is today, everything we ate was fresh. We had our own chickens, pigs, cows, made our own butter, grew our own vegetables, killed our own meat, made our own bread.

This passage by a woman who lived on a farm near Gettysburg as a child sums up all that has been said so far rather well:

Breakfasts were different when I was a child. The meal was much larger than now because of the hard work on the farm. We all worked hard not only in the house and garden but at the barn and in the fields. I ate more as a child and wasn't allowed to skip breakfast. A typical breakfast was fresh or canned fruit . . . fried ham, shoulder, or sausage, fried potatoes, home baked bread and butter, fruit pie and coffee for the adults, milk for the children. Another breakfast (in the winter time) was scrapple and mush instead of fried potatoes and ham.

Almost all the foods we ate were home grown or prepared at home on the farm. Butter and milk from our herd of Guernsey cows. Wheat flour and cornmeal from grains we grew. Pork from the hogs we raised and butchered. Fruits were home canned for pies. Potatoes were grown on our farm.

Mother prepared breakfast until we girls were old enough to help. We ate in the big farm kitchen. Everyone ate at the same time because Mother didn't have time to prepare more than one breakfast.

Altogether, then, breakfast on the farm was a family gathering for the purpose of eating the large meal, usually of home produced foods, necessary to start the day's work with energy.

II

In contrast to the farmers' breakfast was the morning meal of the urban and suburban dwellers of the first four decades of this century. It was not so much the food that was different, for it generally varied from country fare more in quantity than in kind. It was

rather the attitudes about and the customs involved in eating breakfast that were in real contrast to the farmers' ways.

In her 1935 article on the "old style" breakfast, Della Lutes listed the foods which she considered to be the "standardized American breakfast:" orange juice, cereal, toast, and coffee.⁸ This is identical to the "basic breakfast pattern" of orange juice, cereal-and-milk, buttered toast, and coffee recommended by the Cereal Institute, Inc.⁹ The introduction of what we call "dry" or "cold" cereal, called "prepared cereal foods," circa 1906, had a great influence on the American breakfast. Cold cereal was never mentioned as a breakfast food in the sources quoted in the previous section, except on the much more recent farms and even then it usually was not the main dish. Farmers ate hot, cooked cereal, especially in winter, that would stick with them through the morning.

An article printed in 1906 in *The Independent*,¹⁰ a New York newspaper, listed three advantages to these new cereals: 1) they can be made to vary enough in form and flavor that "all tastes can be suited;" 2) the cardboard box they are packaged in is very convenient; and 3) none or very little preparation is required before they are eaten. The author was writing a trifle sarcastically, however, as this comment will show: "It is not so much that the new foods are better than the old as that people have been persuaded to eat them." And also, "now that these new forms of cereals have become deservedly popular it will do no harm to admit that they were mostly introduced under false pretenses." The only way the cereal companies could convince people to buy their product was to exaggerate its food value. The author does think these cereals make good breakfast foods, particularly if nothing else is eaten because then overeating would not be possible. His point is simply that these cereals are no better nutritionally than "the more or less indigestible and time-consuming products on which we used to feed."

Many people, however, continued to eat a breakfast quite similar to the hearty farm one. In a book entitled *The Up-to-Date Waitress*, Janet McKenzie Hill included a menu which she said "fairly represents an American breakfast" of 1927. It reads as follows:

	grapes		
cream of wheat	cream	sugar	
hamburg steak in cakes		baked potatoes	
cold bread		hot muffins	
butter		marmalade	
coffee		milk, hot and cold ¹¹	

⁸Lutes, p. 347.

⁹Gerald Carson, *Cornflake Crusade* (New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1957), p. 8.

¹⁰*The Independent*, "Breakfast Foods," December 27, 1906, pp. 1577-1578.

¹¹Janet McKenzie Hill, *The Up-to-Date Waitress* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1927), p. 37.

Another book for waitresses was published in 1917. It gave directions for the proper order in which to serve the breakfast foods: fruit first, then coffee, cereal (also passing rolls, toast or bread), eggs or "other such dishes," and last waffles or griddle cakes if they had been requested. In these menus, dry cereal could easily replace the more traditional cooked type. It did not replace the heartier dishes as the core of the breakfast, though.

A cookbook published by Sarah Field Splint in 1926 has breakfast menus in the back, fourteen each for spring-summer and autumn-winter. Fruit or fruit juice (usually the former), coffee or cocoa, and some sort of bread (toast, muffins, waffles or griddle cakes) were listed for every meal, summer and winter. Hot or cold cereal was included in almost every menu. Some form of protein, nearly always either eggs or bacon but occasionally sausage or lamb kidneys, was also listed for most meals. Following is a typical menu from each season.

Spring-Summer ¹²	Blueberries
	Hominy
	Shirred Eggs Bran Muffins
	Coffee Cocoa
Autumn-Winter ¹³	Stewed Prunes
	Wheatena Scrambled Eggs
	Toast Marmalade
	Coffee Cocoa

There were also those who never adopted the new ready-prepared cereals at all, or at least not on a regular basis. A number of these people turned up in those who answered my questionnaire. We also find among the urban and suburban group that individual virtually nonexistent among the farmers, the person who eats a very light breakfast or none at all.

So far in this section, we have looked only at what was published about breakfast from 1900 till 1940. Information about what certain families ate, obtained from the questionnaires, gives a picture of what the average family may have been eating for breakfast at this time. Below is a chart like the one on page five which lists the foods mentioned by twenty-three informants as regularly eaten breakfast foods.

<i>Protein Foods</i>		<i>Cereal Foods</i>	
eggs	16	cooked cereal	20
bacon	11	toast/bread	14
sausage	7	pancakes	5
ham	5	cold cereal	5
salt mackerel ¹⁴	5	waffles	3
scrapple	3	biscuits	3
creamed dry beef	3	homemade rolls,	
chops	3	coffeecakes	2

¹²Sarah Field Splint, *The Art of Cooking and Serving* (Cincinnati: Procter and Gamble, 1926), p. 222.

¹³Splint, p. 227.

¹⁴A retired schoolteacher now living in Gettysburg wrote this: "Sometimes in the winter months our Sunday breakfast was mackerel done with browned butter. This was bought by a tub or small bucketful—very salty and had to be soaked in water for at least 24 hours."

kippered herring	2	fried potatoes	2
creamed sweetbreads	2	French toast	1
stewed chicken	1	fried mush	1
cheese	1		
liver	1		

As mentioned above, these foods are not of themselves very different from those the farmers ate. Eggs and bacon are again at the top of the protein list and cooked cereal still leads its list. However, the great variety found in the farm menu is not present here. The information here was gathered from about five more families than was that on the first chart, but the variety in breads is not as great and a smaller percentage of the families are eating the more unusual meats. Dry cereal seems to have been an important item to only several of these families, though. Four of them served freshly squeezed orange juice often. Many of them served some type of fruit with breakfast, but it was not often a citrus. It is to be expected that these foods are similar to the farmers' foods discussed before because we are speaking of approximately the same time period. It must be remembered, however, that these figures are not based on a large enough percentage of the population to be truly representative. Nonetheless, some excerpts from the questionnaires, if not representative, are at least fairly enlightening.

One woman from Swarthmore wrote a description of her Lansdowne grandparents' circa 1912 breakfast.

They would eat stewed chicken, or creamed sweetbreads, often two hot breads, muffins/toast or hotcakes and toast. Creamed dried beef and waffles for Sunday. Stewed beef kidney, and eggs on the side. Eaten the breakfast room, prepared by the maid. Sometimes popovers.

Breakfasts of a Swarthmore family in the 1930's are described as follows:

In my childhood, weekday breakfasts were scrambled eggs, occasionally scrapple or creamed dried beef; often homemade biscuits. Usually weekends were more elaborate, with ham or sausage, and fresh fruit rather than juice. A festive breakfast was broiled kidneys, or steak with fried potatoes.

The meals described above contain certain items not commonly eaten for breakfast today. Children of today may find this meal eaten in Wisconsin circa 1933 more familiar except, perhaps, oatmeal in the summer.

When I was a boy my aunt and uncle . . . usually had bacon, eggs, toast, jam, oatmeal, juice (they made their own tomato juice: delicious), and coffee, in the kitchen; sometimes, especially in summer, there was dry cereal instead of oatmeal. . . . In summer oatmeal was often all we had for breakfast; or sometimes, if we got up early and worked hard, we had a second breakfast of eggs, bacon, and toast. Pancakes or blueberry pancakes . . . were frequently served

Asked to say whether or not their childhood breakfasts differed greatly from those they eat today, many informants replied that they did not. They often said that they drink more orange juice now than they used

to and dry cereal was sometimes mentioned as being more common today. One small town man wrote:

We seldom had juices when I was a child. Instead we ate prunes or other stewed fruit, probably peaches or apples. Our cereals were corn flakes, puffed wheat, shredded wheat, and "Grape Nuts." In winter we ate oatmeal or cream of wheat. There were no vitamin tablets then.

On the whole, these people felt that breakfast was about the same for them.

Others wrote that there have been definite changes in their morning meal. A Philadelphia woman wrote that when she was young in the 1920's, more breakfast foods were homemade.

We had cooked oatmeal, very often pancakes, fried ham, eggs, toast, etc. Mother prepared steak, chops, fried potatoes, and even fish for my Dad and Grandfather. Any child who had time and came down for breakfast could have this sort of a breakfast. Sundays—sausage and hot cakes.

This woman now serves cold cereal and some toaster products such as pop-ups to her family.

Another city woman, who felt that breakfast had changed, also expressed a dislike for this meal.

No breakfast does not differ. I think I tend to prepare breakfast for my family as it was given to me in my childhood. No my meals are not larger. I probably eat the same as I did as a child, I never liked to eat breakfast foods and I still don't. However, I still feel breakfast is important to my family regardless of my own eating habits.

In regard to the question of whether or not breakfasts were different on weekends during their youth, the answers were divided between two opposites. Most people said there was no real difference, except perhaps on Sundays and holidays when they had pancakes or scrambled eggs and sausage or other foods they did not have during the week. For those who regularly ate these foods, there was little or no change on holidays and weekends. Creamed sweetbreads and steak with fried potatoes were also mentioned as having been suitable for festive occasions.

Several people mentioned that weekend breakfasts were smaller than those during the week, either because they were hurrying off to church or because everyone did not get up at the same time. One such answer was:

My husband had the same breakfast weekdays and weekends—juice or grapefruit, toast, bacon and egg, milk. The children had juice, some type of bread or cereal, or eggs, bacon, or sausage. Weekends were about the same, though they weren't apt to be as hearty, as everyone would come down at different times and our cook couldn't be expected to cook a hot meal for everyone. Holidays, especially Christmas, were generally more hurried, as everyone had other interests.

This response was not as common as the other two—breakfast the same and breakfast larger.

One last point is the question of who fixed the breakfast and where it was eaten. Among the twenty-three

families used to compile the information for the second food chart, seventeen mothers prepared breakfast. In the other six, there was either a cook or a maid who cooked this meal. In all of these latter homes, breakfast was eaten in the dining room. Four of the families in which the mother cooked, ate in the dining room, while the other thirteen ate in the kitchen. This was predictable for, if your family had a maid to serve the meal, you obviously ate in a room apart from the kitchen. Whether or not the other families ate in the kitchen or the dining room was a matter of either preference or convenience.

In comparing the information presented above about farm families and "non-farm" families, there are a number of differences that set these breakfast habits apart. The greatest of these, though, would seem to be the time factor. Very few non-farm families got up before dark (around 5:00 A.M.). Breakfast between 7:00 and 9:00, depending on the occupation of the head of the family and of its other members, was much more common among them.

III

In these days of large machine-operated farms and mechanized factories, the percentage of the population engaged in hard physical activity to earn a livelihood is less than it was even thirty years ago. In the years since 1940, the American breakfast has suffered a definite loss in status. Not only do less people eat large breakfasts, but more and more people are eating what one 1902 journalist termed "two damns and a cup of coffee."¹⁵ "Time-conscious, weight-conscious Americans . . . have pulled the platter right out from under the traditional morning meal," wrote one man in 1958. Further on in his article, this man wrote that in earlier American society people did not "skimp" on meals and plumpness was a "symbol of prosperity."¹⁶ One seventy-seven year old woman wrote, in response to my questionnaire, that "breakfast was larger then (in her childhood) than it is today. I don't believe people considered that it was more important to eat a large breakfast. It just was the custom. I ate more because I was expected to."

A perusal of several cookbooks published in the 1940's and 50's shows two things. First, the concern with nutrition that had begun earlier in the century was now a major concern of family cookbook authors. Breakfast was stressed as an important meal in four of these books as these excerpts show:

It's smart to start your family out right in the morning.¹⁷

¹⁵*Living Age*, "The Breakfast State of Mind," June 7, 1902, p. 637.

¹⁶Edward Karpoff, "Breakfast — Most Neglected Meal," *Science Digest*, July, 1958, pp. 1, 2.

¹⁷*Better Homes and Gardens Cook Book* (Des Moines: Meredith Publishing Co., 1951), p. 1, Chapter 2.

Breakfast is an important meal for the child, and he should never be allowed to hurry off without it in the morning. It must be remembered that breakfast, even when the child declares that he is not hungry for it, must be depended on to supply at least one-quarter of the day's caloric requirement and of its vitamin and mineral values. If it is omitted, the dietary lack must be made up at the other meals, or nutrition will suffer.¹⁸

A good breakfast for a good start.¹⁹
Nobody—man, woman or child, active or sedentary—can afford to go without breakfast, or settle for a too skimpy one. Indeed, many doctors and nutrition experts feel that breakfast is *the* most important meal of the day. You've just arisen from your longest fast; the day's activities lie before you, with all their various calls upon your energies. You need a reserve supply of those energies; and breakfast will give them to you. Children will be more alert and attentive in school, workers will attack their jobs with more vigor, and weight-watchers will find it much easier to stick to their diets, if they start the day with a good breakfast.²⁰

Many cookbooks printed within the last thirty years have had menus included within them. It is thus possible to see what the experts advised American families to have for breakfast. Magazine articles since 1950 have often included menus also. The first edition of Betty Crocker's *Picture Cook Book* presents the most concise outline of this advice:²¹

For an adequate meal: fruit
cereal and milk
bread and butter

For complete or abundant meals: fruit
cereal and milk
egg or meat
bread and butter

This basic pattern is followed in the other three cookbooks of the period considered here, although it is varied a great deal. If bread is taken to include pancakes, waffles, rolls, etc.; fruit to mean fresh fruit or juice; cereal to mean either hot or cold cereal; and egg or meat to be any of a virtually endless number of dishes, then this outline is echoed not only in other cookbooks, but in the magazine articles of the 1950's and 60's as well.

Meta Given's *Modern Family Cookbook* contains breakfast, lunch, and dinner menus for the entire year. Used as the textbook in a cooking class for non-home economics majors at Hood College, Frederick, Maryland, in 1945, this book was probably widely used in homes of the 1940's. Seven patterns are used in the 366 breakfast menus. Each of these includes fruit (often citrus), coffee and milk, and some form of bread (toast, muffins, pancakes, etc.). Added to these

¹⁸Given, p. 231.

¹⁹*Betty Crocker's Picture Cook Book* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1950), p. 33.

²⁰*The General Foods Kitchens Cookbook* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1959), p. 75.

²¹*Betty Crocker's Picture Cook Book*, p. 33.

are different combinations of eggs, sausage, bacon, and cereal, as follows.²²

fruit, cereal, bread, coffee/milk.....	168 days
fruit, eggs, bread, coffee/milk.....	75 "
fruit, bread, coffee/milk.....	43 "
fruit, cereal, bacon/sausage, coffee/milk....	26 "
fruit, cereal, eggs, bacon/sausage, coffee/milk.....	25 "
fruit, bread, bacon/sausage, coffee/milk....	23 "
fruit, eggs, bacon, bread, coffee/milk.....	6 "

Obviously, cereal was considered to be a major breakfast food and possibly a source of protein by the person who made up these menus. It is possible that the cooked cereals such as whole wheat cereal and rolled oats mentioned in this book did furnish some protein as they were wholegrain products. The restriction of meat choice to bacon and sausage seems unusual to me, although the *Better Homes and Gardens Cookbook* put out at the same time similarly limited its five breakfast menus.

Magazine articles in the years between 1950 and 1970 reflect a continuing effort to interest the American public in eating a good breakfast. Menus and recipes were published in many women's magazines. These often had captions which contained advice on family breakfasts. One such article, called "Good Morning Breakfasts," published in *Parents' Magazine* in 1965, is a good example of this.²³ Its subtitle is "Menu suggestions and recipes for 30 balanced breakfasts for sleepyheads, clockwatchers, breakfast skippers, and those who love breakfast." The reader is told that "grown-ups need an adequate eye-opening breakfast just as much as school children." The caption above a menu including scrambled eggs in bologna cups suggests that some people don't like breakfast because it is dull. Bologna cups are advanced as sure to interest those uninterested in breakfast. Other sayings are: "Tomorrow is too late for children to make up for skipped breakfast . . . ;" and here is a menu that will "convince any sleepyhead" that it is worthwhile to get up earlier. In their efforts to come up with something to interest people at breakfast time, authors of articles such as this one seem to have made one great mistake. Almost all of their recipes require a little more time than pouring cereal and milk into a bowl. The response on my questionnaires indicates that people feel rushed during weekday breakfasts more frequently than they did in the past. None of my informants said they made anything fancy in the mornings, such as the recipes offered in many magazines.

In the family cookbooks published in the 1960's, there appears to be a trend away from lecturing the housewife on nutrition. It is mentioned only briefly if at all, even in second editions of cookbooks which

²²Given, *Modern Family Cookbook*, pp. 29-227.

²³Blanche M. Stover, "Good Morning Breakfasts," *Parents' Magazine*, September, 1965, pp. 74-77, 107.

had previously spent a number of pages explaining this.²⁴ In articles and books written specifically about breakfast, a more oblique approach is employed to convince the American mother of the importance of eating breakfast. The authors have recognized that a substantial breakfast of "fruit; bread or cereal; egg, meat, fish . . . ; and milk" which one 1959 cookbook calls the "ideal breakfast," is not agreeable to everyone. Greater variety in breakfast foods is even now being urged as nutritionists and food experts continue the battle to have us eat the morning meal.

An article of this nature from *Family Health* was reprinted in *Reader's Digest* just this month [December 1973]. Entitled "Eat a Breakfast that's Right for You," it begins by tearing down the myth of the "classic American breakfast of orange juice, cereal, eggs, bacon, and toast, all washed down with milk."²⁵ This is probably more than most people need for breakfast, the author says, and it is "not the right mix" of foods either. He continues, discussing each food in this "classic," then going on to say that "our three meals a day are not the universal rule, and the first meal of the day, in particular, is extremely variable. How well adults function with or without breakfast seems to be a matter of what they are used to."²⁶ In spite of this apparently radical approach to breakfast, the conclusion of the article shows the author to be a breakfast believer. Thus, he begins his last paragraph, "one last point in favor of breakfast"

In the January 1971 issue of *Sunset* is an article about "The Quiet Revolution at Breakfast time." Its emphasis is neatly summed up in what its author terms a "declaration of enlightenment": "I always hated breakfast until I realized I could eat the foods I like."²⁷ This looser policy, too, though, is an attempt to get Americans who aren't interested in traditional breakfast foods to eat something else.

Summing up these published concerns is this statement: "There can't be a man, woman or child in America today, who doesn't know how important it is to start the day with a reasonably satisfactory meal. Still, fewer and fewer people eat breakfast." But is this gloomy observation, pronounced in so many articles, really true?

Of the approximately fifty-five replies to my questionnaire that I have received, there were only three people who admitted to being confirmed breakfast skippers. The other fifty-two all eat and many seem to enjoy the morning meal. A few examples may hearten those concerned about the demise of the American breakfast.

²⁴*Betty Crocker's Cookbook* (New York: Golden Press, 1969).

²⁵Jean Mayer, "Eat a Breakfast That's Right for You," *Reader's Digest*, December, 1973, p. 189.

²⁶Mayer, p. 193.

²⁷"A Quiet Revolution at Breakfast Time," *Sunset*, January, 1971, p. 58.

A Philadelphia woman with five children wrote, Yes, we consider breakfast an important meal because of the nutritional value. Everyone does eat breakfast, although two of the children eat very little on weekdays. . . .

We all have juice or fruit, cereal or toast and hot chocolate, tea or coffee. Another menu would be juice, scrambled eggs, toast, milk or coffee or juice, toaster pop-ups, milk or coffee.

A Swarthmore woman with four children:

Yes, we consider breakfast important, because we need energy in the morning in school and work. Everyone eats breakfast regularly except me. I don't because of lack of time. I cook breakfast for everyone else, and they go to work. . . .

We eat eggs, bacon, sausage, scrapple, waffles, soup, hamburgers, Welsh rarebit (cheese sauce on toast); bacon, lettuce, and tomato sandwiches. Sunday breakfast is usually sausage and eggs, juice, toast, or biscuits, jam, coffee, tea, or milk. A weekday breakfast at least one day a week might be chicken gumbo soup, crackers and peanut butter, milk or tea. We do eat a larger meal on Saturday and Sunday, because everyone has more time. A special meal on holidays might include ham and eggs, danish pastry, or broiled lamb kidneys, or chicken livers wrapped in bacon, cranberry juice for Christmas, hominy grits, or fried potatoes, in addition to eggs.

A Gettysburg college professor:

Breakfast is an essential meal Everyone eats breakfast Usually breakfast consists of two boiled eggs, two slices of bacon, a slice of toast with jam, a glass of grapefruit juice, and a cup of coffee On weekends I usually eat less since I get up later and am less active before dinner

One city mother commented on breakfast for her youngsters.

I consider breakfast essential for growing children. Because children are on the most part extremely active and burn more energy than adults, they need a more balanced diet than adults I am the only one who doesn't eat breakfast. A good breakfast consists of meat, bread, eggs, and juice or milk. This seems a more wholesome breakfast than the cereals and commercially packaged goods offered in most stores.

I usually prepare eggs, bacon, grits, toast and juice. This is the most common breakfast in my home. . . .

The following chart contains material from fifty-one questionnaires from all of the areas, rural, suburban, and urban. I have divided the results between those families with children still at home and those without rather than between the three areas because the different locations did not have as much effect on the answers as the difference in age did.

Older informants (20 people)

<i>Protein Foods</i>		<i>Cereal Foods</i>	
eggs	9	cold cereal	14
bacon	3	toast	13
cottage cheese	1	cooked cereal	4
egg custard	1	doughnuts	2
jello	1	muffins	2

Informants with children at home (31 people)

<i>Protein Foods</i>		<i>Cereal Foods</i>	
eggs	24	cold cereal	21
bacon	14	toast	21
sausage	8	cooked cereal	9
scrapple	2	pancakes	6
ham	2	French toast	4
cottage cheese	2	waffles	3
		toaster products	2
		buns	2
		grits	1

The most important thing to note about this chart is the difference between it and the charts for breakfasts of earlier days. There is not nearly as much variety in foods here. The first three or four items in each list above are the same as those on the other charts, though. Breakfast meats today seem to be limited almost entirely to pork products, whereas before beef was eaten for breakfast more often. In their answers, people mentioned more frequently than in the earlier period that they felt rushed at breakfast time. Perhaps this accounts for the lack of variety at this meal. Most people eat breakfast in the kitchen as was true before and, an interesting fact, no one mentioned having a maid or cook although four people had had one earlier.

The three people I mentioned above who admitted to not often eating breakfast sent in three of the most interesting replies I received. They were from two brothers, ages twenty-four and twenty-three, and the twenty-four year old wife of the older brother. On a small number of other questionnaires despairing parents mentioned that some of their children did not eat breakfast although encouraged to do so. From personal experience, I know that a number of college students do not eat breakfast, but whether this is just a phase out of which they will pass or it is a permanent condition I do not know. However, the married brother, a college student living in Philadelphia with his wife, has written that "we don't consider breakfast essential or important because we seldom eat breakfast and, since nothing horrible happens, it can't be essential or important." His wife adds that breakfast is not important for her because she has "been able to live without it most of my 24 years." The other brother wrote something in his reply that may possibly account for his and his brother's lack of interest in breakfast. "A story":

For years in my childhood my brother and I had waffles and syrup on Sundays, and while we were eating my mother would tell my father all the things my brother and I did. He did not see us on the week because he was on nightwork. So on Sunday mornings my mom would tell my father all of this while we were eating, and it was sheer torment, because my father and mother would be yelling out loud. We could not enjoy our breakfast; this went on for years.

The married couple also made it plain that although

they could do without breakfast, the main reason they do not eat it every day is lack of time. They do eat a morning meal on the weekends.

These three appear, from my survey, to be the exception rather than the rule today. Although our breakfasts now are much smaller than they were in the first half of this century, this is largely the result of the negligible amount of physical labor most people engage in every day. The lack of variety in our breakfast menus is something that can be overcome. Although fresh and homemade foods are impractical for many people today, articles are now being written to encourage Americans to vary their fairly standard concept of breakfast foods. In any case, the response to my questionnaires has shown that breakfast is not the dying meal many people seem to think it. It is a very standardized meal in most homes, but the fact is it is still an important meal in most American homes.

QUESTIONNAIRE - BREAKFAST

To the informant:

This questionnaire is a part of the research for a paper I am writing for a course in the Folklore and Folklife Department at the University of Pennsylvania. My topic is the American breakfast, including what people eat for breakfast and the customs involved in preparing and serving it. I think there has been a change during the last 100 years in what and how Americans eat breakfast. For my paper, I would like to determine the truth of this, as well as what the actual changes have been. I am distributing these questionnaires in three areas in Pennsylvania, one urban, one suburban, and one rural, so that I can compare the changes that have taken place in these areas.

It would be helpful if you could use as much detail as possible in answering the questions. Please include your name and address so that I can contact you for further information if necessary. If you know of anyone who might have relevant information of interest, please include their names and addresses also, and I will contact them if possible. Please send your replies to me at the address below. Thank you very much for your help.

Pamela James
University of Pennsylvania
Folklore 550 - Dr. Don Yoder
October 1973
602 Manchester Avenue
Media, Pennsylvania 19063

YOUR HOME TODAY

1. Do you and your family consider breakfast an essential or an important meal? Why? Does everyone in your family eat breakfast? What do you think constitutes a good breakfast? Why?
2. What foods do you usually eat for breakfast? Describe two or more breakfast menus most common in your home. Do you eat differently during the week than you do on weekends? Is breakfast a larger meal on Saturday and/or Sunday mornings? Do you have a special meal on holidays?
3. Who prepares breakfast in your family? Do individuals prepare their own food? Does everyone eat the same thing for breakfast?
4. Where does your family eat breakfast? Does the whole family eat together? Is breakfast a "sociable" meal, are people talkative, irritable, etc.? Does any of this vary on weekends?

YOUR CHILDHOOD HOME

5. Did breakfast differ in your childhood home from those that you have in your own home? Was your meal then larger than it is today? If so, were large breakfasts considered important? Why? If you ate less as a child than you do now, explain the reasons for this.

6. How did the food served at breakfast in your childhood differ from what you eat today? Were there more homemade foods? Describe several typical breakfast menus. Did your family eat differently on weekend mornings? Describe any breakfast foods that may have been considered unusual or festive.
7. Who prepared breakfast in your home? Where did your family eat this meal? Did everyone eat together? Did your parents consider it important for the family to be together at breakfast?

YOUR GRANDPARENTS, ETC.

8. Do you remember any stories or incidents that would illustrate the breakfast customs that existed earlier in this century? Explain.
9. What was breakfast like in the homes of your grandparents, other relatives, or neighbors? Describe the foods served, where the meal was eaten, who prepared it, etc.
10. For each home you have discussed above, please list the following information:
Location — city and state
Rural, suburban, or urban area?
Occupation of the head of the household

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QUESTIONNAIRES

Distributed in Philadelphia, Swarthmore/Media, and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, October and November, 1973. Between 15 and 20 answers from each area. Copy included. See footnote #2.

Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 37:

GRANDPARENTS IN TRADITIONAL CULTURE

In her recent autobiography, *Blackberry Winter*, Margaret Mead has pointed up the importance of grandparents to the growing child. This questionnaire elicits information from our readers on the subject of grandparents in general and their role in the family. In doing so we hope to enlighten ourselves on the place which old age has had in our cultures in the past.

1. *Your Own Grandparents.* Describe your own grandparents, giving personal characteristics of personality and interests. In what ways were they different from your parents? Why do you remember them?

2. *Residence of Grandparents.* Where did your two sets of grandparents live? Did either of them live with your parents, in the same house or in an adjoining house on the same property, or nearby?

3. *The Generation Gap in the Family.* Some social scientists have pointed out the fact that children normally reject some of their parents' values. Was this true in any sense in your own family? Was there significant tension or disagreement between your parents and grandparents?

4. *The Grandparent as Teacher.* In most cases grandparents served the useful function of being guardians of tradition, which they taught in various ways to their young grandchildren. In peasant cultures this role was based on good reasons — the parents were often too busy with the sun-up to sun-down tasks of everyday living to "teach" their own children. We will appreciate your own memories of this teaching function of the grandparent in your own childhood. What sorts of things did you learn from your grandparents which you did not learn from your parents? Also were they more permissive with young children, i.e., did they allow children to do things, eat things, etc., which were forbidden at home?

5. *Attitudes to Old Age.* Today in our youth-oriented culture, old age is downgraded and where possible, camouflaged. In what ways was old age treated differently in the past? What value do you consider the former reverence for old age to have had?

6. *Age Differentiation.* In what ways did old people, grandparents, differentiate themselves from younger people? What elements of dress do you associate with your grandparents that were different from the dress of your parents? Were there older speech patterns which the grandparents continued which differed from the common speech of your own family?

7. *Work and Old Age.* What types of work did you associate with your grandparents? Did older persons "retire" in any sense such as people do today? Did your grandparents teach you any patterns of working, doing, making?

8. *The Grandparents' World.* What was the geographical extent of your grandparents' world? How far had they been away from home during their lives? Some of the men, for instance, in several 19th Century generations, participated in the Civil War. If this was the case with your grandfathers, what do you consider to have been the effect of this experience on their later lives? Also, how far back in time did your grandparents' consciousness of family history go? Did they ever, for example, tell you of things that happened to their grandparents, a five-generation span from you?

9. *Reminiscences of Grandparents.* Most grandparents tell "stories" in reminiscence or memorat form. If you remember any of your grandparents' favorite (and oft-repeated) reminiscences of their own past, please write them out carefully for us. Some were also specialists in ghost stories, witch stories, and other tales, many of which were localized by the teller. What types of stories did your grandparents specialize in telling?

10. *Songs, Jests, and Other Lore.* Grandparents are also remembered for songs they sang, jokes they (constantly) told, and other bits and pieces of traditional lore. We will be glad to have these written out for the archives.

Send your replies to:

Dr. Don Yoder
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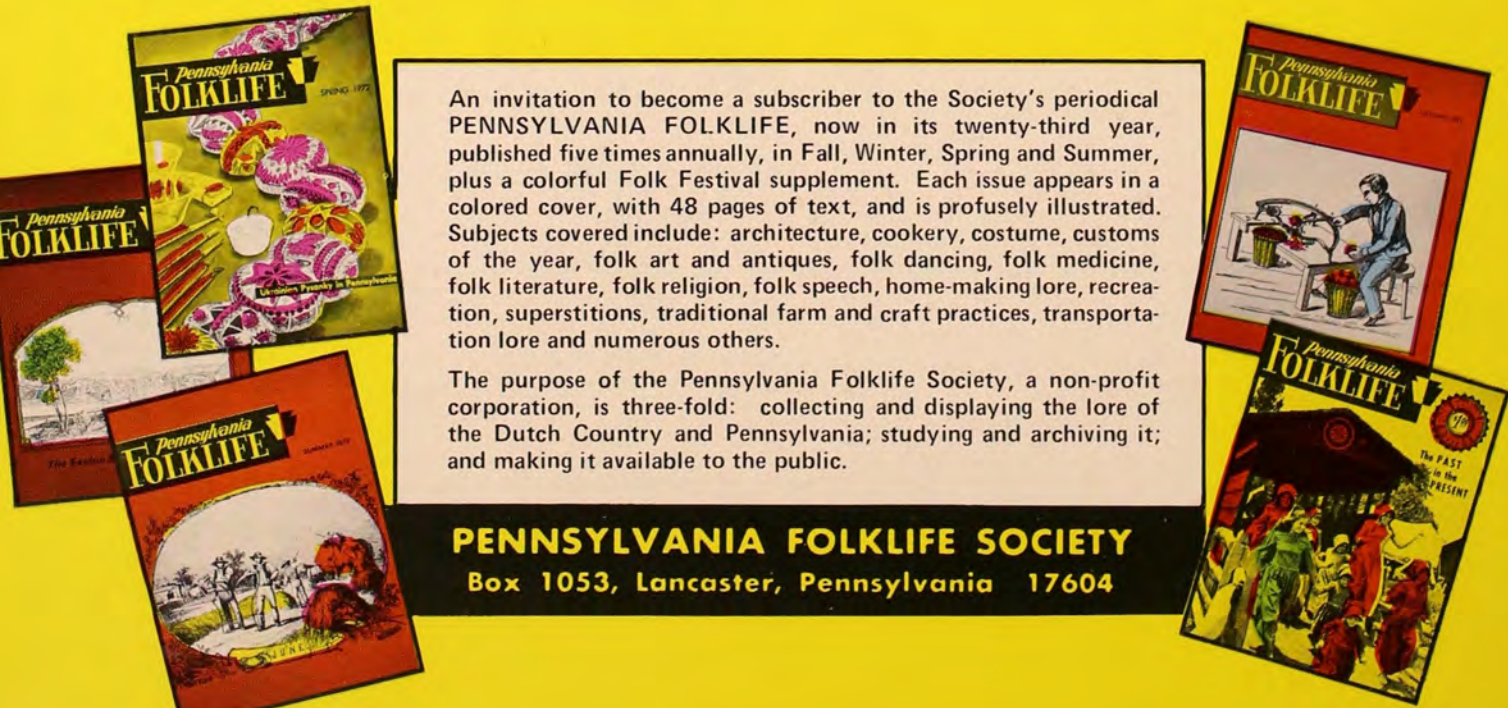
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JUNE 28, 29, 30 - JULY 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 1975

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The purpose of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, a non-profit corporation, is three-fold: collecting and displaying the lore of the Dutch Country and Pennsylvania; studying and archiving it; and making it available to the public.

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