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Pennsylvania **FOLKLIFE**



WINTER 1968-69



**The Swiss Bank House
In Pennsylvania**

Contributors to This Issue

ROBERT C. BUCHER, Schwenksville, R.D., Pennsylvania, whose long-time interest in Pennsylvania's colonial architecture and its restoration involves him in both Goschenhoppen Historians and Historic Schaefferstown, has contributed several major articles to *Pennsylvania Folklife*, on such varied subjects as Grain in the Attic, Red Tile Roofing, Irrigated Meadows, and the Continental Central-Chimney Log House. The last-named article has called forth Henry Glassie's article in this issue, while Robert Bucher's article on "The Swiss Bank House in Pennsylvania" breaks pioneer ground in identifying a widespread house-type in the Pennsylvania German Country.

HARRY H. HILLER, Hamilton, Ontario, is a graduate of the University of Alberta and is at present studying for the Ph.D. in Religious Studies at McMaster University in Hamilton. While at Princeton Theological Seminary in the Spring Semester of 1968 he prepared for Prof. John A. Hostetler's course in "Religious Communal Settlements in North America" a paper which we here publish involving psychological interpretation of the Sleeping Preacher Movement among the Amish.

HENRY GLASSIE, Dillsburg, Pennsylvania, is State Folklorist of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and Director of the Ethnic Culture Survey of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. He is editor of our sister journal, *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, and his book, *Pattern in Material Culture in the Eastern United States*, is scheduled for winter publication by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

DR. DONALD F. DURNBROUGH, Oak Brook, Illinois, teaches Church History at the Bethany Theological Seminary at Oak Brook in suburban Chicago. He received the Ph.D. in History from the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Durnbaugh is the author of two now standard source-books on Brethren history, *European Origins of the Brethren* (Elgin, Illinois, ©1958), and *The Brethren in Colonial America* (Elgin, Illinois, ©1967). At the present time he is working on a definitive history of the Church of the Brethren in the United States.

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COVER: *Swiss Bank House. Center: Vertical elevation showing basic features and topographical orientation of typical mid-18th Century Swiss Bank House in the Lebanon-Lancaster County areas of Pennsylvania. Note that main door enters upper (living) level, while secondary door enters kitchen on lower level. Sketch by Arthur Sullivan of Woxall, Pennsylvania. Upper Right: Schaeffer House, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, showing arched doorway to distilling area in basement. Lower Left: The Matz House, a more common later pattern for the Swiss Bank House.*



Riedt log bank-house built into a steep bank with upper and lower cooking areas and outside stone stairway connecting the two levels. Located near Stouchsburg, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania.



The Schaeffer house built by John Miley, circa 1736. Limestone construction with red tile roof originally, fits the Weinbauern tradition. Arched doorway on left leads to cooking fireplace, arched door in gable leads to distilling area behind fireplace.



The almonry at the Ephrata Cloister, also built by John Miley, circa 1738. Large arch cellar in the bank, outside stone stairway (Freitreppe) connecting main door on upper level to cellar door on lower level near gable end.



The almonry main entrance on upper level showing typical front door and stairway to attic located under overhang (porch).

The Swiss Bank House in Pennsylvania

By ROBERT C. BUCHER

How well I remember standing in the meadow of the Alexander Schaeffer farm in Schaefferstown in 1960 looking at the two wide arched doorways of the 1736 house built by John Miley, architect of the Ephrata Cloister buildings.

Clarence Kulp, Jr., Harry Stauffer, Samuel Heller and I were speculating as to the reason for the two wide doorways near the western corner of the cellar and Mr. Stauffer suggested that it was intended for use by the old one-horse cart. Some of us thought the width was required for moving large wooden barrels in the processing of distilled beverages.

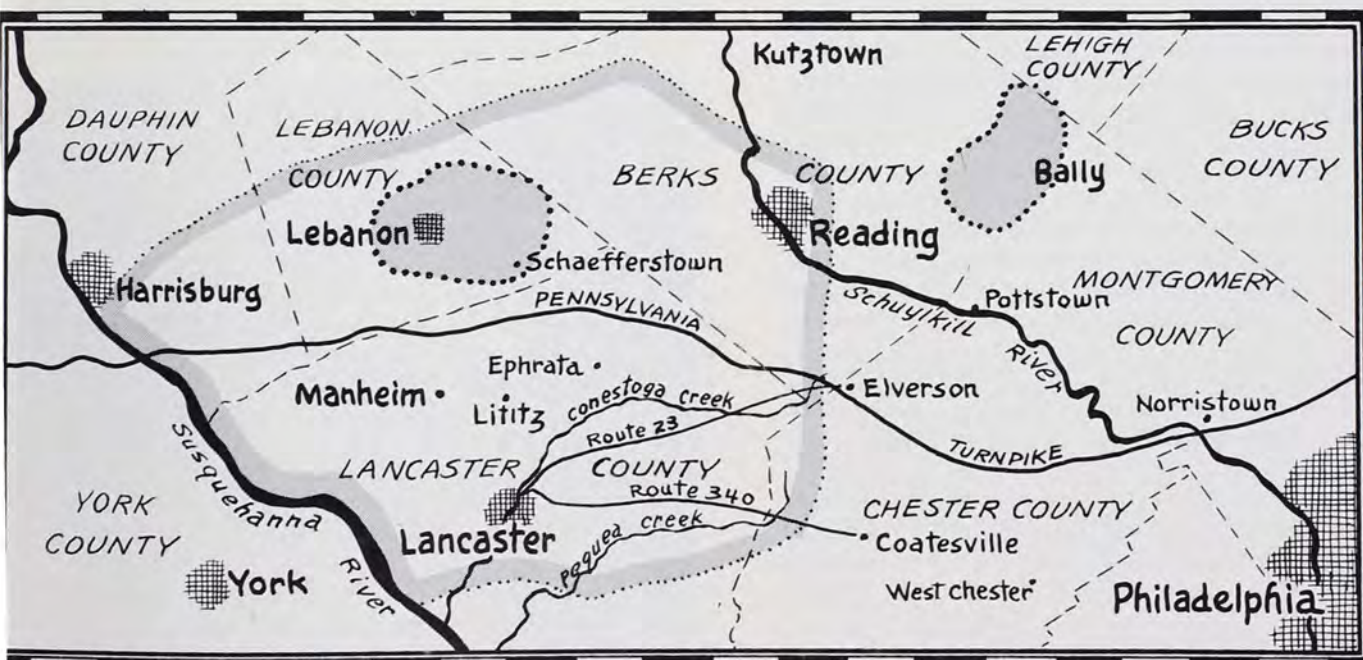
In eight years of week-end traveling to photograph our 18th Century houses and farmsteads in eastern and central Pennsylvania, Clarence and I had never seen a house like this one. Harry Stauffer and Mr. Heller began their photography before 1920 and could offer no positive explanation for this unusual and very interesting structure.

We all agreed on one thing—it was a bank house and was built with its gable end in the bank. This was the beginning of the study of our Pennsylvania bank houses, which has led to the more definitive term "Swiss bank

house" and to the reason for writing this article on the subject.

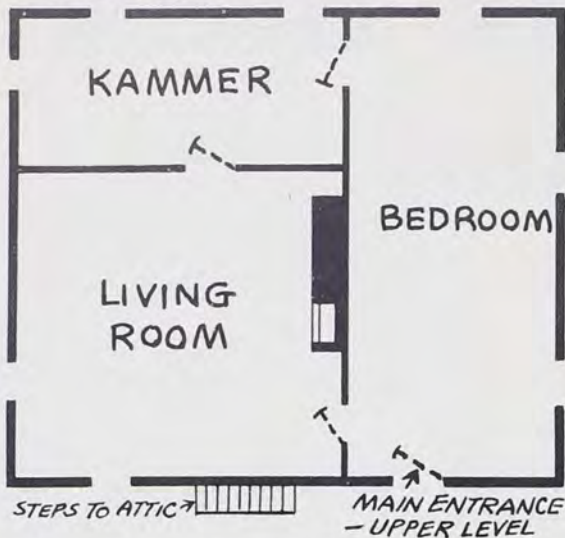
In this article I want to tell how the bank house was identified, how its function and cultural background were revealed, where it is located geographically and what we know of the folk-culture associated with it. The best known houses will be described and others will be referred to as worthy of study.

This work is intended as a description of the Swiss bank house in general, with a mention of the Swiss *Weinbauern* house in particular. It is hoped that it will lay the foundation for a definitive study of this European house-type and will result in future articles covering the Swiss *Weinbauern* house in America and covering Swiss bank houses as a group. It is our hope that folk-cultural studies now active in the Shenandoah Valley, in the Mid-West, in other parts of the United States and in Canada, will be assisted in identifying the Pennsylvania Dutch culture as it spread from Southern Pennsylvania, and will be stimulated to report the spread of the culture and its typical buildings in a more accurate and authentic manner.



Map of concentrated areas of Swiss settlement in eastern Pennsylvania. Two distinct areas of Swiss settlement are shown on the map above. The small eastern area centers around the village of Bally where the New Goschenhoppen Mennonite people settled along with a small number of Pennsylvania Dutch Catholics. The large area runs from Reading west to the Susquehanna River. The heavy concentration around Lebanon is encircled for emphasis. Other heavy concentrations were the Conestoga area along Route 23 west of Elverson, the Pequea group south along Route 340 and the area around Manheim. These above areas are the only ones included in this study, with western Pennsylvania, Canada and other parts of the United States still to be studied.

SCHAEFFER HOUSE



Floor plan of Schaeffer Swiss Weinbauern Bank House. Main floor on upper living level shows front door, two bedrooms and living room with fireplace. Fireplace in center, wide gable to provide room in cellar for distilling process (Arbeitsraum). Room arrangement slightly different from Ley and Spangler Houses but function is the same.



Upper level of Schaeffer House. Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. Front door is in traditional location. Solid stone wall area under two side windows marks location of large arched cellar inside.

We give credit to the following persons for assistance in identifying the Swiss bank house and in preparation of this article—to Professor Richard Weiss, late of the University of Zurich, for his fine book, *Häuser und Landschaften der Schweiz*,¹ which helped us identify many previously unidentified buildings in Pennsylvania and especially to reveal the Alexander Schaeffer house as a true Swiss Weinbauern house; to Dr. Don Yoder for bringing Prof. Weiss' book to our attention and encouraging the publishing of this article; to Dr. Alfred L. Shoemaker for stimulating interest in folk-architecture; to Clarence Kulp, Jr., for suggestions in preparing this article and, to our knowledge, being the first person in recent years to use the term "Swiss Bank House"; to Professor Marion Dexter Learned, University of Pennsylvania, for describing the Swiss barn and houses during his lectures of 1913 and 1914;² to Professor

¹ The book referred to, Richard Weiss, *Häuser und Landschaften der Schweiz* (Erlenbach-Zürich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1959), is at present being translated at the University of Pennsylvania for an American edition to appear next year. It provides one of the best available analyses of *Hausforschung* theory along with detailed descriptions of Swiss regional architecture, which lies in the transition zone between Mediterranean and Northern Europe.—EDITOR.

² In connection with his American Ethnographical Survey of 1902, the first such project undertaken in the United States, Dr. Learned describes a distiller's stone-and-log house in Providence Township, Lancaster County, which from its description may have been of the Swiss bank type: "The lower part is constructed of stone and was for a long time used as a still by Peter Müller. In this still were distilled whiskey from the corn and rye of the farm. In addition to whiskey, other products were distilled, such as apple jack from apples, peach brandy from peaches, cherry bounce from cherries, oil of sassafras from the sassafras root, oil of peppermint from the peppermint plant, oil of pennyroyal from the pennyroyal plant" (M. D. Learned and C. F. Brede, editors, "An Old German Midwife's Record," in Marion Dexter Learned, *The American Ethnographical Survey: Conestoga Expedition 1902* (American Germanica Monographs, University of Pennsylvania, 1911), p. 25. Several articles on this pioneer folklife survey done in the United States will appear in *Pennsylvania Folklife* in Volume XIX.—EDITOR.

T. J. Wertenbaker, late of Princeton University, for his explanation of the Swiss bank buildings and their possible meaning in America; and to Harry Stauffer and Arthur Sullivan for encouraging interest in Pennsylvania's Colonial buildings.

The Swiss Bank Barn and Bank House

Although the Swiss bank house has received little mention in American literature, the large bank barns of Pennsylvania were described in glowing terms by a number of wealthy European travelers through Pennsylvania between 1750 and 1790. They described the barns as being as large as castles, while the log houses of these same Pennsylvania Dutch were called huts by comparison.

The large bank barns, with their unsupported forebay, became known as "Swiss barns" rather early and must have received this designation from the fact that their builders emigrated from Switzerland. Certainly, we can testify that this cantilever-type structure is found only in those areas of early settlement occupied by the Swiss people.

I do not recall ever having seen a Swiss barn with its gable-end built into the bank (the high elevation on a slope), but the Swiss bank house is always or almost always so constructed. The front door to the living area, on the high level, is approached at ground level, and is obviously the main and the formal entrance. The doorway to the cellar is usually near the opposite gable end and enters the cooking, processing and cold storage areas at the lower level. Connecting these two doorways is a set of stone stairs which provides access from the processing or work area at the lower level to the living, sleeping and storage areas on the upper floor and in the garret. Initially we believed there were no stairs from cellar to living areas above but there is some evidence to the contrary. Our present opinion is that the outside stone stairway was used in going from the

lower cooking area to the bedrooms above, but that a small stairway was used to enter the cellar area, always leading to the little hallway or room in front of the large arched wine cellar. This provided easy access from the upper level to procure beverages, fruit or cheese stored in the cool vault below.

Before Professor Richard Weiss' book was known to us we recognized the basic plan of this house because there were so many good examples left in the Schaefferstown and Myerstown areas of Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. In the cellar we find the cooking kitchen on the gable wall out of the bank, and the large arched wine cellar at the opposite end, in the bank where mother earth provides the water and low temperature for good storage of foods. In between the two gables are areas for storage and processing of foods like dairy products and beverages. On the upper main floor we have a living area (*Stube*) and two bedrooms, one usually larger than the other. The living area has a small fireplace for heating purposes, probably not for cooking. The two houses on Tulpehocken Manor, near Myerstown, have a small hall (*die Gang*) inside the front door with a stairway leading to the garret from this hallway. The almonry at Ephrata and the Schaeffer house in Schaefferstown had a stairway leading to the garret which was located under the wide overhang protecting the front door and upper gable wall. The garret provided additional room for sleeping or storage of various household articles and foods.

By the time Professor Weiss' treatise came to our attention, in late 1964 or early 1965, Mr. Kulp and I had already known and applied the two main criteria found useful in explaining the cultural background of our varied Pennsylvania buildings; first is function and second is the folk-cultural emphasis coupled with a broad knowledge of the characteristics of the farmsteads of the various settlers in our State.



Gehman House, eastern Berks County, near Seisholtzville. Large stone and log bank house with upper and lower fireplaces on lower gable. Outside stone stairs still connect the two levels. There are several bank houses on the farmstead of this Swiss family. The stone patio with arched doors is not a part of the original house.

Having used these criteria for eleven or more years and covering much of the eastern Pennsylvania region, the typical two and one-half story, central fireplace Germanic house from the Rhine Valley was well known to us, the long, low one and one-half story house of the Low Dutch countries and the T-shaped, gable-fireplace house with kitchen of stone in the rear were all very familiar.

It was during these years from 1960 to 1964 that we became aware of one house-type which we could not identify. It had gable fireplaces, like the English houses of Pennsylvania, and was usually found built into a slope. Its fireplaces were small and the house was low, with little living area above ground level. The spirit of this house was different, and for a long while we simply said, "It must be English". Little did we know that there were at least five distinct cultures in Switzerland, each with identifiable characteristics.

After frequent discussions on this matter including an analysis of my own large two and one-half story stone bank house built circa 1770 by Christian Holdeman, Jr., who was Swiss, and considering that this house has gable fireplaces and interior partitions just like the Germanic houses, we came to the conclusion that these houses are Swiss and Mr. Kulp first put it into words saying, "I believe these houses are Swiss but I don't know what culture produced them".

Our conventional Rhine Valley Germanic house and our standard American house has been the 2½-story building, with four areas—cellar for storage, first floor for living, second floor for sleeping, and garret for storage. The Swiss bank house is different, its overall plan tending to encompass more living functions under one roof and thereby occupying less ground space, possibly to provide maximum room for growing crops.

The processing or work area is in the cellar, along with the wine and root cellar storage areas. The living area includes both cellar and main floor upstairs—it is a house with living areas on two levels. The living function of cooking is carried out in the cellar, in contrast to the conventional house where this is done on the first floor living area.

The outside stone steps (*Freitreppe*) leading from the cellar door to the upper level door are a real, firm indicator of this type of structure—all of our important houses described in this article were originally so equipped. The upper living and sleeping area is singular and different in that it is free from the normal activities of the cooking function. Thus it is an area comparatively free from smoke and the storage of many articles associated with cooking and baking. This makes it more orderly and quieter than the normal first floor house area.

Because of its low roof-line the Swiss bank house has the "feel" of many of the American cabins of stone or log, the upper level and attic comparing in appearance and function to the 1½-story buildings so common in many parts of the hill country.

The Swiss Weinbauern House

In the Schaefferstown area of Lebanon County there was an unusual concentration of Swiss people who followed the distilling tradition, producing mostly applejack and rye whiskey of fine quality.

This limestone soil is watered with the finest spring water and produces beverages recognized as superior from Colonial times. This culture, which we believe to be properly described as Swiss *Weinbauern* culture, has been



Cooking fireplace at west end of lower gable of Ley House. Not visible is the large trough carrying fresh spring water to cool the milk, butter and other foods.



Outside stone stairway from upper level of Ley House. Inside the archway are found the ground cellar (left) and the large cooking fireplace on the right. The spring provides water in all three cellar areas.

identified by observing the unusual house structure and later comparing these buildings to the Swiss *Weinbauern* houses described in Professor Weiss' book. In making this comparison we have found the cellar floor areas to be laid out precisely as described by the late Professor Weiss.

These durable stone houses with their red clay tile roofs, less steep in pitch than many continental roofs, are originally of Roman origin, a cultural remnant of the wealthy Roman wine-producers who moved north into Switzerland where their 2,000-year-old tradition continues into our modern day.

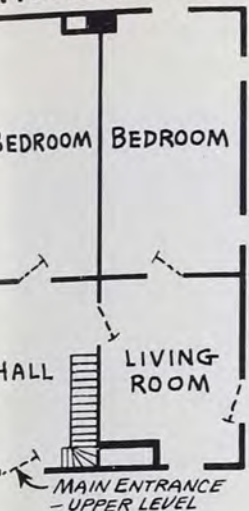


Ley House on Tulpehocken Manor, Myerstown, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. Very similar in appearance to Schaeffer House and almonry, but with unusual arched entry way through entire width of building. Entering archway the door to the root cellar is to the left, in the bank, and the door to the large cooking kitchen fireplace is to the right, out of the bank. Large spring discharges through the root cellar and kitchen along far wall. Outside stone stairway leads from arched area to front door on upper level. Red sandstone quoins mark addition of full second story, circa 1850.

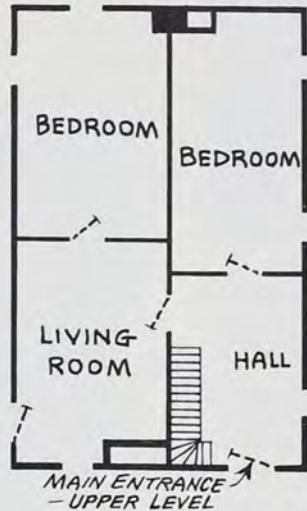
The Alexander Schaeffer House, built in 1736, is the only house of this kind we have ever heard of that had two pot stills in the cellar. This house has a large arched central fireplace which had two stills attached at the rear, with openings in the front to fire the stills and to control the draft around them. The two large arched doors provide access for the transporting of cider barrels to the cellar working area (*Arbeitsraum*) and fermenting area. A large door near the arched wine cellar in the rear provided space for the loading of containers of finished beverages. Water was conducted through the cellar from a ditch in the meadow above the house. The two coils from the stills were housed in large wooden tubs which received this water continually to provide the cooling required for the distilling of whiskey or applejack.

Schaefferstown may have been the cradle of the distilling industry in America and was an important inland town in the 18th Century. It had eleven taverns in 1790 and a prosperous trade with Philadelphia. I would like to mention here that we collected the Pennsylvania Dutch term for the first distillate from fermented applejack from the Webers near New Tripoli and from someone in the Schaefferstown area. It was called "*die Leitering*," and this crude product was served to the workers and hired help, while the owner and his guests consumed the pure re-distilled applejack. One company still produces pure pot-still whiskey in Schaefferstown.

PANGLER HOUSE



LEY (LEI) HOUSE



Floor plan of Ley and Spangler Houses on Tulpehocken Manor, Myerstown, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. Main floor on upper level showing front door, hall, living room and two bedrooms. Fireplace located on gable ends with bedrooms over the large cooking kitchen fireplace below.



Spangler House with unaltered gable end and pent-eaves over original front door (left). This photograph is best portrayal of original gable end on upper level, out of the bank.



Spangler House, almost a copy of the Ley House, located 300 feet from the Ley House and built into the same steep bank along the Tulpehocken Creek. Sketches of floor plan show similarity of the Spangler and Ley Houses, except for main doorway and rooms oriented to the east in the Spangler House and to the west in the Ley House. Outside stone stairway from arch to upper level is still in use.

The Swiss Bank Houses of the Lebanon-Lancaster Area

The great concentration of the Swiss settlers came into Lancaster and Lebanon Counties in the early and middle 18th Century, forming some settlements of almost solid Swiss population. One such area was around Myerstown and Schaefferstown, with many others extending South and well into what is now Lancaster County.

It is in the Schaefferstown area that the most distinctive, most European and possibly the most uniform type of bank house is found, and particularly noteworthy is the generous use of the arch in these buildings. The cellar arrangement of cooking fire place at the gable end outside the bank and of large arched wine cellar at the opposite end is quite standard for these buildings.

We will now describe briefly each of the five bank houses in this area:—

The Alexander Schaeffer House is probably the earliest, and is the most distinctive of these buildings. Built by John Miley in 1736, it embodies the same spirit as the almonry on the Ephrata Cloister grounds. John Miley became the architect of the Ephrata Cloister buildings after selling this house to Durst Thommen of Basel in 1736. Thus both the Schaeffer House and the Almonry are believed to have been built by Miley.

Both buildings had over-hanging gables on the upper level as shown on the photograph of the restored almonry, both had stairs to the garret under this overhang and both had outside stone stairs (*Freitreppe*). In 1771 we believe Captain Henry Schaeffer added the newer section to the Schaeffer House, containing a large 12-foot fireplace and bake-oven still is the newer kitchen.

The Schaeffer House is distinctively *Weinbauern* in function, while the almonry was built as a very special community baking establishment; thus they are very different, but—of the same spirit or culture. The wide variation in the building dimension and window opening size are testimony to their difference, while the eye of the scholar needs only a glance to see that their lines speak of the same spirit.

Although different in dimensions and room layout, the almonry and Schaeffer House certainly had red tile roofs originally and were almost identical in their upper level overhang and outside stairs to the garret; in their arched cellars in the bank; in their stone stairways leading to the wide cellar doorways at the lower level and in their roof and building lines.

The two unusual houses on Tulpehocken Manor just west of Myerstown may or may not have been built by John Miley, a matter which should be studied to reach a conclusion. These two houses are extremely interesting because



Ulrich Beitler House near Berk-Montgomery County line, fifty miles east of the Lebanon County houses. Typical stone construction with gable fireplaces. Large arch cellar in the bank (right side) with doorway near gable at lower level leading to large cooking kitchen fireplace. Spring water flows through trough along rear wall of house from upper level on right to lower level and trout pool on left, just below the house (left). Note similarity of fenestration and doorways in Beitler and Spangler Houses.



Looking into arched cellar of Beitler House. Trough at rear of this room carries spring water for cooling milk and other food.

of the large 7-foot archways separating kitchen and root cellar on the lower level. They are very similar in all respects, varying only in width across the gable, the Ley house being 25 feet, 2 inches wide, while the slightly smaller Spangler house is 24 feet wide.

The kitchen and cellar areas are almost original in these two houses, are almost alike in design and a real joy to see. The "Freitreppe" lead from the upper level to the large archway under the house—there one finds the kitchen on the right and the root cellar on the left in the bank. A large spring flows through the entire area providing water for drinking and cooking, and for storage of food products. Entering the kitchen area one finds a fine old brick floor in front of the large 10-foot fireplace and at the far end a two-foot-wide stone-lined trough carrying cold water through the room. Everything is convenient, water, cooking facilities and food storage areas all are within a distance of four or five steps.

On the higher level main floor there is a five-foot fireplace in the living room area (*Stube*) on the gable opposite the kitchen flue. Inside the front door is a small hallway. Aside of the living room and behind are two or three bedrooms, as can be seen on the floor plans of these buildings.

Near Stouchsburg is located the old Reed homestead with its circa-1745 stone Germanic house and the old Reed (Riedt) log bank house. This fine log house has a cooking fireplace upstairs and another downstairs out of the bank. It has the usual stone stairs connecting the upper and lower levels, but like most of the original log houses, does not have an arch-cellar in the bank.

This house has a central fireplace, like the Rhine Valley houses, but we believe it belongs in this article as a definite Swiss bank house allied closely with the other stone and stone and log buildings. However, it is different in architecture, in spirit and, to some extent, in cultural origin.

The Swiss Houses of Eastern Berks County

In the Butter Valley (*Butterthal*) near Bally, where Berks, Montgomery and Lehigh Counties meet, is a Swiss settlement almost as distinctive as those of Lebanon-Lancaster. Here the Swiss settled after moving north beyond the earlier settlements of the Holland Dutch Mennonites and Krefelders in lower and central Montgomery County, and into the area of the early Catholic settlement at Bally, where both groups got along famously.

The stone of this area is a medium brown color and very attractive, but quite different in appearance from the rich gray-white of the Lebanon limestone. Color and style of the houses are slightly different in the two areas but function and layout are identical.

For a number of years after knowing the Swiss houses of Lebanon-Lancaster it was believed there were no such Swiss buildings in the Upper Montgomery County area, nor in any other areas in eastern Pennsylvania. During these years Mr. Kulp and I looked for these houses during our travels and found none until one day I found the Ulrich Beitler house, one mile East of Bally.

This bank house is almost original, even to the traditional red paint on the outside doors and on the interior woodwork. It is such a perfect duplication of the Lebanon houses, in function and room arrangement, that I would

say it shows that this pattern of building was well established as a distinct house type in Switzerland before 1730, and logically covered a wide range of cultures and geographic areas in that country.

As illustrated in the diagrams of the Beitler and Ley cellars, the layout of these buildings is the same and follows a rather rigid pattern. As one enters the wide cellar doorway near the corner of the house out of the bank we find the large arch-cellar built into the bank, with a wide doorway providing entrance through a solid stone wall partition which separates the arch-cellar from the remainder of the cellar. Opposite is the fireplace (*Feierherd*), built into a corner inside the lower gable, which occupies about sixty percent of that gable wall area. Between the arch-cellar at one end and the cooking fireplace at the other, is a large open area for working or processing of foods (*Arbeitsraum*).

Spring water flows through the cellar in a channel or built-in stone trough about two feet wide and equally deep. It enters through the upper level arch-cellar, flows along the wall opposite the main cellar door and leaves through a hole in the wall at the lower level alongside the fireplace. The water flows from the spring above the house and empties into the trout pool, with its water-cress bed, just below the house.

As described in the Fisher family wills, near the New Goschenhoppen Church, this house may have been considered to have an "upper" and "lower" kitchen. The upper fireplace is smaller than the cellar cooking fireplace but large enough to be used for some cooking on the upper level. This is a cultural practice that needs further study and relating to family structure and growth.

The Gehman house is located near Seisholzville on a Swiss farmstead that has two of these traditional bank-houses, one of stone and one of stone and log construction. The early homestead is a unique and attractive structure

with most original features intact. The cellar and first floor are stone and the second story of log, with a high garret making is a very tall house in contrast to the low, rectangular houses listed above. It has the usual cellar cooking fireplace in the proper location, a full cellar with a fairly large fireplace above in the same flue as the cellar fireplace. This may also be considered as representing an "upper" and "lower" cooking fireplace.

The Oley Valley Swiss Bank Houses

Shown on one of this photographs is the Bieber house located in the Swiss part of the western area of the Oley Valley. This house is quite unusual for our country and may be of French Swiss origin. It has the fireplace and arch cellar and other characteristics of these buildings, with well defined "*Freitreppe*" or outside stairs to the upper living area. The stone construction, tile roof and rectangular lay-out are very characteristic of the Swiss bank houses.

We have not determined the cultural background that produced this type of house and have theorized that it may be classified as a "*Wohnspeicher*".

Another house almost identical to the Bieber house is located near the well-known DeBenville house about two miles South of the Bieber house. There are probably a number of other worthy houses in the rich Oley Valley that compare to the style described in this article.

Other Swiss Bank Houses

One mile west of the Routes 501 and 422 intersection at Myerstown and lying north of Route 422 is an interesting, large stone bank house with the upper level arched area opening located in the front wall of the house, and entered directly from outside at ground level.

This house is longer than most others of its type and is different in its cellar plan only in that the three traditional areas are separated by partitions, which defines the

Knabb-Bieber House, Oley Valley, Berks County, Pennsylvania. Bank house type, with cooking fireplace, arch cellar and spring in lower level. "Freitreppe," the outside stone stairway to upper level located on left in photograph. Upper level has living and sleeping areas. Tile roof is traditional.



Matz Farmstead, western Berks County, Pennsylvania. Numerous and widespread type of Swiss bank house with a uniform architectural pattern dating from about 1770. A 2½ story house with gable fireplaces, but no fireplaces or arched cellars in the cellar area and no outside stairs. Cooking fireplace is on upper gable of first floor and bedroom fireplace on second floor on lower gable end, thus both fireplaces are raised one story and switched to the opposite gable. Fenced garden, grapes and fruit trees are in traditional locations. Door on left is not original.

center work or processing area (*Arbeitsraum*) as a distinct and separate area in the center between cooking and arch-cellar areas.

One still unknown cultural and functional area of this house, and several others in the Schaefferstown area, is the second story area marked by a wide doorway without steps leading to it and without evidence it was ever used by people to enter the second story. The doorway, about 5 feet from the ground, has a large stone sill, like those in many of our mills, and we can now only speculate that grain was stored in this particular section of the house.

The Matz House—Most Numerous Type in America

Rectangular in outline, 2½-story in height, usually of stone construction and located over a broad area of Pennsylvania and other states is the rather conventional looking Swiss bank house, such as the Matz house, pictured on one of the photographs and located along Route 222 between Reading and Ephrata.

This house has a front porch along its entire front, with the cellar door under the porch at the lower level at which point the porch floor is rather high above ground.

The main door usually enters the kitchen near the upper gable end on the upper level and the root or ground cellar is often located under the front porch. This style of house is remarkably uniform in floor plan over a wide area of Montgomery County and in other counties. It is a product, no doubt, of a different Swiss culture, but one of wide distribution.

It has no cooking fireplace and no arch-cellar in the cellar area and usually no partitioned areas here. In some cases small rooms indicate special storage areas, possibly related to the Swiss cheese-making tradition.



*The Primitive Huntsperger House—
St. Clemens, Ontario, Canada*

During a brief visit with the Gingrich family near St. Jacobs in Ontario during 1963, I asked whether there were any houses with attached barns in Canada and our hosts suggested the Huntsperger home near St. Clemens.

We stopped at this place on our return to Pennsylvania and found a most interesting half-timber bank house with an attached frame bank barn. House and barn were almost original, with every original function still available for study.

The cooking fireplace in the cellar is in the center of the room, which area is entered from outside on the lower level. The main floor is like the similar area in the Pennsylvania bank houses (Schaeffer, Ley, etc.) and the garret area also is similar. Somehow we soon had the feeling

BASIC DIMENSIONS OF SWISS BANK HOUSES

	Length	Width (Gable)	Height*	Upper Level Windows		Archway	
				Width	Height	Width	Height
THE ALMONRY	32 ft.	19 ft.-3 in.	18 ft.	30 in.	45 in.		
SCHAEFFER HOUSE	27 ft.-3 in.	31 ft.-5 in.	20 ft.-2 in.	39 in.	67 in.		
LEY HOUSE	40 ft.-4 in.	25 ft.-2 in.	17 ft.-7 in.	37 in.	68 in.	7 ft.	7 ft.
SPANGLER HOUSE	40 ft.-2 in.	24 ft.	17 ft.-4 in.	38½ in.	66 in.	6 ft.	7 ft.
RIEDT HOUSE	23 ft.-7 in.	17 ft.-6 in.	17 ft.-8 in.	27 in.	34 in.		
BEITLER HOUSE	30 ft.-2 in.	20 ft.-2 in.	14 ft.-9 in.	35 in.	50 in.		
GEHMAN HOUSE	35 ft.-3 in.	27 ft.-3 in.					
MATZ HOUSE	36 ft.	24 ft.					

*Height is measured from ground level to the square—on lower level



Huntsperger House-Barn Unit, St. Clemens, Ontario, Canada, a combination half-timber house with frame bank barn, built into the bank and facing South. Central fireplace with cooking area in the cellar, carries much of the spirit of the Schaeffer House in Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania. Not visible on the photograph is the front barn foundation wall of 10-inch diameter trees dug into the ground, and forming a vertical, closely fitting wall. Known as "Ständerbau" in Europe, this primitive construction is similar to the outside barricades of our early forts in America.

that this house was more like the Alexander Schaeffer *Weinbauern* house than any other building we had ever seen in either the United States or Canada.

But it was the barn that may be most noteworthy and should be reported here. At first glance what appeared to be an ordinary frame bank barn was a building with unusual primitive features. The cattle pens, the horse stable, the partition (in the barn) for pigs and the root cellar were all in their original and traditional positions with practically no changes.

The rear stone foundation wall rising to ground level in the bank continued along the gable end to the point where the slope fell sharply to the lower level, about half-way across the gable end. From this point to the front corner of the barn out of the bank and about two-thirds of the way from this corner across the front of the barn this structure was supported by vertical 10 to 12 inch trees with bark removed and imbedded in the ground.

These trees set close together, similar to outer wall construction on our early American forts, form the support for the front part of the barn structure. Thus about five feet of these round legs are exposed, and they are in good condition, with no evidence of rotting at the ground level. We believe this primitive building method, referred to by Professor Weiss as *Ständerbau*, may be unique in this country and Western Europe and it is our opinion that this building should be preserved for future study.

Lore of the Swiss Bank House

In the realm of folk-culture several stories have come to our attention relating to Swiss bank house life, from a rather broad geographical area of Pennsylvania. First, the chore of the housewife at dusk when the chickens went to roost on the rims of the barrels of fermenting mash in the cellar. She would "turn the chickens around" so that all heads faced toward the center of the barrels, never the other way.

In Lehigh (*Lecba*) County where the strong tradition of applejack-making still lives in the minds of the older residents, there were numerous conflicts with the authorities during the Prohibition Period from 1918 to 1932. One farmer near New Tripoli, when approached by a Revenue

agent, was asked whether he sold any applejack. He replied, "*Nee, ich kann net genunk mache far mich selwert.*" No, I cannot even make enough for our own use in the family.

The grandparents of the late Reverend Thomas R. Brendle, sleeping on the upper level of the Schaeffer house, had their own system for rousing the farm family at an early hour each morning. Being strong adherents of the Reformed Church they were very religious people. At 5 o'clock in the morning they would rise and have their early prayers, and not too quietly.³ If this had no effect on the sleeping family, they would then start singing German hymns and the family was soon awake. Needless to say this practice was not too popular with the later risers but it was effective. When the grandfather (Daniel Brendle) passed away the Schaefferstown people said, "*War dutt nau beede far die Refarmirde?*"—Who will pray for the Reformed people now that Daniel Brendle has passed away?

The traditions of the cellar, of the pig sty, of the chicken roost and the chores of the housewife as they fit into the life of the farmstead are interesting and need further study. Future articles describing the Pennsylvania Dutch farmstead, and differentiating between the three main cultural patterns of our farms, will cover these traditions and practices.

In closing I want to say that the number "7" played a leading role in the early life of the Alexander Schaeffer farmstead in Schaefferstown. This number was used to protect the bake-oven and its contents and to protect the wine-cellar from undesirable intrusions. We do not know where this protective system had its limits in the life of these people. Is it possible that even the chickens roosting on the mash barrels in the cellar were counted, that exactly seven chickens were allowed to roost on each barrel, their heads, of course, facing inward?

³ Note that this is one of two references in this issue to family worship at 5 a.m., when the working day began in many farm and peasant cultures. The other reference is in the article on trance-preaching, and refers to 5 a.m. as the "ordinary time of morning prayer in pious rural families" among the Lutherans in Finland. Will readers with reminiscences of the earlier practices associated with family worship please send such materials to the Editor for the University of Pennsylvania Folklife Archive. —EDITOR.

TRANCE-PREACHING

In the United States

By DON YODER

Having worked for some years on the problem of trance-preaching in the United States apart from its existence in the Old Order Amish communities of Iowa, Oregon, Illinois, Michigan, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania, where I first heard of the phenomenon, I was delighted one Spring day in 1968 at Princeton Theological Seminary when I lectured before Dr. John A. Hostetler's class in Religious Communal Societies in North America, to learn that one of Professor Hostetler's seminar students was working on the Sleeping Preacher Movement among the Amish for his semester paper. We are glad to take this opportunity to present to our readers Harry H. Hiller's valuable psychological analysis of this phenomenon among the Amish, while my paper will serve as a general historical introduction to the subject.¹

A "sleeping preacher" or a "trance-preacher"—both terms have been used historically²—can be defined as a person who preaches, prophesies, or addresses a public audience while "sleeping," i.e., in a trance state. In most cases the phenomenon is connected with religion, that is, the practitioner is regarded, because of his charismatic "gift," as a leader whose words are "inspired," in Christian context, by the Holy Spirit. Hence "congregations" of followers gather, and in the case of the Amish, an Amish sect, the Sleeping Preacher Church, arose and still exists in five states.³

In other cases, the phenomenon of trance-speaking is related to healing or "prophecy." This aspect has reached the drugstore paperback counters in the last few years, with the curious books telling the life and work of the "Sleeping Prophet," Edgar Cayce,⁴ whom I must admit, some of my students, in their search for the bizarre, came upon first and called my attention to. I *do* read paper-

backs, but I had simply not been attracted to what amounts to a popular cult of Edgar Cayce. Since then I have seen copies being read on trains, even on Philadelphia's Paoli Local.

The factor that most of the writers on this subject have not realized, is that the sleeping preacher or the sleeping prophet follows a common historical pattern, and represents the current mimesis, for whatever functional purpose the phenomenon can serve in our society and in the life of the practitioner, of the worldwide phenomenon of shaman, medicine man, oracle, sybil, prophet, and visionary. Whether the phenomenon is found in Western or non-Western culture, in primitive or modern society, the common trait of the practitioner of the phenomenon is that he speaks or advises or prophesies from a trance-state.

When we look for the immediate background of the Amish Sleeping Preacher movement, we are immediately struck with the fact that in Iowa County, Iowa, immediately adjoining Johnson County, Iowa, where the first Sleeping Preacher among the Amish, Noah Troyer (1831-1889) arose, there existed at the time the principal American establishment of the religious community group known in Germany as the *Inspirierten* and in Iowa as the Amana Community. This in turn was a direct product of a French Protestant movement known as the Camisards, which we shall discuss shortly. It was the "Inspired" prophets who had been the principal spreaders of the idea of trance-preaching throughout the Pietist Protestant areas of Germany, Switzerland, and Scandinavia in the 18th Century, and had emigrated to the United States finally in 1842, settling at first near Buffalo, New York, and in 1854 settling on communal property in Iowa County, Iowa. Like the Amish, they were German-speaking and a religious community, but unlike their Amish neighbors they were communarians, i.e., they did not live on separate family-owned farms but rather held land in common as a community or communal settlement.

Let us look at other examples of trance-preaching in the United States, cases which are not connected with the Troyer-Kauffman movement, but which may indeed be offspring of the 18th Century Inspired Prophet movement of France and Germany.

Professor Archibald Alexander (1772-1851), long professor of theology at Princeton Theological Seminary, in fact the founder of the seminary in 1812, has left us an account of a sleeping preacher, a young girl named Susanna Orendorf, near Sharpsburg, Maryland. It is significant that this again is a case of the phenomenon among ethnic German settlers, although they had evidently become part of the Methodist movement. The date of the description is June,

¹ My thanks to Professor Hostetler and to Harry H. Hiller for the use of the seminar paper; especial thanks also to Dr. Melvin Gingerich, Director, Mennonite Archives, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, who during my visit to the Archives in 1966 graciously allowed me to copy materials from his file on the Amish Sleeping Preacher Movement, consisting of clippings and typescripts of journal articles.

² The term "sleeping preacher" would seem to be the commoner term; "trance-preacher" was used at least as early as 1880 (*Herald of Truth*, January, 1880). Some of the practitioners themselves prefer the term "spirit-preaching," since they insist that it is the Holy Spirit preaching rather than the man, who is only the "instrument" of the Spirit.

³ For a brief introduction to the Sleeping Preacher Movement among the Amish, see Melvin Gingerich, "Sleeping Preacher Churches," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, IV, 543-544.

⁴ See Thomas Sugrue, *There is a River: The Story of Edgar Cayce*, rev. ed. (New York: Henry Holt, 1957); Jess Stearn, *Edgar Cayce — The Sleeping Prophet* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1967); and Nicholas Langley, *Edgar Cayce on Reincarnation* (New York: Paperback Library Edition, 1967).



Professor Archibald Alexander (1772-1851), who described a case of trance-preaching from Maryland in the year 1791.

1791, on a trip which the young Mr. Alexander was making from his home in Virginia to Philadelphia:

It was now the month of June, and as the weather was extremely hot and the roads were dusty, the little party determined to lie by during the day and travel by night. They crossed the Blue Ridge at Black's Gap, by the light of the moon, which was then near the full. But after midnight they began to feel sleepy, and having cleared the mountain sought for some lodging-place. Part of the company found a house on the right; Mr. Graham and his young companion went further, and turned into a farm-clearing on the left. It was a log house and the family were asleep in bed. But in conformity with the hospitable customs of the land, the mountaineer arose and admitted them, and took charge of their horses. The guests were shown up stairs, or rather up a ladder, to a loft under the roof. Here they were made acquainted with the German fashion of sleeping under a bed, in lieu of other covering.⁵ The next day Dr. Hall proposed to introduce them to a case of somnambulism or irregular mental action, which carried some appearance of the super-

⁵ An extremely valuable reference to the continental custom of sleeping under a feather-bed, practiced by Pennsylvania Germans and other ethnic German-Swiss settlers in early America. Some other Americans slept on feather-beds rather than under them. See Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 6: "Feather Beds and Chaff Bags," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, XVII:2 (Winter 1967-1968).

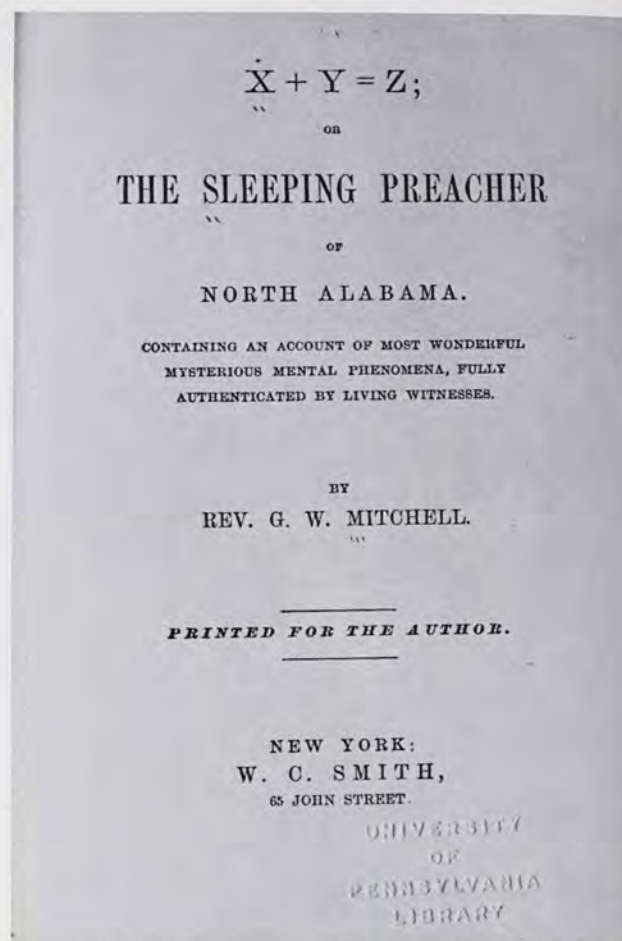
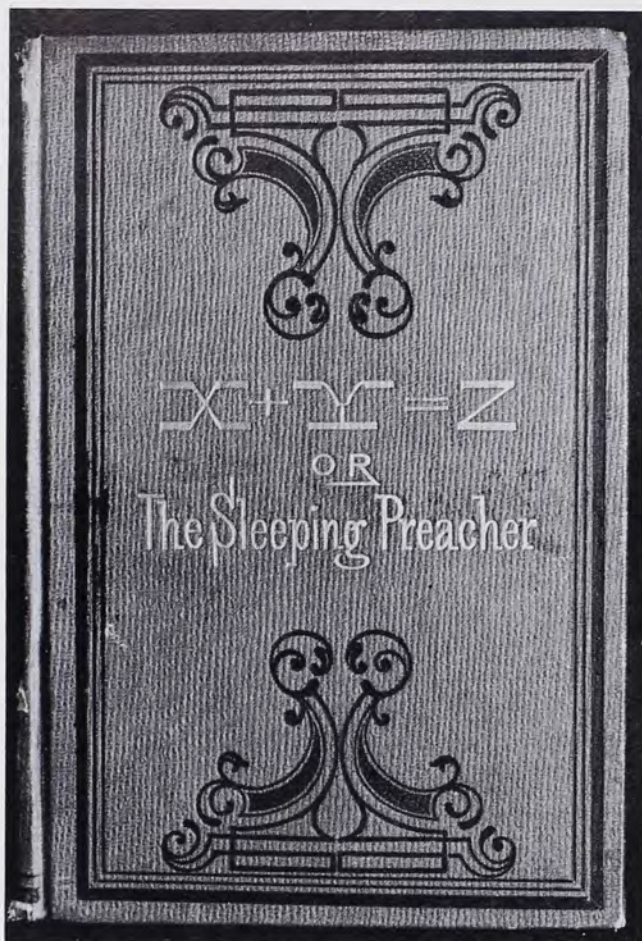
natural. The person was a young woman of the neighbourhood, who every day at a certain hour seemed to fall into a trance, and uttered wonderful things.

"We pushed hard," says the narrative, 'to get to the house by the hour of her paroxysm, which was one o'clock. Her name was Susannah Orendorf, and she was the daughter of a farmer near Sharpsburg. The young woman was reclining on a bed, very pale, and clad in white. She was attended by an older sister, who with the parents agreed in asserting that she had eaten nothing for five or six months, and that the only thing which entered her lips was a sip of sweetened water, of which a tumbler stood near her on the table. This was considered miraculous by many, and the Methodists preached about Susannah, and related her sayings in their sermons. Multitudes came to see her; some above a hundred miles; so that there would sometimes be two hundred people there at one time. After coming out of one of her epileptic fits, she would tell those around her what she had seen in heaven; and so credulous were some that they came to ask whether she had seen certain friends of theirs who had lately died. On this point, however, she could give no satisfactory information. Some wished to know which religious denomination was most approved in heaven. The girl answered more discreetly than could have been expected from her education—for she was very ignorant—saying, 'In the other world people are not judged of by their professions, but the sincerity of their hearts, and the goodness of their conduct.' Some very noisy⁶ persons came from Newtown to see her; and as a great company was collected they engaged in devotional exercises. One of their number, John Hill, a man of great muscular power and a stentorian voice, exerted himself to the utmost in praying, keeping time with one of his feet and both his hands. When he was done, Susannah asked him, 'Why do you speak so loud? Do you think the Almighty is hard of hearing?'

"At nearly the same hour every day, after a little convulsive agitation she seemed to fall down in a swoon, ceased to breathe, and lay calm and motionless as a corpse. As she recovered herself a sound was heard, as if issuing from her breast, and she commonly awoke singing. We asked her some account of what she had seen in her last visit. Without hesitation she began a narrative of her journey to heaven, which greatly resembled some of Mohammed's descriptions. She went over a very high and beautiful bridge, which appeared to be made of ivory. She entered paradise, where she beheld the angels flying about in all directions, and heard companies of them singing. On her arrival she was presented with bread as white as snow and exceedingly delicious, which she ate every day, and by which she was nourished, so as to have no need nor appetite for earthly food. The most remarkable occurrence was that a beautiful and majestic person, whom she took to be our Saviour, came to her and gave her a white flower, which she took to be a token of his love. On being requested to sing one of the tunes which she had learnt in heaven, she complied without reluctance; uttering in a soft and somewhat melodious voice a strain, which however consisted of only a few notes continually repeated. Being then accustomed to learn tunes by ear, I caught up this

⁶ The term "noisy" has a specific meaning in connection with early American religion. It meant given to vocal expression of religion, i.e., shouting, ranting, etc., in the attempt to express outwardly the inward feelings of assurance of salvation. For examples of "noisy" Methodists in early Pennsylvania and adjoining states, see Don Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1961), pp. 26, 57, 87-94, 135-140.

⁷ Perhaps a mimetic echo of I Kings, 18:27.



Constantine Sanders, Presbyterian clergyman from Alabama, achieved wide notoriety as a "sleeping preacher" in the 19th Century.

strain, and could repeat it, but have long since forgotten it. This was no doubt a case of epilepsy, which continued for more than a year, and then gradually left her; but she did not live long after her recovery."⁸

The pattern here is slightly different in that the instrument spoke after recovering from her trance.

Among American Quakers, who were noted in the 17th and 18th Centuries for a highly developed psychic department in their religion which involved elaborate visions, prophecies, telepathy and other parapsychological phenomena,⁹ we also hear of the sleeping preacher phenomenon. On 6th Mo. 7, 1815, Miers Fisher, an upper-class Quaker in the Philadelphia area, wrote of hearing of "Rachel Baker the Somnolent preacher of New York," whose work he ascribed to "hallucinations."¹⁰

In 1834 in Massachusetts there was the case of Jane C. Rider, the "Springfield Somnambulist," who not only sang in her sleep, sewed in her sleep, and could read with her eyes closed, identifying cards held before her closed eyes (shades of the parapsychological experimentation at Duke

⁸ James W. Alexander, *The Life of Archibald Alexander, D. D.* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1854), pp. 101-104.

⁹ See Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1921), I, 92-93, for description of the psychic element in early American Quakerism, particularly among the "Public Friends" or Quaker ministers.

¹⁰ *Diaries of Miers Fisher*, Manuscript Collections, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

¹¹ "Jane C. Rider, The Springfield Somnambulist," *The People's Magazine*, 1834, pp. 11-12. Her memoir by Dr. Belden was published by G. and C. Merriam, but I have not had an opportunity to examine this book.

University in the 20th Century), but could tell time while asleep.¹¹ This type of phenomenon, again, not strictly following the "sleeping preacher" pattern, was seized upon by the Spiritualists and the historians of Spiritualism who arose in mid and late 19th Century, whose books culled history for such seemingly "Spirit-led" or "Spirit-induced" actions to justify their own religious worldview which eventuated in several religious cults which are still operating in the United States.¹²

The best example of this approach is Eugene Crowell, M. D., *The Identity of Primitive Christianity and Modern Spiritualism* (New York: G. W. Carleton & Company, Publishers, 1874). He cites "an account of a case of trance-speaking" from the *Western Star*, August 1872, based on the original account in the *Hartford Review*, May 17, 1833. It involves the "Saybrook Girl," aged about 11, who "at certain irregular times, when the impulse is upon her . . . breaks out into powerful connected and finished exhortations, and discourses generally on religious topics." When she comes out of her "fits of stupor," she closes her eyes and commences, but ". . . when the inspiration is gone, she recollects not a word of what she has been saying. . ."¹³

One would have thought that among American Methodists, whose emotional outbreaks, fallings, shoutings, and

¹² For Spiritualism as a religious cult in the United States, see Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944); and Charles S. Braden, *These Also Believe: A Study of Modern American Cults and Minority Religious Movements* (New York, 1949).

¹³ Crowell, II, 69-70.



Constantine Blackmon Sanders, the Sleeping Preacher of North Alabama, from a photograph "taken when in his peculiar sleep, by C. C. Giers, Nashville, Tenn., April 27, 1876."

other "exercises" were a prominent though not a central phase of their camp-meetings and revival system, numerous cases of sleeping preacherism would have been reported. I have actually found only one case additional to the Orendorf case cited above, that of Gilbert Anderson of Wilson, New York. There is a description of his work by the Reverend William D. Buck of the Genesee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who met Anderson while serving the Lewiston Circuit in New York State in 1837. Anderson had moved from Vermont to Wilson, where, it appears, he was re-converted in 1837 in a winter revival meeting held by Buck and became the "class-leader" of the converts. Buck has left this description of Anderson's trance-preaching, based on materials furnished by Anderson's sister:

He used to preach every night in his sleep! People from all parts, within twenty miles, came and crowded the house to hear him preach in his sleep. Many were awakened under his sermons, who soon gave their hearts to God. After preaching he usually held a class-meeting, which he led in his sleep. He always had something appropriate to say to each one speaking. For the purpose of testing him some would advance an erroneous sentiment, but he always refuted it, and left not a vestige of the error unscathed. God spoke through the sleeper as though he were awake, and his class-meetings were times of refreshing. 'And,' said his sister, 'some of the happiest class-meetings I ever attended were led by Gilbert while he was asleep.'

Moving from Vermont into the neighborhood where I met him, there being no meeting there, and no Christian society, he wandered from God, and ceased to preach in his sleep. But in our glorious revival he came out bright and clear in the grace of God, and was a gifted and efficient leader of the new class.

No sooner was he restored to the favor of God than he began to preach again in his sleep. But preaching in the posture of a sleeper, with his heavy voice and vehement manner, injured his health, and his sister used to awaken him when he began to preach.¹⁴

The minister then describes in detail a sermon which he personally heard, based on a biblical text and a hymn which Anderson could not cite next morning when he had awakened, groaning and looking tired, "like one who had worked hard during the night." At the minister's request, who told him that "if he would only preach when he was awake perhaps the Lord would not require him to preach in his sleep," he accepted a license to preach, but unfortunately died during the conference year.

One of the most widely publicized sleeping preacher cases in the United States was that of a Presbyterian clergyman of Northern Alabama named C. B. Sanders, known as "X + Y = Z." Constantine Blackmon Sanders (1831-1887) was born near Huntsville, Alabama, son of a Georgian father and a Virginian mother. During his trances, which sometimes lasted for weeks, he walked, wrote, spoke, preached, conversed on religion, wrote down writings in English and other languages, and displayed the gift of "second sight." Many claimed to have been converted by him in his trance state, when his eloquence is said to have moved many to tears.¹⁵

The European Background

While the ultimate background of the Amish sleeping preacher lies in the almost universal shaman-oracle type of religious leader, the more immediate precedent came in a movement which broke out among the persecuted French Protestants of the Cevennes in Southern France immediately after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Known as the "prophet movement," the "French Prophets," or eventually as the "Camisards," they spread their new gospel of direct inspiration by missionary effort to England in 1706; and to Switzerland and West Germany in 1716 where they took the name "Truly Inspired" (*Wahre Inspirierten*); and finally to Scandinavia.¹⁶

What type of phenomenon was involved in the early stages of the movement? The 19th Century historian Baird describes the preaching as follows:

Respecting the physical manifestations, there is little discrepancy between the accounts of friend and foe. The persons affected were men and women, the old and the young. Very many were children, boys and girls of nine or ten years of age. They were sprung from the people — their enemies said, from the

¹⁴ F. W. Conable, *History of the Genesee Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Nelson & Phillips, 1876), pp. 423-426.

¹⁵ G. W. Mitchell, *X+Y=Z; or The Sleeping Preacher of North Alabama. Containing an Account of Most Wonderful Mysterious Mental Phenomena, Fully Authenticated by Living Witnesses* (New York: W. C. Smith, ©1876), 202pp. Reissued by the University of Alabama Press (Tuscaloosa, 1937).

¹⁶ For a brief introduction to the movement, see Bertha M. H. Shambaugh, "Amana Society," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 358-369; also "Inspirationsgemeinden," *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, III, 782-783; and John McClintock and James Strong, *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, "Camisards," II, 55; "French Prophets," III, 661-662; and "Inspired," IV, 616-617. For the most complete history of the movement, see Max Goebel, "Geschichte der wahren Inspirationsgemeinden von 1688-1854," *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, XXI (1854), XXII (1855), XXV (1857); also Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westfälischen evangelischen Kirche*, ed. Theodor Link, III (Coblenz, 1860), "Johann Friedrich Rock (1687-1749) und die Inspirierten (1714-1857)," pp. 126-165.

dregs of the people — ignorant and uncultured; for the most part unable to read or write, and speaking in every-day life the *patois* of the province with which alone they were conversant. Such persons would suddenly fall backward, and, while extended at full length on the ground, undergo strange and apparently involuntary contortions; their chests would seem to heave, their stomachs to inflate. On coming gradually out of this condition, they appeared instantly to regain the power of speech. Beginning often in a voice interrupted by sobs, they soon poured forth a torrent of words — cries for mercy, calls to repentance, exhortations to the bystanders to cease frequenting the mass, denunciations of the church of Rome, prophecies of coming judgment. From the mouths of those that were little more than babes came texts of Scripture, and discourses in good and intelligible French, such as they never used in their conscious hours. When the trance ceased, they declared that they remembered nothing of what had occurred, or of what they had said. In rare cases they retained a general and vague impression, but nothing more. There was no appearance of deceit or collusion, and no indication that in uttering their predictions respecting coming events they had any thought of prudence, or doubts as to the truth of what they foretold.¹⁷

Obviously they and their auditors thought they were inspired by the Holy Spirit. This rise of "prophecy" quickened the religious life, Baird continues, and since the churches had been destroyed and Protestantism officially forbidden, they worshiped in the woods, in secret. Before the actual outbreak of prophetism, there were in the area many reported cases of hearing "songs and voices . . . in the air," generally around 8 or 9 in the evening. These "voices in the air" were heard near the demolished churches, and the astonished auditors recognized the singing of the Reformed version of the psalms, although "rarely could the words be caught." This was called "the singing of angels." This appears to have been the prelude to the outbreak of "prophecy" inspiration among the people, which came in the year 1688.¹⁸

Another description gives us added details:

They remained a while in trances, and, coming out of them, declared that they saw the heavens open, the angels, paradise, and hell. Those who were just on the point of receiving the spirit of prophecy, dropped down, not only in the assemblies, but in the fields, and in their own houses, crying out *Mercy*.

The hills resounded with their loud cries for mercy, and with imprecations against the priests, the pope, and his anti-Christian dominion, with predictions of the approaching fall of popery.¹⁹

In Germany the Prophets mingled with groups of Separatists and established congregations in various places. Among the early leaders were Eberhard Ludwig Gruber (1665-1728) at Himbach near Hanau, A. Gross at Frankfurt, J. F. Rock, a saddler at Himbach, and the Separatist Ernst Christoph Hochmann von Hohenau (1670-1721) at Schwarzenau.²⁰

¹⁷ Henry M. Baird, *The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895), II, 186-187.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, II, 179-184.

¹⁹ M'Clintock and Strong, *op. cit.*, "Camisards," II, 55.

²⁰ In addition to the standard works by Goebel (cf. note 16, *supra*), there has recently appeared a valuable description of the "invasion" of the Inspirirten into the Zweibrücken area of the Palatinate in 1716, Walter Koch, "Der Pietismus im Herzogtum Pfalz-Zweibrücken in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Blätter für Pfälzische Kirchengeschichte und Religiöse Volkskunde*, XXXIV (1967), 1-159.



Isaac Child (1734-1769) of Plumstead, Bucks County, experienced an extraordinary vision in his harvest field in 1757—which some Pennsylvanians interpreted as a prediction of the Revolution. Early American Quakerism had a highly developed psychic side which specialized in such phenomena.

The American colonies were influenced by the Inspired Movement from several directions. One of the leaders of the English "French Prophets" sect, formed in England by the Camisards in 1706, was Samuel Keimer. He later became a Quaker, and wrote a curious tract, *A Brand snatched from the Burning*, which professes to give an account of the French Prophets "by one of themselves." He came to America, where he was one of Philadelphia's earliest printers.²¹

Another indirect influence of the French Prophet sect of the British Isles on American culture was the Shaker Movement, brought to the colonies in the 1770's. The communitarian settlements of Shakers, diffused widely from New England to Kentucky, believed in direct inspiration, and influenced in turn the later Spiritualist Movement.

Hochmann von Hohenau had influenced the Schwarzenau Pietists, among them the nucleus of the Church of the Brethren, which would be so important a contingent among the Pennsylvania Germans.²² Gruber's son Johann Adam emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1722, bringing a number of former members of the sect, among them Gleim, Mackinet and other Separatists. They settled in Germantown, Penn-

²¹ For the curious career of Samuel Keimer (1688-ca.1739), see *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 288-289; see also the account of Keimer in Franklin's *Autobiography*.

²² For Hochmann von Hohenau's influence on the Pennsylvania Brethren, see Donald F. Durnbaugh, *European Origins of the Brethren: A Source Book on the Beginnings of the Church of the Brethren in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Elgin, Illinois, ©1958).

sylvania's first center of Pietist sectarianism, where some became Brethren and others later Moravians.²³

With the dying out of the direct inspiration in the 18th Century, the movement settled down to sectarian existence. In Max Weber's terminology, the immediate charisma of the original prophets was routinized into church office and printed Scripture. A flurry of activity under Michael Krausert and others in Württemberg in 1816 led to the emigration of a group of Inspired in 1842, settling first at the communal settlement called Ebenezer, near Buffalo, from whence they migrated to Canada and some in 1854 to Iowa County, Iowa, where they are still operating as the Amana Community.²⁴

Voipio's Analysis of Scandinavian Trance-Preaching

The strangest of all outbreaks of sleeping preacherism is reported from Scandinavia in the 18th and 19th Centuries. The most important treatise on the movement thus far to appear is based on two Finnish doctoral dissertations, one in psychology and the other in theology, by Aarni Voipio.²⁵ Part I gives detailed analysis of six sleeping preachers: Karolina Utriainen (1843-1929), Helena Kontinen (1871-1916), Saara Malinen (1861-1923), Martta Räsänen (1897-1936), Hilda Hotti (born 1879), and Maria Åkerblom (born 1898). All of these "peasant ecstasies," or "preachers in sleep," as Dr. Voipio calls them, he knew personally and over relatively long periods of time.

The movement historically reached Scandinavia with the 18th and 19th Century "revivals" involving the Inspired Movement, German Pietism, and Moravianism. In some cases the outbreaks of peasant ecstaticism reached epidemic proportions; in Finland in the 1770's one parish had 87 sleeping preachers. In 1841-1844 there was an epidemic of "Crying Voices" in Smaland, South Sweden, where thousands of ecstasies during the time of revival, "cried" and sang on their beds. The clergy in their attempt to stop the outbreaks, called it the "preaching-disease," had the "preachers" arrested and compelled them to medical treatment; the listeners (congregations) were fined.

Voipio describes the first sleeping preacher he heard, in 1906, in a community in South Finland where his family used to spend summer vacations.

A famous preacher-in-sleep, the only one known there at that time, was to speak in a farm-house in the vicinity at 5 a.m. In spite of the unusual hour the service was well attended. I had to remain in the doorway, and was afforded only brief glimpses of the old peasant woman who was the speaker. She lay, fully dressed, on a bed, and gave a real sermon with all the mannerisms of a professional clergyman. It was somewhat old-fashioned, but very impressive. Her voice was firm, but feminine.

She spoke in her sleep, that is, she fell asleep before beginning to preach, and when she awoke after her sermon she did not remember anything of what had passed. What she said had the character of an improvised but very consistent and edifying address. In

short, it was a good sermon in the old Lutheran style. It was not at all intolerant but had rather some pastoral wisdom. From the point of view of dogma it seemed fully orthodox, as far as I could judge, and from my age I had rather developed religious conceptions.

Her work begun at the age of nine, with a vision call in which "the Lamb" gave her a great book written in golden letters, and ordered her to preach "the gospel of peace." In the next sixty years she preached some 20,000 sermons. The early hour of 5 a. m., which was throughout her lifetime Karolina Utriainen's daily hour for preaching, was then the "ordinary time of morning prayer in pious rural families." In beginning her trance-sermon her custom was to moisten the fingers of her right hand with her lips and with that hand to make symbolically "a great arc just as if she were turning a page in a very large book." Then she began to speak, "in a voice loud enough to fill a medium-sized church." The book symbolism continued until 1913 when she had a premonitory vision "that only fourteen leaves were left in her sermon book." One morning, soon after that vision, "to the great regret of Karolina herself as well as her numerous faithful friends," "the expected physical and mental signs did not appear, and her preaching came to an end." Some of her sermons were based on the Lutheran Sunday gospels readings, and follow the form of Lutheran sermon collections, although there is no evidence of plagiarism.

Voipio's analytic section, Part II, deals with the history of the movement, citing some sporadic examples from Germany in the 16th and 17th Centuries involving child preachers. He cites two additional American examples, one from Justinus Kerner's *Magikon*, I-V (Stuttgart, 1840-1853), of an American lady who "was said to preach in sleep and perform the whole Presbyterian service, from hymns to the benediction," and another of a German emigrant's wife in South Brazil in the years 1872-1874, depicted in a novel by the Jesuit Ambros Schupp entitled *Die Mucker* (Paderborn, 1918).

Voipio's approach to the movement is psychological. The "spiritualist" explanation, that the preachers are mediums for the voices of deceased preachers, he rejects. Is it simply mimetic, "a gramophone-like rotation of previously heard sermons"? This he also rejects, for no actual plagiarisms have been found, and nearly all the sermons "have the distinctive marks of extemporized addresses". Is it only simulation? This theory may be valid in some cases to some extent, although there are others where it is not valid. A separate chapter (X) deals with "the hypnotic analogy." "All silent or involuntarily expressed wishes from the group in which an ecstatic preacher is working are of apparent suggestive significance for his performances and his development." But in the case of the ecstatic, autosuggestion rather than heterosuggestion is the predominant factor. But this is only a partial solution.

Chapter XI deals with "the hysterical background." Why does suggestion affect these particular persons? What explains their suggestibility? Hysteria appears to be the best scientific explanation of this as of the religious geniuses of the world. In the historical examples have appeared related factors—shock, persecution, exciting mass meetings (revivals), etc. "The individual and the society, hereditary constitution and environmental influences combine as efficient causes and provoke here a solitary preacher, there an epidemic or group movement of preachers" Sleeping preachers, like hysterics in general, play several of their roles at the same time — sleeping and speaking.

²³ For Gruber in Pennsylvania, see the highly important article by Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Johann Adam Gruber: Pennsylvania-German Prophet and Poet," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXXIII:4 (October 1959), 382-408; also John Joseph Stoudt, *Pennsylvania German Poetry, 1685-1830*, The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, XX (1955), pp. lxiii, 30-35.

²⁴ For the Amana Community, see the 19th Century description in Charles Nordhoff, *The Communitistic Societies of the United States* (New York, 1875), now available in a Schocken Book edition with a prefatory essay by Dr. Franklin H. Littell.

²⁵ Aarni Voipio, *Sleeping Preachers: A Study in Ecstatic Religiosity* (Helsinki, 1951), *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, Series B, Volume 75:1, 86 pp. My description in the following paragraphs is drawn entirely from this unique work.

"The second, or perhaps a third role, is meanwhile usurping the preacher and discharging suggestions on him." He comes therefore to the conclusion that "the suggestibility, actually autosuggestibility, of the preachers is based on psychical conditions called hysteria."

The fact that most of the sleeping preachers were women, involves, says Voipio, self-assertion, referring generally to Alfred Adler's "masculine protest" as the common cause of hysteria; and specifically to the fact that women were banned from Lutheran pulpits. In addition to the possibility of the "thirst for attention and power" as motivation for sleeping-preacherism, in some cases there may also have been present the simulation of disease to escape reality. Sexual theories of motivation are however played down. "But in comparison with many well-known historical as well as modern religious sects, hideously tainted with abnormal sexuality, the sleeping preachers, with some exceptions, constitute a family of saints."

Yet with all these naturalistic explanations, Voipio feels strongly that the sleeping preachers were stimulated by

the Church's and the Bible's own framework of preaching, witnessing, and revelation. The Bible especially stresses the privilege and obligation of witnessing. "In many and various ways God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets" (Hebrews 1:1). This "golden verse" Dr. Voipio calls "the charter of the sleeping prophets." This and other Biblical passages suggest an ideal whose attraction "is felt only too strongly by the ecstasies." The "calling visions" of the ecstasies sometimes bear surprising resemblance to the biblical "calls." The trance represents the surrender in the soul's struggle against witnessing. "There is an incontestable vein of what has been called prophetic or personality mysticism in all of our little preaching prophets."

The comparative study of the trance-preaching phenomenon is of interest to the historian of religion, the psychologist of religion, the sociologist of religion, and to the folklife scholar. The Editor will appreciate receiving from our readers additional examples of trance-preachers from the United States and Canada.

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The SLEEPING PREACHERS: An Historical Study of the Role of Charisma in Amish Society

By HARRY H. HILLER

Introduction

The restraining nature of Amish society, steeped in traditional folkways and mores, and enmeshed in the tightly drawn threads of a rigid theocratic belief system, prohibits and resists innovation and change. In unique fashion, the sleeping preachers enjoin spontaneous creativity with dynamic exhortation to support and maintain this restrictive historical stance while at the same time introducing threatening and disturbing directives of new revelation. Under the guise of divine empowerment, the sleeping preachers rendered scintillating sermons to large hosts of people while in an unconscious state. The uniqueness of the phenomena fostered the growth of much publicity and debate as to its authenticity. Central to any acceptance or rejection was the priority assigned to the charismatic elements of the personages that elucidated a particular interpretation. The nature of their methodology and message tended to evoke the ascription of prophetic qualities to the preachers for some people, while to others they were never really taken seriously.

This paper seeks to formulate an accurate description of the sleeping preachers through historical analysis by uniting fragmented references to their lives and work into a cognitive whole. The first section of the paper provides the biographical base from which perspective can be gained for psycho-social analysis. The second section deals with the role the sleeping preachers assumed in the Amish community and the status ascribed to them by their peers. A study of the role of charisma in the light of the theory of Max Weber enables us to understand the genesis of reaction and response of the community to them and their message. The third section cautiously attempts a psychological explanation of the causation of these unique experiences.

At this point, it is important that the author acknowledge a number of difficulties in interpretation. The conclusion of a published collection of sermons by Noah Troyer contains a statement that the sermons are not exactly presented as originally given but have been edited where errors have been found. It is stated that some Biblical concepts and details were incorrect, misused, or possibly even not in harmony with the gospel, and therefore have been corrected or deleted. To what extent such editing misleads our analysis we cannot say. The attempt has been made, though, to cross-reference sources to achieve a reasonable accuracy. The premise on which this study stands is that even though many details are unclear or contradictory, the over-all message and methodology of the sleeping preachers can be lucidly extracted. It is significant to note as well that most of the eye-witness sources that are available have

appeared because of the intense conviction and identification of the followers to accept the divine reality of this phenomenon. Therefore, the concern of these writers was to present the sleeping preachers in as favorable a light as possible, to establish their credibility that they might be understood and believed. Almost all of the sources maintain a positive or curious interpretation of the preachers while very little has been written in strong opposition to their work. It is evident, nevertheless, through sermons and descriptions, that the struggle for acceptance even within the Amish community was always a major concern.

I.

A Descriptive Analysis in Historical Perspective

The two sleeping preachers who form the object of our study are Noah Troyer and John D. Kauffman. Noah Troyer preceded Kauffman in date of birth, the commencement of preaching in an unconscious state, and in death. The elements of similarity between the two are far more striking than minor differences. Troyer began his "ministry" in Johnson County, Iowa, and Kauffman in Elkhart County, Indiana. No biographical information has been uncovered as to any contact between the two of them but it is highly likely that Kauffman was quite familiar with Troyer's message and methodology through word of mouth and newspaper accounts, and possibly even through personal confrontation for Troyer had drawn considerable public attention.

Noah Troyer

Early Years. Noah Troyer was born on January 10, 1831, in Holmes County, Ohio, to typical Amish parents. Few details are available as to his early life but it is known that his education was minimal. Sources point to the fact that Troyer never really was a healthy person for already in his boyhood severe attacks of "sick headaches" and cramps overtook him two or three times per week to the extent of unconsciousness. His formative years were marked by several moves with his family; to Knox County, Ohio, in 1838 at seven years of age, and to Champaign County, Ohio, in 1847 at sixteen years of age. When Troyer was 26, he married Fannie Mast of Holmes County on March 19, 1857. Several frequent changes of residence of short duration followed. In 1862, he moved to LaGrange County, Indiana, but stayed only one year before moving to St. Joseph's County in Michigan in 1863 where he and his family remained four and one-half years. At the age of 36, Troyer was still not settled and returned to LaGrange County, Indiana, in 1867. A brother-in-law of Noah Troyer, John P. Kinig, wrote that on November 15, 1874, Noah and his wife Veronica united with the church in LaGrange County

as a member in good standing. An historical vacuum exists here as to whether Troyer possibly remarried for the evidence is not clear. Since no further clues can be extracted from the sources and since Kinig, a brother-in-law, uses the appellation Veronica in the same source that a biography appears mentioning his marriage to Fannie Mast, there is a good possibility that both names were used to indicate the same person.* On the other side of the ledger is the question as to why Troyer and his wife united with the church in LaGrange County at such a late date after having resided there for six and one-half years. A remarriage may have provided the occasion for a membership ceremonial at this particular point. Troyer is said to have had a family of six children born to him by Fannie Mast.

In 1875, Noah Troyer transferred his residence for the final time to a permanent settlement on a farm in Johnson County, Iowa. He purchased 160 acres in Sharon Township and was an adequate farmer. His stock, crops, fences, and machinery were always in good order and he was relatively prosperous. As a man, his dealings with other people were acknowledged as fair by the community and he appeared to be "sociable and accommodating". Even though afflicted with physical difficulties, his prosperous farm attested to his ability and eagerness to work.

Health. To what extent Troyer suffered from infirmities or repeated convulsions before his preaching days is not known. The negative nature of his health is somehow evident in any references to his physical status as a person in general. His height and build was that of a medium-sized man. In March of 1876, he became ill for several days and exhibited marked signs of nervousness. Mrs. Troyer was alarmed when one night he talked at length in his sleep. Little was openly said, except to a few neighbors, but when she confronted Noah with what happened, he would not believe her. Somewhat later in the spring he had another attack which was not quite as severe and he also talked for a short while. Nothing unusual occurred following this for about one year. Then the sick spells returned, at first at light and irregular intervals. Coupled with the cramping and bloating of his stomach, he began to resume talking as the attacks became more severe and regular. By mid-April, 1878, severe attacks would occur every evening, unless he had been sick throughout the day, and thus a routine had been fairly well established.

Troyer's career as a sleeping preacher began in 1878 while he was attending an Amish meeting. This was at the age of 47. While attending the service, Troyer was stricken with his regular attack and talked at some length in an unconscious state. Word rapidly disseminated throughout the community and curious people began to congregate in anticipation of this unique experience. The June 13, 1878, issue of the *Iowa City Republican* was the turning point, though, for a reporter wrote a column concerning the sleeping preacher that caused widespread interest. A full description of Troyer's methodology was provided and from this point on, hundreds of people came from great distances to see and hear him. Though many came as curious observers, it was inevitable that there were to emerge some dedicated disciples or believing adherents to his message.

Methodology. A definite pattern or sequence of the attacks and preaching can be determined from the numerous descriptions collected. This pattern was not rigidly followed

*"Fannie" is historically a common substitute for the more formal, old-fashioned, and European name "Veronica" among Mennonites and other groups of Pennsylvania Dutch extraction.
—EDITOR.

and contained variation from time to time. It is important to note that the attacks occurred regardless of particular location or who was there. It did not matter if Troyer was at home or away or whether strangers were present. The only requisite was that someone watch him once the attack occurred for he would not be in control of his rational faculties or motor impulses. The sequence of the entire process can be explicated.

1. In the late afternoon, after a regular day's work, cramps began to overtake Troyer about three or four o'clock, and he became sick and started to bloat. Convulsions



The first volume of Noah Troyer's Sermons, published by the Mennonites, was translated by John F. Funk, Mennonite publisher of Indiana, a native Pennsylvanian.

would follow as things got worse until he was in an unconscious state. Often, he then slept for an hour or so, though his limbs would show spasmodic involuntary motion as they became rigid and stiff.

2. From this unconscious state he would begin to talk very slowly. Sometimes he sat up in bed first, but whether lying down or sitting up, his arms would be outstretched straight up in the air "as if in supplication". His general practice would be to utter some type of exhortation in this position, at times for as long as ten or fifteen minutes.

3. Troyer would then kneel in prayer on the floor. The prayer was usually brief but fervent, and in English, al-

though, on occasion, it lasted ten to fifteen minutes. The depth and sincerity of these prayers astonished the hearers. The prayers varied in content and usually stressed the contrast between the mercy and might of God as opposed to the weakness of men, particularly of him who was praying. An unusual persistent petition was a prayer for the sick. Mention also was usually made of concern for sinners and ministers. Many times Troyer prayed for people in attendance he had not greeted before assuming the unconscious state. This prayer was routinely concluded with the Lord's Prayer. An interested German doctor once stuck a needle into his

of water. Through trial and error, Mrs. Troyer learned that whenever her husband broke into a strange language that no one understood, a glass of water would usually cease this babbling. Some of these strange phrases were "Walla sea Mattralama," "Wallasema Wallasema," "Walla sea Trellama." Troyer talked very rapidly and loud while preaching and never perspired or seemed to be exhausted. The frequency of this preaching follows no distinct pattern. At first, he spoke in this unconscious condition every night and then the general opinion was that he averaged four times per week. A table of the frequency and length of his sermons were kept by his family during the year 1879.¹ Early in that year, four times per week is fairly accurate but by the fall of the year, Troyer increased the occasions for his preaching. From mid-November to December 9, Troyer preached 26 days in a row and at no occasion less than two full hours. Usually, however, his sermons lasted from one to three and one-half hours, and while he spoke the earlier bloating and sickness appeared to leave him.

5. Before kneeling in a final prayer, Troyer would ask all ministers present to testify in German or English as to the truth of the gospel he preached. It was evident that this was an attempt to establish credibility with the listeners. Often at this time Troyer would also announce when he would speak again. "I will be before you Sabbath night—I can see that far." No evidence is given to indicate that an opportunity was given for public response to his call for repentance.

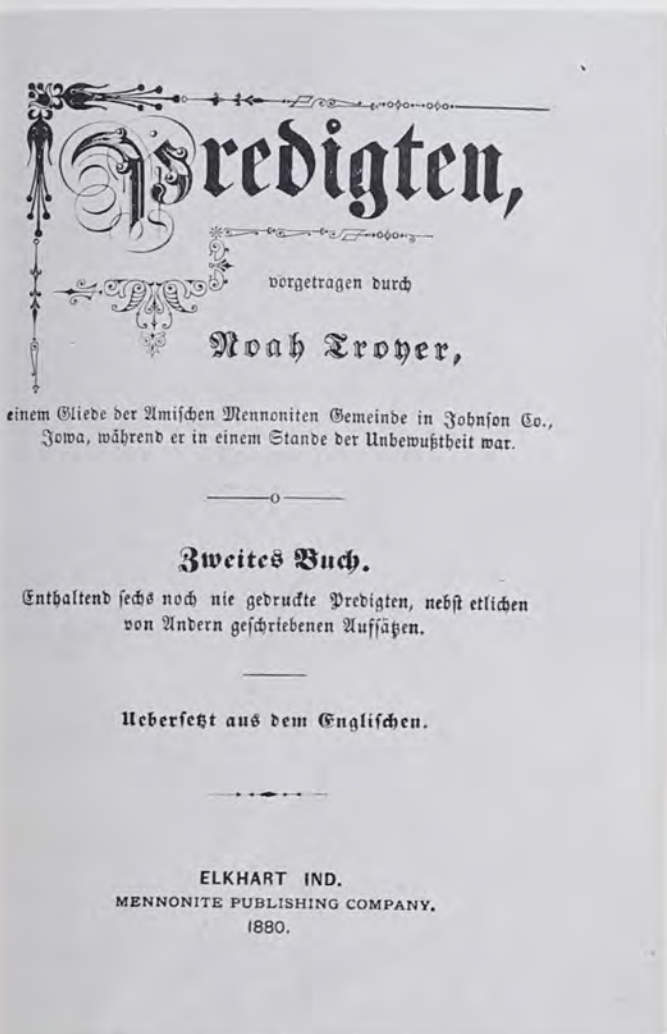
6. The closing prayer, sometimes in German, was a prayer for forgiveness and on occasion lasted up to half an hour. When he concluded praying, Troyer began falling back and his attendants would catch him and lay him on a couch. The congregation would usually be singing a hymn he suggested or left up to them to determine, but while they were singing, he would hold up his hand. He would remain in this rigid helpless condition though periodic convulsions would overtake him for awhile until he rested comfortably. Then he would sleep until morning, being unconscious approximately eleven out of twenty-four hours. His wife reported that during one year he only slept twice in his own bed.

Charisma and Credibility. The gestures, freedom, and dynamic of Troyer's oration was apparently something to behold. His voice conveyed authority and it was often that his hearers testified of being moved to tears or to great conviction. A correspondent of the *Cincinnati Times*, himself a native of Vistula, Indiana, gives this witness to Troyer's preaching on November 20, 1879, "Whatever may be said for or against this new departure in preaching the gospel, the fact remains that Troyer is doing a good work. He has already converted many of the hardest cases who only came to scoff at religion in general and the 'sleeping preacher' in particular. No one can hear him and remain unmoved, and whoever hears him once is eager to hear him again."²

Since these attacks usually began at home, the preaching also was conducted there. Large numbers of people gathered in the home and when the house was packed, bleacher-type seats were constructed outside the windows. Particularly on Sundays, people already began to congregate at noon to be sure of getting in. Records indicate that an

¹Noah Troyer, *Sermons*, Book 2 (Elkhart, Indiana: Mennonite Publishing Company, 1880, pp. 91-92).

²This article is found incorporated in Noah Troyer, *Sermons*, Book 1 (Iowa City, Iowa: Daily Republican Job Print, 1879).



The Second Book of Troyer's Sermons.

leg one and one-half inches while he was praying and Noah did not flinch, and he could not understand a soreness there the next day.

4. Troyer would usually require assistance to stand up in an erect position and then he would begin to preach. From the genesis of the unconscious state to the conclusion, his eyes were always closed. Thus, attendants had to keep close watch on him that he might not touch the hot stove, kerosene lamps, or fall over things. Even though his background, education, and religious training was in German, he usually began speaking in English. In 1879, Troyer began using English and German interchangeably. The two languages were usually separated by a prayer or drink

attendance of fifty in the home was not unusual. As his fame increased, it was said that "the houses could not have contained one-half of them". Sometime in 1879 while in Indiana, Troyer was persuaded to go to a meeting-house where everyone might be accommodated. The only condition he maintained was that they carry him there if they wished him to go, for apparently the whole idea was not to his liking. They took a lounging chair along for him to lie on and after he preached someone stayed with him through the night at the meeting-house where he followed the same procedure as at home. Crowds continued to increase and reports indicate that up to 900-1000 were present. Good order was usually kept except when the crowds became too large.

The nature of the sources available make it obvious that there were both positive and negative interpretations of his preaching. While it is stated openly and implied that Troyer was accused of fraud and deceit, it appears that some of his greatest supporters were his closest friends and relatives. At the beginning of Troyer's first book of sermons, a testimony of six Amish citizens of Johnson County, Iowa, indicates the need to verify the truth of this phenomenon and the fact that Troyer was really unconscious. It is interesting to note that their testimony contains no clause as to whether Troyer or his message was considered of God or of any theological significance. The uniqueness of the experience lent itself to widespread rumors which necessitated testimonials by believers such as, "Troyer in his spirit can see things the natural eye cannot perceive". Seldom, but on occasion, Troyer also pled his authority with remarks like, "I stand between God and man".

Theology. It is not clear as to how Troyer viewed himself for he always claimed that he had no recollection of what had transpired while he was unconscious. However, there seems to be no doubt that he considered himself a divine messenger. Whether the Spirit of God had entered into him, as his followers claimed, or whether he was purely extolling a Biblical message that was on his heart in purely human fashion is a moot question. The central fact remains that Troyer considered himself empowered to speak by God. His prime thrust was aimed at repentance before the forthcoming end, judgment, fire and brimstone. His prophetic task and continual emphasis is contained in this oft-repeated phrase, "I must warn you that the time will come when the door will be shut and you will be cut off". Noah was the key analogical reference Troyer used, for as in the days of Noah, man has been given 120 years to repent because the people of today are as evil as before the flood. Troyer often paraphrased Bible verses but seldom stated where they were found. He preached the whole Bible in every sermon, from the account of creation to the end of Revelation, continually jumping back and forth from story to story with literal applications. For instance, man was likened to the colt that was tied to the post (the colt on which Jesus was to make his triumphal entry into Jerusalem) which represented man's sins, and as Jesus sent the disciples to get the colt loose so we need someone to unloose us from the shackles of sin (our post).

Though Troyer often began his sermon with a text somewhere near the beginning of his oration, he wandered aimlessly in his thought. Repentance, though, was definitely clear, and the reality of heaven and hell and the devil, as well as the uncertainty about tomorrow were key concepts. The graphic image of the broad and narrow road lent itself to repeated reference. His favorite Bible stories centered around Noah, Lot's wife, wicked Sodom and Gom-

SERMONS

Delivered by

NOAH TROYER,

A Member of the Amish Mennonite Church, of Johnson Co.,
Iowa, while in an Unconscious State.

—o—
SECOND BOOK.

Containing Six Sermons not before Published, together with
Several Articles from Other Writers.

—o—
ELKHART, INDIANA.
MENNONITE PUBLISHING COMPANY.
1880.

Troyer's Sermons were published in both English and German. He used both languages.

orrh, the creation, the Good Shepherd, Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, Lazarus, the cross event, Jonah and the whale, and baptism. Interestingly enough, Troyer's second most important theme to repentance was love. He preached against divisions and denominations, arguments about the mode of baptism, fussing and quarrelling in the church, and the easy way of earthly riches. Troyer also revealed things the Bible did not say as why Moses had to tap the rock twice, how the blood of Christ flowed down his legs and baptized the posts of the cross, and how Michael and the angels fought against the dragon in a war in heaven. Generally, though, Noah Troyer's theology was traditionally correct even if details and stories were twisted or supplemented. The pin-pointed question found consistently several times in every sermon was, "Dear friend, where do you stand?". All theological and Biblical material was gathered around this thrust.

Death. After eight years of preaching, Troyer met his death accidentally while on his own farm. A gang of carpenters were present to build a home for his son and strangely, Troyer took a gun to shoot a chicken for dinner. Apparently the musket exploded and the firing pin hit him in the eye and went through to his brain. Thus, at the age of 55 in 1886, Noah Troyer ended a colorful but dynamic career as a unique preacher.

John D. Kauffman

Life and Health. John D. Kauffman was born on July 7, 1847, in Logan County, Ohio. At a young age, he moved, with his parents, to Elkhart County, Indiana, where he became a member of an Amish Mennonite church. Records do not indicate when he was married to Sara Stutzman or how many children were born of that union. Prior to the death of Noah Troyer, Kauffman began preaching in an unconscious state in June of 1880. Evidence shows that Troyer had been to Elkhart County to visit his relatives late in the previous year and while he was there had preached in his usual method to large crowds. Some type of contact between Kauffman and Troyer is then probable.

It was also publicly recognized that Kauffman was not a particularly healthy person as suggested by this statement—"Perhaps some are weaker than others and he may have been one of the weaker ones." Reportedly, Kauffman used both alcohol and tobacco at the advice of his doctor for his health's sake. Soon after he began to preach, a stroke of paralysis affected the left side of his face so that it became dry and numb and hindered his speech and sight. The alcohol was used as a stimulant to soften his face and made his talk plainer. To get the best results, Kauffman had to use enough so that it affected his mind as well as his body. When he found that alcohol was too strong, he switched to beer. His followers indicate that he tried to be temperate but admit that he did consume too much at times. It was also claimed that he used tobacco for health reasons, and because he advised young people against using it, he later quit himself. Kauffman was afflicted with erysipelas so that his face became swollen five different times in his life. In 1912, gangrene set in his foot due to an infection in his toe. The toe was taken off but the wound did not heal. The other toes then turned black and were amputated so that only a stub foot remained. This

began a prolonged period of great pain and discomfort for in being confined to his bed, he developed bed sores. When he would lie down, Kauffman got cramps in his limbs and often screamed for pain so that he only slept five minutes per night. Prior to the gangrene problem, he spoke regularly in spite of the paralysis, but in his final days, unconscious preaching almost completely subsided. One testimony confirms that in the final year of Kauffman's life when pain became very severe, the church fasted and prayed for him and he indicated that he felt some relief. He interpreted his suffering in martyr fashion claiming that he was suffering for the church and it appeared that this drew his congregation together and as one person witnessed, "As we think of his suffering from time to time, it gives us more boldness to stand up for his work for God". On October 22, 1913, Kauffman died at Shelbyville, Illinois, at the age of 66 years, three months, and fifteen days, presumably as a result of the gangrene infection.

Methodology. The sequence of procedure was almost identical with that of Troyer. The attack began with a feeling of sickness and convulsions. Kauffman then lay down and his body and limbs became perfectly stiff. His hands were generally clenched tightly for approximately fifteen minutes, and time elapsed while he rested. During this time it seemed to the witnesses that his spirit left him and the Spirit of God entered into his body. During the singing of a hymn, he lifted his hands straight up in the air, with his fingers outstretched, while three hymns were sung which lasted three quarters of an hour or more. The stamina involved in this feat amazed the people. In low tones, Kauffman would then pray and conclude with the Lord's Prayer. His attendants would help him to his feet at this point and still with arms extended, he would speak loudly. The introductory words were almost always, "I hear thy voice," which he repeated several times. When he spoke in German, Kauffman generally translated the essence of what was said into English. He knelt in prayer before giving the main part of his sermon. One description contained the following remarks, "While speaking he has his eyes closed, but walks around in the room, his arms and hands moving continuously." "Sometimes while speaking we noticed him shaking and one time we noticed he shook so violently that the floor trembled." As with Troyer, Kauffman stopped intermittently through the sermon for a drink. The final prayer was before the final hymn and ended with the Lord's Prayer. Sometimes, he also uttered a benediction following the hymn. When he finished and said Amen, he began to fall and his body stiffened again. After being placed back on the lounging chair he would sleep until morning. He also claimed no knowledge of what had transpired. Kauffman preached every evening at first and then leveled off to twice per week, Wednesday and Sunday evenings. Whenever he was away from home on a type of preaching mission, he spoke every evening.

Charisma and Credibility. Despite his apparent weaknesses, some individuals were inclined to make too much of him and he often warned people against this. Yet he was involved in much traveling in order that his message might be proclaimed. Invitations came from Atlantic to Pacific and from Canada where Kauffman followed the same routine every night. He was even asked to go to Europe but he refused. The sources indicate great difficulty in putting his dynamic delivery down on paper for it was very charismatic and alone commanded authority. One testimony reflected the attitude of many people. "Just as

THIRD ADDITION
TO

"A Timely Warning,
OR
The Midnight Cry
From
Heaven"

May God's peace be with all
where this message may call.

William J. Shrock of Jerome, Michigan, an adherent of the Sleeping Preacher Group among the Amish, has published an anthology of trance-preaching.

we do not understand all the Scriptures, so likewise we do not claim to understand all about this man and his wonderful preaching." At one point Kauffman claimed to be the angel Gabriel. Numerous ministers witnessed to the fact that he did preach the Word of God for "If this were a false or deceiving teacher, why would he have preached the same doctrine as our forefathers, the martyrs, and Menno Simons taught?" or "If God saw fit to send him, what is man that he questions why? Should not man be afraid of God, to thus question his workings?"

A strange combination of numbers combined to make an interesting picture of Kauffman's role. He was born on the seventh day of the seventh month of the forty-seventh year. His followers indicated that in the Bible the number seven denotes completeness or fullness. Therefore, just as Christ came in the fullness of time, so Kauffman also came in the fullness of time. He began preaching at the age of 33 and preached for a total of 33 years. The number similarity to the life of Christ lent itself to sacred interpretations. The year in which Kauffman commenced preaching was 1880. Noah was given 120 years for the people to repent before the flood. Since the mission of Noah and Kauffman were similar in purpose, the 120 year scheme fit evenly into an interpretation for Kauffman. 120 years from 1880 would be exactly the year 2000, at which time judgment would fall upon man. It was these three combinations of numbers that provided another source of authority for Kauffman.

As with Troyer, it is obvious that Kauffman too had the warmest of friends as well as the bitterest of enemies. Since Kauffman lived much longer as a sleeping preacher, lines of opposition became more entrenched and persecution was inevitable. Kauffman likened himself to the Apostle Paul and other martyrs who were cast aside because they preached the truth. By 1907, general opinion was so negative against the spirit preaching that the local bishop forsook Kauffman and in the fall he and several other families moved to Shelby County in Southern Illinois. His followers from Oregon, Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, Oklahoma, Kansas, and northern Illinois came to this relatively central place to settle with him. There they were given an opportunity to buy small tracts of land and a fair chance to rent a number of farms. Above all, Kauffman knew that this was a place where people would not go if making money was a priority. Against the warning of other ministers, Bishop John R. Zook of Lawrence County, Pennsylvania, came to Shelby for communion and baptism and ordained Peter Zimmerman as bishop in Woodford County, Illinois. The desire for a bishop who was still closer gave the people occasion to urge Kauffman to become bishop. Against his will, but at the instruction of the Spirit, he consented and thus an unordained man became bishop in the spring of 1911. From this time on, he preached only during daylight hours on Sundays and the sources differ as to whether the preaching lacked its original effervescence. Though the number of followers

Foreword to the Reader

As I did not have the opportunity of reading the revelation of Barbara Stutzman until March 3, A. D. 1935, I thought it might be encouraging to my Christian friends and fellow travelers toward a never-ending eternity to know something of the outcome, or ending, of the so-called trance preacher, John D. Kauffman. As I have a fair knowledge of the close of his life and labors, I hope it may prove a benefit to the reader and an honor to the Heavenly Father and our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ from whom all good and perfect gifts come.

The Revelation of BARBARA STUTZMAN, Deceased To All Mankind

THE following is a true story of a widow who died in the beginning of July, A. D. 1888. Her name was Barbara Stutzman, and she was the widow of Peter Stutzman, deceased. She was about 42 years old and had four children, three of whom survived her, and she resided about four miles east of Goshen, Clinton Township, Elkhart County, Indiana. She was a sister in an Amish Congregation and had been a widow for years.

I will tell now what she said on her deathbed, after she had been sick several weeks. When she was lying very low, so that the people thought she was dying, they put her arms straightway alongside her body. But she sat up and exclaimed: "O Lord in Heaven, how great is the glory!" Then she said: "There, is my mamma, and my husband Pit, and my daughter Betzsie, and my sister Polly; and there also is my brother Jacob, and Pit's aunty, old Rosina, all with me in eternity; and there are many more, whom you cannot see, until you get to the place yourself." Then she exhorted the people and said to a neighbor woman: "There you come with your deceitful eyes! You have dealt devilish with the old lady, your mother; but still you may repent." Then another woman came in, to whom she spoke: "There you come, you spotted devil! You have incited my children and helped them to destruction. Is your husband coming too? I thought, that he was a pious man; but he has fallen, because he keeps grand music at his house. Therefore a curse is in the house, not a blessing. But you may repent yet, if you desist and sin no more. And there is your son and his wife; you are on the road to damnation, if you do not turn back; but you may all turn back yet."

Then she told the people: "Should you speak thus, it would bring you into damnation. With me it is no sin; I must speak thus by the power of Almighty God, that it may become manifest unto all the world!"

Then she commenced to speak about her congregation, that they were on the road to hell, that they had strayed away from the right path through their injustice, and that their Sunday School does not accomplish any good. She said: "As you conduct it now, you lead your children into damnation, unless you keep them straight. And now you build a new meeting house which is an abomination before the Lord. How nicely could you have kept the congrega-

tion in the old meeting house to serve the Lord, abominable modern tunes, "God be with you, other like tunes. You shall make manifest and if you do not do so, you shall not die happy in happiness. For all men must be sincere, from your houses, as for instance the gaudy spectacles are all right, as are also the plain clothes are idolatry and an abomination before the Lord. But men have lost their trust in God, and love and faith abates, and injustice prevails."

All this she told with great earnestness and admonished her own sister, that she should put away that showy and unbecoming and such as might offend the Lord, and she said also: "Put away the shameful things, and her daughter said then: "We will do as you will cry."

After this her brother-in-law came in, and said: "Now you come, you black devil! You have deceived me, and have thought that you read more than I. And to him, saying: "Everything is shown to me and you all can be saved."

Then she had one of her neighbors called, and she said to him: "You are false and covetous, too," and she told him that he then made things right with her. Later on she spoke to him, saying: "You are coming to me, you do not make known to the people, what you say since it is time yet." Then she said: "My Aunty will follow me soon." And, indeed, he died soon.

Here at this place (Goshen) lives the preacher, the "sleeping preacher," who preaches in an unbecoming and entranced, like as Noah Troyer in Iowa preached a testimony, that she had to testify before she died she said: "People say that Kauffman blessed is this Kauffman, if he only perseveres, souls who despise him!"

The sister of the deceased, who attended her in her man's afterwards, and he stood up for her in the church, should not conceal anything and should make manifest the sick sister Barbara with great force of the same. And her daughter declared: "Mamma! I was well, and yet she was so near to her death, that her tongue was able to utter. People thought she might get too tired; but she was what I am saying. For I must talk thus by the power of the Spirit, that it may become manifest through the whole world." She raised in the fear of God, and the women must be right. And the Old Amish are nearest to the right. Then she said to her children: "Here can read all and may talk with God and Jesus; of the devil. Children, do what is right; through, from the beginning to the end, and if you keep the right path and may be saved." And when she was

The deathbed prophecy of Barbara Stutzman, dated 1888, defends the Sleeping Preacher Kauffman, and upholds the strictest Old Order Amish teachings on plainness. On the following pages are presented: (1) "A Mother's Vision," from the Brethren in Christ, involving healing, and (2) "A Sketch of the Wonders of These Last Days," including vision materials also underscoring plainness. These pamphlets are from the Collection of Dr. John A. Hostetler of Temple University.

remained relatively constant, this became the point of reversal in his unconscious preaching for it gradually diminished. Kauffman at one time expressed his concern over this but his people assured him that he had done his part.

Theology. The theology of Troyer and Kauffman was much the same with one exception. Kauffman became more explicit and detailed in his admonishments and preached a strict traditional Amish ethic. It is as though Kauffman adopted Troyer's whole system and carried it one step further. Whereas Troyer was often vague and spoke in generalities, Kauffman built on Troyer's theology and became more specific. For instance, he became convinced of his prophetic role of preaching repentance in line with Noah as Troyer did, but he carried this further to determine that time was divided into three dispensations. The first one was when Noah preached before the flood, the second when John preached repentance to open the way for Christ, and the third was the repentance preaching of Kauffman and Troyer in preparation for the return of Christ. As Noah not only preached but built, so ministers today must preach and build a house that will not burn when the great fire comes for which God will give them instructions. Bible stories were similar to the ones Troyer used and again supplementary versions of details not included in the Bible were revealed. Repentance was Kauffman's theme as well, but it was more related to prohibitions of what ought to be done by true Christians.

Joseph Shrock's numerous articles stress one phrase repeatedly that he attributes to Kauffman, to "come back and down in every way". It is interesting that Kauffman did not call for a return to early Christianity but to the way things were fifty or one hundred years ago. A partial list of some of these ethical precepts are listed below because they form the framework around which the Biblical material is gathered:

1. non-resistance, non-conformity, non-swearing, foot-washing, importance of mother tongue, observing all the ordinances of forefathers.
2. against photographs, insurance, musical instruments, drunkenness and gluttony. Did not preach against tobacco or strong drink because it would not harmonize with the Bible (he used both).
3. read at least one chapter in the Bible daily, family prayers, prayer before and after meals.
4. "going the road like lightning." "Would Christ ride in a car?" Trucks, autos, tractors considered idols.
5. Sunday schools, Bible schools, Bible meetings, and yearly conferences bring too much human honor with them.

Kauffman strongly advocated the "avoidance" and only that which would lead to humility would be tolerated. Repentance, to Kauffman, was humility, and humility was achieved by denying worldly conformity, and remaining close to the earth. Such sincere repentance and obedience promises heaven for the saved and wretched wickedness

on you sing those
meet again," and
have told you,
do, you shall die
all showy things
but the plain cars
and photographs
is right to insure
unbelieving, and

ning. Then she
her house every-
and haughtiness;
y house and burn
e do it not, moth-

essed as follows:
it above me; you
saled his thoughts
sun. Do better,

e to him saying:
ere he stood, and
ers came in, and
no, are false, and
you may repent,
e is a cripple, he
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uffman, known as
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gle, she said: "Now I have such a great joy and glory in my heart. I feel so good, indeed, better than I have felt before during my whole life. And I never knew that a person could feel so happy in the Lord! And she often said: "O the Glory of God is so great!" And when the end came, she said: "I am still in the Glory, but I have to die and must pass through death. O, if only the time would come, when you will put my coffin here and put me in it; then I would be in Glory: O, the Glory!" Then she said: "Just think of it, every evening my mother goes with all the pious women and people to Jacob's well to drink of the fresh water."

And on Sunday morning after her last struggle, two neighbors came into the house and sat down in the room and called Preacher Kauffman a seducer, a false preacher, and other things. Then the sick sister said, they should order them out or else they should keep quiet; for she could not stand such talk. Then they left and went away.

And to a neighbor woman, who had attended to her occasionally, she said: "There my brown sister comes (brown, on account of wearing brown, plain clothes), but you better give up your bad habits." And then she confessed, that in her single days she had done something that was not right, for she then had her "likeness" or picture taken. And after the death of her husband she had her property insured. She stated, that friends talked her into it, and that this matter had troubled her greatly.

The minister was expected to make everything known in his funeral sermon. But instead he merely said: "She had to fight a hard battle; she had done something wrong in her single days, and also after her husband's death." That was all he said, and that did not satisfy the children, because her deceased mother had said that they should make manifest unto all the world what she had said.

The sister of the deceased heard her say all those sayings, and she wished, that all the preachers and all the people were present and would be listening to such important words. The sister states: "It is a great joy for me to hear the revelation of such divine power. It has brought me to earnest reflection. And I have put away from my house all that my deceased sister ordered me to do, and I have burnt two stovesfull of unnecessary things—likenesses, pictures, and other things."

Whoever will take the above to heart, may learn something and gather up something for their eternal salvation.

The foregoing article was written in the year of 1888, eight years after John D. Kauffman commenced preaching. He continued preaching about 25 years after the article was written, making a total of more than thirty-three years in which he faithfully warned the people of this drifting age, telling the people they are living as they did before the flood only much more sinfully for Jesus was here. Toward the close of his mission he established a church, accepting what leads to humility and rejecting what does not lead to humility—meekness and patience—regarding none great or small, young or old, but told his hearers to look back and see how the churches stood 100 years ago. He also told his hearers to build a church like the Apostle Paul told the Corinthians to build, and especially called their attention to the eighth chapter of II Corinthians, and asked them to read it over and over until it was understood.

So, when the church was being established and the members desired him to be bishop over the church, he, Kauffman, hesitated to accept the office.

Then an angel of the Lord appeared to him as he was out near the barn and told him to accept the office. He then asked the angel to go to the home where Sarah, his wife, was, but the angel after telling him the shock would be too great for her vanished out of sight. Sarah told this to the writer and requested him to keep it secret until after her death, which he did.

This took place about two years before the death of Kauffman. When he was on his bed of affliction he said "Oh, what this church must go through with yet."

Now the writer of this sketch was born about six years after Kauffman began preaching, and two years before the foregoing article of Barbara Stutzman was written. He heard Kauffman preach quite regularly from childhood and had a fair knowledge of what took place during the time of his preaching, and at the hour of Kauffman's death in a vision about nine o'clock in the morning, was permitted to see his spirit entering into an eternal weight of Glory. Not that the writer was worthy of the same, oh! no, but God in his great mercy had not forgotten a prayer that had been offered about ten years before the death of Kauffman, although the writer had forgotten the prayer until the vision had vanished. The writer remembered of being alone in the corn field plowing corn over 300 miles away when he offered this prayer. Now our Heavenly Father had not forgotten to send us the calling which the Apostle said that God would send, I Thessalonians 5:23-24, and also fulfills Rev. 11:8—for how easy is it to crucify the mind of Christ through the modern highways of living. The Apostle said he that has not the mind of Christ is none of his. So, the reader may see that the Spirit of Christ can be crucified by disobedience to what the spirit through Kauffman taught, which was a sent message and warning from the Father, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to warn all denominations and all families and all individuals to turn back from whence they are fallen away from the meekness and humility of Jesus into the world's high ways of living. There could be much more written of what the spirit said through parables of what is yet to take place, but he said everything is fulfilled far enough that we may look for Jesus any moment. So much is written that the reader may believe and do works worthy of repentance, and may know that God's warning has already been accomplished and it is left to us as a people to believe and obey, and turn from our vanities unto the true God, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as taught through Kauffman when he said, "It takes a true, honest person to become a Child of God, but he cannot be such unless he does God's will." He also said, "he came not to change the scripture, but to fulfill; so the reader can see that Kauffman has faithfully persevered to the end, as you read in the foregoing article, and was seen entering into an unspeakable weight of glory which is not to be compared with anything visible here on earth, nor is there anything on earth to compare with the glory he was entering into. This may be doubted by many, but with God all things are possible. It is well worth every effort to humiliation in every way so as to be heirs and joint heirs of this glory, and of the grand eternal home of which the writer finds himself far, far unworthy except through God's great mercy and goodness as a free gift. O, how dark, and gloomy, and faltering are these things of time at their very best as compared with the glory that the trance preacher Kauffman was seen entering.

May the reader have forbearance with the writer for making mention of this vision, as he was unworthy of it. If all came through God's mercy, and it is through his mercy that we have not yet been cut off, but are spared for works worthy of repentance.

May God help us all.

II.

Charisma in the Sleeping Preachers In the Light of the Theory of Max Weber

The origination of particular leadership in a society is not always fully explainable. It is true that the leader must, in some specific manner, speak to the felt needs or desires of those who follow him and thus emerge as their spokesman. But more dominant than that are the specific qualities with which the individual is endowed which he may have cultivated but over which he has no control. Though this charisma may have been earned or underscored by individual achievement, it is largely a quality that is imputed to him by people who recognize certain dynamic characteristics in his personality with which they can identify. The leader's influence depends upon the voluntary acceptance of him by the followers and when this attraction is magnetic, charisma has been the prevailing element.

Charisma As Authority. Max Weber discusses the explosive nature of charisma because he sees it is providing the possibility for precipitating a break in the traditional order.³ Any system that experiences a charismatic personage is not confronted with purely rational forces but, to a greater or lesser degree, superhuman forces that attract a following. Therefore, Weber defines charisma as "a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader."⁴ The

³Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion and The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*.

⁴Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 358-359.

high plane on which this definition places charisma indicates its sacral characteristics in contrast to the mundane and the profane. Whereas rational and traditional authority seek stability and controls, charismatic authority is not bound to any rules and thus is required to achieve its sacral legitimacy within itself, as long as this charismatic inspiration continues. In Weber's thought, the single most important requirement is the recognition by the "followers" or "disciples" of this charisma in the new authority figure. When charisma subsides, the following dwindles and effectiveness is lost unless a routinization of charisma occurs. Charisma can only evoke a change or a following when it is a *source of authority* and this is Weber's first major point.

Charisma As Innovation. When a new force becomes operative in a traditional system, it is always in some fashion disruptive to the previous patterns. The great gusto and authority charisma brings with it poses the new-found figure as a threat to the order in power. The established society must find methods of dealing with the new phenomena through compromise or rejection or face the risk of succumbing to the possible gathering momentum of the massive following. In some sense, the charismatic authority must repudiate the past, according to Weber, and in this sense acts as a revolutionary force. It must interject a new and desired element, if it is to be successful, and therefore necessarily presents itself as a threat to the status quo, purely through its moving existence. Thus, Weber's second major point is that charisma is a *source of instability and innovation*.

Traditional Response to Charisma. Amish society presents itself as a strictly traditional system with little room for innovation. As a closed society, it has no way of dealing with disruptive elements except through "Meidung" or shunning. Accommodation is prohibitive. There is no question that Jakob Ammann, the founder of Amish social order, depended on his charismatic qualities in articulating

orders, and finally caused a division in the church, as the spirit preaching warned and said, "where a church will not remain in God's order, it will soon become confused." Thus the church seemed to be left in a miserable and unhealable condition 20 years after the spirit preaching ceased.

But God in his loving kindness has given another calling unto repentance through very sick and dying sisters.

The first was in Oregon telling them what they should do to get to Heaven. The second was in the Shelbyville hospital, but a few days before the sister died. She called her mother, others of the church and some relatives and asked them whether they wouldn't come to the cross and fast, saying there is glory at the cross. She said it could be seen at the fortnight (two weeks time). At the same time there was another sister lying very sick and struggling for life and in such a miserable condition that she despaired to touch her own body. While in this condition she was caught away so that she knew not whether she was in the body or not and she saw the great untruthful church was in, because the church had newly confessed and promised to build as she was started but is not doing so, but taking their own course and following their own will too much—as the spirit had said people are doing in these times. Then some of the abominations were seen. First stood the automobile, then the electric lights, then the sisters who did not dress in modesty as they used to do, then the children who were not dressed plain and modest.

The sister did not want to make known her vision, but she was troubled for she saw she had to reveal it some time, but thought he would wait until she was well. Four times her condition showed improvement and each time was followed by a backset, leaving her in a worse condition than before. Exactly on the fortnight (as the dying sister has spoken of) she revealed her vision before five witnesses not knowing what the dying sister had said. From then on he improved in health and had no more backsets.

Putting away these abominations is certainly a cross to the flesh, a burden that will break down the carnal man, as the Scripture says, "Whosoever falleth upon this rock shall be broken, but upon whom it will fall it will grind him to powder." As the burden of the cross was hard for Jesus to carry up Mount Calvary and he sank way under it, so must the carnal will of men sink away and our lives must become new creatures in meekness and modesty and consent to those of low estate, as the Scriptures teach us. The spirit preaching has also given us some very impressive parables showing what will befall the believers. And he said, we will say a word of people were travelling on the road, and looking back would see a fire coming after them. Then they would say, come, hurry, let us go on or else the fire will overtake us. So in travelling on they would come to a bridge of water. Then they would all help each other and build a bridge over the stream, but in looking back they see the fire coming over the bridge. Then what shall they do? Then they would come to a man who has an iron house, which the fire cannot damage, and he would say, if they will do just as he tells them, they will take them into his iron house, but they must do just as he tells them.

Another parable he put forth: We are as people by a large fire. The first one would say I must walk close to the fire or I will not

get any of the riches. The second will say, I must walk closer than the first did or I will not get any of the riches. So the third one will come along and say, I will stay away from the fire as far as I can, so he will not get any of the riches, but he (the trance preacher) said he was the one who was doing the right and that if God has warned and we do not give heed will he give heed when we will cry in time of need?

Jesus did not receive the glory of the cross until he carried it to the top of Mount Calvary, and then the cross carried him through the valley and shadow of death. Then he received the glory of the cross. So we must first crucify our carnal will and carry the cross on top of Mount Zion, which is higher than the hills—Isaiah 2:2, "then the cross will carry us through the dark valley and shadow of death." As the apostle Paul says, "Then we shall appear with Christ in Glory"; the glory at the cross, as the dying sister said.

There could be much more written as to what took place in the 36 years in which the spirit preaching occurred. Here are related a few facts, or prophecies, of our Lord and Saviour, which are fulfilled in the spirit preaching, found recorded in Luke 21:24 as concerning the fullness of the gentiles, which we also find recorded in Romans 11:25. For in Christ, the Jews are concluded in unbelief, Romans 11:32; how much more we gentiles who are of the wild olive tree nature, Romans 11:24, if we will not show with works of obedience unto the cause of the spirit preaching which called us to repentance, and said let each one try to be the first to come down to humility, and further saying people are living now as they did before they stood only much more sinful, for Jesus was here. This was said before there were any automobiles, electric lights or tractors, in the church which he established which received the order that what leads to humility is accepted and what does not lead to humility is not accepted.

When Jesus was telling his disciples concerning the last days he said unto them, "Then shall the kingdom of Heaven be like unto ten virgins." He did not say the people will be like unto ten virgins, but the kingdom of Heaven is thus, showing that wisdom from above calls people unto repentance. Jesus said when the net is full he will draw it in and believers will not be unequally yoked with the unbelievers, but will go out from among them and will be separated from them—II Corinthians 6:14. So the believer will give heed in the accepted time unto the calling which God sends to call all denominations, all churches, all families and all individuals unto a higher standard of purity, as we read we must be at the coming of our Lord Jesus—I Thessalonians 5:23-24. For the spirit which taught through the two men mentioned in the fore part of this article, said he did not come for one denomination, but for them all. So we can see that God is no respecter of persons or denominations, but asks all people to fear him and repent, as we read in many places in the scriptures of the prophets, where God said that if the people will repent and turn from their evil he will also repent from the evil which he determined upon them. May the reader of this article turn to the book of Jeremiah and read the first eleven verses of the 18th chapter would to God that all the human family would give heed to God's counsel, which he gives us in Revelation 3:18.

The writer now leaves this article to the reader for further meditation, as he feels his great weakness and imperfection.

The following is a letter written by the sister who saw the vision mentioned in this article, and was written by the request of a neighbor:

DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER IN THE LORD:

As you requested that I should write what was revealed to me in my sickness, I will try, by God's help, to tell you as nearly as I can, but words cannot express it as plainly as I saw it. It stood right before my eyes—I couldn't have seen it plainer. My son had stopped and all the others went out to talk with him. Then I heard my son say something about communion. Then I began to wonder in what condition the church was in by this time—if it was in shape to partake of the sacred emblems again. I sure hoped it was, but in a moment I had to see "The Church is standing in a great untruth." Then I was shown why: "Because we had renewed our vow and signed our names to build the church as it was started and are not doing so."

Then I was shown some of the things that are not as they were. First was the automobile, then the electric lights. These seemed to be of like importance. Then I saw two of the married sisters who used to wear their dresses long and now are worn considerably shorter. Why the change? Next was one of the single sisters with her dress still shorter. Then two little children dressed too worldly, and one of them with bobbed hair.

Now I don't think the three sisters I saw (I will not mention the names) are worse than the others who do the same things, but they were given for a lesson. Some people may think this was a dream, but it was not. I saw, too, that I had to tell what I saw, but thought I would wait until I got well. Instead of getting well I had several backsets and finally it occurred to me perhaps if I would tell what was shown to me I can get well. So I told my daughter, but that didn't give me rest. I saw I had to tell someone else. I would rather have told my husband, but I was shown why he was not the one I should tell first. Who it was I didn't know for awhile, but I prayed to God that if he wanted me to tell it he would lead and guide that I would tell it at the right time, and I think he did.

Oh, how I wish every brother and sister in the church could see what I saw during my sickness. When our hearts are free from the cares of this life we can have sweet communion with God. If we could only see of what little importance these worldly pleasures are as compared with the heavenly, how easy it would be to lay them aside for these few years and then enjoy the heavenly treasures throughout all eternity. But this is getting too lengthy. I had no idea of writing so much when I started, as I greatly felt my unworthiness.

May we all be willing to come to the cross, as Clara, your dying sister, said. There is glory at the cross if we can only see it.

YOUR SISTER IN THE LORD.

differences that led to the establishment of the Amish shape of piety. Hostetler succinctly points out that "His authority to decide what was right was not delegated to him by an assembly or any organization. He assumed that position and proceeded by equating strictness with divine sanction".⁵ Ammann's charisma was necessary to the emergence of the new sect. Since the time of the solidifying of the socio-religious patterns through Ammann's authority, there remain few tolerated avenues open for authority outside the traditional system. Bishops and ministers function with a minimum of charisma for they too are subject to the mores of the community. Whenever charisma has begun to blossom, as in the case of Bishop Egli of Indiana or Bishop Stuckey of Illinois, the resultant cleavages led to bifurcation and withdrawal from the traditional society.⁶ The drag of historical methods and age-old social patterns resists charisma because its new priorities in restructuring authority bring with it inevitable change which is undesirable.

Charisma in Troyer and Kauffman. Were Troyer and Kauffman charismatic, according to Weber's theory? There is no doubt that they were so in a unique sense. Whereas most charismatic figures operate on a rational plan in full consciousness for a desired end, the sleeping preachers lived a dual life of consciousness as an ordinary person and unconsciousness as a charismatic figure, though this duality gradually melted into one authoritarian personality. In the eyes of their followers, they were viewed as being instruments of the Spirit of God when in this unconscious state, mainly due to the uniqueness, the power, and the dynamic content of their presentation. The imputation of this interpretation by the following evidences the charisma they exhibited. To those who accepted the unconscious preaching as superhuman or divine revelation, Troyer and Kauffman were given authoritative positions as leaders, in agreement with Weber's framework. In addition, the freedom and nature of delivery, though disjointed from their normal character, proved to be sufficient evidence and justification for the possibility of adopting them as a "special" source of authority.

The sleeping preachers also carried the threat of innovation to the traditional order by insisting on authoritative divine revelation. The proclamation of a type of apostolic succession in line with Noah, John the Baptist, Jesus, then Troyer and Kauffman, became a serious claim that the Amish had to contend with. Particularly Kauffman's sermons reveal a continual frustration with lack of acceptance on this point and repeated attempts are forcibly made at establishing his credibility among the masses. While no official statements from Amish-Mennonite communities are available, the need of numerous testimonies as to the authenticity of their charisma provides evidence of widespread skepticism. However, there is no doubt that Troyer and Kauffman were charismatic figures to some while at the same time others rejected them. It may be concluded that the bulk of Amish society was cautiously tolerant of this phenomenon at first but with an increasing measure of hostility. Why public opinion became negative suggests possibilities on which we can only venture an opinion, i.e., the charismatic claim to divine or supernatural authority was not convincing enough to the general population so that the traditional society was effective in silencing the innovation. The norms and mores of their expected be-

havior patterns were so tight that any deviation ultimately became heresy.

Kauffman proved to be a greater threat than Troyer for several reasons. Troyer's message was not so related to particularisms in both theology and ethics that were an extension of the Bible. For instance, Kauffman was more explicit regarding his role in the three dispensations, likening himself to Noah not just analogically but in unique succession. He also continually rebuked the ministers who rejected him more than Troyer did, fostering further alienation from society. Troyer's more general message of repentance was easily more acceptable and less disruptive. Kauffman's large-scale travels attracted more curious persons than followers, as Shrock intimates. Another explanation might be that Troyer came first, before community reaction had an opportunity to take shape, and as a result seemed a bit more authentic than Kauffman who followed so close as to appear to have styled himself after Troyer. Finally, the possibility is strong that people recognized a mental difficulty in both men so that what was evidently divine to some was obviously a human psychological problem to others, although they might not be able to define it that way. The end result was that an insufficient number of followers failed to demand that any appreciable routinization of charisma occur.

Fitting Weber's Framework. Three responses were possible to this phenomenon: Complete rejection, passive toleration, or enthusiastic acceptance. Acceptance of the sleeping preachers led to the ascription of sacral characteristics to any unique event or word they uttered. The sequence of motor functions and convulsions prior to the speaking was evidence of the human spirit departing and the divine spirit entering the body. The regularity of the attacks and the prophecy of events that took place shortly thereafter were definite clues to these individuals of the authenticity and sacredness of it all. (The sacred here being a point of similarity between Weber and Durkheim.) Weber's criteria for charisma are uniquely present in both Troyer and Kauffman for they were bound by no system of prescribed conduct and aroused a following which recognized their charisma without dependency on other factors. It is important to note that community pressure and rejection was particularly effective in the dwindling charisma of Kauffman, so much so that a relocation or withdrawal to Shelby County was advisable. One might conclude, then, that the sleeping preachers were charismatic as a source of authority only to a small group of followers. Charisma, rather than curiosity, on a larger scale was more evident in the early years of preaching. No records indicate the general innovative influence of the sleeping preachers and it appears as if it never became a major issue among Amish-Mennonites. The forced withdrawal of Kauffman to southern Illinois demonstrates the strength of the traditional system to resist new patterns. Therefore, the essential characteristics of innovation and authority, so central to Weber's system, were present but were lacking in depth to facilitate any major break with the traditional order. Kauffman's charisma was strong enough, though, to result in a schismatic development which was his only alternative for survival. The major point of departure from Weber comes at the level of supernatural origin, for this was the source of charisma for the sleeping preachers. If supernatural origination was acknowledged, all the other criteria followed his model. If not, Kauffman and Troyer were inevitably rejected.

⁵John A. Hostetler, *Amish Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), p. 32.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 248.

The Nature of a Prophet. Weber makes a significant differentiation between priest and prophet. The priest does not depend on charisma but finds his authority in the traditional order rather than a charismatic emotional-type personage with a specific mission not received from a human agency but from divine revelation. The whole proof of prophetic virtue eventually depends on the possession of special magical or ecstatic abilities. Both Kauffman and Troyer had prophetic qualities in being emotional, charismatic, possessing unique or special revelation, and a deep sense of mission. The absence of magic or attempts at healing in the sleeping preachers rule out any possibility of Weber's mystagogue.⁷ But the divine sense of commission is felt and expressed often. "I stand between you and God." "I am in the power of God, his will controls me." Once the sense of instrumental importance was stated, it was a simple step to a sense of specific purpose or mission. "He well knew that God was using him for doing a special and important work . . ." Both men felt strongly convicted to preach repentance and this mission was given power by impending judgment. Though it was claimed that such preaching was done in an unconscious state, it is difficult to determine how their own preaching was part of how they felt when in a conscious condition. One cannot help but implicitly feel that even when conscious, Troyer and Kauffman both knew the nature of what they had said in the evening. The sense of mission appears to have been and continues to be far more evident among the adherents. Kauffman refers to his mission only as the revelation of the need to "come back and down". Shrock, in his missionary enthusiasm said, "We need not look for another warning after his departure". This warning was Kauffman's prophetic spiritual duty.

The Type of Prophet. The state of unconsciousness gives an uncanny twist to Weber's description of a prophet. However, it is because of the uniqueness of this condition that the sleeping preachers became prophetic, in Weber's theory, for it is the basis on which they obtained their charisma. To Weber, being a prophet was an outward manifestation of charismatic leadership, and therefore prophetic power depends on charismatic qualities. Two types of prophets can be distinguished, the ethical and exemplary. The exemplary prophet depends on his personal example to bring others to the truth. Obedience and mission are minimized by this type in preference to a more egocentric craving of salvation to be found in successfully following the footsteps of the exemplary prophet. Elements of this prophecy lack the social mores found in the message of the sleeping preachers, although the emphasis on a heavenly reward was a persistent personal salvation goal. Neither Troyer nor Kauffman in any way set an example in their personal life which could be followed. In contrast, the ethical prophet demands obedience as an ethical duty because of a god-inspired commission. Parsons elaborates on Weber's category by saying, "These precepts in turn are defined, not so much to exhort followers to emulate the prophet's personal example, as they are to exhort them to conform with an impersonally defined normative order".⁸ Kauffman fits this description perfectly with his repeated ethical prescriptions for repentance in refusing to have a tractor, life insurance, musical instruments, etc. His own particular personal example was of little significance in his teachings.

Source of Legitimacy. Weber's distinction and Parsons' elaboration of the two types of prophecy in relation to the divine as a vessel or as an instrument presents some difficulties. The identification of the preacher's unconscious exhortations with the spirit of God or Kauffman's divine role in the third dispensation suggests their interpretation as a vessel in personal relation or union with the divine which is characteristic of the exemplary type. "As God in times past spoke through the prophets and through His Son, so today he makes known his will through Troyer and Kauffman." "I stand between God and man." Such description makes it clear that their followers regarded them as exemplary prophets in Weber's construction. In contrast, the ethical prophet is not a vessel but an instrument of divine will for Weber. His mission is to actively promulgate a pattern for others that elucidates that will. Again, Kauffman fits the idea of proclaiming a normative order but himself lacks the active instrumental nature that Weber gives to such a prophet. Troyer seldom refers to a normative ethic. Confusion arises because neither the preachers themselves nor their followers knew to what extent this unconscious sermonizing was supernatural. The previous discussion of the departing of the human spirit and the entering of the divine clouds our ability to satisfy Weber's criteria for either the exemplary or ethical model as a source of legitimacy. The structured dichotomy that Weber maintains between the prophetic nature of legitimacy in the exemplary and the ethical prophet does not fit the paradigm he proposes earlier in regard to the sleeping preachers whereby we assigned them to the category of ethical prophet. In regard to the way of life advocated, Troyer and Kauffman show characteristics of being both ethical and exemplary prophets on the matter of instrument-vessel and thus we find it impossible to fit them into predominantly one type according to Weber's specified requirements. The highly supernatural interpretation of the unconscious state encourages a placement in the exemplary category.

The Nature Of God. Since the exemplary prophet is involved in some type of immediate identification with the divine, the nature of that higher being is such that he is promulgated as immanent and possibly even pantheistic in Weber's system. As a participant in that new order, the exemplary prophet encourages others to follow him. There is not great approximation here to the sleeping preachers with the exception of Troyer's plea to reduce quarrels and arguments, i.e., incarnational love. The ethical prophet interprets his divinity as transcendental, outside and above humanity but forming a rational order for it, or one who "legislates," as Parsons puts it.⁹ Weber acknowledges that this conception most suitably describes Christianity, and it also forms the crux of the message of the sleeping preachers and the legislated need for repentance.

The Prophetic Community. In relation to the religious community, exemplary prophecy tends to become very restrictive of the in-group and the out-group. The in-group becomes the religiously elite and the rest of society is more or less ignored or left out. Kauffman adopted such a position when the optimum toleration point had been reached and large-scale rejection forced him to Shelby County. Concern for the rest of society then was not as important as preserving the religiously elite. Ethical prophecy is far more all-encompassing and seeks to attract many to become part of the normative order. This represents the general

⁷Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), pp. 54-55.

⁸*Ibid.*, Introduction by Talcott Parsons, p. xxxv.

⁹*Ibid.*, Introduction by Talcott Parsons, p. xxxvi.

nature of both men's preaching. As a specific categorical group of persons, the call to repentance was largely directed to the Amish-Mennonites.

Conclusion. Weber's concept of a prophet as a charismatic leader generally fits very well into the work of both Troyer and Kauffman because they claim divine revelation that is specially unique to them. By superseding all previous revelation, they became an innovative and authoritative force to those who accepted the uniqueness of that revelation. Weber's prophet was unusual, spontaneous, and creative, and the sleeping preachers exhibited the same characteristics. Weber's construction of dichotomous types, exemplary and ethical prophets, when applied to the sleeping preachers as charismatic prophets, proves to be quite adequate. The nature of unconsciousness provides the greatest difficulty in attempting to differentiate the human from the divine elements, and also retards institutionalization of charisma.

The presupposition on which this section was written considered a sociological interpretation of the uniqueness of this phenomenon from a descriptive and behavioristic stance. Interaction patterns were analyzed but no comment was made on the origins of the repeated preaching experiences. To seek an understanding of why the dynamic of unconscious speaking occurred will be the goal of the final section.

III.

Toward a Psychological Interpretation

The limited data and lack of objective interpretation regarding the social behavior, mental health, and development in early life of Troyer and Kauffman prohibits making a comprehensive analysis of why unconscious preaching arose. It is difficult to disentangle what the preachers really said and felt about their own identity and to what extent what was written was imputed to them. However, the available material makes some strong suggestions as to what psychological difficulties might have been encountered. The following analysis attempts to correlate the symptomatic behavior found in the data with contemporary psychological theory and to point out where approximations to deviant behavior are evidenced in Troyer and Kauffman.

Religion and Deviance. Deep conflict and hostility in the psychic organism can be repressed only so long and then it must find expression. The manner in which an individual interprets reality will be central to how internal incompatibilities will be revealed. The psychotic person is typically one who has lost contact with reality and thus his reactions become abnormal. The rich imagery and symbolism of religion is easily adaptable to abnormal interpretations of reality. A recent publication on *The Psychic Function of Religion in Mental Illness and Health* substantiates such a thesis in saying, "Religion provides a language and a mythological system for the expression of psychological needs. Given the existence of religious terms, symbols, rituals, and beliefs, people will make psychological use of them".¹⁰ When a conflict emerges into consciousness over some unacceptable impulse, the individual seeks a mode of dealing with his desires. When religious materials become a dominant abnormal source of expression, it is often the result of the original unacceptable impulses turned inside out. The person inevitably finds some way to withdraw from society into his own world where he finds the necessary security to protect himself from his own desires.

¹⁰Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, Report No. 67: *The Psychic Function of Religion in Mental Illness and Health*, p. 711.

Paranoid Reactions. Typical of paranoid reactions are delusions and hallucinations. Hallucinations are marked by imagined sights and sounds that do not really exist. His delusions are thoughts of grandeur or persecution. Evidence of both delusions and hallucinations abound in Kauffman and Troyer. Kauffman usually began his sermon with the phrase, "I hear thy voice". Troyer claimed to have seen a deceased sister in heaven dressed in white raiment. In one sermon, black and white streaks were often seen. Kauffman reported seeing letters of gold from God before him. Delusions of grandeur were continually evidenced in terms of the claim of their unique position as prophets of God. Persecution was strongly bound up in these delusions as greater persecution meant constant renewal of supernatural feelings. Troyer said, "The more evil they strive to do me, the more power I receive from God." "I must talk to the people and as soon as they and the ministers see how they are letting the church go down, the Lord will release me." Kauffman too was conscious of grand powers. "I am from above," he said constantly, and at another time claimed to be the angel Gabriel. "God comes to the people through one man to instruct or warn the people, and not through a great many to bring a repentance call." Kauffman's hallucinations and delusions were far more explicit, for whereas Troyer, as an example, only inferred a similar situation to the time of Noah, Kauffman actually claimed to be a God-appointed Noah for his own time.

Projection. Two factors stand out that are common in paranoid adjustment, aggression and projection. While preaching in the unconscious state, the dynamic presentation was an outlet for a form of aggression. No violent aggression is reported in the data that would indicate the sleeping preachers were ever dangerous. However, projection appears to be a strong possibility when we analyze the sermon contents. Continual admonishments and exhortation to others to repent can easily represent a projection of his own aggressive impulses produced by an intense feeling of guilt. In addition, there may have developed an abnormal tendency to transfer to others the symptoms of personal difficulties or failures. He achieves a solution and spares himself intolerable anxiety by attributing certain tendencies within himself to other people. When the sleeping preachers continually harped on repentance, it could easily mean they were speaking to themselves. When Troyer prays, "Fill our hearts with love and kindness," he may in actuality be praying for himself. In essence, then, their sermons might conceivably represent a dialogue with self rather than with the people. When Troyer applies the Abraham-Isaac sacrifice not to mean obedience to God as traditionally done, but that "God will stay your hands from sin," we have a clue as to the intense inner feelings within him.

Narcissism. If a purely psychological interpretation is tenable, both men must have suffered from some sort of narcissistic injury (a hurt in the self-image), an object loss, or personal injury inflicted through interpersonal relationships. Yoder¹¹ gives us a hint in his short account that Troyer's standing in the church was affected earlier when he was dissatisfied with some of the regulations and conditions in the church and refused to let his name stand for the position of minister. Another account corrects that view in saying Troyer allowed his name to stand but lost the election. Apparently, he was nominated again at a later date and the church excused him before the vote was taken due to "bodily infirmities". Neither Troyer or Kauffman became ministers

¹¹Sanford C. Yoder, *The Days of My Years* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1959), pp. 24-26.

through traditional channels which might indicate that their unconscious preaching represented a desire that was denied them. The possibility of narcissistic injury becomes more evident with the fact that Troyer's sons withdrew from baptismal instruction a few weeks prior to the administration of the rite.

Schizophrenia. This type of loss of pride and failure to adjust is characteristic of schizophrenia. Such persons are not necessarily out of contact with reality but are split from their surroundings to psychic egocentric confinement. Conflict may also be induced by incompatible personality traits. For example, the sleeping preachers seemed to both lack self-confidence and at the same time have immense pride. The available data does not allow us to ascertain what social interaction difficulties were encountered, particularly prior to the unconscious preaching.

Sensory Deprivation, Dissociation, and Catatonia. Sensory deprivation appears to be a common element. Kauffman's need for alcohol and smoking as stimulants suggests a desire for heightening sensory perception. Organic difficulties may just have developed from a weak constitution. Both men also preached with their eyes closed which provides greater opportunity for the imagination and unconscious to operate. The small homes filled to capacity with many listeners suggests a decrease in normal oxygen levels.

The sleeping preachers both claimed and evidence dissociation from reality when in this state. Neither of them admitted any recollection of what he had said the night before. When the doctor stuck the needle in Troyer's leg, he did not feel anything. Perspiration was not evidenced in any way and boundless energy was required for the one to three and one-half hour sermons. The raising of the hands for long periods of time is a catatonic response. Such muscular rigidity and exaggerated immobility was part of the regular procedure. On one occasion on August 18, 1878, with 200 people present, Troyer arose to his feet at the conclusion of his prayer instead of falling over as usual, and opened his eyes and said that the Lord had released him and he would speak no more. He socialized, shook hands, and talked with people until late at night. But three or four days later he started preaching again. Troyer always knew how long he had preached and referred to hours as "times". These incidents might indicate that Troyer and Kauffman were not as unconscious as their followers thought.

Anger and Insecurity. Sermon content analysis enables us to see a high degree of sensitivity to social injury. Unresolved anger is expressed in Troyer's plea not to quarrel. Kauffman's intense persecution complex was something it seemed he needed to cope with his anxiety. Kauffman's sense of fear was laid bare in the parables he made up, which, for example, ended this way—"If you do just as I tell you, I will take you in the iron house where the fire cannot harm you." Both men craved social approval. "Do not talk against me. Do not make me out a devil." "My prayer to God is that you will not make a Jesus Christ out of me—leave me as I am." "If God is for me, who can stand against me?" The intense anger against the world and insecurity within provided the necessity to attack by threatening the forthcoming destruction of the world, a framework which their religious values provided.

Concluding Psychological Observations. The strong similarities the sleeping preachers exhibited to psychological deviancies suggests the possibility of their being paranoid schizophrenics. The central themes of the sermons reveal the conflict, hostility, projection, and anger of the individual preacher, but the lack of consistency, coherency,

and rationality in the sermon development evidences mental weakness. In the latter years of Troyer's preaching, one recorded sermon contained the following sequence of sentences. "Moses and Elias disappeared. Christ spake to Peter to keep silent and Christ disappeared. Dear and respected friends and young people, don't you see how the children appeared unto Elisha to mock him. They called him bald-head. Yes, dear friends, the children accused him of being a bald-head, and God sent the evil bears to devour them."¹² This is one of his most disjointed statements, although the sermons did jump from one Bible story to another at random, and demonstrates the aimless wandering of mental illness. The content of all the recorded messages was unsystematic.

There was no marked tendency toward progressive deterioration inasmuch as the chronic condition remained relatively unchanged for years. However, the unconscious preaching is an example of a restricted psychosis that makes extensive use of projection but does not allow the personality as a whole to disintegrate. Except for the delusional system, both Kauffman and Troyer appeared to be fairly well oriented and normal in conduct. The sense of anticipation led people to expect certain behavioral patterns and the resultant social support prevented them from going deeper in the psychosis.

¹²Noah Troyer, *Sermons*, Book 2 (Elkhart, Indiana: Mennonite Publishing Company, 1880), p. 44.

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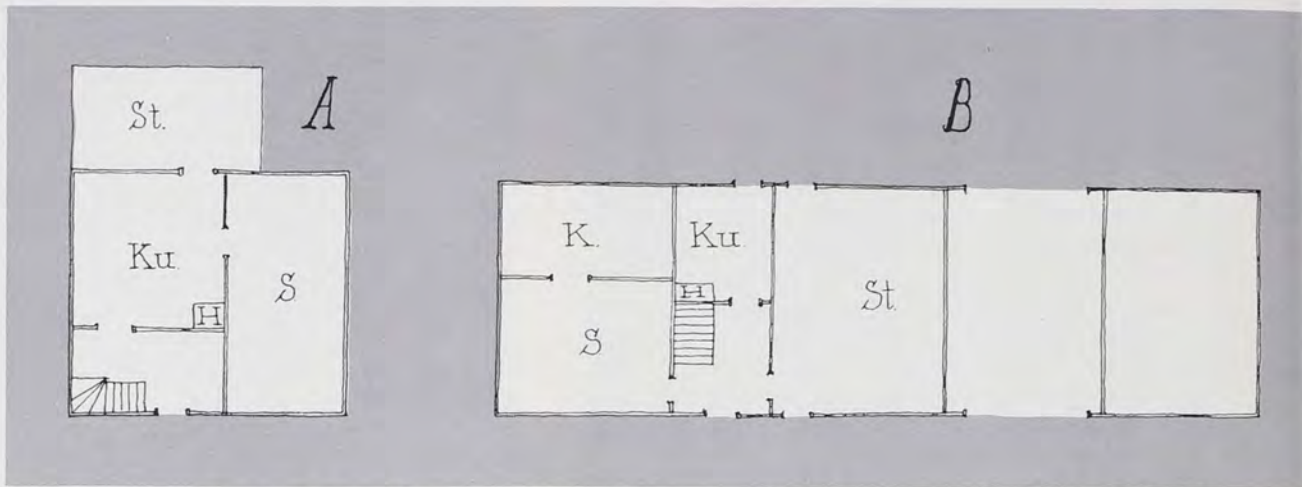


FIG. 1

German Antecedents of the Continental Central Chimney House. A) From Franz von Pelser-Berensberg, Mitteilungen über Trachten, plate X. B) From Adolph Spamer, Hessische Volkskunst, p. 25. This example has the dwelling to the left, the plan of which is quite similar to that of the Cumberland County house, and, to the right, a tripartite barn, such as is found occasionally in Pennsylvania, see: Dornbusch and Heyl, Pennsylvania German Barns, type D. These houses share these features: Ku. (Küche-kitchen), S. (Stube-room, living room, the best translation would probably be "parlor"), H. (Herd-hearth), and St. (Stall-stables); K is Kammer-chamber, bedroom.



The House From The East.

FIG. 2

A Central Chimney Continental LOG HOUSE

By HENRY GLASSIE

Field studies of folk architecture must be followed by typology. Until definitive characteristics are isolated and formal types established, individual items cannot be recognized as components of spatial and temporal patterns, and studies of the variation cued by environment, external cultural influences, and personal genius cannot be effectively begun.

Students of architecture have recognized a distinctive Continental folk house type in southeastern Pennsylvania. Descriptions of this type vary from the generalization that Pennsylvania German houses often have large central chimneys¹ to the explicit definition of type offered by Robert C. Bucher in *Pennsylvania Folklife*.² The characteristics of the

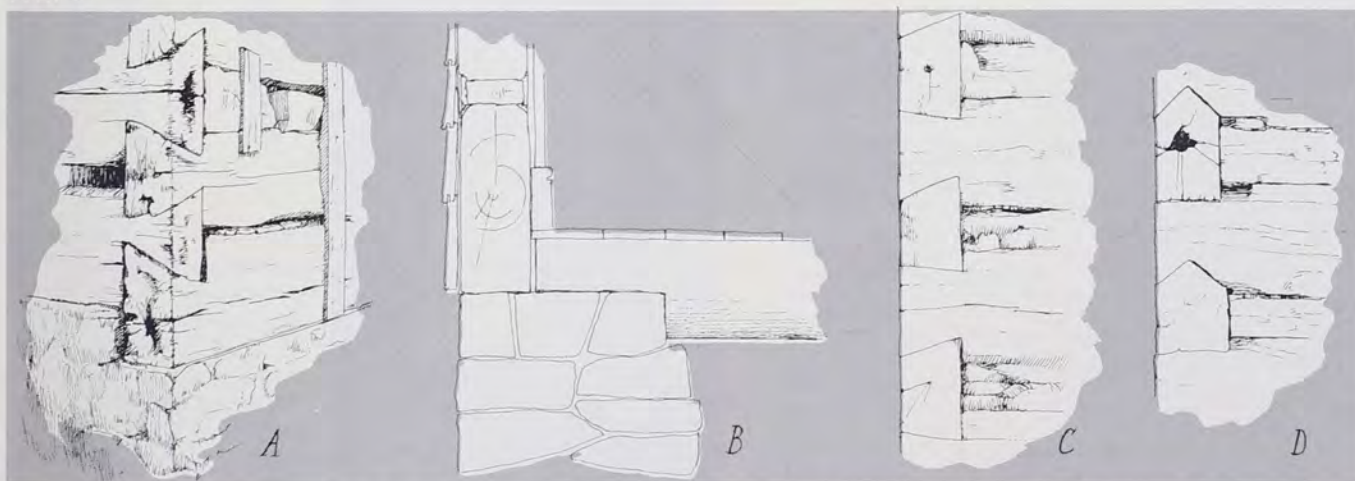
¹ Jesse Leonard Rosenberger, *The Pennsylvania Germans* (Chicago, 1923), p. 51.

² Robert C. Bucher, "The Continental Log House," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 12:4 (Summer, 1962), pp. 14-19. My article on this Cumberland County house was conceived as a footnote to Bucher's contribution. I wish to acknowledge help in preparing this study from Eric de Jonge and Frank Noble of the staff of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

type, according to Bucher, are log construction, a "massive central fireplace," a three room floorplan (a "long, narrow kitchen on the one gable, and the 'great room' and *kammer* at the other"), and an off-center front door opening into the kitchen with an opposed rear door. "This type of house," he continues, "is of peasant origin and is the direct result of the Continental tradition of life." He presents photographs of sixteen houses which reveal the variable characteristics of the type—it can be one or two stories high, and may or may not be built into a bank—and a variety of details, such as the kick at the eaves, pent roof, paneled shutters on the first floor, and one-story porch under which the walls are plastered, all of which are traits of southeastern Pennsylvania's region, including western New Jersey, northern Delaware and central Maryland.

Once a type has been suggested, more fieldwork and library research can result in a more complete knowledge of the type, its definition, history, and distribution. Before research can begin on the Continental central chimney house type, however, it must be understood that types can be based

FIG. 3



Log Construction. A) Full-dovetail corner-timbering of the Cumberland County house. B) Section of the placement of the first floor joists into the foundation of the Cumberland County house. This is necessarily a reconstruction because of the house's poor condition, and could, therefore, be somewhat in error. C) Full-dovetail corner-timbering of a house near Buck, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania (July, 1963). With its moderate pitch to the dovetails and regular interstices, this corner-timbering is more usual than that of the Cumberland County house. D) V-notch corner-timbering of a house west of Allentown, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania (July, 1963).

on form alone, so that Bucher's constructional criterion—horizontal log—must be disregarded. Indeed, houses of exactly the same type were built of stone in southeastern Pennsylvania.³ A search for examples of this type outside of Pennsylvania yields log and stone houses in the Valley of Virginia,⁴ where the type was surely carried by Pennsylvanians in the mid-18th Century, and reveals that the type does seem to have a Continental provenance. Houses with similar floorplans are found in Czechoslovakia⁵ and Switzerland,⁶ and the antecedents of the Pennsylvania central chimney type may be found standing separately (Fig. 1A)⁷ or as a part of a larger structure incorporating the barn and stables (Fig. 1B)⁸ in the Rhineland.

Had Bucher's article included measured floorplans of all of his examples, the formal variation within the type could have been observed. As an illustration of the variation within type, a description of an example, located west of the areas in which the type is most common, is presented here. Included in this description are details of the kinds with which the architectural historian, who has paid scant attention to the historic-geographic connections of house types, customarily deals, but which, despite their cultural significance, have been largely ignored by the culturogeographer and folklorist.⁹

The house in question is deserted in the woods beside four lane route 15 between Harrisburg and Camp Hill in Cumberland County. It has probably been noticed by very few of the hundreds of intent commuters who pass it five days a week. Others have seen it, however, stripped it of usable wood and iron, set fires in it, and used it as a convenient center for underage drinking and sparking—or so the obscene graffiti gouged into the plaster would attest. I visited it first on April 16, 1967, with Professor Warren E. Roberts, and returned on the second of May to make a more thorough record. Once a preliminary description had been written, I revisited the house on September 9, 1967, in order to check details about which I was uncertain. Copies of my field notes, as well as other field data which allow some of the comparative generalizations included herein, have been filed in the Collection of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission's new Ethnic Culture Survey. Much can be learned from an examination of this house, despite its terrible condition (Fig. 2).

³ Donald Millar, "An Eighteenth Century German House in Pennsylvania," *The Architectural Record*, 63:2 (February, 1928), pp. 161-168; G. Edwin Brumbaugh, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans*, Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings, XLI:II (Lancaster, 1931), pp. 23-47, plates 2-6, 16-19, 35-39, 43-50 (examples of both log and stone). This type was probably also built in Pennsylvania as it was in the Rhineland of half-timber; for possible examples, see: William J. Murtagh, "Half-Timbering in American Architecture," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 9:1 (Winter 1957-1958), pp. 3, 4, 5.

⁴ Because she presents no plans, it is not possible to say for certain, but probable examples of this type can be found in Jennie Ann Kerkhoff, *Old Homes of Page County, Virginia* (Luray, 1962), pp. 5-8, 29-32, 37-40, 45-48.

⁵ Václav Frolec, "Pudorýsný Vývoj Lidového Domu v Solijské Oblasti," *Český Lid*, 51:2 (1964), pp. 93-99.

⁶ Max Gschwend, *Schwyzer Bauernhäuser* (Bern, 1957), pp. 20-21, fig. 14; Franz Colleselli, *Alpine Houses and Their Furnishings* (Innsbruck, 1963), pp. 16-18.

⁷ Franz von Pelsler-Berensberg, *Mitteilungen über Trachten, Hausrat, Wohn- und Lebensweise im Rheinland* (Düsseldorf, 1909), pp. 49-53, plate X.

⁸ Adolph Spamer, *Hessische Volkskunst* (Jena, 1939), pp. 20, 24-25; Karl Rumpf, *Deutsche Volkskunst: Hessen* (Marburg, 1951), p. 23.

⁹ A complete study of this type would include a search through county records for early owners and builders. Unfortunately, I would prefer to spend my time in the field where the answers to my questions are found and leave this dull but very important work to others.

It is built of horizontal log which differs from the log construction usual in Pennsylvania and Maryland west of the Susquehanna.¹⁰ Instead of being V-notched (Fig. 3D) with hardwood logs between which the interstices are regularly wide, say six inches, the logs are full-dovetailed (Fig. 3A) softwood—Professor Roberts identified it as poplar, a wood used commonly in Indiana, but not eastern Pennsylvania, for log houses—and between them the interstices vary from as narrow as two inches to as wide as nine. The interstices are chinked with mud and pieces of limestone, and were neatly plastered. The logs of most Pennsylvania houses are moderately rectangular in section, measuring, for example, 6" x 9" or 7" x 11"; those of this house in Harrisburg's suburbs are, in section, a more extreme rectangle like the logs used in house construction in the Blue Ridge and Great Smokies of North Carolina and Tennessee: a log near the bottom of the front wall measured 7" x 20½", one near the top of the same wall measured 8" x 14½". The logs are hewn neatly, as is usual in the East, on the front and back. The top and bottom of each log is left in the round or is roughly hewn flat; the corners of the logs retain strips of bark.

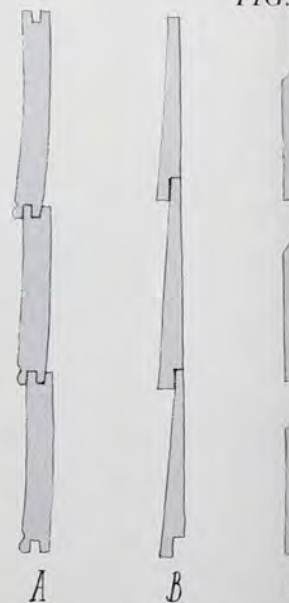
The floor joists of log houses in the South are, generally, notched into a large square sill at the front and rear of the house; the Cumberland County example follows the usual

¹⁰ For log construction: Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie, "Building in Wood in Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective," *The Geographical Review*, LVI:1 (1966), pp. 48-66.

FIG. 4

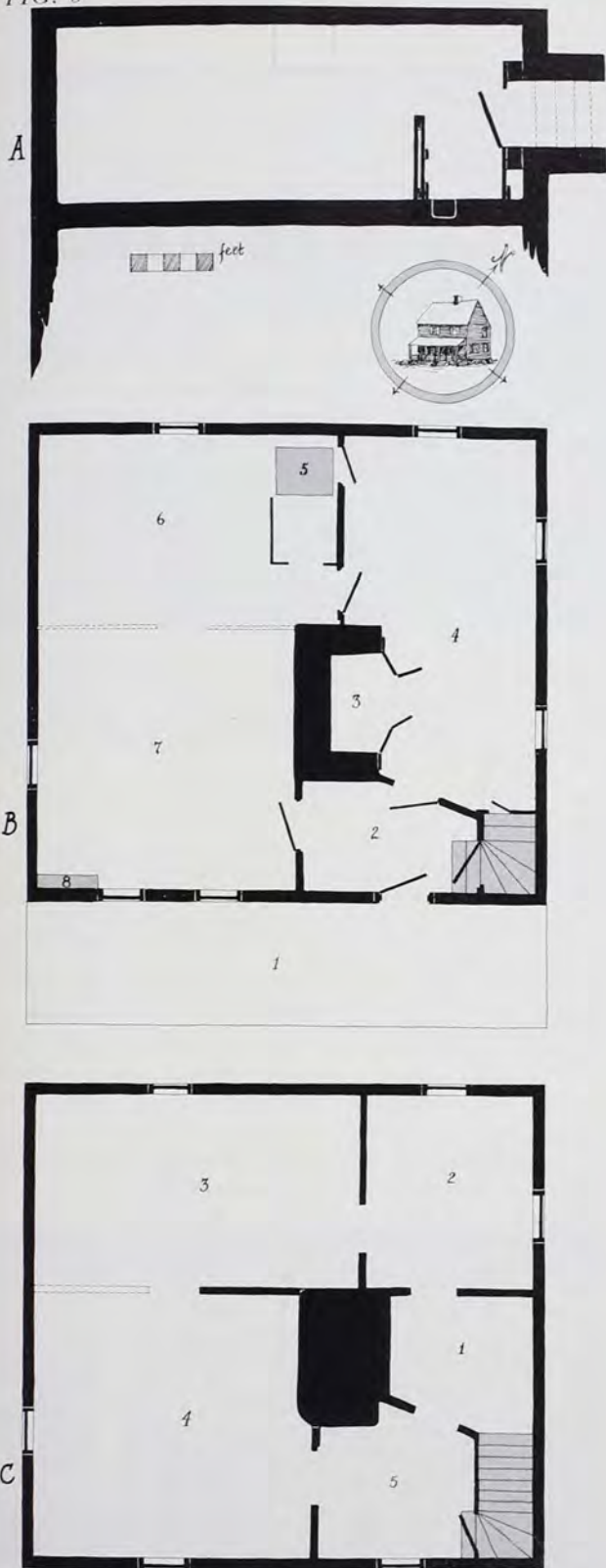


Open Mortise Rafter Joint.



Siding. A) Tongue and groove, overlapped, beaded siding on the front of the house. Exactly the same kind of siding exists on a small full-dovetailed barn east of Lebanon, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania (July, 1967). B) Shingled siding on the end and rear of the house. Novelty siding.

FIG. 6



Measured Plan of the House. A) Cellar. B) First floor. C) Second floor. The solid lines were drawn with certainty; the broken lines indicate probable features; the dotted lines indicate features over the floor. Note that the house faces the southeast—the usual situation for both barns and houses in south central Pennsylvania.

FIG. 7

Paneling and Floorboards. A) Section of the paneling in the second story stair. B) Section of the second story floor boards. These are in very poor condition and this drawing may not be totally accurate.

Pennsylvania practice of omitting the sill and resting the joists directly on the stone foundation (Fig. 3B). There was a large squared log at the top of the front and rear walls to serve as a plate; that in the front measures 12" x 9 1/2", that in the rear, 12 1/8" x 9 3/4". The rafters which were framed into the plate were tapered; they measure 3" x 6" at the foot and 3" x 4" where they were pinned together in an open mortise joint (Fig. 4) at the ridge line. This type of rafter framing, which employs common rafters and no ridge pole, was known on the Continent¹¹ and in England,¹² and was predominant throughout the eastern United States during the colonial period.¹³ The Roman numerals chiseled into the rafters to assist in their joining also have antecedents in the Old World and analogues in the New.¹⁴

The house was covered, perhaps originally, by overlapped horizontal boards nailed to furring strips. On the front these boards were beaded along the bottom as clapboards were commonly in the tidewater South¹⁵ and occasionally in coastal New England during the 18th Century.¹⁶ They are joined by a tongue and groove system which gives the impression of shiplapped siding (Fig. 5A). These beaded, pseudo-shiplapped boards are an inch thick and of random width; juxtaposed boards measured 6 1/8", 7 5/8", 5 7/8". The gables of most Pennsylvania log houses are framed with vertical boards,¹⁷ but the gables of this house, like those of the southern log houses, were covered with horizontal board. These boards and those which cover the end and rear walls are truly shiplapped and they are not beaded (Fig. 5B). Shiplapped siding was used on houses in other parts of the East,¹⁸ but it seems to be proportionately more common in the Pennsylvania region than elsewhere. In some places on the ends and rear of the house, these boards have been replaced by novelty siding (Fig. 5C). The house was painted a pale yellow with reddish brown trim, a color combination not uncommon in the Dutch Country; a full dovetailed log house in northern Lancaster County, for example, which will be leveled before this paper is published, is covered with horizontal boards painted red-brown with yellow trim.¹⁹

The Continental central-chimney house-type generally has a cellar, and our Cumberland County example is no exception (Fig. 6A). This is located under the rear half of the house and is entered via an outside stair or an inside trap

¹¹ Richard Weiss, *Häuser und Landschaften der Schweiz* (Zurich, 1959), pp. 79, 81–83; Werner Radig, "Gefügestudien in Brandenburg," *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, 1965:1, pp. 156–167, especially figs. 4, 11.

¹² C. F. Innocent, *The Development of English Building Construction* (Cambridge, 1916), pp. 82–84; Herbert Cescinsky, *English Furniture From Gothic to Sheraton* (New York, 1937), p. 44; Nathaniel Lloyd, *A History of the English House* (London, 1931), pp. 34–35.

¹³ Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture* (New York, 1952), p. 27.

¹⁴ Harry Forrester, *The Timber-Framed Houses of Essex* (Chelmsford, 1965), p. 27; Abbott Lowell Cummings, *Architecture in Early New England* (Sturbridge, 1964), p. 7; Charles H. Dornbusch and John K. Heyl, *Pennsylvania German Barns*, Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, XXI (Allentown, 1958), pp. 290–295; Richard W. E. Perrin, *Historic Wisconsin Buildings: A Survey of Pioneer Architecture, 1835–1870*, Milwaukee Public Museum Publications in History, 4 (Milwaukee, 1962), p. 19.

¹⁵ Marcus Whiffen, *The Eighteenth Century Houses of Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, 1960), p. 66.

¹⁶ Antoinette Forrester Downing, *Early Homes of Rhode Island* (Richmond, 1937), p. 124.

¹⁷ Brumbaugh, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans*, pp. 23–24.

¹⁸ For an example: Norman M. Isham and Albert F. Brown, *Early Connecticut Houses* (New York, 1965, reprint of 1900), p. 220.

¹⁹ South of Cocalico, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania (June, 1967).

door (Fig. 6B5). The floor joists over the cellar part are sawed to a rectangular 8" x 3" section; the first-floor joists over the areas where there is no cellar were left in the round and hewn on only the top. The foot and a half thick limestone walls of the cellar were whitewashed. Unlike the cellars of many Pennsylvania farmhouses,²⁰ this one contains no fireplace; it seems to have served only for the storage of food.

Along the front of the house was a one-story porch (Fig. 6B1) such as is frequently found in eastern Pennsylvania and adjacent Maryland. It has a limestone foundation and incorporates a well, which is fitted with a pump and located to the right of the door as one enters the house.

The house has but one door and this leads into a small room (Fig. 6B2) in front of the chimney. The partitions of this room were originally composed of vertical board paneling (see Fig. 7) and the logs of the front wall were exposed and whitewashed. Later, horizontal lath was tacked over the boards and they were plastered. In succession, the plastered walls were painted pale pink, white, light blue, dark green, and then were pasted with homely floral wallpaper. The plastered ceiling's colors shifted from white to light blue to dark green. The baseboard is beaded at the top (see Fig. 8) and was painted dark green and then gray. The doors into and out of this entry are missing; the marks of the hinges indicate the directions in which they swung, and the junk left in heaps about the yard indicate that they were probably paneled. From this room an encased stair winds up to the second story. Enclosed stairs²¹ of this type were constructed throughout the eastern United States in the 18th Century; they continued to be built in Pennsylvania through the 19th, and well into the 20th Century in the uplands of

²⁰ Henry J. Kauffman, "The Summer House," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, 8:1 (Summer, 1956), p. 7. Amos Long, Jr., "Pennsylvania Summer-Houses and Summer-Kitchens," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 15:1 (Autumn, 1965), pp. 12-13; Robert C. Bucher, "The Cultural Backgrounds of Our Pennsylvania Homesteads," *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania*, XV:3 (Fall, 1966), p. 24.

²¹ For examples, see: Don Blair, *Harmonist Construction*, Indiana Historical Society Publications, 23:2 (Indianapolis, 1964), pp. 67-70. For a Central European example: Margarete Bauer-Heinhold, *Deutsche Bauernstuben* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 49.

the South. The stairwell has a beaded baseboard and plastered walls painted light blue.

The chimney is stone as high as it reaches now, though once it may have had a brick top as stone chimneys frequently do in Pennsylvania and other parts of America.²² Its only fireplace opens into the kitchen. The proportions of the fireplace—three feet deep, six feet long (Fig. 6B3)²³—and the fact that it was fitted with folding wooden batten doors are typical of Pennsylvania cooking fireplaces, whether located within the house, in the cellar, a kitchen wing, a detached summer-house or wash-house.²⁴ Unlike the shallow fireplaces found through much of Anglo-America, this fireplace was not designed to throw heat, for the Pennsylvania German house was heated by stoves.²⁵ The walls of the kitchen (Fig. 6B4) are plastered over vertical lath (Fig. 9). The lath on frame houses is usually horizontal, but that of log houses is applied vertically or diagonally, as it would not

²² Anthony N. B. Garvan, *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial Connecticut* (New Haven, 1951), p. 84; Henry C. Mercer, "The Origin of Log Houses in the United States," *A Collection of Papers Read Before the Bucks County Historical Society*, V (1926), facing p. 579; Charles Morse Stotz, *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* (New York, 1936), p. 148; Roger Brooke Farquhar, *Historic Montgomery County Maryland: Old Homes and History* (Silver Spring, 1952), pp. 104, 256; Addison F. Worthington, *Twelve Old Houses West of Chesapeake Bay* (New York, 1931), pp. 49, 51.

²³ See: Henry Kinzer Landis, *Early Kitchens of the Pennsylvania Germans*, Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings XLVII:2 (Norristown, 1939), chapter V.

²⁴ The wash house will be treated in the forthcoming *Guide for Collectors of Oral Traditions and Folk Cultural Material in Pennsylvania*, which will be published by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and given by the Ethnic Culture Survey to all who would wish to pursue folklore collecting in Pennsylvania.

²⁵ See: Henry C. Mercer, *The Bible in Iron; or the Pictured Stoves and Stove Plates of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Doylestown, 1961, earlier editions: 1899, 1914, 1941).

Vertical Lath. Lath of the second story walls seen through a hole in the kitchen ceiling.



FIG. 8

Beaded Woodwork.
 A) Section through the clock shelf in the left front room. B) Section through the chair rail in the left front room. C) Plan of the window frame in the right front, upstairs room. The inside is to the bottom of the page. D) Section through the woodwork in the kitchen; from bottom to top: baseboard, chair rail, hook strip.

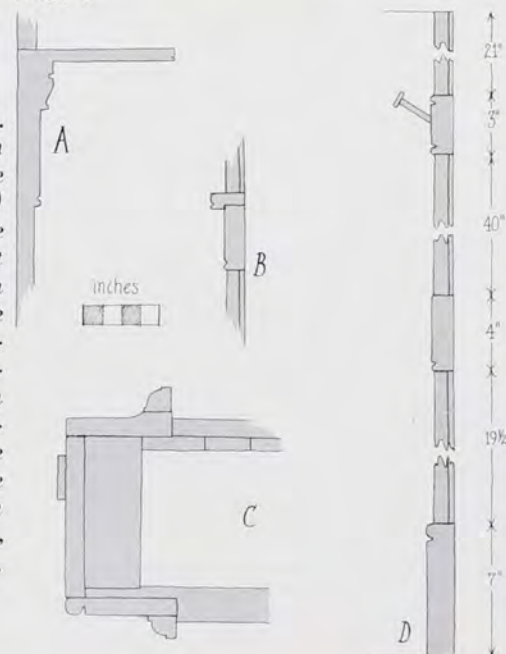
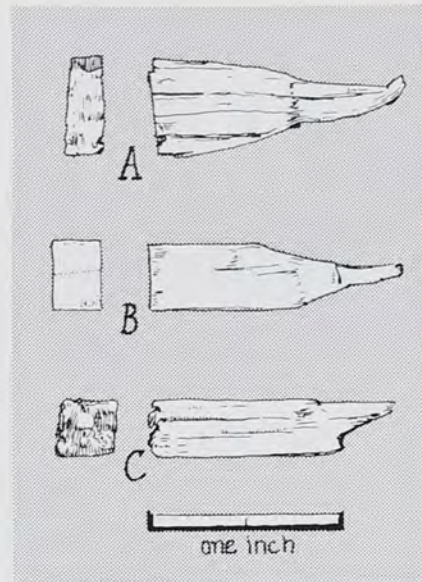


FIG. 10



Summer Beam. Summer beam seen from the second floor. Note the notches for the joists, the vertical lath, and the groove in the plaster which marks the partition that bisected the room behind the chimney.



Plaster Pegs. A) From the Cumberland County house. B) From the Schultz house. C) From the Wilhelm house.

FIG. 11

be possible to nail lath horizontally over the chinking. The ceiling was not plastered originally; rather, the floor joists and the bottoms of the second story floor boards were exposed and whitewashed. These floorboards were joined with tongue and groove and beaded (Fig. 7B). When the ceiling was plastered it was whitewashed and later painted dark green. The walls were whitewashed. The woodwork was originally a mustard yellow color and later painted the same shade of green as the ceiling; there is a baseboard, chair-rail, and hook-strip, all of which are beaded (Fig. 8D). The hook-strip with nails driven into it, on which clothes, among other things, were hung, is common in south central Pennsylvania; the later examples have hooks of various types rather than nails. A narrow board dado painted dark green was applied over the old baseboard and chair-rail, probably about the turn of the century. Two doorways lead out of the kitchen in the rear of the house. One of these doors still lies in the rubble on the floor; it is a dark green batten door with two beaded battens which taper, Pennsylvania style,²⁶ from $4\frac{1}{2}''$ to $3\frac{3}{4}''$. For contrast: southern batten doors typically have three battens with parallel chamfered edges which are wider than those of southern Pennsylvania.

One of these doors leads into the plank closet constructed around the trap door into the cellar (Fig. 6B5). The other leads into the large room behind the chimney. A channel in the plaster indicates that this room was originally divided by a partition running along the summer-beam. Summer-beams are usual in the frame houses of New England²⁷ and in early Pennsylvania German log houses,²⁸ though they are very rare in the log buildings of the South.²⁹ The summer-beam (Fig. 10) is notched into the end walls and measures

$12\frac{1}{4}'' \times 9\frac{7}{8}''$. The joists, which run from front to back paralleling the end walls, are framed on three foot centers into the summer-beam; they measure $7'' \times 3''$. These joists and the floor boards they carry were originally whitewashed, but lath was nailed over them, which was plastered, whitewashed and, later, painted dark green.

The two rooms which balance the kitchen and entry were decorated similarly, although the front room (Fig. 6B7) has a more elaborate chair-rail (Fig. 8B) and in one corner it has a built-in shelf (Figs. 6B8, 8A) like many found in south central Pennsylvania on which clocks were placed. The walls were whitewashed, painted pink, gray, and later covered with flowery wallpaper. The woodwork is a medium blue. Two windows look out from the front of this room, which arrangement seems to be usual for the two-story Continental central-chimney type. The back of the chimney was plastered; an earthenware circle is set into it to receive the pipe of the stove which kept the front room—the parlor—warm. The plaster of the outside walls of both of these rooms was applied over vertical lath. Where the plaster ends so that the woodwork can be nailed firmly to the wall, small pegs (Figs. 11A, 12A) have been inserted into the walls. Elsewhere in Pennsylvania, tacks have been driven into the top of the baseboard to prevent the plaster from pulling away from the wall where there was no lath, and that seems to be the function of these small pegs. In the Schultz house, a Continental central-chimney house in Lehigh County, the same kind of small pegs were used to hold the plaster to the logs (Figs. 11B, 12B). The Wilhelm house, a two story V-notched log house with a summer beam, which was recently torn down near Meyersdale in Somerset County, had similar pegs in the logs in lieu of lath (Fig. 11C).³⁰ The Cumberland County house seems to represent a synthesis of the peg and lath methods of securing plaster to wooden surfaces.

The steps lead upstairs into a small room (Fig. 6C1) which, like the rest of the rooms in the house, was partitioned off

³⁰ Information on the Wilhelm house, including several good photos and examples of the plaster pegs, was sent into the Ethnic Culture Survey Collection by Mrs. Eber Cockley of Meyersdale, Pennsylvania, in letters dated June 8 and 18, 1967. Mrs. Cockley notes that a picture of the house appears on page 20 in *A History of the Wilhelms and the Wilhelm Charge* by the Historical Committee, published by the Wilhelm Press, Meyersdale, 1919.

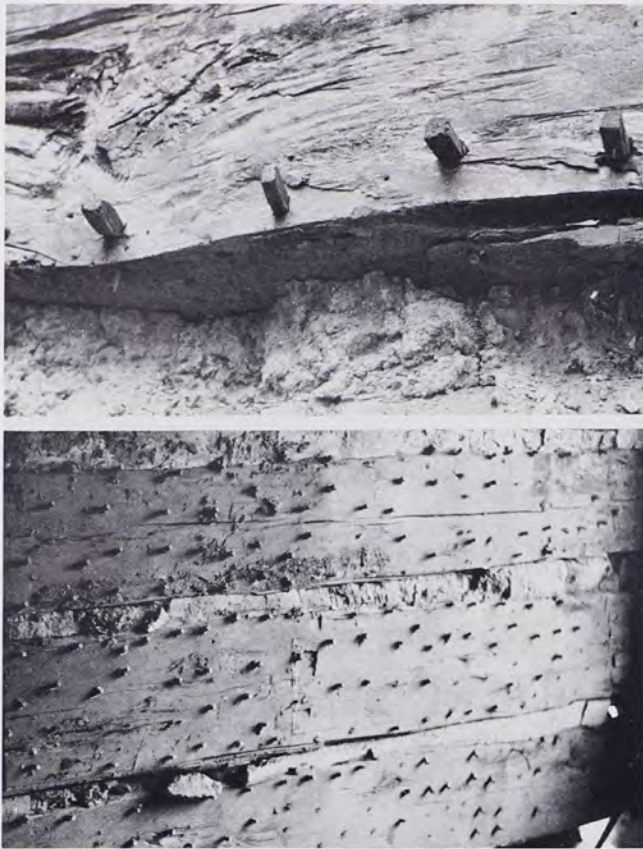
²⁶ See: Richard S. Montgomery, *Pennsylvania German Architecture*, Home Craft Course, 19 (Plymouth Meeting, 1915), pp. 12, 28.

²⁷ J. Frederick Kelly, *The Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut* (New York, 1963, reprint of 1924), chapter VI.

²⁸ Eleanor Raymond, *Early Domestic Architecture of Pennsylvania* (New York, 1931), p. 67.

²⁹ There is, however, a $14' \times 16'$, V-notched log blacksmith shop with a summer beam east of Flint Hill, Rappahannock County, Virginia (August, 1964).

FIG. 12



Plaster Pegs in Place. Above, Cumberland County house. Below, Schultz house, located in Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, east of Palm, Montgomery County (April, 1967). The pegs were placed in the Wilhelm house exactly as they were in the Schultz house.

by vertical board paneling, which was, at a later date, covered with horizontal lath and plaster. The walls are painted blue, the beaded baseboard, gray. The two rear upstairs rooms and that at the front left (Figs. 6C 2, 3, 4) are whitewashed with gray beaded baseboards and hook-strips. The front right upstairs room (Fig. 6C5) was whitewashed, then painted pink with light blue beaded baseboards. In this room a window frame has been left intact; this, like most of the house's trim, is beaded (Fig. 8C). Steps lead up from this room (Fig. 13) to the missing loft. The vertical board walls of this stair were not plastered on the inside, so that paneling of the kind found originally throughout the house (which can be glimpsed through holes knocked in the plaster) can be clearly seen; it is beaded and joined by tongue and groove (Fig. 7A).

This house illustrates some of the variables within the central-chimney Continental house-type: it has a four-room plan and no rear door. Although manhandled, the famous Fort Zeller³¹ conforms to the three-room, two-door plan as does the Bertolet house (Fig. 14) which was recently moved from its perilous position on the brink of a quarry to the safety of the Boone Homestead by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. But, Fort Egypt, a log example of this type in the Valley of Virginia, has a four-room plan and no rear door;³² the Herr house, a stone ex-

³¹ Brumbaugh, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans*, pp. 31-35, plates 16-19.

³² Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Dwellings of Colonial America* (Chapel Hill, 1950), pp. 43-46.

ample built in Lancaster County in 1719, has only one door;³³ and the Schultz house has a two-room plan.³⁴ While the cultural ideal was probably three rooms and two doors, the house can have a two or four-room plan and only one door. The definitive characteristics³⁵ of the type, then, would seem to be the deep fireplace opening into the kitchen, the central chimney, the off-center front door, the asymmetrical layout of the first floor including a deeper than wide kitchen and at least one room behind the chimney which is wider than the kitchen, and the squarish proportions of the plan: the Cumberland County house, two rooms deep on each side of the chimney, measures 31' 4" x 29' 2"; the Bertolet house, with its three-room plan, measures 28' 5" x 18' 6"; the Schultz house, though only one room deep, measures 28' 3" x 20' 3".³⁶

³³ Landis, *Early Kitchens of the Pennsylvania Germans*, p. 16.

³⁴ Henry J. Kauffman, "Literature on Log Architecture: A Survey," *The Dutchman*, 7:2 (Fall, 1955), p. 31.

³⁵ I would anticipate that further fieldwork would locate variants which fulfill all of the other definitive characteristics but lack the chimney or have centrally located front doors.

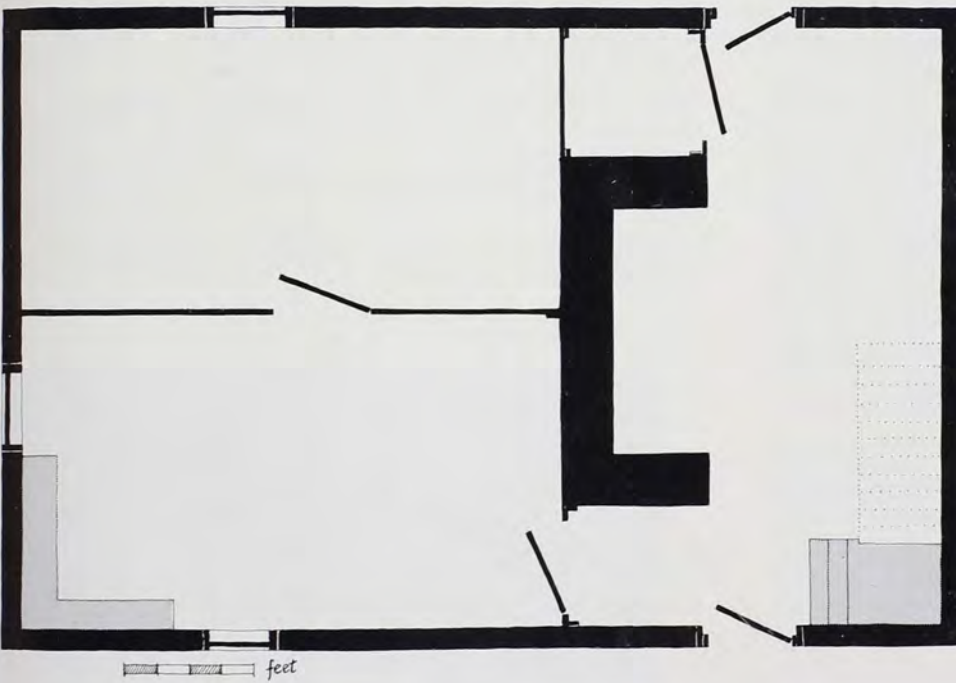
³⁶ Contrast those measurements with these of typical southern log houses of British derivation, both are one room deep, two rooms long: 18' x 42' (in Forsyth County, Georgia, north of Alpharetta [November, 1966]), and 16' x 30' (between Boonesville and Brown's Cove, Albemarle County, Virginia [August, 1964]).

FIG. 13



Stairway to the Loft. Note the horizontal lath of the wall, the nails driven into the logs for hanging clothes and the fact that the tops of the logs are roughly hewn.

FIG. 14



The Bertolet House. Above, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission photograph of the house on its original site in the Oley Valley of Berks County. Note the tapered battens on the window shutter, the full stone chimney, and the V-notched corner-timbering. Left, Plan of the first floor redrawn from the detailed plans made by D. F. Smith of the Historical and Museum Commission staff. This is the house which Bucher in "The Continental Log House" calls "the Schneider cabin," pp. 14, 16; although he states that it has no cellar, there was a cellar under half of the house which was entered through the door next to the chimney.

The establishment of cultural regions provides one of the major reasons for studying material folk culture.³⁷ House types are among the most efficient means to the recognition of these regions, but as many criteria as possible should be considered. Just as architectural details have proved useful in the demarcation of the periods of academic and popular

³⁷ See: Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55:4 (December, 1965), pp. 549-577. For stimulating studies along these lines: Fred Kniffen, "Louisiana House Types," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* XXVI (1936), pp. 179-193; Wilbur Zelinsky, "Where the South Begins: The Northern Limit of the Cis-Appalachian South in Terms of Settlement Landscape," *Social Forces*, 30:2 (December, 1951), pp. 172-178.

architecture, so they might be utilized in the establishment of folk-cultural regions. The boxed-in stairways, color scheme of white walls and dark green trim, and the emphasis on beaded woodwork in our Cumberland County house are part of the general eastern United States folk architectural scene. But other details, such as the plaster pegs, the hook-strips with nails, the full-dovetail corner timbering, the door with tapered battens, the deep fireplace with folding doors, the built-in corner clock-shelf, the log construction lacking a sill and including a summer-beam, and beaded tongue-in-groove pseudo-shiplap siding, are as distinctive of the southern Pennsylvania folk-cultural region as the central chimney Continental house type.

The GERMAN JOURNALIST and The DUNKER LOVE-FEAST

By DONALD F. DURNBAUGH

A highlight of a German travel account of ante-bellum North America written by a later war-time aide and press agent of Bismarck was an encounter with the "harmless Dunkers," a plain people who belonged to one of the three historic peace churches.

The German journalist, Julius Hermann Moritz Busch (1821-1899)¹ was an ardent liberal in politics in early manhood, and thus found himself in the early 1850's among the stream of intelligentsia from Metternichean Central Europe seeking freedom in the New World. A native of Dresden, he had studied theology at the University of Leipzig before leaving his homeland. The fruits of his two-year sojourn in the United States were exhibited in his book *Wanderungen zwischen Hudson and Mississippi, 1851 und 1852*, published in Germany in 1854.²

Following additional years of travel in the Near East and the Balkans, Moritz Busch became an editor in his native Germany. A shift in political orientation was marked by his entrance upon a career in the Prussian government service in 1866, as one of the many former liberals impressed by the strong policies of Otto von Bismarck. He accompanied the Iron Chancellor during the Franco-Prussian War, and became one of its chief chroniclers with his lengthy report which also won English translation and publication. Busch's multi-volumed diary, published during the year of his death, remains a basic source for a study of the era of Bismarck.³

During his travels in the United States he stayed for a time in Southern Ohio. While living at Dayton he took the opportunity to visit a large meeting of the German Baptist Brethren or Dunkers, now known as the Church of the Brethren. Members of the denomination at that time were classed with the "plain people" because of their distinctive dress and appearance, and because of their resolution to be set apart from the world.

Today the denomination is active in the ecumenical movement and in most respects differs little from main-

stream Protestantism. The major exception is its official peace position, shared with the Mennonites and the Society of Friends (Quakers). This witness often finds expression in conscientious objection to participation in military service, and has also motivated a world-wide program of relief and rehabilitation of sufferers, without test of creed or color. This activity has won considerable recognition for the group, which now numbers just over two hundred thousand adult members.⁴

The meeting visited by Busch was the Lower Stillwater congregation, one of four established by the division in 1811 of the Lower Miami church, the original organization of the Brethren in that area.⁵ The presiding elder, or bishop in Busch's terminology, was Peter Nead (1796-1877), who had moved to the Miami area from Virginia in 1848. Of Lutheran parentage, Nead had early become affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal church, and had toured the Shenan-

⁴The most recent general account is Floyd E. Mallot, *Studies in Brethren History*, (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1954).

⁵Jesse O. Garst, ed., *History of the Church of the Brethren of the Southern District of Ohio* (Dayton, Ohio: The Historical Committee, 1921), pp. 75-97.

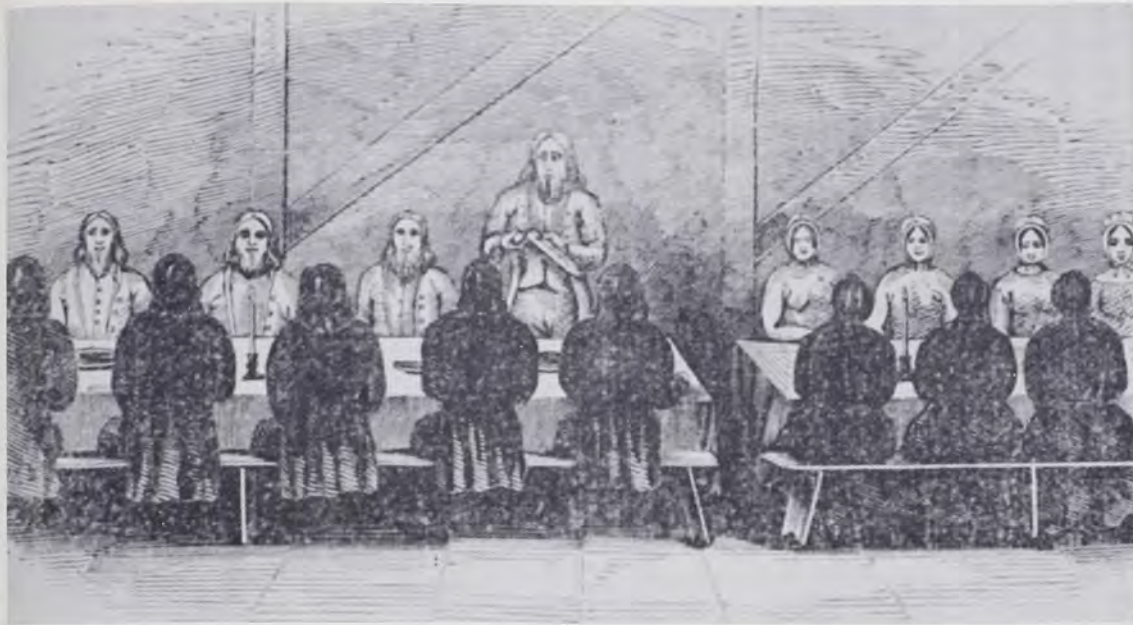


Dunkard Love-Feast of the 19th Century. Men and women eat at separate tables. Broth is being ladled from large pans; bread is eaten with it.

¹A brief account in English of Busch's life is in *The Encyclopedia Britannica* (Chicago: 1962), IV, 450.

²(Stuttgart and Tübingen: J. G. Cotta, 1854), 2 volumes. This is listed in Emil Meynen, ed., *Bibliography on German Settlements in Colonial North America* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1937), no. 1080a. In the introduction to a recently-held symposium on research needs, the Busch account was singled out, along with one other, as meriting early translation—J. F. McDermott, ed., *Research Opportunities in American Cultural History* (Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1961), p. vi.

³As "Bismarck's Boswell" he published many volumes of recollections of the chancellor's sayings and activities. These were also published in English and two of them in Russian. In 1940 his writings on the Franco-Prussian war were reissued in Germany. Other writings dealt with his travels in the Near East, and his continued interest in religious matters. These books are listed in the catalogues of the Library of Congress.



Dunkard Communion: the Elder is breaking the Liebesmahlbrot, marked with holes symbolizing the 5 wounds of Christ, to distribute to the members.

Illustrations
from Peter Nead's
"Theology,"
Dayton, Ohio,
1850 Edition

doah Valley of Virginia in 1823-1824 as an itinerant Methodist preacher. During his journey he learned to know the Brethren and found their beliefs and practices in harmony with biblical teachings as he understood them.⁶

After joining the Brethren, he was soon called to their ministry. Becoming one of their most prolific writers of that time, he wrote a volume of doctrinal discourse to which Busch was directed as a source for understanding Dunker beliefs. A copy of this book, published in 1850, was given by Elder Nead to the journalist, and was esteemed by Busch who had a favorable opinion of his own competence in theological matters.⁷

The great value of the travel account is its detailed and graphic description of Dunker church practices and reactions to them by their Anglo-Saxon neighbors. Busch was able to capture, as it were in amber, a colorful vignette of American rural life at the half-way mark of the last century. The historical introduction he provided was not without merit, but is either a summary, or in several places, an unacknowledged word for word translation of two articles in a religious encyclopedia published in America in 1848. Fortunately for Busch and his readers, both authors from whom he drew so freely were trustworthy sources, so that his account is correct in most instances.⁸

The passage just preceding the one translated here dealt with his visit to a Shaker colony, a fascinating religious movement with some affinities both theologically and historically (as he rightly noted) with the Ephrata Community which broke off from the main Brethren development. Here follows the report by Moritz Busch of his experiences among the Dunkers in 1851.

⁶ Two succinct biographies of Nead are: D. L. Miller and G. B. Royer, eds., *Some Who Led* (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1912), pp. 38-40, and J. H. Moore, *Some Brethren Pathfinders* (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1929), pp. 181-194. A lengthy fragment of his diary has been preserved by descendants which records his travels in 1823-1824.

⁷ Peter Nead, *Theological Writings on Various Subjects; Or, a Vindication of Primitive Christianity as Recorded in the Word of God* (Dayton, Ohio: for the author by B. F. Ells, 1850), 472 pp. This was reprinted in 1866 and as recently as 1950.

⁸ Philip Boyle, "History of the German Baptists, or Brethren," *History of All Religious Denominations in the United States* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: published by John Winebrenner, 1848), pp. 91-94; William M. Fahnestock, "History of the German Seventh Day Baptists," *ibid.*, pp. 109-123.

A Visit with the Dunkers

It may occasionally happen to the traveler who journeys from Southern Pennsylvania or Maryland through Virginia to Ohio and Indiana that he comes upon a farm along the road leading to his destination which, despite its generally American character, reminds him of Germany by various features and peculiarities. He may meet there people who seem to be set down from another time. A black felt hat with noticeably wide, completely flat, brim does not seem to go with a curiously-cut, ordinarily grey or dark brown tailcoat with standing collar and only one row of buttons, resembling Grandfather's costume when he married Grandmother. But what a greater contrast to this and to the appearance of the neighbors of Anglo-Saxon derivation are the long flowing locks of hair and the foot-long patriarchial beard which curls down from chin and cheeks!

However, if this traveler enters the clean and comfortable homes of these strangely dressed men, he then finds them and theirs to be an upright, simple, hospitable race, who live a harmless life in modest prosperity. The head of the house will seek to convince him, as soon as the conversation turns to religion, that only the baptism of adults is scriptural. An American friend, to whom he recounts the encounter with these people, will tell him that they are called "Dunkers" or "Dunkards" in English, and that they make up a brotherhood which counts as its members a large part of the German farmers from the woods of Pennsylvania to the prairies of Iowa and Missouri.

Many fables have been told up to recent times about the Dunkers. One counts them among the Mennonites; another confuses them with their twin brother, the Sabbatarians; and even American authors have published false information about them. It may, therefore, be of interest to dispel as far as possible some of the darkness which rests over their history and beliefs.

Their name stems from the verb "tunken," that is "to immerse," and was given to them as a nickname by Pennsylvanians, as they practice baptism by immersion instead of sprinkling. Their membership in the United States is likely over than under sixty thousand souls, although nothing may be claimed with certainty as they have never taken a census, either because of humility or from fear of offend-

ing God by taking a count. The fact that their history is so difficult to follow is to be explained partly by their indifference to such matters, partly also because of the circumstance that they are not actually an organized church with a central authority, but rather exist as a great number of widely-scattered congregations and districts independent of each other. Not until last year did a book appear from the pen of one of their bishops which in some measure sets forth a systematic portrayal of their beliefs.

Nevertheless, it is possible to establish some facts, which are contained in the following.

The Rise of the Dunkers

Stimulated by the writings of Spener,⁹ in 1708 eight persons in Schwarzenau in Southern Germany¹⁰ came together several times a week in order "to examine carefully, and impartially, the doctrines of the New Testament, and to ascertain what are the obligations it imposes on professing Christians." The result of their inquiries was that they separated themselves from the Protestant Church and established a brotherhood of their own. The first thing needed, in their opinion, was to be baptized by the "baptism of believers," i.e., those of accountability. They asked Alexander Mack, the leader of the seven separatists, to perform this baptism upon them. However, inasmuch as he considered himself to be unbaptized, as not baptized in the manner prescribed by the Bible, he declined their request. They found themselves compelled in order to achieve their aim to choose a baptizer by lot, whereupon all of them received the desired rite in the River Eder near Schwarzenau.

After this they increased in numbers rapidly and soon established branch congregations in Marienborn and Epstein, but immediately became the objects of persecution and, therefore, migrated first to the Krefeld area and then to Holland, and, finally, in 1719 and 1729 to Pennsylvania. The first group was made up of about twenty families who became separated after their arrival in Philadelphia, inasmuch as some settled in Germantown, some in Oley, and still others in Conestoga. Because of this they were hindered in gathering for congregational worship services. The result was a gradual cooling of their zeal, until in 1722 by means of four of their preachers who went by horseback throughout the land, it was successfully revived once more. Also many strangers joined their number and congregations were organized wherever possible. This lasted several years, but the brotherhood would not have been preserved from eventual extinction and absorption by other churches had not a second group arrived in the fall of 1729, made up of about thirty families. With them came not only a substantial addition of numbers but also new life into the ranks of Mack's followers and the existence of the sect was assured.

The strongest congregation at this time was that on the Mill Creek (Mühlbach) in Lancaster County where since 1724 a schism among the members had gradually spread. A certain Conrad Beissel,¹¹ who had also fled here from Germany because of religious persecution, noticed in his

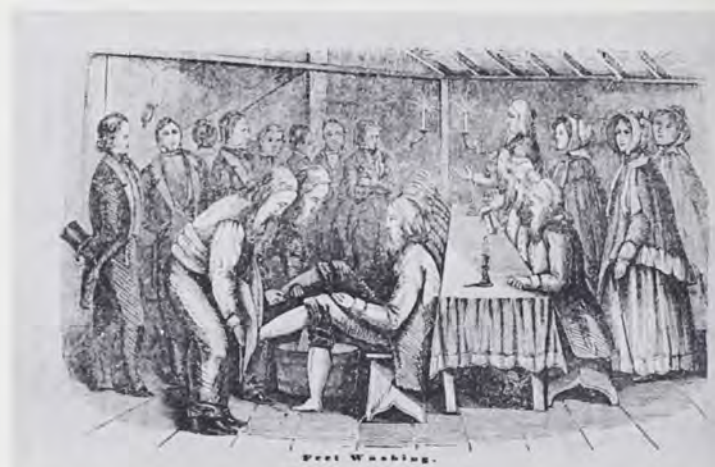
⁹ Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705) is generally credited with being the "Father of German Pietism." For information on him and documentation of the beginnings of the Brethren, see Donald F. Durnbaugh, *European Origins of the Brethren* (Elgin, Illinois: The Brethren Press, 1958).

¹⁰ Actually, Schwarzenau is located in central Germany, northwest of Frankfurt/Main.

¹¹ For a full, if unsympathetic, biography of Beissel, see Walter C. Klein, *Johann Conrad Beissel: Mystic and Martinet* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942).

zealous study of the Bible that the sabbath had not been repealed by Christ, and consequently, that it was not correct to observe the first day instead of the seventh. He did not keep his discovery a secret, and since a division came about in the settlement of the brethren over this, he withdrew and moved to the wilderness along the River Cocaldio [Cocalico]. Here he lived a long time hidden away in the hermitage formerly belonging to a hermit named Elimelech. When his place of residence finally became known, his followers in the Mill Creek congregation followed and settled around him in a village. They observed the seventh day as the original and true sabbath, and therefore, they are called Sabbatarians to differentiate them from their brethren who do not share this belief, known as the Dunkers from this time on.

From the time of the separation of Beissel and his followers the Dunkers have no history, but expanded in an unnoticed and mysterious fashion to become a widely-spread communion upon whose trail one treads with nearly every step in the Western states.¹² On the other hand, their twin brothers, the Sabbatarians in their cloister at Ephrata, experienced a brief period of brilliance which is curious enough to earn here some mention, all the more since this extraordinary phenomenon in the shadows of the Pennsylvania woods expired without any notice, as far as I know, being taken of it in Germany.¹³



Foot-Washing Ceremony, based on account of Last Supper in the Gospel of John, is traditional part of Dunker Communion Practice. From Nead's book, 1850.

The Ephrata Community

In 1732 a monastery of Anabaptists originated from the village of colonists which had formed around Beissel's cell, in a very similar way to that in which the first monasteries developed in the Near East. In May, 1733, a common residence was constructed, and later other buildings were added around it which were separated from the outside by a wall. A common costume was adopted, similar to the

¹² See Mallott, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-134, for a brief description of the expansion.

¹³ At least ten references to German publications before 1850 dealing with Ephrata are contained in Eugene E. Doll, "Sources for the History of the Ephrata Cloisters," in Eugene E. Doll and Anneliese M. Funke, comps., *The Ephrata Cloisters: An Annotated Bibliography* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1944), pp. 48-67.



Dunkards — whose name comes from the German word tunken, meaning to dip — baptized three times in a running stream.

monastic habit of the Capuchins, and an amazed neighborhood saw for the first time in the wilderness the figures of monks and nuns going about. All who joined the community received monastic names. Israel Eckerlin, called Onesimus, was succeeded by Peter Miller (Jabez) in the office of prior, while Beissel (whose religious name was Friedsam Gottrecht) was honored by the community with the title "spiritual father." In the year 1740 there were in the cloister thirty-six single brethren and thirty-five sisters, and ten years later the brotherhood with the inclusion of members living in the neighborhood numbered nearly three hundred souls.

The constitution of the community, which was christened Ephrata, was based on republican principles, and according to it all were completely equal. The New Testament was their confession of faith and code of rules. Property which gradually accumulated to the community by gifts and the earnings of the brethren and sisters belonged to all communally; yet no one was compelled upon entrance to turn over all of his personal property to those who received him. No monastic vows were taken, but celibacy was considered to be a superior state. It was believed that those who sacrificed their carnal desires and lived as "pure virgins," would receive the first place in heavenly glory. This was a favorite theme of their ministers. The majority of their hymns, which were composed anew for every

worship service, glorified this subject. Absolute chastity can be considered to be the real aim of the founder of the Sabbatarians in giving the congregation the outward form of monastic life.

The monks of Ephrata, as well as Beissel's character, have often been misunderstood and falsely represented by American writers, who were not at home with this expression of German spiritual life. It was said of them that they were arrogant, self-sufficient, and taciturn, and would not even answer when they were addressed on the street. Morgan Edwards contradicts this in his writing *Materials Toward a History of the Baptists*:

From the uncouth dress, the recluse and ascetic life of these people, sour aspects and rough manners might be expected; but on the contrary, a smiling innocence and a meekness grace their countenances, and a softness of tone and accent adorn their conversation, and make their deportment gentle and obliging. Their singing is charming, partly owing to the pleasantness of their voices, the variety of parts they carry on together, and the devout manner of performance.¹⁴

Other writers tell that the Ephrata group carried their asceticism to such unnecessary extremes that they followed a strict vegetarian diet and slept on wooden benches with blocks of wood as pillows. This report is factual, but the reason for it was economy necessitated by their situation. When these people founded their monastery, they had no means to secure meat and beds, and therefore, they were forced to go without. For a long time their utensils were all wooden, with the exception of those in which iron was absolutely necessary. For holy communion they used wooden bowls, pitchers, and cups, wooden candlesticks, spoons and forks, yes, even the plates from which they ate were octagonal boards of poplar wood. However, after the difficulties of the beginnings were behind them and they had assured themselves against failure of their enterprise, they also used beds just as did those who criticized them for their simple manner of life. Neither did they disdain licit pleasures, although the wooden cups are still in use today, and temperance in eating and drinking is scrupulously regarded at all times.

Those describing the character of the founder seem to have sinned against the truth in like fashion to those describing the sect. Beissel was, if I can trust my source,¹⁵ anything but what some American church historians make him out to be, a sly ambitious person who hypocritically secured for himself titles, honor, and influence. Rather he was a truly devoted, if also eccentric and enthusiastic spirit. He dedicated himself completely to the welfare of those who followed him. Through his rejection and transfer into the hands of others of the administration of secular affairs, he concentrated his mind and all of his powers upon teaching the brethren the word of life as well as he himself recognized it. In his concept of what was moral he was unusually strict and he pushed self-mortification to an extremely high degree. All of his curious views were honestly meant. Though little versed in other arts, he was indeed an excellent musician, and those spiritual songs composed by him were highly praised by connoisseurs. He published a book about the fall of Adam and a collection of letters on religious subjects, and besides this left after his death some volumes of manuscript essays, written with

¹⁴ Edwards' collections, a basic source for the history of the Brethren and Ephrata, were available to Busch in the articles by Boyle and Fahnestock which contained lengthy excerpts from the Baptist historian.

¹⁵ The source is Fahnestock, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

great neatness and decorated with all manner of illumination.¹⁶

As several of the brethren were men of education, already in the earlier times a school was erected in the cloister. This soon achieved such favorable reputation that young people were sent there to receive an education even from Philadelphia and Baltimore. As is well known, in the American schools no religious instruction may be given, so it is left to the preachers of the individual sects to impress the faith upon the children in the so-called "Sunday Schools." Such a Sunday School existed in Ephrata along with the above educational institute, and was principally intended for the poor children of the neighborhood who were kept from regular attendance at school by necessity of earning their bread on weekdays. This was founded by Ludwig Höcker about 1740 and continued until the battle of Brandywine (1777), when the school room (as well as all of the other rooms of the monastery) was given over to hospital use. Therefore, the fame of having introduced the first institution of this type belongs to the Anabaptists of Ephrata, for it was forty years later that Robert Raikes (who is considered to be the founder and developer of this system which is widely distributed in America) began this very effective method of instruction.¹⁷

Beissel died in 1768 and a decade later the fortunes of his creation began to ebb. Ephrata was the product of the 18th Century,¹⁸ and when the spirit of that century died with the Revolution, its life had also to reach its end. Public opinion had changed not only in matters of politics, but also in religious matters. Besides, Ephrata was a socialist community, begun in a wilderness surrounded by unpopulated forests, not hemmed in by the dense and mixed population which this part of Pennsylvania possessed soon after the era of the War of Independence. Lastly, the decay of the institution was futhered by the persecution of envious neighbors. Some Sabbatarians still live there, as well as on the Bermudian Creek and in Snow Hill, who yet meet regularly on Saturday for worship, but instead of the enthusiastic devotion of their forefathers, worldliness and indifference prevail among them. Ephrata is spiritually dead, and on its wall "Ichabod" has been written by the hand of the past.

The Dunker Character

The Dunkers, as mentioned earlier, have no history after the time of Beissel's departure. But if the latter (who approached the Shakers in their mystic doctrines) have dried up to a frail twig which will soon wither completely, the former have developed into one of the largest branches on the American tree of sects. In general, they are considered to be an industrious, sober, charitable people, who walk the way of the Lord irreproachably, do good as far as it is possible for them, and instruct their children in the fear of the Lord. Of course, their dogmatic theology is as crudely hewn, awkward and rustic as their Pennsylvania Dutch, as is not otherwise to be expected. Also the living faith and glowing devotion which yet during this century

¹⁶Exact bibliography notation is given in Doll and Funke, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 and 96. The elaborate illumination of manuscripts practiced at Ephrata has been extensively studied, most recently in Donald A. Shelley, *The Fraktur-Writings or Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Allentown, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1961), pp. 101-107, with numerous illustrations.

¹⁷On this, and other Ephrata institutions, see the latest comprehensive treatment by James E. Ernst, *Ephrata: A History* (Allentown, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1963).

¹⁸Busch's source had the "17th Century" instead of the 18th—Fahnestock, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

expressed itself in a mighty revival has been replaced, according to their own testimony, in the hearts of many souls by lethargy and indifference. This is explained by them as owing to the circumstance that the majority of the brethren have become wealthy and that some of these have married those of other faiths.

So much for the character of this German Baptist brotherhood in the backwoods of North America. The following sketch is a picture of their churchly life which I had the opportunity to learn virtually from the ground up.

An Ohio Dunker Meeting

About six miles from Dayton, a few hundred steps off the road to Salem in a clearing in the endless woods stands a long, low brick house covered with shingles, which is enclosed by a typical worm fence with a circumference of about one American acre. In front of it is found a spring under some trees, next to which has been built a rough bench. It is a meetinghouse of the Dunkers, who settled in great numbers in this area, as is true for the entire valley through which the Mad River and both Miamis run.¹⁹

It was on October 7 [1851] that I attended there one of their meetings, to which they often come from many miles distance in order to hear the Gospel preached and to hold the Lord's Supper with feetwashing. The loveliness of the morning persuaded me to set off on my journey by foot. Soon I had gone from my place of residence in the suburb Macpherson Town, past the huge sycamores (Author's note: A kind of plane-tree in America is called "sycamore" which often grows in moist places.) which shadow the bank of the Miami at the Covington bridge, and had reached the crest of the hill and the board shack which bore the grand name "Montgomery Starch Manufactory" on its forehead. From there a perfectly straight road led completely out of the valley to the wooded heights. Huge red-painted barns behind elegant homes told here a story of the prosperity of those whose good star had led them to settle along this stretch. Mounted shepherds in light blue great coats and brown Buena Vista hats, belonging to the guild of the "divine Eumaos," ponderous carts pulled by two or three oxen teams, and neat little "buggy wagons" from which waved the inevitable green veils of the local small town girls and farmers' daughters, bluebirds, butterflies, and hordes of grasshoppers enlivened the road, upon which as I neared my destination came into sight also a few Dunkers in white coats on fine ponies, with wife and children in the wagon next to them.

It must have been nine o'clock when I arrived at the meeting house. In the woods in front of the fence a peddler had set up a bar, and in his vicinity were found under the trees many coaches and horses, belonging to people who, like myself, had come without belonging to the brotherhood. Among them the genus "Loafers" (here, as in every other place in Uncle Sam's land composing at least a fourth of the male youth) was present in numbers. Inside the fence, however, there teemed the long-bearded figures and beaver-tailed coats of the "Brethren," whose numbers increased by the minute. They walked about hand in hand, and all newcomers gave and received the "brotherly right hand" and the "holy kiss." It must be said that the latter ceremony was practiced only between brother and brother, or sister and sister.

Along the fence behind the house a square of buggies, market carts, and riding horses was formed, which had brought the believers of both sexes. From one door of

¹⁹See Garst, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-97.



Brethren have the custom of "anointing the sick in the name of the Lord." from the Epistle of James.

the meetinghouse, which opened onto a small veranda, flamed an open fire around huge pots and kettles, attended by women in white caps and aprons, and a blue pillar of smoke spiraled from the chimney. On a stone near the spring was placed a metal cup with which those who had no interest in refreshing themselves from the peddler's barrel of whiskey could slake their thirst.

Suddenly all moved toward the entrances, and in a short time the house was so filled with Dunkers and onlookers that several latecomers had to stand beside the door, which was almost completely taken up by a colossal deacon with a long brown beard, the largest and most handsome male figure which I encountered in America. The room was a rectangle, with nine windows and three doors. Its low board ceiling was supported by four roughly-hewn timbers as pillars, and it probably contained at this time between three and four hundred persons. Neither choir nor chancel, organ nor altar, nor burning candles were to be seen in it, and therefore the room was more to be compared with a large farmhouse room (*Bauernstube*) than to a German church.

One's first impression of the meeting, therefore, might be that of a congregation of heroes of the Swabian peasant war (*Bundschuh*),²⁰ although I saw but few dark and fanatic faces, and to the contrary noticed many which carried the stamp of decided goodnaturedness. In the middle of the room was a white-draped table made of two trestles with rough boards laid on them, at which sat about twenty, mostly elderly men in the sectarian garb and adorned with long Noah-beards. These were the preachers and bishops. Around them on both sides of the passage which divided the room the long way into two equal parts, were lined up the closely-packed-together sisters on the right side where the kitchen was located, in their white caps and aprons, on the left with their hats on their knees, the bearded and long-haired brethren. My good fortune had brought me a place directly opposite from the preachers' table, and thus nothing of this peculiar ceremony escaped my attention.

The First Session

The worship service began with an English hymn from the second part of the *Harfenspiel der Kinder Zions*.²¹ Following this anything but pleasant-sounding singing was a prayer in German by a preacher with a whining voice. During this the profane fire crackled in an unmannerly fashion through the open kitchen door and was also accompanied—a not unusual occurrence in American churches—by the unashamed and frightful crying of one of the infants which had been brought along. After the one praying pronounced the Amen, one of the bishops read a chapter from Jeremiah, and that from an English Bible, whereupon several German verses were sung. These were read line for line by a preacher for the congregation, a circumstance which is possibly based upon the fact that only a few of those present still owned a songbook in their mother tongue. It also happened that more parts had been sung to the English hymn, and from this one does not seem to go far wrong in assuming that the transition process which all German settlers undergo who leave Pennsylvania is already more than two-thirds completed among the Dunkers in the west.

After the singing an old German preacher rose in order to treat in English the third chapter of Acts, which had been read by another in Luther's German translation. His exposition of the text consisted of a quite respectable comparison of the lame before the door of the temple with the sinner who may not enter the kingdom of God, until he is told in the name of Jesus to walk therein. Unfortunately, this good image was trampled so broadly in unnumberable repetitions into a boring soup that only those used to such rustic fare could swallow it. During this the speaker as he became warm, without finding it inappropriate, shed his coat and hung it on a lath stretched overhead between two pillars, on which many other vestments already balanced.

²⁰ In 1525 a massive uprising of peasants (whose symbol was the laced boot of the lower classes) threatened to overthrow established authority until the nobles joined forces to suppress them with great bloodshed. Traditional historiography linked the uprising with the Anabaptist movement, though with little foundation. Busch may well be alluding to this in his comparison.

²¹ The German hymnal used by the Brethren in America was *Das Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel der Kinder Zions* (German-town: Christopher Sauer, 1744), very often reprinted. After 1792 an appendix entitled *Die Kleine Harfe* was usually bound with it. The most commonly used hymnal at the time of Busch's visit was *Die Kleine Lieder Sammlung, oder Auszug aus dem Psalterspiel der Kinder Zions*, first published in Hagerstown in 1826 and often reprinted. An English version of this was ordinarily bound with it, *A Choice Selection of Hymns*, first edition in Canton, Ohio, 1830. Busch seems to have confused several of the titles in his recollection.

He must have spoken about a half-hour in this fashion, when his sermon took a characteristic turn as he suddenly abandoned the lame in the temple at Jerusalem, forgot his English, and in the purest Pennsylvania Dutch complained about the pains in his lungs: "I could talk much longer on this text, but my lungs won't stand it. Oh, my lungs!" (*Mer könn't noch viel schwätze über diesen Text, aber meine Lungs woll'n's net stände. Ach, meine Lungs!*) "But however" [English in original] and then the flow of words poured forth well over another quarter of an hour without period or pause, in its rise and fall similar to that in which we sing the collect. If this example of Dunker eloquence, as was to be expected, was hardly a perfect sermon, yet it seemed to please the congregation and it was in any case better and more substantial than the one his neighbor at the table held in German upon the same theme, which was nothing other than a poor translation of the first.

Quite a different impression was made by the following sermon of a preacher who came to the meeting from Southern Ohio. He had a long lean figure with noble, prophet-like features. His pale face was circled by black hair, and his eyes glittered with that special fire and his otherwise strong voice was that hollow tone which we associate with consumption. The apt development of the sermon which he presented in excellent English could have been heard with success by a congregation of intellectuals. After he closed, a prayer followed whereupon the entire congregation knelt; the one who prayed, however, remained seated at the table with his head supported by his right arm and with his eyes closed.

Then followed several more preachers who spoke with more or less talent, mostly in English, some in German, almost all disturbed by the screaming of infants and the noise of the fire which cooked their noonday meal and, therefore, seemed to have the right to speak a word along with them. All of them concluded their remarks with the naive sentence that if they had not brought anything to the benefit and edification of the brotherhood, they at least hoped that they had not said anything harmful.

It was then three o'clock, and perhaps nine or ten speakers had appeared, when the presiding bishop ended further oratory as he directed those present to leave the house. It was time for the midday meal and the room had to be prepared for that. Since there was not enough space for all to be fed at once, as soon as it was ready the elderly and the women should eat first. The others, with which he also intended to mean those not belonging to the brotherhood, would find their portion at the second course. Finally, provision had also been made for the horses, and each one could obtain the necessary items from the deacons. This took place, and soon one saw brethren and strangers with handkerchiefs full of oats in their hands and ears of corn under their arms going from the kitchen to their horses.

Debate With the Dunkers

In the meantime I had made the acquaintance of a Dunker who had been my neighbor at the service, and he directed me and my questions to one of the bishops. This was a venerable figure in a coffee-brown costume of the finest fabric, over which a well-tended beard as white as bleached flax hung down to the middle of the chest. Upon my question as to their religious books, he responded that their only book was the New Testament. When I asked him about the history of their "denomination" (not "sect" for your life!) whereby I had to explain the concept "his-



The "Holy Kiss," a practice of the apostolic church mentioned by St. Paul and others, is still practiced by the Dunkards or Brethren. This illustration is from Nead's "Theology," 1850.

tory" by translating it "rise and progress" [English in original], he was of the opinion that it began with the apostles and was the history of the invisible church of God. Another, who entered into the conversation, claimed that their organization stemmed from the Waldensians. Through further probing, the name of Alexander Mack and the colony on the Mill Creek came to light. The old bishop, in whose expression I, perhaps unrightfully, thought I sensed something of Pharisee-satisfaction (which evidently the elect from time to time cannot completely hide vis-à-vis the reprobate) finally left in order to eat, and I now conversed with younger people.

It seemed as if they had the strange delusion that I had come to debate them, or even to convert them, or rather, as one gave to understand, that I had been sent for this purpose by someone in Germany. Therefore, after a few questions I found myself in a rather heated debate, although conducted in a friendly manner. To this many Anglo-Americans pressed their way, who self-appointedly took my part, and delighted in accompanying my speeches and rebuttals with exclamations, as impertinent as embittering, such as: "Now for it, young man!"—"Just give it him!"—"By Jove, he'll whip them fellows anyhow!" [English in original.]

There is basically little to be said about the Dunker beliefs. That which I learned from this debate and from

other sources is introduced at this place. Their faith differs from orthodox Lutheranism but in outward matters, upon which, however, they place great importance. In other words, the basic formal principle of Protestantism that the Bible is the sole guide for the theologian is taken to its logical extreme by them so that it also encompasses the *Adiaphora*.²² They always insist with great fervor that all of the commandments of Christ and His apostles must be taken literally and obeyed. Consequently, they baptize only those of the age of accountability and perform the rite in this fashion, that the baptizer enters with the baptizand a river or pond, and there baptizes him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, three times forward (not backward as do the Baptists). Further, they celebrate the Lord's Supper at night, with an actual meal, at which, however, the Communion is observed after the manner of the Lutheran Church. Finally, they consider the washing of feet to be an ordinance instituted by Christ which is to be practiced along with the sacrament of the altar. The "kiss of love," also called "holy kiss," of which the Pauline epistles occasionally speak, is for them likewise a commandment which may not be avoided. Their mortally ill are anointed with consecrated oil. To bear arms, to go to law, to swear oaths are forbidden things for them. Indeed, until a few years ago it was even forbidden to take interest on loans, and to this day the devout do not demand interest from needy church members.

Their clergy consist of preachers, who are either called "teachers" or "ministers," and of helpers or deacons, who are assisted by deaconesses. The most able of the former are elected bishops, who are ordained through the laying on of hands. Their office imposes upon them the duty of traveling to the separate congregations, of presiding at their love feasts, election of preachers, and ordinations, and generally of leading and overseeing the affairs of the separate districts. In those districts where no bishop resides, the neighboring districts care for the business, or the oldest preacher takes care of the necessary matters. The responsibility of the deacon is to care for the poor and ill in the congregation, to settle disputes, to visit the individual families in their homes, and to admonish them in the fear of the Lord.

All of these clergymen are simple untutored people, who seldom have more education than a thorough knowledge of the Bible. They are selected from the congregations as those members who have distinguished themselves in their meetings by their ability to speak and by their piety. They are not salaried, but rather receive reimbursement only for their travel expenses, which in any case are only accepted by those who are too poor to take care of them themselves. They ordinarily own farms, and follow the plow and wield their scythes just like all of their brethren, when their churchly offices do not demand their attention. Many of them develop a considerable zeal in their Master's business, and even though some of them are in meager circumstances, they often leave their farm and families for weeks at a time in order to preach the Gospel to those covenant members living at a distance.

At Pentecost they hold a great yearly meeting which is attended by the bishops and preachers, as well as by church members representing the various congregations. There

²²"Adiaphora" is a concept of Lutheran theology which may be defined as "certain areas of belief or conduct in which differences are of no consequence so far as the Christian character of the belief or conduct is concerned" — Edgar M. Carlson, "Adiaphora," *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965), I, 6-7.

under the chairmanship of the five oldest bishops, general conclusions are arrived at and decisions made upon any queries that might come up. These are then immediately printed in German and English, and sent to the ministers of the individual congregations, who, in turn, read them to the members as soon as convenient.

Most of these tenets and institutions were mentioned during our conversation in front of the meeting house on the Salem Road. I also learned at this time that the doctrines of the "Brotherhood" are indeed not all contained in the Bible alone, but that there is also a book by Mack²³ (which a person resident in the vicinity promised to loan me to read), a second by a Bishop Winchester,²⁴ and a third which the presiding elder of the local district had written about their beliefs.²⁵

The last named joined our group with the pale-faced, dark-haired preacher at that very instant. When I admitted to them that the "holy kiss" is mentioned in the Scriptures, they immediately raised the question why then our pastors did not recommend this to their congregations to be observed. Of course, I could only answer this with a shrug. Though this was not ingratiating, and the roar of laughter from my uninvited Anglo-American seconds who justified my gesture of rejection was even less ingratiating, I did have the good fortune of providing the good souls with a happy surprise by my observation that at home the emperor, and kings, and indeed, even the pope occasionally performed the service of feetwashing.

The ensuing debate, during which my opponents continually had their fingers in their pocket Bibles and were at all times ready to construct a barricade against my objections with an appropriate dictum from the gospels or epistles, was carried out primarily in English, as the majority of the participants understood only "Deutsch," that is Pennsylvania Dutch, but not German as the Germans speak it (*Wie die Deutschländer ze schwätze*). In the course of the debate, the obviously-present initial aversion to the supposed proselyter changed to a growing confidence and satisfaction in the listener who was eager to obtain information, as could be observed from the benevolent visages. The result was that I received several invitations to visit homes. Indeed, a red, broad, friendly face was so insistent upon this, that it wished to abduct me that very night to its farm ten miles away where I could find Mack, Winchester, and Nead and remain as long as I wished—a suggestion which unfortunately had to be declined as the Reformed congregation in Dayton wished to hear a sermon from me two days hence.

²³Two brief German treatises by Mack (1679-1735) known in short title as *Grundforschende Fragen und Rechten und Ordnungen des Hauses Gottes*, were ordinarily published together in America, beginning with the Germantown edition of 1774. Later editions were Baltimore: 1799 and Lancaster: 1822.

²⁴Elhanan Winchester (1751-1795), a former Baptist minister who joined the Universalist movement, was in close connection with the Brethren although never a member. The book in question is undoubtedly the stereotype edition of his *A Course of Lectures on the Prophecies which Remain To Be Fulfilled* (Cincinnati: Published by E. Morgan and Co. for Henry Harshbarger and Co., 1851), 604 pp. Peter Nead was associated with Harshbarger in this publishing venture. A well-informed biography notes that prior to 1866 "he with others published 'Winchester's Lectures on the Prophecies,' a work dealing with restoration, in which he firmly believed" (Garst, *op. cit.*, pp. 526-527).

²⁵Nead, *op. cit.* (see note 7). According to Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 187: "It was quite common to find a few copies of 'Nead's Theology' in all the Brethren settlements, east and west, and when a stranger became interested in the Brethren it was thought that the right thing to do was lend him a copy of Nead's book to read. . . . Those converted by reading the book, and there were hundreds of them, usually continued steadfastly in the faith and practice of the Brethren."

If the Americans present as spectators had shown enough disrespect already during the conversation, they now carried their boorishness to the ultimate, as they stormed the meeting house where the tables were ready for the second serving. Like hunger-crazed wolves they leaped toward the entrances, lifted and shoved each other through the windows, pushed and shoved for the serving bowls in the room, yelled for more as the food served them disappeared in no time flat, and to be brief, played the role of young scamps so well that there lacked only a schoolmaster with a whip behind them to complete the picture.

The Second Session

When this triumph of brazenness had ended, the stomachs of the "Boys" had been filled, and the terrible disorder—the bones, pieces of meat and breadcrumbs scattered all over the floor—had been swept out of the place of worship (a task which was performed with equanimity by the Dunkers who were accustomed to this and worse scenes), the praying, singing, and preaching began once more. It continued until the growing darkness reminded of the rites which were intended for the evening. Then tin insect lights were placed on the tables, a hymn was sung which dealt with that which was to take place, and the passion story was read according to the Gospel of Mark. Then two brethren, who had rolled up their sleeves and bound long towels around their bodies, carried in a tub, in which the male members of the group were to wash their feet. The same occurred on the sisters' side with two deaconesses.

During this holy practice one of the bishops spoke about its meaning, in that he considered depicted there not only the obligation of humility through the kneeling and bowing of the one who washed, but also equally a symbolic correction of the brother through the extension of his feet to be washed and the act of purification. Each was to admonish the other to forgiveness for transgressions as preparation for the Lord's Supper, which was seen by the speaker as the symbol of the meal of the believers at the time of the second coming of Christ on the evening of the world.

Upon the feetwashing followed then the supper in the form of an ordinary evening meal during which the congregation, as had happened during the midday meal, after grace ate from tin bowls with tin spoons, first soup, then meat, bread and butter.

All of these ceremonies were no longer disturbed and mocked by the noisy fire and the strong-lunged infants, but unfortunately by far worse guests. Namely, as thanks for the midday meal given them freely, the gang of loafers outside made it their business to interrupt the love feast of the harmless Dunkers in the most cunning ways. Some yodeled and croaked through the doors. Others outside sang with all of their voices the street song:

I come from Salem City

With my washbowl on my knee. [English in original]

Still others shot with pistols at the windows near where the women sat, and others circled the house in troops imitating the scream of wild turkeys. In short, it was an uproar as if a wild horde or a men's choir traveling to Blorberg had bivouacked outside on the lawn. This was more than youthful high spirits; it was outright baseness, at which a lamb's patience could have learned to bite. This notwithstanding, the tone of voice in which Bishop Nead, the presiding elder, finally forbade them the tumult hardly con-

tained anger. Whoever cannot appreciate the mildness of this disposition, can at least pay the respect of astonishment.²⁶

Following their theory of biblical literalism, one might seem to be justified in the expectation that the Dunkers would understand their communion following the supper as the partaking of the true body and blood of Christ, and thereby accept the teaching of transubstantiation. However, this is not the case, as Peter Nead's address demonstrated with which he introduced the rite. He explained this as the possibility of an inward experience of the communion of all brethren in faith and in love. After this meditation, which concluded with the admonition that any member of the congregation who had any misunderstanding with any other brother or sister should be immediately reconciled or refrain from participating in the table of the Lord, the kiss of love passed from mouth to mouth. Then a bishop arose and pronounced a prayer upon the bread, which had been brought in the meantime. This consisted of unleavened bread, baked in such a way that they could be easily broken into equal sizes. The prayer ended with a loud "Amen," joined in by the entire gathering.

Now the administrator of the sacrament broke a long strip from the bread, turned to one who sat next to him on the right, and said to him: "Dear brother, the bread which we break is the communion of the body of Jesus Christ," whereupon he broke off a piece and gave it to the one addressed, who laid it before him. The latter then took the long strip, with which he performed the same for his neighbor on the right as had the administrator. After all had received bread in this fashion, the presiding bishop now announced that the bread was broken, and that when they then ate they seriously remember its meaning as "shadowing forth the bruised and mangled body of our dear Redeemer." [English in original]

After the distribution of the bread, the presiding bishop prayed over the wine, which was brought in in two green flasks, and was drunk out of tin cups. It was red wine. The cup went around the tables in the same manner, during which one said to the other in English or in German: "Dear brother, the wine which we drink is the communion of the blood of Jesus Christ." The congregation then sang an appropriate hymn.

The entire ceremony closed with a prayer after which Nead invited the brethren coming from a distance to a breakfast to be held in the meeting house on the following morning. Then all left, and I started on my homeward journey illuminated, as wished for, by the stars.

Epilogue

Some weeks later I followed the repeated invitations of Bishop Nead, to visit him at his farm, extended to me upon departure. Here I learned to know in him not only a childlike, loving spirit, but also a man much more informed in theological matters than I had anticipated. He had formerly pursued the tanning trade and had only moved here from Virginia three years before. His book on the beliefs of his sect is for me one of the most valuable memorabilia of all the souvenirs gathered in beautiful Ohio.

²⁶In 1849, the question was raised at the Brethren yearly meeting about "providing so much for those who came to feast, and make disturbance at our meetings." The answer was: "Considered, that we are to feed the hungry, if we are led by Christ's example; and the apostle says, 'Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head' (Romans 12:20)" — *Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Brethren* (Dayton, Ohio: The Committee, 1876), pp. 132-133.

Christmas Customs:

Folk-Cultural Questionnaire No. 10

Christmas, the principal family festival of the church year, has in every European and American culture brought forth a great body of pleasant customs associated with it. Pennsylvanians, through their pioneer use in America of the Christmas Tree, and through their curious contribution of the word "Krisckringle" to the American vocabulary, have contributed deeply to America's Christmas celebration.

Today there is of course a standardized American Christmas, with commercial Christmas parades, ho-ho-hoing Santas in department store windows, plastic Christmas trees, and other accoutrements. In the past it was different, and Pennsylvanians, like other regional and ethnic groups, had their own ways of celebrating the holiday.

Will our readers, especially our older readers who remember the Christmas customs of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, before the customs became standardized, share with us their memories of the older and different Christmas celebrations they remember?

1. Santa Claus and "Bellsnickel"—*What is the difference between these figures? Do you remember both of these from your own childhood, or only one of them? What did earlier Pennsylvanians mean by "Bellsnickling"? What did the "Bellsnickel" or "a Bellsnickel" look like? Did he wear masks? Did he bring gifts?*

2. "Grischtkindel" (Christkindel)—*Will our Pennsylvania German readers tell us what this term means, and what relation the "Grischtkindel" had to Christmas?*

3. Christmas Tree: *How were trees decorated in the earlier days? Who made the decorations? What types of trees were used? Where were the trees set up in the house? What sorts of decorations did they have under them? How long did the tree remain up?*

4. Second Christmas—*What do readers remember about the earlier Pennsylvania German custom of celebrating Christmas a second day (zweiter Grischttag)? What types of amusements were indulged in on that day? How did it differ from Christmas proper?*

A Pine-Cone Santa Claus with a Pretzel Tree, from "Godey's Lady's Book," December, 1868.



5. Christmas Cookies and Christmas Candies—*Describe the baking of Christmas Cookies. What types were baked in your home? What quantity were baked? Describe the preparation of Christmas confections? What types were made?*

6. Christmas Gifts—*What were the usual gifts given at Christmas in the late 19th or early 20th Centuries? What was given to small children, to boys, to girls, to parents? Where were the gifts placed? When were the gifts given, Christmas Eve or Christmas morning?*

7. Christmas Butchering—*In earlier days, it was the custom to butcher immediately before Christmas. Will readers who remember this describe the related custom of "Metzelsupp."*

8. Lore of Christmas—*What stories, rhymes, jokes, jests do you recall with a Christmas theme or association? How were the animals and birds fed on Christmas Day? What beliefs associated with animals relate to Christmas?*

9. Other Customs—*What do you remember of "Christmas Putzes," "Christmas Pyramids," shooting fire crackers on Christmas? Do you remember Christmas celebrations in the one-room-schoolhouse, especially the custom of barring out the school-master at Christmas? Detailed descriptions from readers' memories on these subjects will be appreciated.*

10. Non-Celebration of Christmas—*If you come from one of the "plain" groups (Mennonites, Amish, Brethren, Quaker, etc.) who originally did not celebrate Christmas, how did your childhood Christmases differ from those of your neighbors? What attitudes did parents express against the celebration of Christmas? How were these attitudes taught to children in the face of general celebration of Christmas by the neighborhood youngsters?*

Send your replies to: **Dr. Don Yoder**
College Hall, Box 36
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104



"Kris Kringle" is a Pennsylvania contribution to American English, based on Pennsylvania German "Grischtkindel."



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