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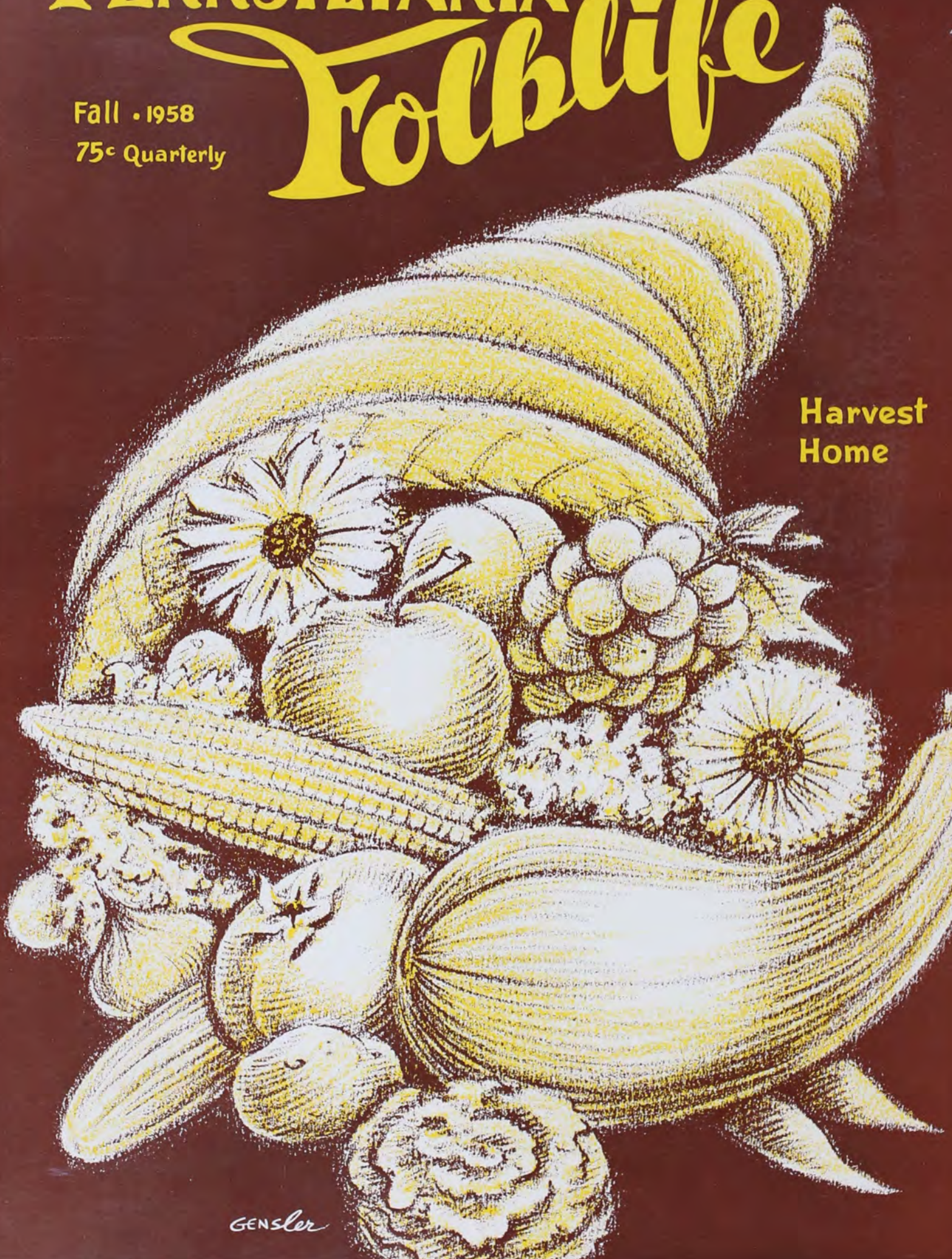
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PENNSYLVANIA Folklife

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Harvest
Home



GENSLER



Courtesy: William H. Dietz

DRY HOUSE

Almost disappeared from the Pennsylvania rural scene are the not uncommon nineteenth century Dry Houses, used before the days of cans and jars to dry large quantities of fruits and vegetables for winter use. (Smaller quantities were dried in outdoor bake ovens or on trays set on roofs for sun-drying.) The dry houses were heated by old-time wood stoves. The trays were periodically shifted from one side to the other to assure uniform drying. The one pictured here, built in 1853 according to family tradition, is in an excellent state of preservation. Last used in the days of the depression, it is located on the Noah Getz farm, three to four miles west of Lancaster City, on the old Harrisburg Pike. A similar structure, though weatherboarded, is preserved on a Mennonite farm in the Kitchener-Waterloo section of Ontario, Canada. We conclude with an account on dry houses in Holmes County, Ohio, from Harry C. Logsdon's "The Silent Streams" (Millersburg, Ohio, 1950, page 65): "Another very common event was the apple 'Schnitzing Party.' Several adjoining families would come together in the evenings to pare and schnitz apples for the large out door dry houses in use at that time. Canned fruit was almost entirely unknown at that time. Nearly all the berries, cherries, apples, peaches and pears, except those used during the ripening season, were dried for future use. The out door dry house was a one story frame building about six or eight feet square with a wood stove in the center and slatted shelves or drawers on each side. The fruit was placed in the slatted drawers and a fire was kept burning continually until the fruit was completely dried."—A.L.S.

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*St. John's Reformed Church, Friedensburg, Pennsylvania,
ready for Harvest Home—1954.*

HARVEST HOME

By DON YODER

Courtesy: Paul R. Wieand



Harvest Home Service, Neff's Union Church,
Lehigh County, Pennsylvania.

New England had its Thanksgiving, Pennsylvania its Harvest Home. The New England festival, which has become the National Thanksgiving on the last Thursday of November, celebrated the Pilgrim Fathers' gratitude for deliverance in the new homeland. Because New Englanders, following the Puritan tradition, refused to celebrate Christmas, Thanksgiving became for them a social festival, with family reunions and turkey dinners, which took the place of the forbidden Christmas festival. Harvest Home, on the other hand, was a summer or early autumn festival, held by Pennsylvania's "Gay Dutch"—the Lutheran and Reformed—in celebration of God's goodness to them in harvest time.

While the New England Thanksgiving was a harvest festival too, its historical framework has made it appropriate as a national festival, using New England history, as we have done in so many cases, as symbolic of the history of the entire nation.¹

Pennsylvania's Harvest Home was once—in the farming valleys west of the Delaware—more important to Pennsylvania farmers of Dutch tongue than the November Thanksgiving Day, which was looked upon as a dubious and unnecessary, almost resented, Yankee gift. Lutherans and Reformed celebrated Christmas and gave their private and public thanks to God for their summer's harvest at the summer Harvest Home. Hence for many years they felt no need of celebrating the Yankee Thanksgiving.

Let us look at the history of this Pennsylvania festival which was long the rival of Thanksgiving Day, and even after the absorption of Thanksgiving into Pennsylvania's calendar, is still celebrated in Lutheran and Reformed churches, even in the cities, and has been borrowed by Mennonites, Methodists, and other church groups in Pennsylvania and areas where Pennsylvanians settled in North, South, and West.

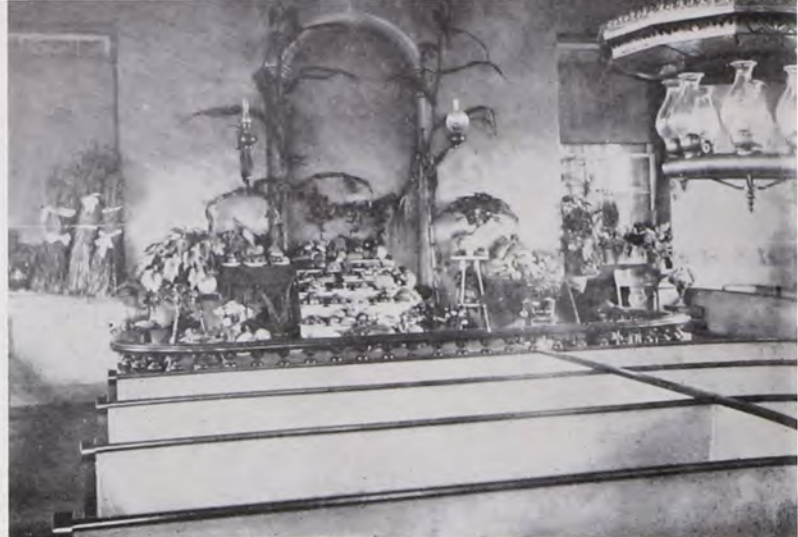
The comparative study of folklore and primitive religion has shown the universality of harvest festivals throughout the world. To show his gratitude to the gods the farmer celebrated harvest variously with a harvest supper, a blessing of the fields and the produce of the fields, harvest dances and merry-making, harvest songs, harvest fertility rites, harvest services in temple and meetinghouse. The Palestinian harvest festivals described in the Old Testament are only one example of primitive harvest festivals with a religious motivation.² Roman Catholicism with its multitude of holy days, had no special harvest thanksgiving festival, but in Germany the Autumn Ember Days (*Quatemberfasten*) and the beating of the bounds (*Flurprozessionen* or *Bittgänge*) served the purpose. In the Protestant Churches of Germany, as witnessed by the oldest church liturgies from the Reformation period, there were special Protestant services (Lutheran and Reformed) for harvest thanksgiving. Many of these, we are told, were held in September, on the Sunday nearest

¹ For the New England Thanksgiving, see Horatio Smith, *Festivals, Games, and Amusements, Ancient and Modern* (New York, 1847); George W. Douglas, *The American Book of Days* (New York, 1940); H. S. J. Sichel, *Thanksgiving, Its Source, Philosophy, and History* (Philadelphia, 1940); *Thanksgiving and Harvest Festivals* (New York, 1942).

² In a Protestant, Bible-based culture such as the Pennsylvania Dutch community of the 19th century, all that was needed to justify Harvest Home was to point to the Hebrew example, as for instance, in Exodus 34: 22: "And thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, of the first fruits of wheat harvest, and the feast of the ingathering at the year's end" (*German Reformed Messenger*, August 3, 1859). For the Biblical harvest festivals, see Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.

Harvest Home, Jonestown, September 22, 1907
—Postcard souvenir sent in mails, 1907.

Harvest Home at Mt. Nebo (1907)



Pennsylvania's Harvest Home

The Pennsylvania "Harvest Home" as celebrated by Lutherans and Reformed, consisted originally of a service, with harvest sermon, in the church, usually during the week, either in the midst of harvest or at the close of harvest. It could be held anywhere from the first week of July till mid-October, depending upon the decision of pastor or congregation. Sometimes the Harvest Home service was combined with the Fall Communion and the ingathering of Fall catechumens. In the period after the Civil War we begin to read of churches decorated with the fruits and vegetables and grains of harvest, and the gradual centering of the festival on a Sunday rather than on a weekday. The service had its hymns and its liturgy and was one of the joyous festivals of the church year as conceived by rural Pennsylvanians.

A special feature of Pennsylvania's Harvest Home was the special collections—"harvest thank offerings"—which were usually a part of it. The early editorials on Harvest Home in the Lutheran and Reformed press begin to mention this offering in the 1830's and are happy to report that while a few congregations devoted it to parish needs (the earlier custom?), generally it was shared by the church boards and given to missions, education, and other benevolent causes.

As the churches came to be decorated with the fruits of the harvest, it became customary to give the display either to the minister and his family, or to the church orphanages or homes for the aged. The custom of giving the fruits and vegetables to the minister is related, of course, to the old American custom of the "Donation" or "Pound Party" which in most cases came to be centered in the Advent and New Year season.⁷

Before looking at the historical evidence, let us study the

to St. Michael's Day (September 29).³ This was known as the *Erntedankfest* or *Erntefest*, and the sermon preached on the day was the *Erntepredigt* or *Ernterede*.⁴

In the British Isles ancient Celtic and Saxon rituals united to give us the time of summer or autumn merrymaking known as "Harvest Home." Brand's charming chapter on "Harvest Home, alias Mell Supper, Kern, or Churn Supper, or Feast of Ingathering" tells us of the British customs in their variations from Cornwall to Scotland, with the Harvest Doll or Kern (Corn) Baby, or as the Scots called it, the "Maiden" (the last sheaf dressed and paraded through the fields), Harvest Dinners, Harvest Suppers, Harvest Dances.⁵ These rites were part of the "Merry England" tradition and for the most part were pagan survivals. The Church gave its blessing on Lammas Day (August 1) to the first loaves made from the harvest wheat, which were offered at mass. In more recent times in Protestant England the "harvest thanksgiving" has become an unofficial religious festival, on a Sunday in September or October. In both the Church of England and the Free Churches it has become customary to "decorate the church with fruit, flowers, and vegetables which are later devoted to charity; special hymns are sung; and there is frequently a visiting preacher."⁶ There seems to have been no provision for such a service in the Book of Common Prayer, as there was in the continental German liturgies, but special forms do exist from the end of the 18th century.

³ *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, II (Tübingen, 1928), col. 289, article on "*Erntedankfest*." See also J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, I (New York, 1914), "Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild"; and "Harvest Festivals" in Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.

⁴ Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, III (Leipzig, 1862).

⁵ John Brand, *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, I (London, 1813), 439-452.

⁶ F. L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 611.

⁷ For example, see the description of the "pound party" as it existed in the lumbering country of the Sinnamahoning Valley in North Central Pennsylvania in the 1870's: "That winter the Dent's Run community had a 'pound party' for the preacher at Benzette. There was a regularly stationed Methodist preacher at that place and Dent's Run was one of his appointments. The preacher received for regular salary a small cash stipend and a furnished parsonage. Nevertheless, his parishioners saw that he was also well supplied with provisions and fuel. It was an old custom for the brethren to hold parties in which each person presented the preacher with one pound of provisions. Hence it was called a 'pound party,' but the Dent's Run quota did not confine its gifts to only one pound each. They were more generous. A ham, slab of bacon, sack of flour, bag of potatoes, a squash, head of cabbage, fruits and the like, made quite a sled load, which kept the preacher and his family from going hungry until the similar party again replenished his larder. The Dent's Run people made a sleigh ride of this occasion. At the parsonage an oyster supper and play party were indulged in before returning home" (George William Huntley, Jr., *A Story of the Sinnamahone* [Williamsport, Pennsylvania, 1936], p. 471).



The pastor and his wife at Harvest Home.

The pastor poses in his Harvest Home display.
Note tall corn stalks, sheaves of grain,
autumn leaves.



words used for Harvest Home in Pennsylvania.

While the present name (Harvest Home) derives from the British Isles tradition, the older terms "harvest service" and "harvest sermon" were in use throughout the 19th century and are the American adaptations of the dialect terms *Aernkarch* and *Aernbredich*. Variants occasionally reported are "harvest festival" and "harvest thanksgiving." Gradually, however, "harvest home" has absorbed all of these terms and has become fixed in usage.⁸

Early References to Harvest Home

By 1820 we find Harvest Home in full operation in Pennsylvania as a church festival.

Since it was not a general American custom, references by travelers through the Dutch Country tell us something of the practice in the early 19th century. The earliest of these is a blast from the eccentric Methodist circuit-rider, Jacob Gruber (1778-1850), who lost no opportunities to point up what he considered the lack of "religion" among Pennsylvania's Lutheran and Reformed people. Describing his travels on Dauphin Circuit in German Pennsylvania about 1820, he writes: "I found they had an old custom. On Sunday after harvest their parson preached a harvest sermon, as it was called; but this year there were very few to hear it; most of the congregation were gone to the mountain to gather whortleberries. It would be hard if the poor parson should have to preach another thanksgiving sermon when the berries are all gathered; then when all is safe take a week-day for it. That would hinder any from visiting on Sunday, and having their play and amusements."⁹

This early reference by an outsider—if the Pennsylvanian Jacob Gruber can be called an "outsider"—can be paired with the reference made by John W. Richards, grandson of Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg, in 1825, when pastor of the

New Holland Lutheran charge in Lancaster County, to preaching "harvest sermons."¹⁰

The nation learned of the custom in August, 1847, when the *Union Magazine* commented on Pennsylvania's distinctive harvest festival. "In Pennsylvania, where perhaps a preponderance of settlers from the continent of Europe—a less absorbingly ambitious people than the Yankees—has infused a more genial spirit; they hold what they call a harvest service—a general meeting for thanksgiving and prayer. This is a graceful and interesting custom, and one which might be adopted wherever the plough opens the soil."¹¹

Harvest Home in the Church Papers

Our best source for Harvest Home is the weekly press of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. This reflected the customs and interests of pastor and people from generation to generation. One of the first references to the custom to

⁸ For the British Isles term "harvest home" and its long background, see the *Oxford English Dictionary*, V. For the Pennsylvania dialect terms it is instructive to check the recent dialect dictionaries. Edwin R. Danner's *Pennsylvania Dutch Dictionary* (York, 1951) gives "*Airn Bredich*" (Harvest Home). A *Pennsylvania-Dutch Dictionary* (Quakertown: Meredith Publishing Company, n.d.), based on Prof. A. R. Horne's earlier word-lists of the 19th century, gives "*arnkarch*" (harvest home service). Here we have the two principal dialect terms. Howard Snader, *Glossary of 6167 English Words and Expressions and their Berks County Pennsylvania Dutch Equivalents* ([Reading, Pennsylvania], 1948) gives for "harvest festival" the improbable term "*Harrischt fescht*." Of the older word-books, James C. Lins' *Common Sense Pennsylvania German Dictionary* (Kempston, Pennsylvania, 1887), gives *Arnkarich* (harvest home service).

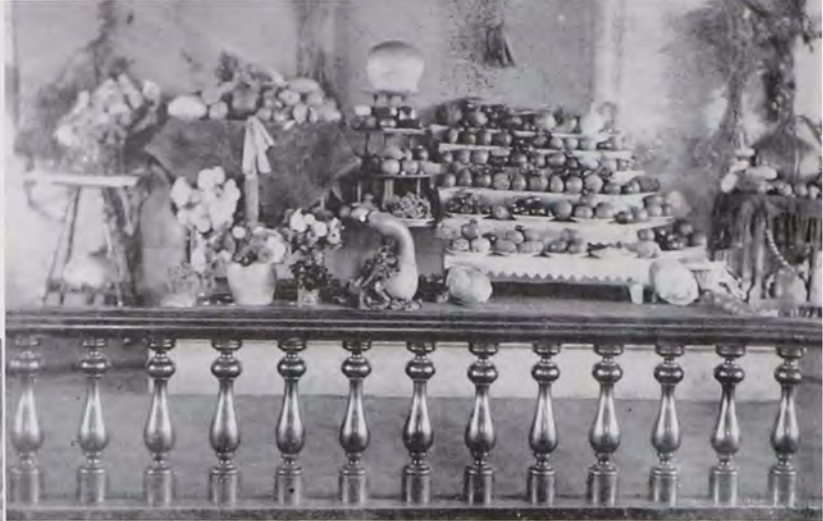
⁹ W. P. Strickland, *The Life of Jacob Gruber* (New York: Carlton & Porter, 1860), pp. 276-277.

¹⁰ John W. Richards, *Diarium*, I (1824-1830), Ministerium of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia Lutheran Seminary, Mt. Airy. His first reference to the custom is September 18, 1825: "Today I preached a harvest sermon I Thess. 5, 18. at Allegheny . . ." In 1826 he "preached Harvest Sermon" three times, all on Sundays in July and August, at Muddy Creek, Bergstrasse, and New Holland. On Sunday, August 6, 1826, having no service of his own, he attended Mr. Hertz's church—St. Stephen's Reformed Church, New Holland—"to hear his harvest Sermon—Text Matt. 6. 11. Gib uns heute unser täglich Brod— . . ." In a later volume of the *Diarium*, that for 1834, he tells us of a somewhat ecumenical service at the Trappe in Montgomery County, his grandfather Muhlenberg's old headquarters, on August 13, 1834: ". . . Preached a Harvest Sermon in German, to a full church at the Trapp, from Ps[alm] 147, 12. 'Eine feierliche Aufforderung zum Preise Gottes für seine Wohltaten.' I got Mr Wack [Reformed minister] to give out the lines of the first hymn, & as Mr Hunzicker, the Mennonist preacher was present I got him to line the second hymn, & Mr Wack the latest [hymn] & the concluding prayer."

¹¹ [Mrs. C. M. Kirkland], "Harvest," in *The Union Magazine of Literature and Art* (New York, 1847), p. 91.

Harvest Home, Jonestown, Lebanon County (1906)—Note immense loaf of bread on stand, gourd and pumpkins, cabbage heads.

Faith, Hope, and "Charity" vie for attention with flag and cross at Pennsylvania Harvest Home.



appear in print dates from 1837. A "country minister," writing in the *Reformed Church Messenger*, notes that "it is usual, in most of our churches, to preach a Thanksgiving Sermon at this time of the year [August]." This he conceived to be "very appropriate, in order to fix the minds of our people to that gratitude, which we should feel for the many blessings which God has been pleased to bestow upon the labors of the husbandman." He notes also that it is the practice of many of the churches at this time to take up collections for missions, education, the synod's fund, and other similar objects" (*Weekly Messenger of the German Reformed Church*, August 2, 1837).

"From time immemorial," states the editor of the *Messenger* in 1846, "it has been customary in our German churches, to preach what is technically called a harvest sermon, at the close of the season for the ingathering of the grain, which custom is still regularly observed wherever the German spirit is retained in our churches." The editor liked the custom "exceedingly well," and expressed the hope "that our German churches will ever cleave to the good old custom, handed down to them as a heritage from their forefathers, of annually assembling themselves in the house of God, for the special purpose of acknowledging the goodness of God and in furnishing us with the necessities of life, and of making to him appropriate returns of thankfulness" (*The Weekly Messenger of the German Reformed Church*, July 22, 1946).

And again in 1859—"This is the season of the year at which harvest festivals are observed and harvest sermons preached." . . . "The harvest festival is observed in the old country; harvest sermons are very common in Germany. The observance of this festival was also introduced into our own country by our German forefathers. It is a beautiful and appropriate custom." In the same issue a correspondent calling himself "Matthias" found it also a beautiful old

custom "to take up a collection for Missions and other objects of benevolence immediately after harvest, when the Harvest Sermon is preached," as the "thank offering of the people for a plentiful harvest" (*German Reformed Messenger*, August 3, 1859). And in 1860: "We hope this year, more than ever, the good old custom will be observed, to preach harvest sermons, and take up special collections for benevolent objects" (*German Reformed Messenger*, August 15, 1860).

One of the finest general descriptions of Harvest Home comes from the pen of George B. Russell, editor of a Reformed periodical in Pittsburgh, in August of 1873: "At this season of the year, our churches usually hold a Harvest Festival. In some it is marked by a Harvest Sermon. In others, a regular Harvest Home celebration is observed by all the people in a social and religious gathering; where, besides the special sermon and other religious services, the joyful thanksgiving is expressed also in a general festival. Young and old unite together in a round of common social religious intercourse; every family contributes something to the general bounty of the long table, laden with substantial evidences of plenty; and the gathered pledges for the supply of the current wants of the people for the year, makes the glad hearts as full as the well-stored barns.

"Before the invention and general observance of the New England Thanksgiving day, these Harvest Home celebrations were the chief thanksgiving among our ancestors. They had their own peculiar habits and customs; and the sons of the sires are not entirely forgetful of these old ways to which they were trained" (*Our Church Paper*, August 1, 1873).

With the social changes that came about through urbanization in the 1870's and '80's the custom showed some signs of senescence. "We have heard persons speak unfavorably of special harvest sermons and services," reports a Reformed source in 1882. "They say, the daily and weekly offerings of praise to God for temporal and spiritual blessings are sufficient; and of far more account than any special service once a year. We answer—*do both*, and then be more sure of being right; or rather, do both as a privilege you would not be deprived of." There is, to be sure, a biblical warrant for an annual harvest festival. "We suppose their pastors may have told them about it, but some of them may have forgotten it" (*The Messenger*, July 19, 1882). In 1885 our editor praises the churches for celebrating "this time-honored festival," but noted that "there are congregations which are inclined to imitate the Baptists, Presbyterians, etc., and ignore the customs of their German fathers. Others say that it is all very well for the country congregations to observe



Pastor Welder at Muddy Creek, Old Church—
1920—Corn-stalks top old-fashioned
raised pulpit.

Courtesy: Maggie Oberholtzer

the harvest thanksgiving but pretend to see no propriety in city or town churches keeping up the custom" (*The Messenger*, September 16, 1885).

The end of the century brought a plea for "The Harvest Festival in City Churches" by S. R. Bridenbaugh (1899): "But why should every city congregation not engage in a similar service? We rejoice that many do. The custom of holding Harvest Festivals is by no means confined to the country and village churches, but is coming to be quite generally observed in towns and cities as well. Not all, however, recognize the fitness or acknowledge the obligation to render such special service of thanksgiving. City people are engaged in other than agricultural pursuits. Many of them rarely see a harvest field, and can scarcely distinguish wheat from rye, or barley from oats. All the stronger is the reason, therefore, why they should be reminded of the Giver of our daily bread." Another point in favor of a city Harvest Home was the fact that "members of city churches need to be reminded that they are all children of the soil; that, with few exceptions, they are the descendants of farmers; that their fathers, if not themselves, came from country homes. . . ."—which should have been an obvious fact to the membership of urban Lutheran and Reformed churches in Pennsylvania in the year it was written (*Reformed Church Messenger*, August 31, 1899).

The Ministers Describe It

The ministers themselves, naturally, of both Lutheran and Reformed Churches, provide us with important evidence. From the large body of clerical journals and memoirs from Pennsylvania we select two witnesses.

We step into the study of Henry Harbaugh in the Reformed parsonage at Lewisburg in the Susquehanna Valley. His diary is open to 1844. "Sunday, July 28 . . . Preached at 10 a harvest sermon. 'The harvest is past etc.' . . . Thursday, August 1 [.] Was principally engaged in writing a harvest sermon—Friday, August 2 [.] Wrote still at the harvest sermon—" "Sunday, August 17, [1845]—preached a harvest sermon." "Friday, July 31, [1846]— . . . Br. Fisher preached the harvest sermon." "Thursday, August 19, [1847]—Rev. Kieffer came. He preached the Harvest sermon.—" "Sunday, July 23, [1848] . . . Preached a Harvest sermon at 10, German . . ." "Sunday, August 12, [1849] Preached in Milton in English. Harvest Sermon on 'Oh that men would praise the Lord' 118 Ps. (I think)— . . ." ¹²

¹² *The Diary of Rev. Henry Harbaugh, D.D.*, [I]: 1844-1849, bound typescript in Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Fackenthal Library, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Canned goods and egg-cartons join the display.
Tradition of Harvest Home continues
under changed conditions.



Courtesy: Arline Fritz

Which tells us that Harvest Home was held both on Sunday and on weekdays and that Harbaugh occasionally let his Dutch influence his English.

In Eastern Pennsylvania the great German preacher of the Reformed Church of the 19th century was William A. Helffrich. Let us allow Pastor Helffrich tell us something of his Harvest Sermons: 1851: "At my harvest sermons I laid more weight on the matter of missions. In the Ziegel, Heidelberg, and Longswamp congregation it began slowly to go better. In the whole parish I collected about ninety dollars, where earlier twenty dollars was given. Nothing is more difficult than to give our members a conception of the importance of the missionary cause. Although I preached missionary sermons in all five congregations shortly before the harvest festival (*Erntefest*), it still progresses only slowly." 1858: "This summer I had seven Harvest Sermons (*Erntepredigten*) to give. These were formerly all conducted during the week. The people left all work in the field and came in great numbers to the houses of God. The harvest collections ran to \$115. But how difficult it continues, to bring the people the conception of giving!" 1859: "My Harvest Sermons (*Erntepredigten*), of which there were eight, I conducted in the month of August, and those all on weekdays, and collected \$132." ¹³

Church Decoration

The distinctive feature of the Pennsylvania Lutheran and Reformed Harvest Home is the decoration of the church with the fruit and grain of the harvest. Christmas and Harvest were the two occasions when the country churches were decked in the green and color of the natural world—when, so to speak, the farm and the forest came to church.

¹³ William A. Helffrich, *Lebensbild aus dem Pennsylvanisch-Deutschen Predigerstand: oder Wahrheit in Licht und Schatten* (Allentown, Pennsylvania, 1906), pp. 187, 245, 256.

And unforgettable to Pennsylvanians are those childhood memories of tall cornstalks, pumpkins, huge loaves of bread, and sheaves of wheat camouflaging the pulpit and almost hiding the minister.

It seems as if the members competed with one another to bring the finest products of the summer's harvest—the largest pumpkins, the tallest cornstalks, the most grotesque squashes, the reddest apples. And church vied with church through the years—all unofficially, of course—to see which congregation could put on the finest display.

While this feature of our festival undoubtedly had ancient and pre-Christian roots—the bringing of the finest products of the field to the temple not only as thanks to the deity for an accomplished harvest but as insurance in advance of a good harvest next year—our printed references to Pennsylvanians decorating their churches at Harvest Home do not begin until the Civil War period and later. For example, in 1878 the Reformed home missionary, A. C. Whitmer, spent "four days among the hills of Somerset County," visiting the Beam Charge, centering in Stoystown, in an area "noted for its pasture land, rich butter, pure honey, long hills, and very many Reformed people." "I attended," he tells us, "the harvest home services in the four congregations of said charge, and so passed over a wide range of 'hill country.' The churches were nicely decorated with the fruits of the season—wheat, rye, oats, corn, apples, grapes, peaches, pears, potatoes, even down to peppers, hops, pop corn and sunflowers. Wreaths and beautiful crosses, made of grasses, grain, and trailing moss, adorned the pulpits, baptismal fonts and reading desks. Part of each service was, of course, the special thank-offering of the people for their abundant harvest" (*The Messenger*, September 11, 1878).

Whitmer's own church in Buffalo Valley celebrated Harvest Festival on Sunday, August 6, 1882: "The Church was beautifully decorated for the occasion. The harvest fields had been made to contribute their beautiful and well-grown sheaves, and the still growing grain stood among these with promises for the future. The floral kingdom had contributed an abundance in the form of living plants. A beautiful sickle formed of white petunias, geraniums and other flowers, adorned the front of the pulpit" (*The Messenger*, August 16, 1882).

Several additional descriptions, all from the year 1885, enable us to picture decoration styles at the time—before the invasion of canned goods and soap powder cartons.

Elk Lick, Paradise Charge—"The last of the harvest services were held in this charge August 23rd. The attendance was large and the interest was such as to gratify pastor and people. The decorations were extensive and consisted of evergreens, cut flowers and blooming plants, grains and all manner of fruits, beautifully arranged on and around the altar. On the walls were sentences and emblems that were suggestive" (*The Messenger*, September 16, 1885).

Lock Haven—"September 6th, harvest home was celebrated in St. Luke's Reformed Church at Lock Haven, Pa. The church was tastefully decorated with flowers, vines, fruit, vegetables and grain. It was a memorable Sabbath both for the congregation and pastor. . . . Besides harvest home, it was the pastor's birthday and the first Sabbath of his third year's pastorate" (*The Messenger*, September 23, 1885).

Carlisle—"Seldom, if ever, has the Reformed Church in this place held a more delighted audience, or looked grander, than on Sunday. This day had been set apart for the

Annual Harvest Home Thanksgiving Service, which is looked forward to with much interest. . . . The pulpit and altar was handsomely decorated. Around the altar were potted plants, such as palms, ferns, etc., handsomely arranged, and on either side of the pulpit was a sheaf of grain, together with a number of vegetables. A beautiful pyramid of fruit set in the baptismal font. The reading desk was also handsomely decorated with smilax, which, taken as a whole, made one of the prettiest sights we have ever seen. Mr. Henry Keller did the decorating, and to him must be given all the praise" (*The Messenger*, October 21, 1885, quoting the *Carlisle Herald*).

Lebanon—"October 11th would, no doubt, seem to many persons to be a late date for holding a 'Harvest Home Festival,' but this date was chosen by St. John's of Lebanon, of which Rev. George B. Resser as pastor, for the reason, among others, that it would afford the opportunity of including every variety of the fruits of the earth in symbolizing the opening of God's beneficent hand; and the service at this time was a joyous, beneficial one to all the participants. The decorations of the church were very profuse, and very beautiful. Under the skilful management of a committee of ladies, and some gentlemen helpers, appropriate mottoes, arches, Gothic and various other styles, pyramids of fruits, and well-selected plants were so arranged in and about the chancel as to produce a very pleasing effect" (*The Messenger*, October 21, 1885).

Ashland—" . . . celebrated their annual harvest festival on Sunday, October 11. The church was elaborately decorated for the occasion; on the altar rested a pyramid of choice fruit, with vases of beautiful flowers on either side, the chancel was surmounted by an arch trimmed artistically with vines and the cereal grains; on either side of the pulpit platform were immense pyramids of vegetables and fruits of every description tastefully arranged, the whole being not only pleasing to the eye but conveying an idea of the rich bounty of God" (*The Messenger*, October 21, 1885).

Of the eighteen Reformed parishes which reported Harvest Home celebrations in the *Reformed Church Messenger* for September 13, 1900, all held their services on a Sunday, September 2 and 9, except Muddy Creek (26 August). The accounts are proud to mention "liberal" or "generous" offerings. At Danville "the entire lot of decorations was donated to the pastor, for which he is sincerely thankful." The displays were "elaborate," "artistic," "profuse," "beautiful," "tasty," "appropriate." It seems that our minister friends, who vied with each other in describing the displays that banked their pulpits and altars, were

¹⁴ The most important development in the history of Pennsylvania's Harvest Home since 1900 has been the attempt to extend it into a national and inter-denominational festival under the Federal Council of Churches, now the National Council. This movement began in January, 1942, in a meeting of the Federal Council's Home Missions Council. The leaders involved in pressing for an extension of the festival to other rural churches throughout the nation were the Reverend William J. Rupp (Evangelical and Reformed), Dr. Benson Y. Landis (Moravian), Dr. Mark Rich (Director of Rural Work for the Northern Baptist Convention), Dr. O. O. Arnold (Church of the United Brethren in Christ), and Dr. O. O. Tripp (Director of Rural Work for the Congregational-Christian Churches). The Town and Country Committee of the Federal Council in 1942 published its first Harvest Home Bulletin, of which 18,000 copies were distributed throughout the nation. The bulletin, with outline of a harvest home service, has been an annual affair since then. For this information we are indebted to the Reverend William J. Rupp, Pastor, United Church of Christ, Souderton, Pennsylvania.



Harvest Home brings the farm to church.

running out of adjectives. Hence we will stop, before becoming monotonous, with the year 1900.¹⁴

The Harvest Festival Among the Plain People

Harvest Home, as we have described it, was a Lutheran and Reformed institution. But a word needs to be said about the observance of harvest festivals by the other Pennsylvania churches of German origin. Both the Dunkards (Brethren) and the Mennonites had harvest services, but whether or not they were indigenous in the plain tradition, or—as J. Winfield Fretz suggests in a recent study¹⁵—borrowed from the Lutheran and Reformed environment, cannot be definitively stated at this time.

First, the Dunkard practice of “harvest meetings,” evidence of which comes from the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Elder John Kline, the Dunkard evangelist, mentions “harvest meetings” yearly in his journal, as for instance: “Friday, August 11, [1843]. Attend harvest meeting at the Flat Rock. . . . Saturday, August 12. Harvest meeting at our meeting-house.” And again in 1844 “Saturday, July 27. Harvest meeting at Copp’s schoolhouse in Shenandoah County, Virginia. Wednesday, July 31. Harvest meeting at the Brush meetinghouse. Thursday, August 1. Go to harvest meeting at Daniel Garber’s meetinghouse . . .” At a harvest meeting on Friday, July 25, 1845, Luke 16 was read, and the elder’s meditation was on “how best to help the poor . . .” And at the “harvest thanksgiving” at the elder’s home meetinghouse on Friday, August 8, 1851,

a baptism took place, suggesting the connection between the spiritual and the material harvest.¹⁶

The Mennonites had a similar practice. “One inspiring custom of the Franconia Mennonites, hallowed by long observance”—writes John C. Wenger—“is the observance of ‘Harvest-Home’ services. These meetings are held in all the meetinghouses in the fall of each year to commemorate the ingathering of the harvest and ‘to remember the Lord of harvest in thanksgiving.’ Texts are usually selected from the Old Testament and considerable attention is devoted to the promises of material prosperity given to the Israelites in Canaan if they would truly serve the Lord. Warnings are sounded against apostasy and the example of the apostate Hebrews is pointed out. The meetings are usually held on Saturday afternoon, and ordained men from many congregations are present at all the Harvest-Home meetings. In general the members are very conscientious about attending at least one such service each year.”¹⁷

If it is true that the festival—at least in the form of decorated sanctuaries—spread from the Lutheran-Reformed groups to some of our plain cultures, it also spread to the revivalist groups—the Methodists and their Pennsylvania Dutch stepchildren, the United Brethren, Evangelicals, and other conversionist sects. The Methodist festival is known both as “Harvest Home” and “Booth Festival,” the churches are decorated, and the produce goes to the church homes, according to conference direction.¹⁸

Pennsylvania Variants of Harvest Home

Out of the original Harvest Home service—which was a festival in the churches, with a “harvest sermon,” there grew in the 19th century, four separate institutions all of which made use of the term “harvest home.” These were the Sunday School Harvest Home, the Harvest Home Children’s Service, the Harvest Home Picnic (a church affair), and the Harvest Home Picnic (secular affair).

1. *The Sunday School Harvest Home.* In the early 1840’s, reports of Sunday School Harvest Home celebrations begin to appear in the church papers. These were of a picnic nature, with sermons and a picnic meal, Sunday School processions and recitations.

Here is an example from 1841. On July 26, 1841, the Boehm’s, Whitmarsh and adjoining Reformed Sunday Schools held a “Harvest Home Celebration” in the woods, “where the necessary arrangements of seats, &c. had been made by the committee appointed for the purpose.” The “concourse of children” and others numbered between seven and eight hundred. German and Dutch Reformed, Baptist and Lutheran clergymen gave the children plenty of sermonic material to digest before and after their brief intermission for lunch, of which the clerical reporter notes with satisfaction that “few or none during the interval left the

¹⁴ *The Mennonite Encyclopaedia*, II (1956), 671: “In some churches the present observance seems to be an outgrowth of an earlier Thanksgiving Day worship service. In other instances Mennonites imitated the pattern established by other Protestant churches. In eastern Pennsylvania, for instance, the harvest festival is widely observed in Lutheran and Reformed churches by annually placing the best fruits of the harvest on the altar of the church in connection with a worship service.” Similar practices in the Mennonite groups of the United States and Canada, says the writer, are “of comparatively recent origin,” coming in during the first third of the 20th century.

¹⁵ Benjamin Funk (ed.), *Life and Labors of Elder John Kline The Martyr Missionary* (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1900), pp. 147, 157, 191, 295.

¹⁷ John C. Wenger, *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference* (Telford, Pennsylvania: Franconia Mennonite Historical Society, 1937), p. 36; see also p. 179, reference to the “harvest thank offering” of the Blooming Glen congregation in Bucks County, held Monday, July 24, 1882.

¹⁸ *The Lancaster Advertiser*, sometime in the early 1950’s included a description of a Methodist “Harvest-Home Service” in Lancaster: “The Festival of Harvest-Home will be observed in Ross Street Church next Sunday, 10:45 a.m. Donations of canned fruit and vegetables, potatoes, soap, soap powders, cereals, will be on display, together with seasonal decorations. All donations will be divided equally between The Cornwall Methodist Church Home for Aged and The Crispus Attucks Center, Lancaster. Food donations may be brought to the church all day Saturday, also Sunday morning. Gifts of money will also be received.”

Earliest dated Harvest Home photograph—The Rev. William J. Kershner at Harvest Home, St. John's (Hain's) Church, Berks County, about 1896.

Harvest Home badge, 1870. The term "Harvest Home" was appropriated for farmers' picnics in Pennsylvania in post-Civil War days.



ground; & the afternoon of the day was pleasantly, and we hope not without profit spent in singing and prayer and mutual exhortation" (*Weekly Messenger*, August 11, 1841).

2. *The Harvest Home Children's Service.* Children's Day, now generally fixed in the spring or early summer, is an American contribution to the unofficial church year. While Pennsylvania churches now generally hold it on a Sunday in May or June, when the church can be decorated with roses and early summer flowers, in the last quarter of the 19th century it was customary for Lutheran and Reformed churches to combine "Children's Day" with "Harvest Home." The decorated church seemed an appropriate frame for a display of juvenile elocution.

One account must suffice, that of St. Paul's Reformed Church, Butler, Pennsylvania, which celebrated its first Children's Day, September 13, 1885:

"The church was filled with smiling faces and eager little hearts at an early hour. The decorations, though not elaborate, were very neat and tasteful. At the rear end of the pulpit platform was a very beautiful arch made of autumn leaves, tinged with autumnal hue, with a picture of the cross in the centre. Under each end of the arch stood stalks of corn trimmed with vines and fruit; under the picture a flower-stand with an arch, handsomely decorated, in which hung a canary that mingled its sweet warblings with the songs of the children. In the centre of the platform was a beautiful floral cross and crown, and on each side stood a stand filled with fruit; in front of these were seen two sheaves of wheat with sickles in them; and between the sheaves, two halves of a luscious watermelon. In front of the platform, on each chandelier, hung another cage with a canary in it. Bouquets, baskets, and banks of flowers helped greatly to beautify the scene. The whole presented a unique appearance, and was beautiful indeed. But the eager little faces in front presented the loveliest sight of all" (*The Messenger*, September 30, 1885).

3. *The Harvest Home Picnic*—the church affair—is revealed in the "Harvest Home Pic-Nic" that was reported in the *Lutheran Observer* for September 26, 1884, from the *Greensburg Evening Press*. This was an annual affair, bringing together the Lutherans of Ligonier, Greensburg, Derry, Latrobe, and Youngstown in Western Pennsylvania. It was held Thursday, September 11, at Idlewild, on the Ligonier Valley Railroad. There was no lack of provisions—"the good Lutheran housewives having a reputation to sustain in that direction."

4. *The Harvest Home Picnic* (secular) is a Central Pennsylvania affair. We read, for instance, in the *Democratic Watchman* (Bellefonte), for 1882, of the Huntingdon Furnace Harvest Home Picnic, an annual community affair. The Grangers' Picnic or Grange Fair, at Centre Hall in Centre County, was originally also called Grangers' Picnic and Harvest Home. The Harvest Home "member's badge," which we reproduce among our illustrations, is a product of the secular Harvest Home.

Pennsylvania versus Thanksgiving

The New England Thanksgiving—like other Yankee gifts to American culture—was not originally welcomed by Pennsylvanians. For many years Lutherans and Reformed paid only grudging attention to it. Editorials in the church papers commented, almost with an I-told-New-England-so feeling, on the sparse attendance in the churches on the day of National Thanksgiving and clucked editorial tongues at the too relaxed character of the diversions to which the rest of the day was devoted.

The editor of the *Lutheran Observer* (Baltimore), December 2, 1853, made no attempt to conceal his dislike for the day: "Thursday last was celebrated as thanksgiving-day, in the usual way; the churches were thinly attended; places of amusement, grogshops, oyster-cellars, &c., were crowded; the surrounding country abounded with shooting-parties, who, in the absence of game, shot at what they might. Many a tame pigeon and 'barn-yard pheasant' was popped over and bagged. More stragglers and drunken men were seen than on any other day in the year, except perhaps Christmas.

"Thanksgiving-days may operate favorably in New England," he continues, "but we don't think they suit our latitude, and incline to the opinion that there would be more virtue in the *breach* than in the *observance* of them.

"Our readers may recollect that when the move was first made to induce the Governor of Maryland to recommend such a day, we opposed it, and some of our friends were amazed that a *religious* paper should pursue such a course. But we knew what we were about; we had our painful apprehensions, and regret to find them now fully verified. The religious portion of our community were not anxious for the appointment of a thanksgiving-day; many of them resisted it, and very justly too. It was mostly those who make no pretensions to religion, and by no means remarkable for their attendance at public worship, who were most clamorous for such a festival. They have accomplished their purpose, and to us it is evident that the cause of good morals has greatly suffered by the measure."

The editor of the *Reformed Church Messenger* reported December 2, 1868, in an article entitled "National Thanksgiving," that "the day was generally observed. The accounts published, would indicate, that the occasion was one of more than usual interest. In our city [Philadelphia], the places of business generally were closed and the most of the churches open. As far as we can learn, the religious services were well attended. As is mostly the case, perhaps to too great an extent, there was no lack of public amusements, at least during a portion of the day. The community will now move on again in the usual routine, until the holidays arrive, when, we trust, the religious aspect which the observance of such occasions should wear, will not be forgotten."

A correspondent in the *Messenger* the following year was not so enthusiastic about the National Thanksgiving. "How different are the feelings of the people on Christmas, from what they are on our Puritan Thanksgiving day, which comes on the 26th of November, at a time when it is neither winter, summer, spring, nor fall; at a time when the weather is usually the most disagreeable and depressing, rainy, muddy and foggy; in fact generally too much so to half digest the usual Thanksgiving turkey. Then go listen to the unedifying political pulpit discourses, as delivered in the majority of cases on that day; the dozen or two of people who attend church, the eagerness with which they rush from church to the post-office, in hope of finding something with which to drive away their ennui and kill the day; and the laggard manner in which the people close their places of business; and the general perplexity to know what to do with themselves, so as not to offend against the proclamation of the President—and you will wonder no longer why it is, that Christmas is being more and more restored in the affections of the people." The reason, he felt, was that Christmas had an inner vitality, "a power mysterious and inexplicable as the mystery of godliness itself . . . while the Thanksgiving proclamations of Governors and Presidents fall, for the most part, dead upon the ears of the people, and leave them dead as the turkeys upon which they feast, and empty as the plates from which they have eaten" (F. Wall, in *Reformed Church Messenger*, January 13, 1869).

The Lutherans continued their opposition into the 1880's, and also made the logical proposal—logical, that is, to Pennsylvania farmers—that the National Thanksgiving be moved forward into early October, so that it might become a National Harvest-Home Festival. The *Lutheran Ob-*

server for September 5, 1884, came out with the proposal that Thanksgiving be moved—this year—to October 12th. The last Thursday in November having no special meaning (to Pennsylvanians), October 12th, the anniversary of the discovery of America, would fulfil the patriotic motivation and the end of harvest would connect it with the traditional Harvest-Home festivals of Pennsylvania's churches. The editor's description of a Pennsylvanian's view of Thanksgiving is a classic:

" . . . On the shivering edge of winter, long after harvests and autumn fruits have been gathered in, a paltry few mechanically meet in their places of worship and go through the barren form of a sermon and a song, so that many feel the custom would be 'more honored in the breach than in the observance.' In the utter want of fitness as to time, as well as utter lack of any significance, our Thanksgiving day has become a ghostly, funeral relic of something past, rather than the living, vital expression of grateful hearts for present mercies."

A celebration at the end of harvest, in October, would be a different matter: "What a grand thanksgiving day it would make! Every consideration urges that the change be made this year. The month, too, is pre-eminently fitting. The results of the year have all been garnered. Hearts are swelling with thankfulness, as the barns are bursting with plenty. Just then, when all hearts are full and all harvests are housed, a call on the part of our executive to make some formal expression of our grateful feelings, would turn our thanksgiving day into a great national harvest-home festival."

When its campaign failed, the *Observer* on December 5, 1884, gave space to a long editorial with the title "Wrong Time for Thanksgiving," which calls it pure and simple a New England custom, at the beginning of winter, whose purpose (in New England) was to provide a substitute for Christmas, which was forbidden by the Puritans.

The implication in all this is that Pennsylvania, in celebrating both Harvest Home and Christmas—needed no extraneous and unhappily scheduled New England Thanksgiving Day.

The *Observer* represented the "New Lutheran" or revivalist viewpoint on holidays. The more high-church *Lutheran* of Philadelphia, with its emphasis on the ecclesiastical year, countered by exclaiming how good it is to have Thanksgiving Day on the last Thursday of the Church year, because (as it somewhat over-optimistically estimated) the vast majority of Christians in the United States observe the church year (*The Lutheran*, November 30, 1882).

It is true, of course, that beginning with the Mercersburg Movement, the Oxford Movement and its American parallels in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the stiffening up of Lutheran confessionalism in the latter half of the 19th century, the church year was given more attention, but in 1884 certainly the Puritan and revivalist groups were still dominant and set the tone for American Protestantism.

By 1900 Pennsylvanians and Yankees had reached a truce on the matter. Thanksgiving Day—turkey and all—had become part and parcel of the Pennsylvanian's year—ecclesiastical as well as secular. But Harvest Home lingered on in the rural and small-town churches. Although each year more and more cans of Campbell's Soups came to be displayed around the pulpit, the decorating committees did not forget the tall corn-stalks, the pumpkins, the loaves of bread, and the sheaves of wheat.

Golden Fields *in the Golden Years*

By RUSSELL S. BAVER

*As a man soweth, so shall he also reap.
Denn was der Mensch saet, das wird er ernten.
Wie de soat, so de arn.*

Although we live in an age of guided missiles, Sputniks, etc., our farmers are still raising the same grains that our colonial ancestors raised: rye, wheat, barley, oats, buckwheat and corn. Peas, at one time, had been used as food for cattle and presently soy-beans are raised to some extent, but are used mainly for ensilage rather than for the bean. We may class these two exceptions to the above statement.

When oatmeal became an item on our breakfast menu I am not certain, but it was hardly found on the tables of our colonial ancestors. Barley, as such, is not even used as a food today, except as malt. The other grains listed above could all be ground into some kind of flour. With the crude milling processes the wheat bread was "whole wheat bread" and if it had been packaged there would have been no need to label it "enriched bread" as the "enrichment" was not removed in their milling process.

SOWING

We are all aware of the crude ploughs that the farmers used, also the harrow. The seed was sown by hand-broadcasting. The sower carried the seed grain in a home-spun bag with the bottom corner tied to the corner of the mouth of the bag, thus forming a loop. He inserted his head and left arm through this loop and thus carried the bag on his right shoulder. His left hand was then in a position to hold the mouth of the bag open and with his right hand he reached into the bag for a handful of grain and broadcast it as he swung his hand from left to right where it would again be in position to get another handful. It would be interesting to know what rhyme he repeated as he paced up and down the field in order to coordinate his steps with the swing of his right hand. The field had been furrowed, with the furrows usually sixteen feet apart, and this served as a guide to the sower.

After the broadcasting of seed the field was harrowed with the old type tooth-harrow to cover the seed grain. A chore that fell to the younger members of the family was to watch the birds so that they would not pick up the seed. When the Indians attacked the Keller family homestead in Plainfield Township, Northampton County, the mother and two sons were led to captivity, one son was killed, and the father and another son were spared. The father was sowing grain and the son "was keepng the wild pigeons away from some ground already sown."*

* Eli Keller, *History of the Keller Family* (Tiffin, Ohio, 1905).

The skillful broadcaster could sow as large an area in a day as was possible with the new grain drill (*saeddrill*). Therefore, the transition from hand-sowing to drill-sowing was very gradual. In 1848, it is reported, the first drill was used in Lehigh County.

The wheat and the rye kernels often got mixed. This may have been due to the similar appearance. Another reason may have been that the drill was not cleaned properly before sowing the next grain. The result of this was very evident the next spring as the rye stalk is about five or six inches taller than the wheat. This rye in a wheat field was referred to as *ferlora karn* (lost rye).

In the patch that was intended for seed this *ferlora karn* was removed by pulling it, or cutting off the top with an ordinary scissors or with *de shofe share* (sheep shears). This was commonly a Decoration Day job for besides recognizing the rye, the cockles were in prime then and they were also removed.

HARVESTING

It is in harvesting the grain that the community spirit revealed itself. Preparing the land and sowing were jobs for the individual farmer, but when it came to harvesting, the neighbors joined hands and went from farm to farm until all the grain in the neighborhood was cut. Of course, good dinners and fun prevailed.

The primitive device for cutting the grain was the sickle. As long as the sickle was used, women often outnumbered the men in the grain fields. I referred to furrows in planting. These furrows were still visible in harvest time and depending on the width between the furrows, the area was called a four-hand land or a six-hand land, implying that either four or six people would cut side by side, with their sickles and lay the grain on bundles to be bound into sheaves.

The sickle was replaced by the cradle, which consists of a scythe, four wooden teeth, and a snath or handle to which to apply your energy. The wooden teeth would catch the grain so it could be laid in a swath. Imagine four to eight experienced cradlers going down the side of a field of golden grain in rhythmic swing and step. Better yet, imagine a field of green grain, after the heads have developed, with the wind blowing over it and giving it the appearance of the waves of the ocean. "*Wos gookt's ovver net so shae won de wella widder ivver de frucht gaen,*" the Pennsylvania Dutch put it. The farmer and his family driving along with horse and buggy or carriage could really enjoy such scenes as compared to driving along a turnpike at 60 miles per hour. When a woman's pettycoat showed it was said: *Der waetza iss langer oss es karn.* (The wheat is longer than the rye.)



Trio of cradlers about 1900–1910.

Different craftsmen made their particular style of cradle. It had to have a good scythe and a proper balance. There were usually as many cradles hanging in the barn as there were male members of the family able to swing them. Every member of the family had his particular cradle. I often heard my father say: "*Ich hob en gute reff kott, de schneid wore so tzort.*" The cradler was just as finicky about "his" cradle as today's baseball player is concerning "his" bat or the golfer about "his" golf clubs.

If the field was rather fertile and a rainy season developed, the grain stalks would break and bend over. (*De frucht iss gfalla.*) What a job it was to cut such patches! How glad they were to make the last round as compared to grandfather who sat at home on the porch and said: "*Ich bin uff em letschta gemawd.*" (I am on my last leg.)

With the advent of the cradle fewer women were found in the grain fields. The jobs remaining for the women were the raking and the binding.

The binding was done with a band of the grain straw. In binding the rye a single length band was used because the rye straw is considerably longer than the other straws. With the other grains a double length band (*doubledi sale*) was used. In making a *doubledi sale* the bundle of straw is divided in half with one hand while holding the heads of grain together with the other hand, given a particular twist, held against the sheaf while the other hand slips along the band to the other end. The two loose ends are now twisted and the twist stuck under the band. This was supposed to last for the shocking and the hauling to the barn until they were opened during the threshing. However, if one did open, especially while yet in the field, the person who was the victim of this improper binding usually cast a "dirty look" at the person who he suspected had bound that sheaf. If it happened too often, he was told about it. This tying of

sheaves is probably one of the most ancient discoveries in use today.

Working days in the grain field were not limited to eight hours. The workmen (neighbors) were at hand to start at daybreak and often worked until sunset. Food was served six times a day, although not all servings were full-fledged meals. There were the pre-breakfast, breakfast, nine o'clock lunch (*nine uhr shtick*), noon meal (*mittawg essa*), three o'clock lunch (*drei uhr shtick*), and the evening meal. Of course, the "bottle" was taken along to the field, along with fresh water in the *wasser shtitz*. (I know no English term for *wasser shtitz*.)

The *wasser shtitz* was a wooden container with a wooden lid. Along with this was a tin cup with a handle so fashioned that it hung on the edge of the container but on the inside of the *shtitz* so that no dust would collect on it. The diameter of the bottom of the *shtitz* was greater than the diameter of the top. This provided more contact with the ground to keep the water cool. It was usually constructed of sassafras wood to give the water a pleasant flavor and it was supposed to keep the water cooler than other kinds of wood. Sometimes birch was used in its construction.

Every time the cradlers made a round they would sharpen their scythes and then have a *shnops* washed down with water. While whetting their scythes they would repeat this rhyme:

*Mier wetza's gute, mier wetza's gute,
Und war nat wetzd, dem schneidt's nat gute,
Dar hinnitus hut de buttle im hute.*

Another drink commonly used was made by adding vinegar and sugar to the water. This was known by the dialect terms *essich punch* or *essich schling*.

During and after the Civil War the tax on liquor was considerably increased, so that *shnops* was not handed out as freely. Previously the pot-bellied bottle was usually in the water trough at the barn to greet the laborers when they arrived in the morning. This eventually vanished because of the tax and along with it vanished the custom of giving them breakfast. So instead of starting at daybreak they started at approximately 6:30.

Having bound and cut the sheaves, the next task was to do the shocking. Ten sheaves were usually put together to form a shock. Eight of them were stood upright on the stubble end and two sheaves were placed on top of the other eight and were called "caps." These protected the eight sheaves from the weather.

The sheaves were carried two at a time and set against each other. When two people were doing the shocking four sheaves were used to start the shock and the work was considerably less difficult.

This work was done during the hot, muggy days of the summer and you can imagine how the people perspired. This perspiration often caused soreness beneath the arms or between the legs, and a person would say in the dialect: "*Ich bin wund.*" A way to prevent this was to carry elder leaves (*huller lawb*) in the pocket closest to the soreness.

As to the sequence of harvesting the grains, the rye was harvested first, followed closely by the wheat, and in August the oats. Then as the nights started getting cooler toward the end of August and to remark that another harvest was over the farmer said to his wife: "*Ya! Ya! Der wind blosed evah widder iver die hower shtubble.*" (Yes! Yes! The wind is blowing over the oats stubbles again.) Today very little rye is raised and barley has taken its place.

The purpose in shocking the grain was to dry both the straw and the seed. It was then hauled into the barn and left there to dry some more until threshing time, whereupon the granary (*frucht-kommer*) was filled. A thunder shower during the night necessitated an extra job the next forenoon in preparation for hauling the grain in the afternoon. The shock was torn apart and reset in a scattering manner two by two. If shocks had to endure a rainy season the grain often sprouted while on the shock. (*De frucht iss om ous-woxa.*) Today with the modern combine, shocking is eliminated but instead the farmer has his extra chores with the green, moist grain. This grain, because of its moisture content, cannot be stored in the granary immediately but is often found spread over the old threshing floor (*dresh-den*) and even in the mows, as many of the barns do not house cattle any more.

REAPING MACHINES

Shortly before 1850 reaping machines made their appearance and slowly replaced the cradle in part. I say "in part" because the cradle was still used many years to start cutting around the field (*aw-maya*) and to cut around the trees. The farmer might be heard asking the hired help: "*Husht seller baum aus-gmayed?*" (Did you mow out that tree?)

In this area the trapper was the first reaping machine. Here two people rode on the machine. One person was driving the horses (often a woman) and another person was pulling the grain onto the platform of the trapper with a particularly designed rake and then dumped the platform when sufficient grain was on it to make a sheaf. Four or five people, depending on the size of the field, bound the sheaves. Each person had his particular distance to cover until the trapper came around again. The binders worked

in the opposite direction from the direction the trapper was moving.

This machine was followed by the self-rake. Here three or four rakes rotated mechanically with one of the rakes being longer and raking the accumulated grain off the platform. Only one person was needed on this machine.

Finally the binder took over. As the name implies, this machine bound the sheaves. Now the combine has all but replaced the binder entirely. This machine combines the cutting and the threshing into one step. However, moist grain is a result and I have pointed out this disadvantage.

BRINGING IN THE SHEAVES

In hauling in the grain there were often two men forking the grain with two-pronged forks and two women loading it. It was quite common to see the women wearing an old pair of black stockings on their arms. Two holes were cut into the foot of the stocking. In one of these they inserted the fingers and into the other the thumb. Thus the stocking was held in place on the hand and a safety pin did the trick at the other end. Preventing sunburn was not necessarily the reason for wearing these stockings. They were worn more-so to prevent the butt end of the stalk and the awn or beard from scratching the arms. This characteristic of the awn is so well expressed in its dialect term *grawna*.

The women laid the sheaves crosswise in layers and filled the middle of the wagon by laying them lengthwise. This was an art to have a nice balanced load. If the loading was not done too well, the one man was usually seen walking along the side of the wagon and pushing the sheaves in with his fork so that no reloading would have to be done. What a different sound that loaded wagon had coming toward the barn as compared to going to the field. This reminds me of the proverb: *En glawdner waga grext, en lairer waga robbed.* (A loaded wagon screeches, an empty wagon rattles.)

UNLOADING AND STORING

On farms having large barns most of the grain was stored here until threshing time. The large barn had a central threshing floor (*dresh-den*) and two other areas, one on each side of the *dresh-den*, between the *dresh-den* and the hay mows. These were called *nava-denner*. It was here that the grain was stored. One person was on the wagon forking sheaf by sheaf to a second party in the *nava-den*, who in turn forked the sheaf to a third party who set them in layers and crawled on his or her knees and pressed each sheaf firmly in place. This latter work was called *pshloga* or *shloga*, depending on what area. Many barns had an overhead mow without any center support over the *dresh-den*. This was called the *over-den*. Here grain was also stored.

If the barn was not large enough, the farmer may have had a grain shed (*frucht-shup*) immediately in back of the barn or even out in a field. This *frucht-shup* was much like the barrack referred to in a previous issue of PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE. It, however, had no adjustable roof and was rectangular in shape. If this *frucht-shup* was located in the field it necessitated loading the grain again and hauling it to the barn for threshing.

Another means of storing the unthreshed grain was the stack or *shtuck*. Wherever the stack was to be located, a base of fence rails was laid on the ground so that the bottom sheaves would not be damaged by the moisture from the ground and also from the rain that trickled down the sides of the stack. A pole was inserted in the middle of the stack



Whetting the scythe to cradle the grain.
Note four teeth of the cradle.

Swinging the scythe and depositing
the grain in a swath.



and the last sheaf or capper was set on the end of this pole and the butt end of the sheaf spread entirely around this pole to divert the rain to the perimeter of the stack instead of trickling through the shock. Finally, a hoop was placed over the capper to secure it.

GLEANING

The work of gleaning immediately reminds one of the story of Ruth and Naomi and also of the famous picture of the gleaners with the shocks and the stacks and the wagon in the background. The old hand method was undoubtedly superseded by using a rake, and still later the horse rake. It is here, I feel, that the big, broad, clumsy rake known as the *shinner-honnas* was most useful. With the horse rake the farmer collected the gleanings in windrows. These rows, of course, were considerably farther apart than the rows in the hayfield. Also, instead of forking it in heaps and driving the wagon between the heaps as was done in harvesting the hay, the farmer drove along the rows and forked it immediately on the wagon. The gleanings were known as *kuddle* from the dialect term *ferhoodelt*, which means tangled.

THRESHING

The Bible refers to threshing floors located on hilltops. This was to secure favorable breezes for winnowing. Also, second to the spring for water, it may have been a deciding factor in locating the farmstead.

Having harvested the grain, the threshing was not such a pressing job about a century ago. This was a job that could be done in practically all kinds of weather, as long as it was done in the proper "moon." Shrinkage being associated with the *abnehmende mohn*, many farmers would not thresh during a waning moon.

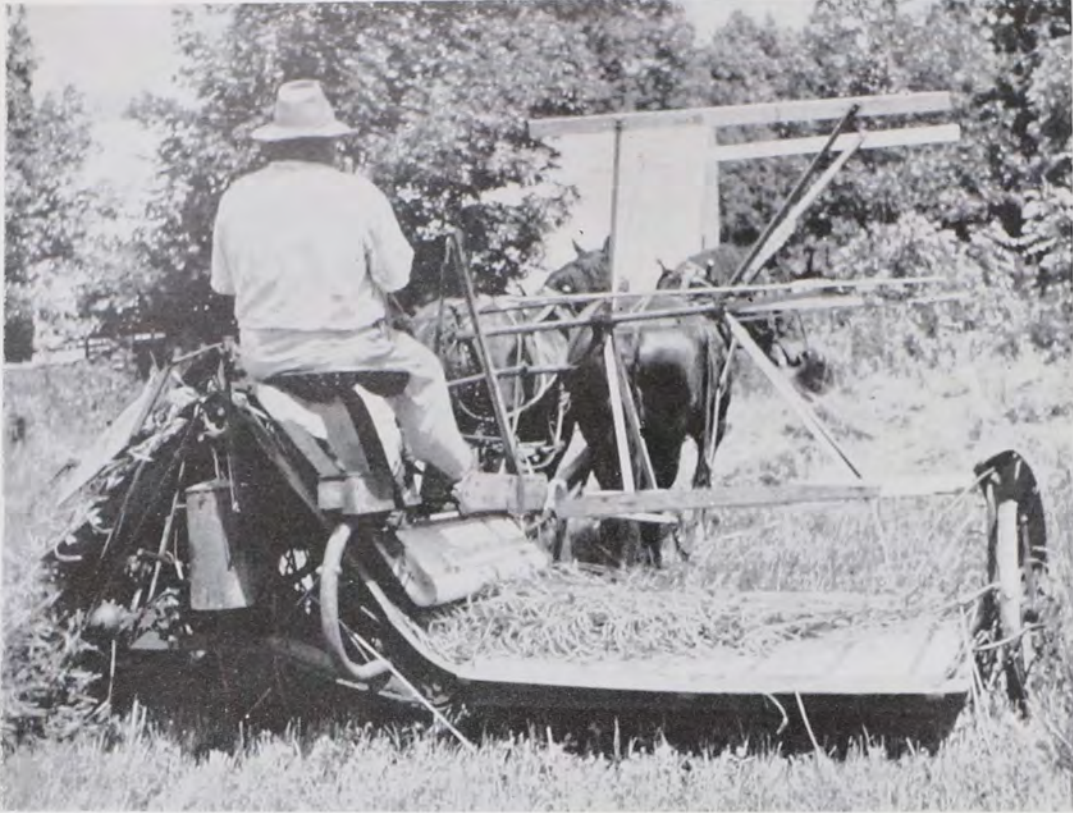
If done in winter by flail, it was one way of keeping warm. Another stimulant to keeping warm may have been the rhyme the men repeated as the flails thumped on the floor. If three men were doing the flailing they kept in rhythm by repeating "*Mommy kucht sup! Mommy kucht sup!*" In case four were doing the job one beat was added by changing

it to "*Mommy kucht rivel sup! Mommy kucht rivel sup!*" (Mother cooks soup.)

When the threshing was done by the tramping of the horses or cattle upon the head of the stalk, keeping warm was another problem. In the diary of Simon Snyder Rathvon, published in *THE PENNSYLVANIA DUTCHMAN* of February 1953, he says: "Riding the horses all day around in a circle in the barn floor I found the coldest work I ever experienced. I have often been lifted off the horse so stiff that it required considerable time before I could straighten and use my limbs again."

To avoid the experience just related, the farmers erected a post in the middle of the threshing floor with a sweep attached to guide the horses. During all this tramping men kept turning the straw and shaking out the grain and chaff. The big wooden fork or *shiddle-gowel* was used. Later still a wooden log with holes drilled into it and pegs driven into the holes was pulled over the grain. One end of the log was fastened to the central post of the threshing floor and the team hitched to the other end.

Oats, barley, and buckwheat and the *kuddle* were threshed in this manner. Wheat threshed harder and was oft times threshed by flail. But without a doubt, the rye was threshed by flail. The sheaves were unbound and laid (*aw-glaigt*) on the floor in two rows with the butts outward and the heads overlapping. The men then started beating the same spot and then moved slowly along the row while another party



Binder drawn by two horses.

then turned the straw over and the whole process was repeated until the grain was separated from the stalk. The head of the wheat and of the rye were called *aera* and the peculiar heads of the oats were known as *rishpla*.

This method of threshing was handed down from time immemorial. The Bible makes numerous references to "beating" the grain. Also in I Chronicles XXI, 23 Ornan says to David, "Lo, I give thee . . . the threshing instruments for wood."

The use of the flail for threshing rye was continued long after it had been outdated for threshing other grains. The chief reason for this was that rye straw was longer than the straw from the other grains and therefore had special uses. These special uses were on condition, however, that the straw was straight and unbroken or untrampled. This necessitated rebinding the straw into huge bundles with a *doubledi sale*. In order to pack as much as possible into one bundle the straw was bound exceptionally tight. In order to accomplish this a *gnevel* was used. This was a rounded piece of wood about 20 inches long and tapered at the one end. The final twisting and inserting the twist under the band was done with the *gnevel*.

USES OF STRAW

Listed below are some uses of straw.

1. Bedding for animals.
2. Mulching, especially strawberries. (Is this how they happen to be called *strawberries*?)
3. Making baskets.
4. Making paper.
5. Making hats.
6. To make a sieve for pressing cider.
7. Tying sheaves of cornstalks.
8. To stuff chaffbag, which was used as a mattress.

9. Farmer tied bands of straw around hickory nut trees to indicate the trees he wanted the nuts from. (Unmarked trees were free to anybody.)
10. A band of straw was tied around a wheel, ignited, and rolled down a hill to frighten people at night.
11. Trees were supposed to bear more fruit if a band of straw was tied around the trunk at Christmas.
12. To coast on in winter.
12. To drink out of bung hole in cider barrel.
14. To put in bottom of sleigh to take family for a ride.
15. Decorative purposes, including mobiles *avich oonrue*.
16. Placed on floor as a cushion, to prevent excessive wear, before carpet was laid.
17. To tie grapes after pruning
18. Pulling straws *shtrobie tziega*. When parents cannot agree on naming a baby they pull straws and the one who gets the longer straw names the baby.
19. Making bee hives or bee baskets, as the dialect term "*ema karrab*" implies.
20. For the saddler to make hames.
21. To thatch roofs.
22. For mats in distilleries.

For some of these uses rye straw was definitely superior. John Schlegel of Butztown tells me that when the farmers went marketing from Mahantongo to Mt. Carmel and Shamokin they usually tied about three bundles of straw to the back of the wagon to sell along their route.

It is also interesting to note how the old straw bee hive has become a symbol of thrift and industry.

A half century ago nearly every property in a village had a miniature barn or stable. Here one or two horses were stabled and the buggy, carriage, and the sleigh were kept here also. The neighboring farmers were glad to provide the straw for bedding free in return for the manure.



Field of round wheat shocks with two sheaves for caps. Open space in center is where the binder made a turn and fewer sheaves were deposited.

WINNOWING

One process in the threshing still remains, the winnowing. Here gravity performed a double duty by producing the breezes to blow the chaff away and by dropping the heavier grain to the threshing floor. The mixed grain and chaff were scooped into a basket similar to our hand made "bushel baskets," the barn doors were opened, and with two men holding the basket the "mixture" was slowly poured over the edge of the basket. Someone has told me it was even carried to the *overden* and poured from there.

THRESHING MACHINE

Every United States history book mentions Cyrus McCormick and his invention of the reaper. However, his work was just one step in the gradual evolution from the trapper to the self rake and eventually to the binder. A greater evolution in the harvesting and processing of grain occurred when someone, whose name I have never seen in history books, conceived the idea of the revolving cylinder with teeth to do the threshing. This to me was the real display of genius. To this primitive threshing machine have been added numerous devices: viz., a shaker, a fan, a straw carrier (later a blower), etc.

This revolving cylinder called for a source of power which was answered by the sweep-power and the tread-power. In the sweep-power, one to three teams were hitched to the cross-arms and kept circling and circling. The power on the shaft of this sweep was transferred to a pulley by means of cogwheels and a shaft, and from the pulley a belt conveyed the power to the machine. In the tread-power one or more horses walked up an inclined plane, constructed of planks, without getting anywhere. The planks reminded one of the tracks of a caterpillar tractor. The power was also transferred to a pulley.

Once the steam traction engine was used to furnish power, the itinerant thresher could be seen slowly moving along the country roads with the traction engine towing the separator from farm to farm. The next day the men of the neighborhood assembled at the farm where the threshing was to take place and assisted in the work without pay if the farmer would in turn give his services when the threshing was to

take place at their farms. A sumptuous meal was prepared by the women folk of the family which required several days of preparation.

MARKETING

Now the "Miller of the Dee" takes over to grind the grain into chop consisting of flour, bran, and middling. The farmer took his grain to the mill in homespun bags with the farmer's name stenciled on it. The farmer did not compensate the miller for this work. The miller took out a "toll" or multure for his service. (*Er hut gamuldered.*) It is said that the miller asked his helper, "*Husht gamuldered?*" The helper replied, "*Ya.*" Whereupon the miller replied, "*Des iss en reicher bauer, mulder noch ein mohl.*" If it happened to be a poor farmer the miller said, "*Mulder noch ein mohl, er kumpt tsu nix annier.*" Here is another rhyme with reference to the miller and his "toll":*

*Alles, alles will ich hava,
Nemond shunsht brauch gore nix hava.*

The grains constituted directly or indirectly the money crop. The chop was fed to the cattle and the chickens and then the butter and eggs were bartered to the huckster for the few things that had to be bought. The ground rye was mixed with other ingredients and made into a mash which fermented and was distilled into whiskey. Practically every farm had a *brenn-haus* (distillery) along the creek for this purpose. This was a convenient way of marketing the product.

It is said that a farmer was on his way to Philadelphia with some whiskey. While resting his horses before ascending a steep hill he got into an argument with a pedestrian. A fist-fight was about to ensue but the farmer begged a few seconds to get a drink before the fight was to start. He removed the bung, lifted the barrel, and took a drink directly from the bung hole. On displaying this feat of strength, the enemy disappeared.

Having completed his trip to Philadelphia, he was glad to return home and get the aroma of the bread his wife had just baked in the out-door oven. Thus, the golden fields have produced the staff of life through all the golden years.

* This refers to a greedy and dishonest miller.

ILLUMINATORS, SCRIBES and PRINTERS: A Glimpse of the Free Library's Pennsylvania Dutch Collection

By ELLEN SHAFFER

To four astute, discriminating book collectors, the sum total of whose experience amounts to over one hundred and thirty years, the Free Library of Philadelphia owes its present comprehensive Pennsylvania Dutch Collection.

The dean of these collectors (and he was the first dean of Temple University's Law School, as well) was Henry Stauff-

fer Borneman. A descendant of Pennsylvania Dutch, he was a collector from boyhood, and when he died in 1955 at the age of 84, over three quarters of his life had been devoted to gathering together those books and manuscripts which were the essence of the life and culture of the Pennsylvania Dutch. He wished these sturdy, self-contained people to be appreciated and their contribution to their adopted country more widely recognized.

He was a shrewd bookman who obtained his objectives quietly, and as he worked in a field then less competitive than it has since become, he was able to bag many a prize that today's collectors seek in vain. His Pennsylvania Dutch Collection, purchased by the Free Library a few months after his death, contains imprints from 30 centers of German printing in America, with special emphasis on Philadelphia, where German printing began (he had 112 Philadelphia imprints, commencing with the *Vorspiel der Neuen-Welt* printed by Franklin in 1732 for Beissel and his followers); Ephrata (86 imprints beginning with Beissel's *Urständliche und Erfahrungsvolle Hohe Zeugnisse* of 1745, and most of the other titles of the same year); and Germantown (75 imprints beginning with Christopher Saur's first book, *Zionitischer Weyrauch-Hügel*, 1739, which was a hymnal for the Ephrata brethren and the first American book in German type). Incidentally, rarity and excellent condition went hand in hand in his collection.

Besides the Pennsylvania imprints, there were manuscript volumes whose subjects ranged from music to weaving patterns, as well as European books whose contents or format had particular relation to Mr. Borneman's chosen field, and there was likewise an excellent group of reference works.

The best loved portion of the Borneman Collection, however, was and is the fraktur. He had over 600 examples, ranging over a period of more than a century—*Geburtscheine*, *Taufscheine*, *Trauscheine*, *Haus-Segen*, *Vorschriften*, and *Bücherzeichen*. Some have the soft, restrained coloring of Ephrata, others the brilliant tones that characterized the work of Heinrich Otto. There is the skilled calligraphy of such artists as Christian Strenge and the less sure penmanship of the unknown amateur. The collection is in itself a comprehensive survey of fraktur art. Mr. Borneman's two beautiful books on the subject give only glimpses of his holdings in a field in which he had a veritable embarrassment of riches.¹ Miss Frances Lichten in May of 1957 gave a most

1. Henry S. Borneman, *Pennsylvania German Illuminated Manuscripts: A Classification of Fraktur-Schriften and an Inquiry into Their History and Art*. Norristown, Pennsylvania German Society, 1937.
Henry S. Borneman, *Pennsylvania German Bookplates: A Study*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania German Society, 1953.



One of the rarest of all Saur imprints, which furnishes details of Saur's quarrel with Beissel. (Borneman)



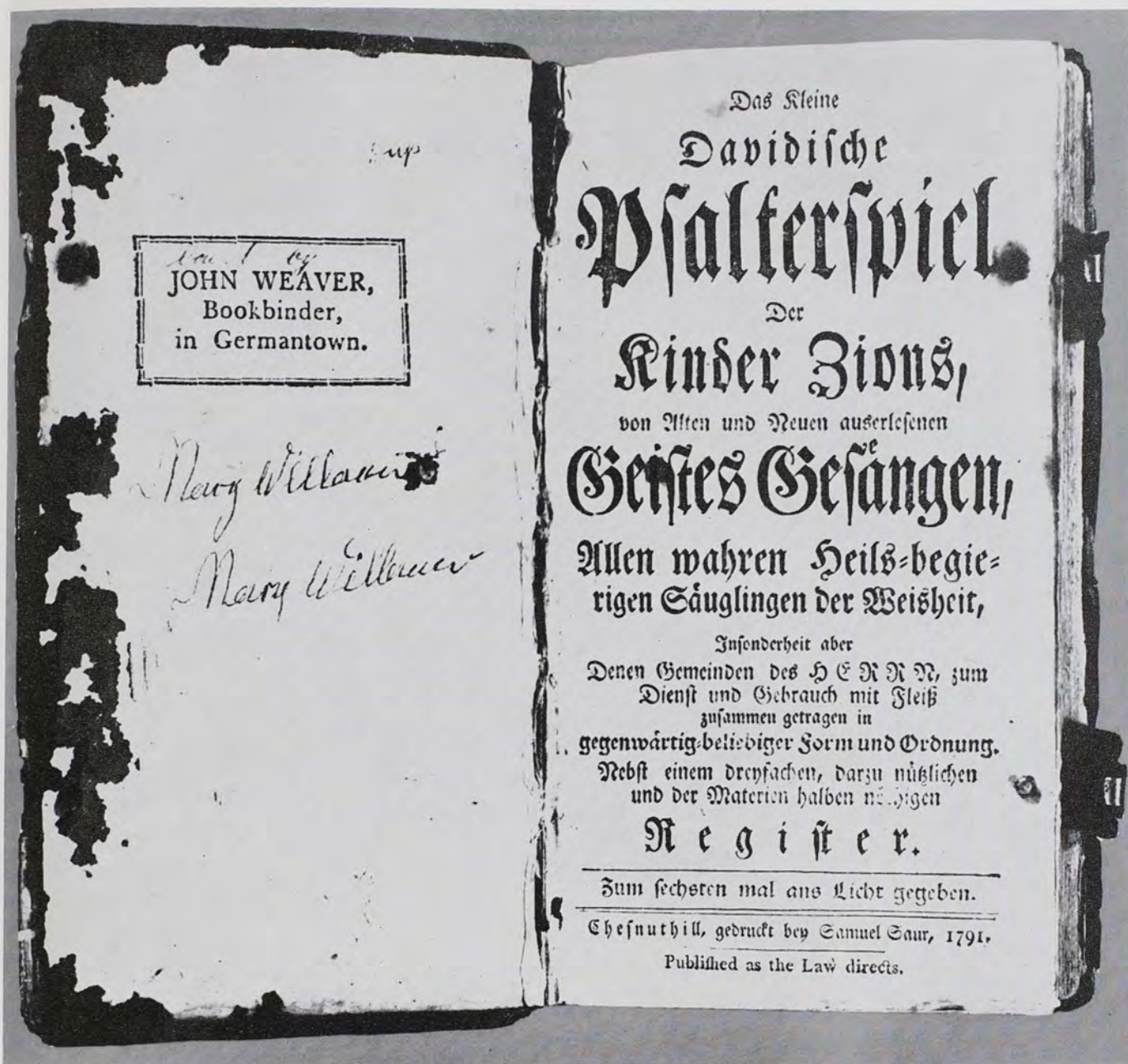
An unknown fraktur artist's case with samples of his designs, together with a fraktur in which some of them are incorporated—the Geburts- und Taufschein of Jacob Roth, born in 1780. (Borneman)

entertaining and informative talk on the Borneman fraktur at the Free Library, and it has since been published by that institution.²

The other fraktur specialist whose forty-four years of collecting further enriched the Free Library was the antiques dealer, Levi E. Yoder. He lived in the Pennsylvania Dutch country, near Silverdale in Bucks County—where good fraktur specimens might reasonably be expected to be found

—and he found them. The fraktur were his own personal collection, patiently assembled over the years. He once came across a framed pair of eighteenth century fraktur in a farmhouse and promptly opened negotiations. One belonged to the husband, the other to his wife. Their hesitation, the agreement of one to sell if the other would, and their further demurring kept Mr. Yoder running from farm house to field and back again most of one day, as he consulted first one owner and then the other—but buy them he did. The best and the choicest specimens that he came across in his years as a dealer were never sold—except when Henry Borneman managed to persuade him to part with a few. Instead they were carefully deposited in a bank vault, and it was only

2. Frances Lichten. *Fraktur: The Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Dutch*. Philadelphia, The Free Library of Philadelphia, 1958. (Available from the Library for one dollar. Also available is a card with a fraktur decoration, which can be used as notepaper or as a Christmas card.)



A Chestnut Hill imprint boasts a Germantown bookbinder's label. (Kuhn)

after his death that some members of his family saw his entire collection of 275 fraktur on view for the first time, and a truly colorful sight they were.

Dr. Wilbur H. Oda, another collector of note, was for many years a teacher of languages at Germantown Academy. Although he was not himself of Pennsylvania Dutch stock, he became interested in their books and printing, and when ill health forced him to retire, he turned his attention to the preparation of a bibliography of Pennsylvania German imprints, which would be a revision and enlargement of Seidensticker's *The First Century of German Printing in America*. He gathered together a goodly number of imprints in his own personal library, and he checked the holdings of other collections wherever he went. Those who knew him recall the eagerly scribbled notations—often on the back of an envelope—when he discovered another entry for inclusion in his bibliography. For over twenty years he devoted himself to Pennsylvania German imprints. At his death the

bibliography remained unfinished, but Dr. Oda's enthusiasm and years of work should inspire some person or institution to carry out the project. His efforts made everyone interested in the field all the more conscious of the necessity for such a bibliography.³

Mrs. Oda was kind enough to permit the Free Library to purchase from her husband's collection those imprints which it did not have. They amounted to 600 in number and included 11 centers of printing not previously in the Library; they furthermore gave excellent representation to the presses of Lancaster, Reading, and Allentown.

Dr. Oda also made a collector of a young friend of his. L. B. Kuhn, a chemical engineer for Firestone, had, as a native of south St. Louis, acquired fluency in German, and when he came to live in Pennsylvania the books of the Penn-

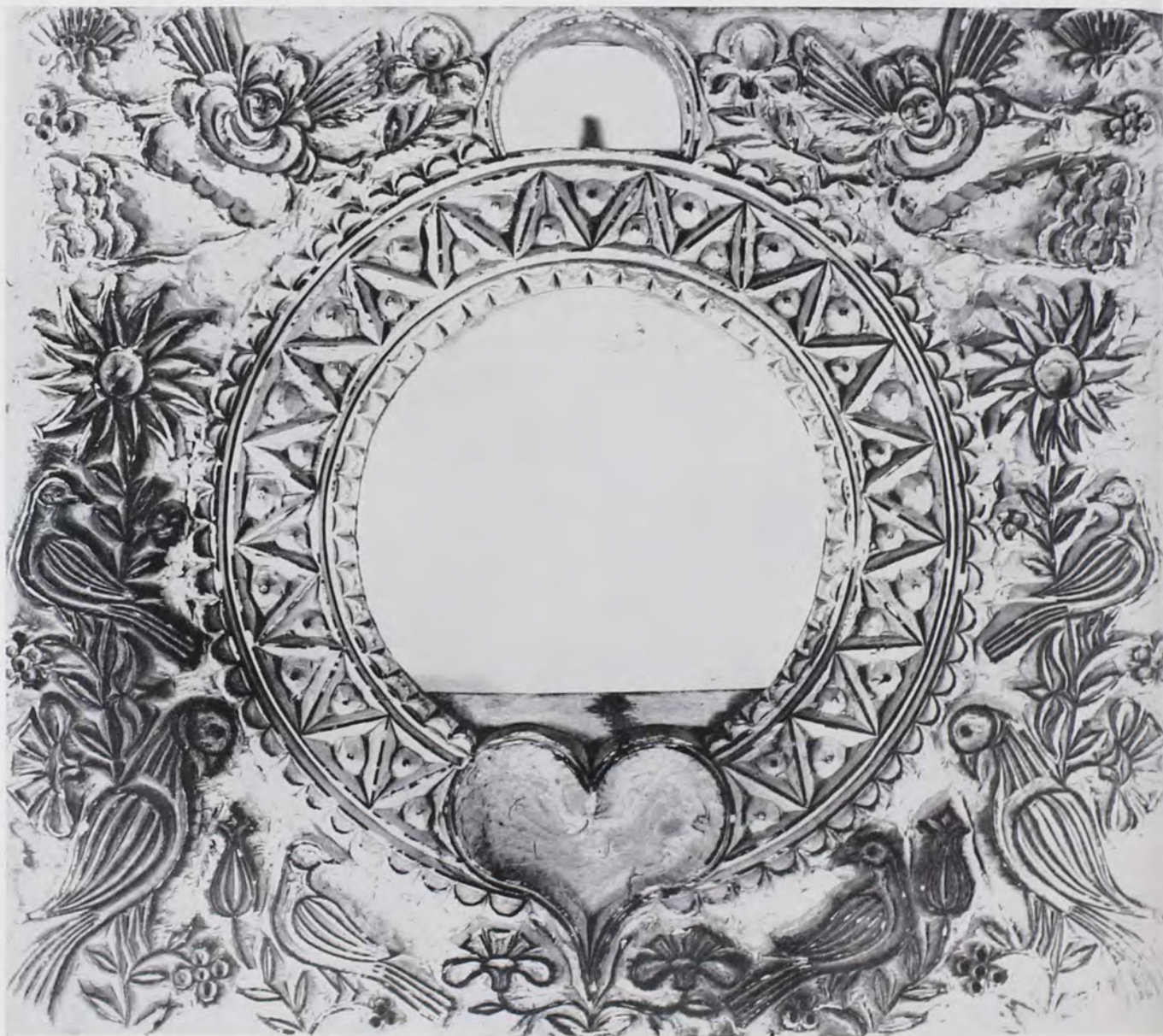
3. As one step toward such a work, the Free Library hopes to find a means of publishing a check list, now being compiled, of the more than 1500 imprints in the combined collections.

sylvania Dutch aroused his interest. Dr. Oda proved to be an excellent mentor, when it came to developing a young collector, and Mr. Kuhn over a ten year period gathered together a well-rounded collection. While the Pennsylvania Dutch usually concentrated on religious subjects, Mr. Kuhn managed to find a goodly number of books with more secular appeal—biographies, histories and “ready reckoners.” He also emphasized the imprints of the smaller centers of printing. Last year he allowed the Free Library to select from his collection 250 additional imprints, which increased the number of printing centers by 6, and gave added strength to the Reading, Philadelphia, and Lancaster holdings in particular.

While magazines and newspapers were not a major pursuit of any of these collectors, some choice specimens came their way. Dr. Oda, who was especially interested in imprints of Lancaster and Reading, acquired a complete file of the 52 numbers of the *Christliche Hausfreund*, a newspaper issued weekly in Lancaster from April 1, 1826, through April 7,

1827. Also in his collection was the previously unknown *Das Neue Monatliche Readinger Magazin*, Vol. I, No. 1, February, 1799, a dainty periodical whose small format contains a large range of subjects—everything from the Constitution of the United States to a recipe for making potato bread. One of the Borneman treasures was a complete run of Christopher Saur’s *Ein Geistliche Magazin*, issued monthly in Germantown between 1757 and 1762—the first religious magazine in German in America. More recently the Free Library has purchased a run of this same printer’s newspaper, the *Pensylvanische Berichte*—61 issues from July 23, 1757, to August 26, 1762, 41 of which have not been located elsewhere. The Library also not too long ago acquired the hitherto unknown second issue, August 1798, of the *Philadelphisches Magazin*, the first monthly publication in German to be devoted to belles lettres in this country. It is the policy of the Free Library to develop and expand its holdings.

The imprints collection now represents 47 centers of printing before 1850, which in general has been set as the terminal



Woodblock for printing the decorated part of fraktur, perhaps the work of Heinrich Otto. The holes were left in the center to accommodate the type from which the text was printed.



Paradisisches Wunder-Spiel, Ephrata, 1754, delicately illuminated by nuns of the Cloister in soft greens, blues and browns. (Borneman)

date.⁴ It includes examples from 35 of the 47 places listed by Seidensticker in which there was printing in German before 1830, and adds (from the Oda Collection) two places unknown to him: Wooster, Ohio, and Greensburg, Pennsylvania. For the period 1831 through 1850 another ten towns are represented. They cover an area reaching as far south as Harrisonburg, Virginia, as far north as Berlin (now Kitchener), Canada, and as far west as Wooster, Ohio. In

4. In alphabetical order, with the year of the earliest imprint now in the collection following each place, they are as follows. Unless otherwise indicated they are in Pennsylvania. Allentown, 1813; Baltimore, Md., 1795; Bath, 1839; Berlin, Canada, 1839; Bethlehem, 1835; Buffalo, N. Y., 1943; Canton, Ohio, 1821; Carlisle, 1808; Chambersburg, about 1809; Chestnut Hill, 1791; Doylestown, 1834; Easton, 1806; Elizabethtown, 1834; Ephrata, 1745; Frederick, Md., 1794; Germantown, 1739; Gettysburg, 1832; Greensburg, 1828; Hagerstown, Md., 1796; Hamburg, 1818; Hanover, York County, 1808; Harrisburg, 1811; Harrisonburg, Va., 1818; Kutztown, 1842; Lancaster, 1784; Lebanon, 1807; Millgrove, 1834; New Berlin, 1817; New Market, Va., 1811; New York, N. Y., 1826; Oeconomie, Beaver Co., 1826; Orwigsburg, 1830; Osanburgh, Stark Co., Ohio, 1833; Philadelphia, 1732; Pittsburg, 1825; Pottsville, 1847; Princeton, N. J., 1828; Reading, 1797; Shellsburg, 1823; Shippensburg, 1847; Selinsgrove, 1830; Skippack, 1837; Somerset, 1810; Summytown, 1830; Weisenberg, 1847; Wooster, Ohio, 1826; and York, 1797.

themselves they afford a cross section of Pennsylvania Dutch life and culture—the deep religious feeling, tending to the mystical; the intense practicality, which has made them the world's best farmers; and the tradition of fine craftsmanship, which encouraged them to produce even with the limited materials at hand books creditable in format, printing, illustration, and binding.

The contents of their books, as might be expected of a people who had left their native Rhine Valley to find freedom of worship, are predominantly religious. The first Bible ever printed in a European tongue in the western hemisphere was done by Christopher Saur in Germantown in 1743. (The collection has two copies of it, as well as more than one of each of his two succeeding editions.) The first Bible printed west of the Alleghenies (Somerset, 1813) and the largest book till then printed in Pennsylvania (the Bible printed by Johann Bär in Lancaster in 1819) find representation in the collection, which in its holdings further emphasizes the fact that most centers of printing, if they did not produce a Bible, at least turned out an attractive New Testament. The number of *Catechismen* and *Gesangbücher* in the collection is legion. There are several copies of the first hymnal of Ephrata, the *Turtel-Taube* of 1747 (fraktur bookplates



Vorschrift done by Christian Strenge in 1794 for Michael Musselman, exhibited at the World's Fair in Brussels. (Borneman)

and musical notations make each copy unique), and its subsequent editions of 1755 and 1762. There are three copies of the *Paradisches Wunder-spiel*, Ephrata, 1754—each made a rare treasure by the delicate “illumination” in soft blues, browns, and greens done by the nuns of the Ephrata Cloister.

America's largest book of the colonial period, *Der Blutige Schau-Platz*, Ephrata, 1748, is represented by several copies, with fraktur bookplates of their owners, including Brother Obed. The second edition of this (Lancaster, 1814), is also in the collection, and the woodcut vignette on the title page is an amusing instance of the “Americanization” of these books. The tiller of the soil in the first edition of 1748 is a European peasant bowed over his task; the figure in the 1814 edition is a sturdy, independent American farmer, whose comfortable buildings appear in the background. The *Guldene Aepffel* and *Das Herz des Menschen* are favorites of which there are many editions; there is the first American edition of *Pilgrim's Progress Eines Christen Reise*, (Ephrata, 1754), as well as numerous editions of *Der Kleine Kempis*. *Die Fromme Lotterie* (Saur, Germantown, 1744) exemplifies a godly pastime in which one drew at random printed slips which contained spiritual comfort and admonition—a favorite way of spending Sunday afternoons, perhaps.

The secular portion of the imprints is a reflection of worldly interests of an intensely practical character. There are books on the horse and his care—essential knowledge in a farming community—and the prized “ready reckoners” so useful in making calculations. There are some thirty copies of Hohman's *Der lange Verborgene Freund*, beginning with the first edition of Reading, 1820, with its simple and sometimes sympathetic remedies for man and beast; there are accounts of western travels, biographies of such heroes as Georg Washington and Andreas Jackson (usually translated from the English), and directions for making good gin and whiskey.

One of the most charming of the secular categories is that of the children's books. In place of the somewhat grim New England Primer conned by their English-spaking contemporaries, the Pennsylvania Dutch children enjoyed *Das kleine A B C-Buch*, or, with self-conscious pride, *Das grosse A B C-Buch*. Mr. Borneman used to remark that, unlike the New England Primer, these children's books had little to say of hell, but much of heaven, and he literally owned dozens of them.

Fascinating as the printed part of the Free Library's collection is, it is the manuscript portion that wins everyone from the casual observer to the serious student. The State Department's official, who came to select two fraktur to rep-

represent the State of Pennsylvania in the Face of America exhibit at the Brussels World's Fair, promptly doubled the number requested when he saw them, and today in the American Pavilion four fraktur: two by Heinrich Otto (one manuscript and one printed example with hand-colored decoration), a colorful Christian Strenge *vorschrift*, and an ingenious *geburts und taufschein* "illuminated by F. Krebs represent not only the State of Pennsylvania but also a truly American folk art.

In some cases the artists are known; the collection contains the work of such recognized fraktur makers as the previously mentioned Heinrich Otto, Martin Brechall, and Christian Strenge, as well as Francis Portzline (who pursued his artistic calling when he was over 90), Johannes Renniger, David Bicksler, Heinrich Keeper, Henry Gise, Maria Kriebel, Susanna Heebner, Christian B. Hartman, Jacob Eisenhauer, and Hantz Jacob Brubacker. One carefully wrought, distinctive fraktur is attributed to Christopher Dock.

A compact, cylindrical fraktur artist's case, with its bottles for inks and its pens, gives a glimpse of such an artist

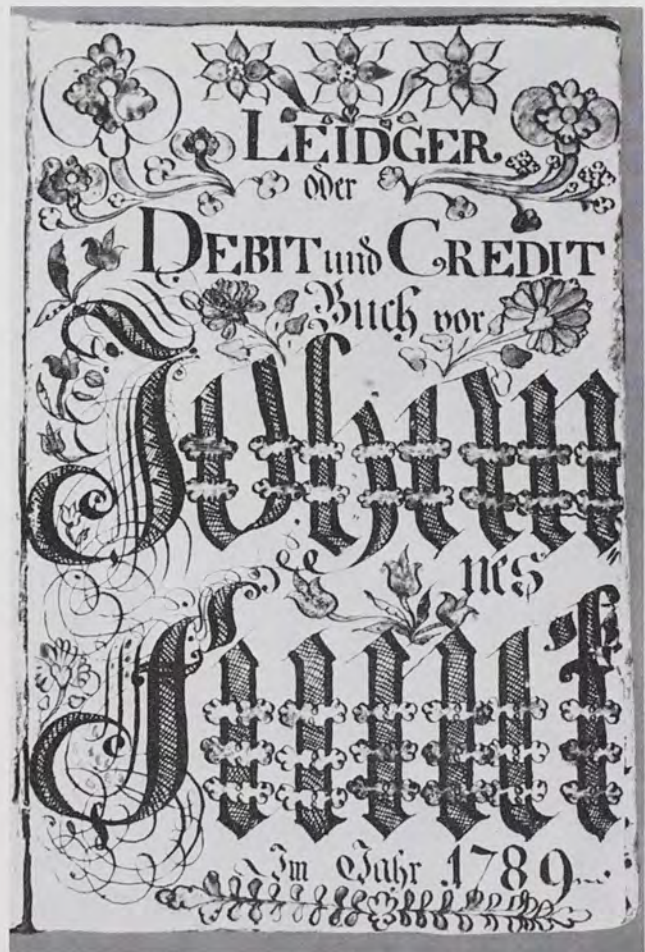
at work. Contained in the case are samples of small individual geometric designs: stars, circles, and strapwork. There are also two prayers, carefully written in script, which fit pleasingly into bordered rectangular spaces. One of the fraktur in the collection is by the unknown owner of this case: it is the birth and baptism certificate of Jacob Roth, born December 7, 1780 in "Maxetanien Township, Bercks County" and surrounding the text is a border which incorporates some of the artist's stock designs, as well as the two little prayers!

There are Quaker fraktur of exquisite simplicity with Georgian motifs, and the restrained work of Ephrata. There are examples of lush, overblown art: fraktur whose plump, slightly disheveled angels and flowers of vivid colors disdain subtlety. There are spiritual mazes where the eye follows neatly written texts through intricately drawn labyrinths, and valentines with involved lover's knots which carry sentimental messages. The flowers of the fraktur are usually conventional in design; some are of easily recognizable species; others have bloomed only in the manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Dutch. The fauna is quite as interesting as the flora—unicorns, pelicans, peacocks, mermaids, and pigs. The collection contains the story of the Prodigal Son in pictures; the Prodigal seems a nondescript and seedy enough individual, but the pigs are most personable—sleek, fat and with knowing expressions in their eyes, they are the work of a true connoisseur of pigs.

A few fraktur depict men in eighteenth century costume, a conscious effort to imitate European models. There is no



An advertisement for books sold by Salomon Henkel at New Market, Virginia, in a *Kleine Kempis*, Germantown, 1795 (Kuhn); Henkel's bookplate in a copy of his father's *Gesang-Buch*, New Market, 1810, which has a portrait pictured elsewhere in this article (Borneman); and the ABC written by his brother Ambrosius and printed by their great Lutheran printing house. (Borneman)



Johannes Funck's gaily decorated account book—this decoration appears on the fly-leaf. (Yoder)

hint of imitation, however, in the occasional portrait that appears, perhaps in a bookplate, or simply as a naive attempt at portraiture; each one possesses a refreshing and convincing realism that leaves no doubt that it is a representation of a flesh and blood person.

Back of much of the fraktur work is a utilitarian motive. Many of these gaily colored manuscripts embodied vital statistics. The artist wished to make these necessary documents beautiful and decorative; it made having them around more agreeable. A similar impulse doubtless prompted skilled penmen to adorn ledgers and account books as ornately as that of Johannes Funck in the Yoder Collection, and mathematical calculations were more telling when they involved snug little houses painted in bold primary colors, such as may be seen in copy books in the Borneman Collection.

Sometimes an artist of note may be glimpsed at work, as in the Jacob Eichholtz commonplace book—one of the great treasures of the Free Library; or the designs of a nimble-fingered weaver can be followed in a manuscript of weaving patterns from Kutztown.

There is intricate cutwork, dainty and delicate as lace, and involved little paintings such as one of an exquisitely drawn red apple, symbol of man's fall, which folds back to reveal a tiny miniature of the Christ Child with His Cross, symbol of man's salvation.

Every Pennsylvania bookplate is an individual work of

art, a small original painting suited to the taste of the owner and sometimes to the contents of the book as well. All too often these appealing examples of fraktur work have been separated from the books for which they were made, but in the Free Library's collection over 130 remain in their original volumes. Some are mostly calligraphic, others have intricate designs of birds and flowers; a few, as has been previously mentioned, contain portraits. Among Levi Yoder's books is a single volume with a double bookplate, a birth certificate and a bookplate painted on the inside cover and opposing flyleaf. It was made in 1839 for little Aaron Landes on his



A bookplate collected by Levi E. Yoder.



Portrait painted on inner side of back cover of the volume from Salomon Henkel's library whose bookplate is pictured elsewhere in this article. (Borneman) The book is a Gesang-Buch, New Market, 1810.



Levi E. Yoder's favorite fraktur, done in 1817.

tenth birthday and appears in a Philadelphia New Testament of that same year.

Through some 900 examples of fraktur it is possible to trace this art from its rise in the middle of the eighteenth century to its decline over a hundred years later. There are superbly executed specimens by skilled artists and others that exemplify the work of the eager but less gifted amateur. Both types are of interest to the student. A recent acquisition from the Himmelreich sale is the copybook of Catharine L. Landis, who signed her very competently done and colorful work in 1851. Her teacher, Christian B. Hartman, him-

self a fraktur artist already represented in the Library's collection, also signed the copybook with the further note: "Teacher 1846." He must have taken pride in his pupil.

In the collection are hidden interesting bits of Pennsylvania Dutch history and the answers to questions of years' standing; here, too, is the opportunity for studying a way of life which has enriched the country in which it developed. For scholar and appreciative amateur alike there is a good harvest waiting in the Free Library's collection—one worthy of a people who always prided themselves on producing abundant harvests.

In the autumn of 1951 a most attractive wall box, reminiscent of one pictured in a standard reference book, was discovered in the Bucks County Historical Society Museum. It had been made for Mary Leterman by John Drissel, who decorated, signed and dated it in May, 1797. A short search showed that Miss Frances Lichten illustrated its mate,¹ which Drissel had made and painted for Anne Leterman on 22 May, 1797. These two young ladies apparently had each been the recipient of a wall box and a candle box. Both the names mentioned—Leterman (Leatherman) and Drissel—are well represented in Central and Upper Bucks County; so it is no stretch of the imagination to attribute local provenance and local use.

Now came the two pronged search for additional examples of this craftsman's products and information about the man himself. The earliest mention of the name "Drissel" is among the road petitioners of Richland, Pennsylvania, in 1730 (Jacob Drissel was one of the signers).² Among the Yerkes papers in the Society's library is an authority to satisfy a mortgage in 1775 signed by one John Drissel (and his wife), carpenter of Allen Township.³ A John Drissel signed as witness on February 1, 1800, and again in the same capacity 19 May 1808.⁴ Two Drissels are listed as living in Bucks County in 1790.⁵ There is a John Drissel, with no clue as to the township or trade, listed as head of a family with two females and no males under sixteen; also a Joseph Drissel with two females and three males under sixteen.

Drissels seem to have lived around Bedminster, Pennsylvania, and there are numerous of this name buried at Keller's Church, Pennsylvania. Mrs. Jules Prown,⁶ in her careful studies of Bucks County craftsmen, found little additional information about our subject. A friend of the Drissel family, Mrs. Lentz (nee Maggie Hartman), offered the information that John Drissels had lived near Keller's Church, Pennsylvania (information courtesy of Miss Frances Lichten).

Letters sent to all the Drissels in the telephone directory produced meagre results. One, and only one, Joseph Drissel of Sellersville, Pennsylvania, cast some faint light on the situation. However he was elderly, seventy-eight years of age, and in ill health, so not too much reliance could be placed on his story except as it corroborates: "his grandfather was a John Drissel; John had been a common name in the family; a good many of them had been woodworkers living in Bedminster, Pa., Deep Run, Pa., Keller's Church, Pa., and a good many of the family were buried in Keller's Church, Pa. Grave Yard."⁷

It is reported that a Henrich Riegel married an Elizabeth Drissel in 1795.^{8, 9} Search for a Henrich, or Henry Riegler, showed such a name on the tax lists of Bucks County, 1779-1787;¹⁰ also this signature appears as a witness in 1796,¹¹ and is listed as one of the sons of George Riegler.¹² There are Riegles also in the Rieglesville, Pennsylvania vicinity,¹³ but none of these sources proved helpful, so we cannot link Henrich (or Henry) Riegel with our craftsman, other than by the box made for him and the "tradition" about his marriage.

Elizabeth Drissel *could* have been one of the "2 females" listed in the household of John Drissel (or Joseph Drissel) in 1790. What would be more likely than for a craftsman to make a present for his daughter—or for a beloved niece?

Examination of the various pieces clearly indicates the simple, forthright design and construction by one man (not all are signed), who clung tenaciously to joinery technique of an earlier era. The use of through mortises, pinned, with

JOHN DRISSEL and His Boxes

By JOHN and MARTHA S.
CUMMINGS



Fig. 1—Wall box, made by John Drissel, May, 1797, for Mary Leterman. The starting point of this project. The Bucks County Historical Society. Photo by Maddox.

projecting tenons; of dovetails seemingly too wide for the small size of the piece; and the use of wooden pins in lieu of nails are some of the characteristics. The lids have wooden pin hinges and the unique semi-circular example gets its curvature through shallow saw cuts after the manner of carpentry. Soft wood is employed—much of it pine.

The decoration shows the feeling of the fractur or illuminated writing of middle and upper Bucks County;¹⁴ obviously the work of the same hand.¹⁵ The base color of the boxes is Indian Red, with white, black and brown decoration. The fronts show a combination usually of geometric with conventionalized flower and leafage. Sometimes on the sides or ends, but mostly on the lids, is a most unusual tulip—so individual as to be almost a signature. Most of the pieces



Fig. 2—Candle (?) box made for Anne Leterman in 1797 and curved front wall box made for Mary Fretz in 1795, both signed by John Drissel. The Bucks County Historical Society. Photo by Maddox.

have the owner's name, very frequently the date, and "John Drissel." The tape looms are painted with smalt blue in addition to the other pigments noted, and with more of the floral note.

For convenience the like items are grouped together. There seem to be two sizes of small wall boxes; a type with a circular front and a rectangular type—perhaps for candles. Boxes with sliding cover and several tape looms complete the catalogue of the presently known examples of this craftsman's output.

I. Small wall boxes—dimensions of box 5½" high; 7" wide; 7" deep, back 11" high.

1. Pictured in "Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania," Frances Lichten, p. 102, (In Asher Odenwalder coll.)

ANNE LETERman

Anno Domini 1797

John Drissel

his hand May

22 1797 (allegedly found in Hilltown)

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2. Papers Read Before The Bucks County Historical Society, Vol. III, page 59.
3. Yerkes Papers in library of the Bucks County Historical Society.
4. Abstracts of Wills, in library of the Bucks County Historical Society.
5. Census of 1790, First Census of U. S., State of Pennsylvania, page 53.
6. Craftsmen in Bucks County, 1750-1800. Thesis offered to University of Delaware, 1956, as Winterthur Fellow, by Shirley A. Martin (Shirley Martin Prown).
7. Digest of notes from interview with Joseph Drissel, Sellersville, Pennsylvania, 8 April, 1955.
8. See list of items—a. Document Box, "Henrich Riegel, 1795". b. Tape Loom, "Elizabeth Drissel, 1795".
9. Information furnished by Miss Frances Lichten.
10. Jacoby Family Genealogy, by Henry S. Jacoby, page 96.
11. Will Book, Vol. II, #1381, in library of the Bucks County Historical Society.
12. Will Book, Vol. II, #1448, in library of the Bucks County Historical Society.
13. Scrapbook I, George W. Laubach, 114/210, in library of the Bucks County Historical Society.
14. The Ancient Art of Illuminated Writing, by Henry C. Mercer.
15. Miss Frances Lichten has carefully examined a number of these examples and her expert judgment corroborates this finding.

2. ILLUSTRATED AS FIGURE 1.—in Bucks County Historical Society #16820

ANNE LETERman

Anno Domini 1797

John Drissel his hand

May 1795

(Bought in Doylestown in 1920 by H. M. Mann)

3. Pretty badly wrecked—has been used for salt. In Bucks County Historical Society #635.

II. Small Wall Boxes—dimensions of box 5" high; 5" wide; 5½" deep; back 9¾" high

4. Collection of Bucks County Historical Society #701

MARY MILLER

Anno Dom 1796

(illegible) 1796

(Given by Miss Amy Callendar, Mechanics Valley, 1897)

5. In The Henry F. duPont Winterthur Museum—illustrated as Figure 3

1796

MARGARET

MILLER

III. Box with circular front—one example found. 7" x 7" x 4½"; back 9½" high; 7¼" wide

6. In Bucks County Historical Society Museum #7689

MARY

FRENTZ

ANNO 1795 ILLUSTRATED FIG. 2 AT RIGHT

Purchased by H. C. Mercer in 1899

IV. Rectangular Wall Box—Perhaps for candles.

7. In Bucks County Historical Society Museum #7633

ANNE

LETTERman

Anno Domini 1797

John Drissel his hand. ILLUSTRATED FIG. 2 AT LEFT

Has been used to hold cutlery—upper part of back missing. Purchased by H. C. Mercer in 1899.



Fig. 3—The smaller sort of wall box made for Margaret Miller in 1796. The Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum. Photo by Gilbert Ask.

Fig. 4—Box with sliding cover, Margaret Miller, 1796. The Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum. Photo by Gilbert Ask.



V. Boxes with sliding covers.

8. Reported by Miss Frances Lichten—present location unknown.
Henrich Rigell / Anno / 1795
October den 8 ten 1795
John Drissel his hand Anno 1795
9. In H. F. duPont Winterthur Museum
ILLUSTRATED FIG. 4
Margaret
Miller
Anno 1796

Fig. 5—Tape loom inscribed "Anna Stauffer, AD 1795. Den 2 ten Mar, John Drissel his hand and pen." The Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum. Photo by Gilbert Ask.



VI. Tape Looms

10. Philadelphia Museum (was "stowed away" at Cedar Grove)
 Interesting since the owner may have been a relative, possibly a daughter of the craftsman.
 Elizabeth Drissell
 Anno den 9 ten October 1795
 John Drissel
 his hand Anno 1795.
11. Example formerly in William B. Montague coll., Norristown (now allegedly in Strassburger coll.). Pictured in "Furniture Treasury," Wallace Nutting, Vol. II, fig. 1891 and fig. 3756. May be same as that pictured as frontis in "Consider the Lilies," by John Joseph Stoudt. Has verse at bottom of head.
 ELIZABETH
 STAUFFER 1794
12. Tape Loom—Henry F. duPont Winterthur Museum
 ANNA STAUFFER
 ANNO DOMINI 1795
 John Drissel his hand Sept. 26
13. Tape Loom—Henry F. duPont Winterthur Museum.

ILLUSTRATED FIG. 5

ANNA STAUFFER AD 1795

Den 2 ten Mar John Drissel his hand and pen.

14. Tape Loom in Bucks County Historical Society Museum #11930
 Given by John Landis in 1917. Unusual in not having owner's name. Has a German verse, as follows:

In Dem Geliebten Rosenthal
 Viel Rosen Zeigen Ohne Zahl
 Da wird, auch sein Dass Lilienfeld
 Dort In der Neuen Himmelswelt
 Da Alles Wird In Schonsten Flor
 Nach Seiner Art Wachsen Herfohr

* * *

In The Beloved Valley Of Roses
 There Are Roses Without Number
 There Will Also Be The Field Of Lilies
 Over In The New World
 When Everything Will Be In Most Beautiful
 Bloom
 Growing Forth In Its Own Fashion.
 Deciphered and translated by K. D. and Renata
 Koch—February 1958

ILLUSTRATED FIG. 6

With but three exceptions, the pieces were made for young (?) women, whose names are still common in Central Bucks County, i.e. Leterman (Leatherman), Miller, Fretz, Stauffer (Stover) and Drissell. The exceptions are the wrecked example in the Bucks County Historical Society Museum (which may have had a name on the front); the tape loom in the Bucks County Historical Society Museum, which has only a verse; and the box with the sliding cover—perhaps a document box—made for a man whose family name should place him in Upper Bucks County.

These examples of John Drissel's craftsmanship show originality and individuality, as well as no mean ability in their naive attractiveness. It is hoped that more examples of this man's work will now come to notice. The authors would appreciate very much any information on any additional "Drissel" items, with any known history and, if possible, a photograph; or any additional data on John Drissel, circa 1790-1800.

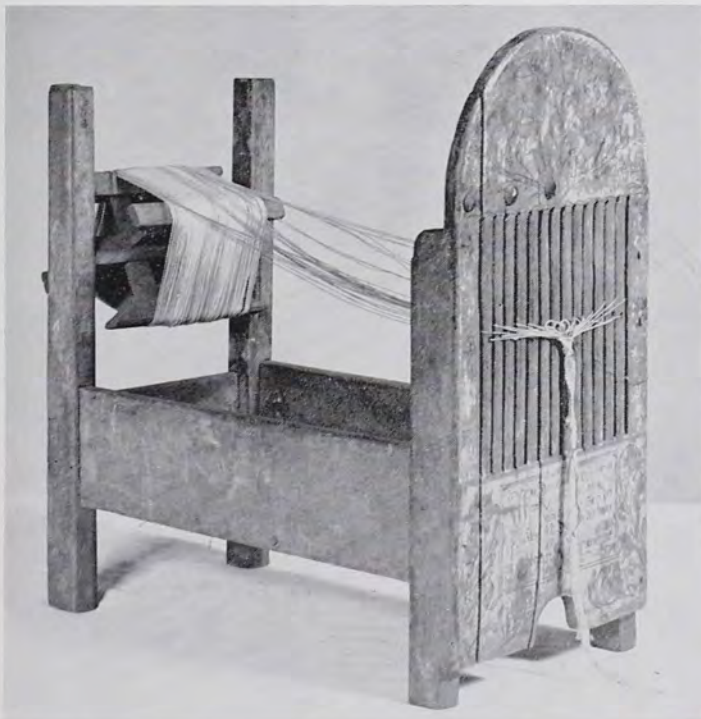


Fig. 6—Tape loom in The Bucks County Historical Society. The lack of owner's name, date and signature is unusual, but it shows every characteristic of John Drissel's work. Photo by Maddox.



Fig. 7—Close-up of head of tape loom pictured in Figure 6, showing verse. The Bucks County Historical Society. Photo by Wes White.

Courtesy: Philadelphia Museum of Art



30-hour tall-case clock in walnut with painted dial, about 1800, probably by Robert Shearman of Philadelphia.

TICK-TOCK TIME in Old Pennsylvania

By EARL F. ROBACKER

Perhaps one of the homiest sounds of yesterday was the ticking of the family clock—a sound either unknown or unwelcome to much of America today. In the Pennsylvania Dutch country as elsewhere, however, the soft clicking of the escapement seems to be returning to favor after a longish period of electrically controlled silence, as more and more collectors find that a period setting can hardly be considered complete without at least one old clock.

Two broad classifications for old Pennsylvania timepieces are the tall-case clock (oftener called the “grandfather”

Courtesy: Philadelphia Museum of Art



Dial of Jacob Gorgas clock.

clock since 1875, when Henry Clay Work used the term in a popular song) and the shelf or mantel clock, the Yankee upstart which moved in and displaced it.

As might be supposed, the very first clocks of Pennsylvania were brought over from Europe; accurate timepieces were in the class of immediate necessities, and early men of affairs could hardly wait for the craftsmen and mechanics among their own number to start turning out their products. Yet clocks were being made in and near Philadelphia very early in the Eighteenth Century, and it is presumed that some were completed before the close of the Seventeenth. A superlative specimen by the versatile Christopher Sauer of Germantown, in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia, was made in 1735. In this instance, both the "works" and the case were by Sauer; frequently the mechanic and the cabinetmaker were two different men.

Such very early clocks, specimens of which are likely to be found only in museums, usually represent craftsmanship of the highest order. Frequently the most important of all the possessions in a family, they were built to last, not merely by skilled artisans but by men of consequence in the community—men who, according to George H. Eckhardt, in his definitive work *Pennsylvania Clocks and Clockmakers*, must be considered among the scientists of their day.

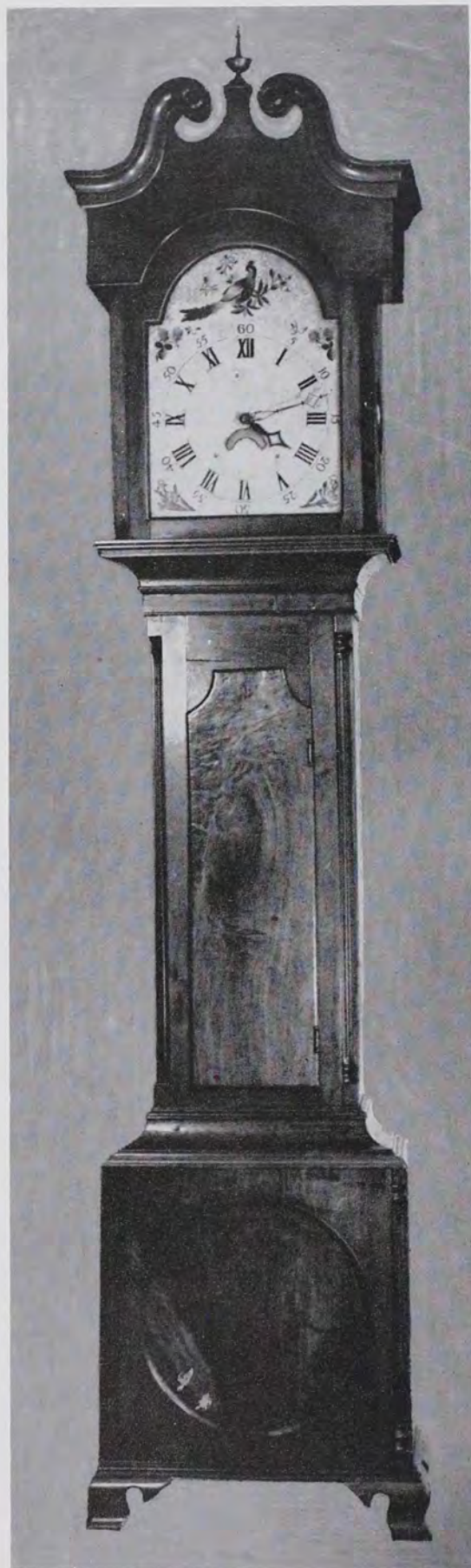
It is hardly likely that the average collector will have an opportunity to purchase an extremely early clock of major importance—but it has happened. Clocks by David Rittenhouse, Edward Duffield, and John Wood, Jr., would fall in this category. Such clocks would have been made between about 1750 and the outbreak of the American Revolution. Needless to say, when a clock purported to be by one of these makers comes to the market it should be scrutinized down to the last detail for authenticity, since the likelihood of restoration is very great, even though the restoration may have been made a hundred years ago.

Valentin Urletig of Reading was making clocks as early as 1758, and George Faber of Reading and Sunnyside as early as 1773. These were "country" workers, whose products may at first have suffered a lack of recognition in spite of their obvious quality because of the remoteness of the men from Philadelphia.

The Revolution appears to have put an end to clock-making activity for the time being, and it was not until close to 1800 that production began again in earnest. Pre-Revolutionary clocks usually had metal dials, frequently ornamented with elaborately chased designs. Painted dials came into popularity after the war, and the designs of birds or flowers against the white face proved so attractive that brass dials never returned to favor.

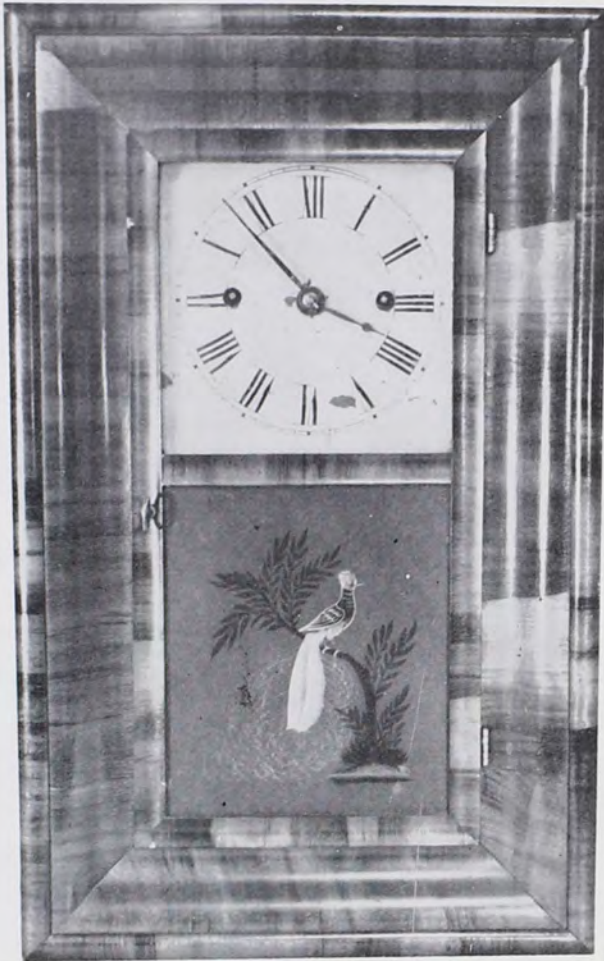
Some clockmakers made only one or two clocks; some made dozens—and a few, hundreds. Yet no two clocks seem to have been exactly alike; each was an individual job, usually made to order for a waiting customer. Some told the hour and no more; others recorded seconds—and the day of the month and the phases of the moon. Still more elaborate specimens were musical, and some had yet other refinements which were important in their day but which to the present generation of collectors seem like mere curiosities. A rocking ship or other moving figure above the dial (kept in motion by the swinging pendulum) was a popular feature.

Many collectors like the idea of securing "signed" clocks; that is, those in which the name of the maker appears on the dial. However, there are many equally attractive clocks



*Musical grandfather's clock by
Jacob Gorgas, near Ephrata,
Lancaster County.*

Dial and hood of Daniel Rose clock owned by Mr. Herbert Gerhart, Raton, New Mexico, and shown here by permission.



8-day fusee movement shelf clock by J. C. Brown, Bristol, Conn., with rosewood-veneer case and reverse painting in popular bird motif. 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.



Jacob Hostetter (Hanover)
 Samuel Krauss (Kraussdale)
 Peter Miller (Lynn Township, Lehigh County)
 Daniel Oyster (Reading)
 Daniel Rose (Reading)
 Martin Shreiner (Lancaster)

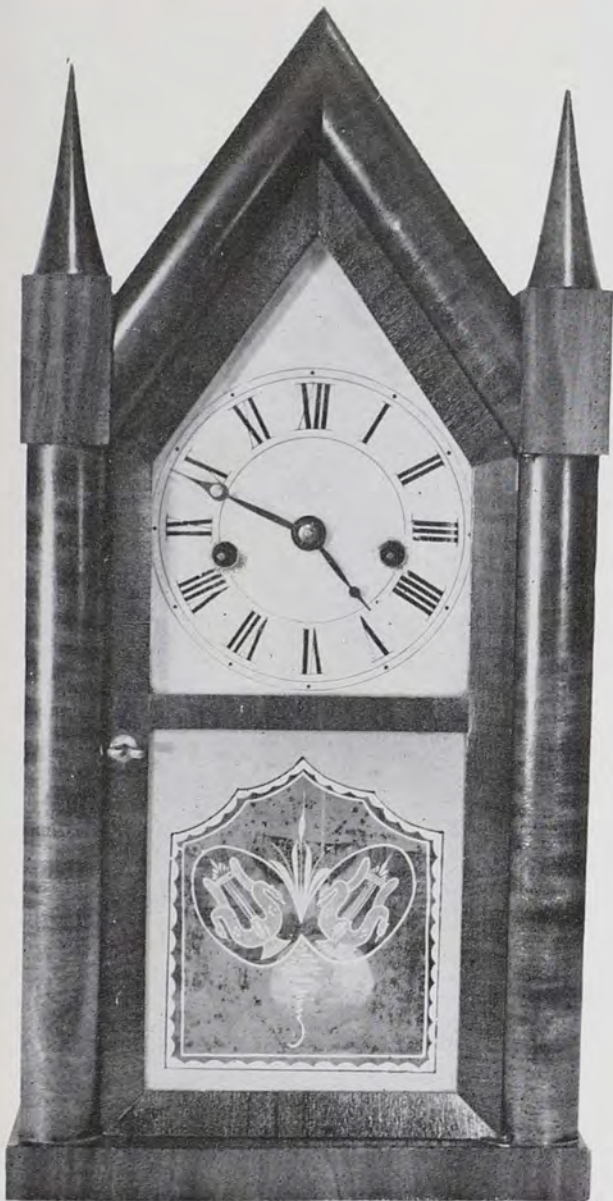
in which the name of the maker does not appear, clocks which will perform equally well. If the prospective purchaser wishes an authentic Dutch Country clock, however, he will have to go by makers' names, since the variations in cabinetmaking alone are seldom sufficient to establish identification.

Persons who have access to Eckhardt's book, previously mentioned, would do well to check his exhaustive listings, which include Dutch Country makers. Those who do not, could hardly go wrong by choosing among the following, who represent much of the Dutchland territory:

- John Bachman (Bachmansville)
- Charles F. Beckel (Bethlehem)
- Christian Bixler (Reading) and later members of the Bixler family, especially in Easton
- Joseph Bowman (Strasburg)
- Daniel Christ (Kutztown)
- Alexander Danner (Lancaster)
- Christian Eby (Manheim)
- John Esterlie (New Holland)
- John Fisher (York)
- Jacob Gorgas (near Ephrata)
- George J. Heisely (Harrisburg)

These are well known makers—but it does not follow that less widely publicized personalities were less capable. Some men operated within a narrow territory and for a comparatively short time; yet their products are frequently as fine as those of men who made a career of their work. To mention an instance or two: John H. Mellick and Joseph Heckman, of Stroudsburg, have probably not been heard of far beyond the confines of Monroe County, although Mellick moved to Iowa some time after 1850. Also in Monroe County, John Turn, cabinetmaker of Middle Smithfield Township, was making clock cases as early as 1813, and probably earlier. Local records show that he sold a case in 1813 for five dollars (buyer not listed); by 1816 he had advanced his price to sixteen dollars for cases sold to Gersham Bunnell and Abraham Van Campen. It should be borne in mind that these prices were for the cases only. Collectors in communities on the fringe of the Dutch Country, communities like Stroudsburg, would do well to explore early census records for names of clockmakers; it is likely that important discoveries are still to be made.

Some collectors speak affectionately of clocks with wooden works, as though these were great rarities. Actually, wooden works were an expedient used when metal was not available and abandoned when metal was at hand. They represent



30-hour "gable" or Gothic-type clock by Elisha Manross, Bristol, Conn. Glass painting is in blue and white. Mahogany veneer. 19¼ in.

accomplished craftsmanship, but are peculiarly subject to atmospheric changes, frequently with resultant inaccuracy. They are not particularly rare.

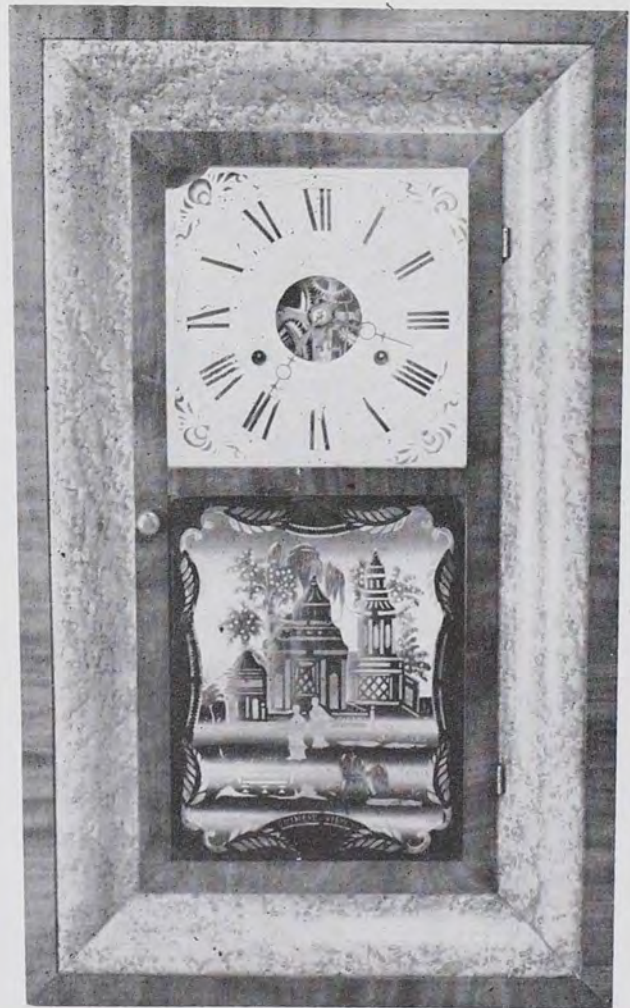
New Collectors have sometimes assumed that all good tall-case clocks are of walnut or of some equally fine cabinet wood. It is true that these hard woods respond well to the tools of the cabinetmaker, but there are equally attractive clocks in pine and in fruitwood, too. Pearwood in particular has a very attractive grain. Butternut wood offers striking contrast in dark and light tones. Probably most softwood cases were painted, originally. Paint-decorated clocks, in the manner of decorated furniture, however, are exceedingly rare. One well known specimen attributed to the Mahantongo Valley is now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. A candle-smoke decorated case is heard of now and then, but smoke decoration is, of course, not peculiar to Pennsylvania.

It is no more than fair to point out to collectors that there are several pitfalls to avoid in making a purchase. One is the necessity for having a clock put in order if it is

not running—and capable workers are few and far between. Another is the matter of height and proportion. The buyer should know how high his ceilings are before he buys a clock which may be as much as nine feet tall, and where he expects to place it, since some clocks, especially those with elaborate musical or other gadgetry, are much bulkier than they appear to be in the show room.

Then, of course, there is the matter of the purchase price. How much should one expect to pay for a good clock? Perhaps it is germane to the subject to recall the question asked by the prospective purchaser of a high-priced but top-quality motor car: "How many miles to the gallon of gasoline will I get?"—and the answer: "If you need to ask that—don't buy it!"

At auctions, tall-case clocks may bring seemingly fantastic prices—\$2,000, for instance. Yet if this were a David Rittenhouse clock such a figure would be fantastically low. A clock with a more attractive case, on the other hand, might be had for \$250 to \$400—and the neophyte might well wonder at what was going on. Family sentiment—or the lack of it—often enters the picture at the time of an auction; so do the number of interested bidders, the place of the sale, the publicity attendant upon it, the reputation and quality of other possessions of the owner, and so on. Buyers



Curly maple and mahogany veneer on a 30-hour Seth Thomas clock, Plymouth Hollow, Conn. The "Chinese View" on the glass painting reflected popular taste in the Nineteenth Century. 26 in.

lacking rather specific information will usually do well to avoid auctions and patronize reputable dealers, at whose shops they can, for sums from \$300 to \$600, secure good (*good*, not superlative or rare) specimens in the period of 1800-1850, the time when most good clocks now available were made.

For all their importance, utility, and charm, tall-case clocks necessarily remained expensive, since they were, so to speak, custom-made. Thus, when an eminently satisfactory portable time-keeper appeared, made by mass production and attractively priced, the old-time handcraftsman was compelled to go out of business. Tall-case clocks had not been peculiarly a Pennsylvania product; they were made all along the seaboard. The new, smaller clocks, however, were a New England Yankee product, and New England retained the monopoly, down almost to the beginning of the present century.

The story of the New England shelf or mantel clock has been told ably and often, and it is hardly necessary to repeat it here. The competition for markets was exceedingly keen, and no corner of the country appears to have been overlooked by the Yankee peddler. Demand was at first almost equally keen; it was at last possible for almost everyone to own a good timepiece. In the conservative Dutchland, it might seem that one or two particular types might tend to become standard, but facts do not bear out the supposition. At the same time, if one judges by what is now and has for the past twenty-five years been available in Dutch Country antique shops, some makers were obviously better represented

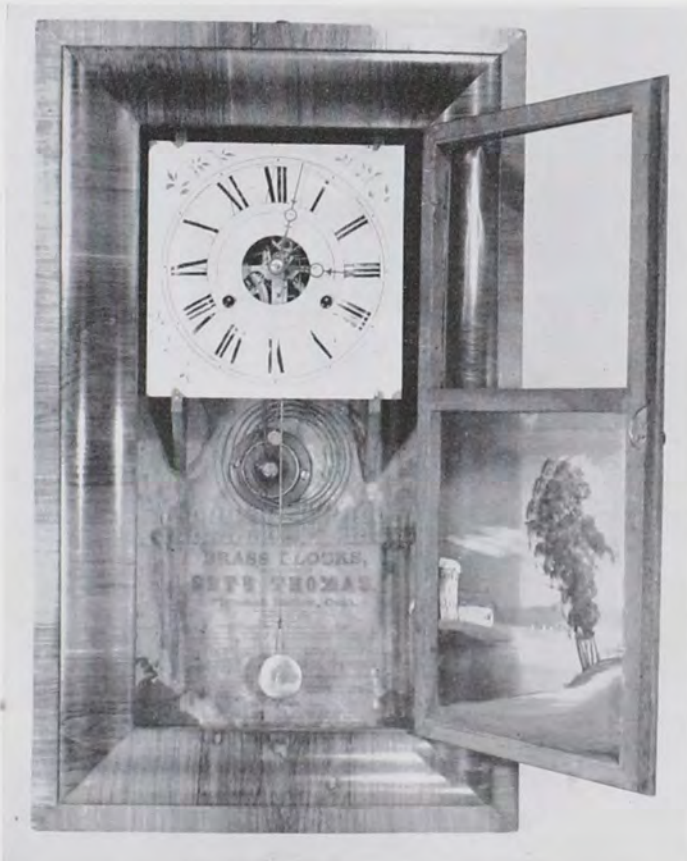
than others; in fact, Seth Thomas, J. C. Brown, and Elisha Manross had their wares as deeply entrenched in the heart of the Dutch Country as in New England. No Pennsylvania clock-making establishment was very active during the second half of the Nineteenth Century; the Connecticut clocks were so priced that outside competition was all but stifled.

Of more significance to the collector than the name of the maker are the grain of the wood (mahogany, rosewood, or curly maple veneer); the kind of mechanism (fusee or weight-or spring-driven); the quality of the chime; the movement (30-hour or 8-day); and the decoration and condition of the dial. Cut captions for the illustrations on these pages give an indication of some of the points of interest to most collectors.

Incidentally, shelf or mantel clocks did not always repose on shelves or mantels, particularly the heavier weight-propelled specimens; frequently they were screwed to the wall—a circumstance which explains seemingly extraneous screw holes in the back of many.

As time went on from the mid-1800's to the end of the century, clocks not only grew cheaper but declined in size. Thus, weight-driven specimens 26 inches tall and weighing close to 40 pounds gradually gave way to examples of 15 or 11 inches in height, some weighing less than five pounds. Added convenience in the form of a separately wound alarm was a selling point for some of the very late models.

In shelf clocks, one of the most attractive features lies in the reverse painting on glass in the lower panel of the door—and it is the condition of this painting, as often as



30-hour clock showing maker's label behind the pendulum. Mahogany veneer. 26 in.

Ansonia (Conn.) 30-hour alarm clock. 11 in.



*Clocks, except as noted,
from The Robacker Collection.
Photography by Charles Bahr.*



30-hour Waterbury clock in rosewood. A late form of the "gable" case. 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

"Eastlake" type of clock in oak made by E. N. Welch, Forestville, Conn. Pendulum and dial cover are gilded. 8-day clock, striking hours and half hours. 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.



not, which determines the selling price. Touched-up decorations or replaced panels meet with little favor. Decorations cover a wide range of subjects; birds are especially well liked, with historical scenes probably running a close second. Imaginatively treated landscapes, flowers or animals, groupings of musical instruments, geometrical arrangements—all these in bright colors reflect the taste of the period.

Perhaps not in the category of the genuine antique but approaching it in collectibility is the late oak kitchen clock with jigsaw carving. Such clocks, admittedly less attractive than their forerunners, had 8-day movements, and a half-hour chime in addition to the conventional striking mechanism. The chime is usually soft and melodious—in sharp

contrast to the loud, high-pitched tones of most early tall-case clocks. And these "Eastlake"-type clocks are remarkably good timekeepers!

Like most categories of antiques, old clocks have their rare forms and variations. Best loved in this field is probably the grandmother clock. Built and shaped like the weight-and-pendulum grandfather clock, it stood only 40 to 50 inches tall. Not many were made, and of the few, only an apparently minimal number in Pennsylvania. Had it not been for the flood of Connecticut clocks, this smaller, lighter version of the tall-case clock might have achieved considerable popularity. As it is, few collectors have heard of the variant, and fewer still are likely to see one outside a museum.

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Present Day **FOOD HABITS** *of the* **Pennsylvania** *Dutch*

By **MARIAN LUDWIG WILSON**

Have you ever wondered why you eat the foods you do? This question has been pursued by a great many people for many different reasons. Our government became very interested in this problem during World War II and consequently formed a Committee on Foods Habits. This committee tried to find out what the people ate, why they ate it, and how they might be motivated to improve their food habits. It was found that people of the same cultural background tended to eat similar foods and extensive studies were made into many of the sub-cultures in the United States. Unfortunately the Pennsylvania Dutch were not included in the studies.

Most of the nationality groups studied by the committee have been in the United States for only two or three generations, and in this time many of the cultural practices would still be retained. The Pennsylvania Dutch have lived in this country for over a dozen generations and it may be assumed that some of their habits might have been lost in the intermingling with others. Would it be possible, however, for some of their cultural foods and food combinations to be retained?

I was very interested in this problem because my family is Pennsylvania Dutch and I have acquired an appreciation of my rich cultural heritage. If it could be proved that these cultural food practices have passed from generation to generation, couldn't they be classified as one of our most valuable inheritances?

A research study which I conducted at the Pennsylvania State University was based on this problem. In this study I compared the food habits of the early Pennsylvania Dutch with their present-day descendants in York County, Pennsylvania. Homemakers not of Pennsylvania Dutch origin were also interviewed to see how much different their food practices were from their Pennsylvania Dutch neighbors.

It was found that many of the foods associated with the Pennsylvania Dutch culture were served by the homemakers of this origin. Pork, a food used in many cultural dishes, was used very frequently by the Pennsylvania Dutch women. Cabbage and beets were the vegetables used very often in various ways. They were served as hot vegetables or cold in pickled beets and cole slaw.

One way in which the present day Pennsylvania Dutch closely followed their ancestors was in the serving of salads. Many writers have criticized the Pennsylvania Dutch for the lack of fresh fruit and vegetables in their diets, particularly in the use of salads. Most of the Pennsylvania Dutch homemakers said that they rarely served a salad with their meals. Sometimes they made cabbage or lettuce with a hot or cold dressing, but this was only when these vegetables were in season.

Good hearty soups are associated with the Pennsylvania Dutch culture and these were very prominent in the foods served by the Pennsylvania Dutch homemakers. The well-liked speciality, chicken-corn soup, was served by all the homemakers of this background. Noodle soup was also very popular and many homemakers preferred making their own noodles for this delicious dish. These two Pennsylvania Dutch soups were also served by the non-Pennsylvania homemakers, but not as frequently.

Cake and pie were the favorite desserts of all the homemakers interviewed regardless of cultural background. Many varieties of each were served by the Pennsylvania Dutch women and sometimes at the same meal. Shoofly, mont-



This Pennsylvania Dutch homemaker has an abundance of cabbage in her garden.



Several large containers of chicken corn soup are necessary to serve all the people at this church picnic.



People come from miles around to enjoy a delicious bowl of chicken corn soup.

gomery, snitz, cheese, and raisin pies were made very frequently by the homemakers of this background. Some of the women said they made a variety of these pies weekly to sell at the local Farmers' Market.

In order to see whether some of the traditional Pennsylvania Dutch food combinations were served by this group of homemakers, a list of typical early Pennsylvania Dutch foods was compiled. All the homemakers were asked how frequently they prepared these foods for their families. It was found that the Pennsylvania Dutch women used all the foods on this list more frequently than those not of this culture. The foods served most often were Pot Pie, Pickled

Eggs, Dandelion, Dumplings, Hominy and Puddin, and Snitz and Gnep. These cultural specialities were also mentioned by many Pennsylvania Dutch women as the favorite foods of their families, while none of the Non-Pennsylvania Dutch women listed these foods as favorites.

All of the homemakers produced some of their food themselves. Nearly all of them had a garden with a variety of vegetables. Very little difference was found between the two groups in the kinds of vegetables planted in their gardens with one exception: more Pennsylvania Dutch women planted beets and cabbage. This would account for their larger consumption of these foods. Many homemakers in both groups had eggs, poultry, beef, pork, and milk on their farms.

Very interesting differences were found between these two groups in types of foods which they served at their church affairs. The women of Pennsylvania Dutch descent often served chicken-corn soup with sandwiches at their Evangelical United Brethren or Lutheran Churches. Many of the Pennsylvania Dutch "sours" were served with this soup and sandwich meal and the dessert was usually cake or pie. The non-Pennsylvania Dutch people who were studied were nearly all members of the Methodist or Presbyterian Churches and they served turkey or ham dinners most frequently. This difference shows the tendency for the Pennsylvania Dutch to take their cultural foods outside their homes and share them with others.

The present-day descendants of the early Pennsylvania Dutch settlers interviewed in this study were still very rich in the cultural food patterns of their ancestors. It was found that many of these cultural practices had a great influence on other groups, yet there are still differences in food practices between the two groups in this study. A tendency for the Pennsylvania Dutch families to accept new foods and methods of preparation was noted, but even so the old traditional dishes the recipes for which are passed from mother to daughter are very evident even today. Although food may not be cherished as an antique chest or lamp, it can still be considered as one of our richest cultural heritages.



Dishing up a heaping bowl of chicken corn soup for one of the many customers.

The Attitude of the Early Reformed Church Fathers TOWARD WORLDLY AMUSEMENTS

By DAVID H. RAPP

If silence means consent, then the early fathers of the German Reformed Church must have been very lenient in their attitudes towards worldly amusements. There is very little recorded about their attitudes.

There are four main reasons for this leniency.

(a) The German Reformed Church in America was closely connected with the Church of Holland. Many of the early ministers were sent out to America by the Synod of South Holland. Naturally, therefore, the early Reformed "Dominies" kept up a close relationship with their source of supply. Frequently the Coetus of Pennsylvania received letters of warning from their spiritual fathers in Holland. These letters warned them to beware of the Herrnhüters and the pietism which they represented.

(b) When Count Zinzendorf arrived in America, he attempted to bring all the German churches of Pennsylvania into one church. The "Congregation of God in the Spirit" was to unite all German Christians into one great church and still allow each denomination to keep its own form of government, its own beliefs, etc. When Pennsylvania's first attempt at ecumenicity failed, there was considerable antipathy toward the Moravians and all that they represented. The men of the Reformed Church who turned toward the Moravians (e.g. Henry Antes) were given the cold shoulder. As a result of the failure of Zinzendorf's plan of union, the pietism which he represented was held in suspicion by the more regular churchmen. Indeed, this very pietism was bitterly attacked by many of Zinzendorf's contemporaries in Reformed and Lutheran circles.

(c) The early "Dominies" who led the congregations in America were university-trained. They were Europeans, trained in the scholastic tradition. Because of this, they had little sympathy for the pietism of their fellow Germans. The fact that many of their more pietistic brethren were poorly educated at best did not increase their admiration for this inward type of religion. The great voice of the pietists was the Dunkard of Germantown, Christopher Sauer. In his paper, Sauer frequently attacked the regular churches (Reformed and Lutherans). He found every opportunity to criticize the Reformed and Lutheran brethren for even the slightest variation from his way of life. The other German groups that leaned toward pietism were perhaps more illiterate than were the Dunkards. The Amish and Mennonites of Pennsylvania were sternly opposed to education. Hence, it is only natural that an antipathy would grow up between the Reformed pastors and their uneducated "brethren." Only the Moravians, of all the pietistic groups in Pennsylvania, seemed to be interested in education.

(d) Perhaps one of the greatest barriers to the advent of pietism in the early American church was the language problem. The men of our church were German first and

English speakers under protest. Thus, they were missed by the Great Awakening of Jonathan Edwards. The German people, as a whole, were little affected by this early pietism in American church life.

In his introductory statements to the story of the founding of the United Brethren Church, William Warren Sweet has this to say about the rise of pietism and its offshoot, revivalism:

Though contributing the principal pietistic strain in colonial America, the German had little part in, and reaped only indirect benefits from the colonial revivals. The principal reason for this was the language barrier, which limited the influence of such inter-colonial revivalists as Whitefield and Gilbert Tennent to the English-speaking part of the population. This explains why revivalistic movements among the American Germans were delayed for a generation and did not begin until the emergence of German-speaking revivalists.¹

What is known concerning the "fathers' " attitudes before the end of the 18th century is limited to a few rather widely scattered sources.

H. M. Muhlenberg complained bitterly about John Phillip Boehm because of the latter's leniency in matters of dancing. He said, "My neighbor, the old Reformed pastor, Mr. Boehm, tells his people that one cannot keep young people tied up in a sack; they must have their fun, and dancing has its place, too. My other neighbor, Pastor Andreas, not only approves of this sensuality but is even the instigator of it and calls those who do not approve 'Pietists' or 'Herrnhüters'."²

Further, we know from Mr. Boehm's will that he was no abstainer from alcoholic spirits. In an inventory of his estate which was filed in court after his death, we find, according to Dr. Hinke, that "there were also two distills and two coolers which could be found at that time on nearly every farm."³

In North Carolina during this same period, the Germans of Lincoln County were rather free and easy in the matters of drinking and other worldly amusements.

The distillery was an important and necessary adjunct to the farm. . . . The fiery fluid which they drank for health and happiness was a requisite for the domestic board, and a "tram" was a symbol of hospitality. When the old patriarch, Derrich

1. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America* (New York, 1950), p. 239.

2. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, *Journals I* (Philadelphia, 1942), p. 137.

3. William J. Hinke, *Life and Letters of John Phillip Boehm* (Philadelphia, 1916), p. 147.



Courtesy: Historical Society of Reformed Church
Painting of Henry Harbaugh.

Ramsour,* dispensed with his still, he stipulated that his sons should furnish him each year with 12 gallons of whiskey. . . . Distilling was not confined, however, to any particular section or nationality and, sad to relate, the manufacture of the beverage was not confined entirely to the laity.⁴

In addition, mention is made of several ministers who (1) had a still, and (2) required ten gallons of whiskey on January 1 from their congregations.⁵

These Germans in Lincoln County, North Carolina, were rather free and easy with their amusements as well.

Special occasions that brought them together were quilting parties, spinning matches, corn shuckings, log rollings, and house raisings. . . . Another form of amusement was horse racing. The Germans were lovers of fine horses, and the race track had its devotees. On the path they would test the speed of the horses, and back favorites with cash. When any trouble arose, the guilty ones, if they were members, would be summoned before their church officers.

This was the case with two well-known men of the Daniel's neighborhood.** The "Warlich Path" was one mile west of Daniel's church and about four miles from Lincolnton. A race between their horses brought about a dispute, and they were promptly summoned before the church bar for their conduct. The one who lost was penitent and before the church expressed proper contrition. The winner was incorrigible. Proud of his stakes, his horse, and the plaudits of the community, he promptly pleaded: "I'm not sorry; I von. Mr. H. wery sorry; he lose."⁶

It is apparent that there were provisions in the Daniel's church for handling disputes of this nature, but whether the men were Lutheran or Reformed we have no record.

4. J. R. Nixon, "The German Settlers in Lincoln County and Western North Carolina." *The North Carolina Historical Society*, II, (Chapel Hill, 1911), p. 42.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

* Ramsour was a member of the Reformed Church.

** Daniel's Church was a Union Church—Reformed and Lutheran.

Nor is it apparent whether or not the church made any concerted effort to ban horse racing in the locality.

The period shortly after the close of the Revolutionary War was noted as a period of general decline in most of the churches of the new republic. Many of the churches had their troubles. The colleges were rife with secularism and indifference. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church described the conditions of their day as follows (1798):

We perceive with pain and fearful apprehension a general dereliction of religious principles and practice among our fellow citizens, a visible and prevailing impiety and contempt for the laws and institutions of religion, and an abounding infidelity, which in many instances tends to atheism itself. The profligacy and corruption of the public morals have advanced with a progress proportionate to our declensions in religion. Profaneness, pride, luxury, injustice, intemperance, lewdness, and every species of debauchery and loose indulgence greatly abound.⁷

Conditions in the Reformed Church were not any better. The Coetus of 1786 had a rather alarming answer to the question concerning the progress of the gospel ministry. They had this to say of the general conditions in which they worked:

In general, it is to be observed that the blessing of peace has rather been attended with the sad consequences of display in dress, debauchery and luxury, than with gratitude and humble recognition of the wonders God has done for us. If America were satisfied with the home-made clothing and the moderation which, because of want, were necessary during the times of the so-called Continental, or late war, how happy it would be! But now there are few, very few, who do not live above their stations, so that a stranger on Sundays, or festival days, cannot possibly tell whom he meets. The faithful minister, with silent tears, grieves over hearts possessed of such extravagant pride, for all his remonstrations are in vain.⁸

Thus it can readily be seen that the churches were ready, and, at the same time, in great need of a revival. It took the Second Awakening with its revivalism to awaken the church and put it on its feet. With this revivalism came a new interest in the personal life of the parishioner; hence, a tightening of the moral codes was the order of the day.

REVIVALISM GRIPS THE GERMAN REFORMED . . .

Shortly after the turn of the 19th century, the "New Measures," as they were called, swept through the Reformed Church. The "Anxious Bench" was in prevalent use throughout. Revivalism took hold, and many Reformed pastors and their congregations got the spirit and turned from their sinful ways.

It was during this period that Otterbein met Francis Asbury, the itinerant Methodist. Otterbein organized his congregation in Baltimore along Methodist lines. Although he remained a member of the Synod, Otterbein, at the same time, met with eleven other men in annual conferences of The United Brethren in Christ. This extreme type of

7. Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

8. *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania (1734-1792)* (Philadelphia, 1903), p. 406.

pietism was not to be tolerated by the Reformed Church. Later, after the death of Otterbein, several Reformed churches were lost to the United Brethren.

With the advent of the "Anxious Bench" and the "New Measures" system, many of our Reformed fathers took a new interest in the personal lives and conduct of their sheep. Preachers became aware of the sins of their people and did not hesitate to point them out.

Some of the revivals got out of hand. They became noisy and overly demonstrative. As a result, several of the leading men attacked the "New Measures."

Rev. W. A. Helffrich felt that revivals were not Reformed in character. Dr. John W. Nevin wrote his now famous book on *The Anxious Bench* not so much to oppose revivals in general as to oppose the noisy types. Nevin's plea was for the more orderly type of revival. Later Nevin became even harsher in his views against revivals and could see no good in them.

The "New Measures" or the "Anxious Bench" had their beginning in the Reformed Church in the late 1820's. The great evangelist, Dr. Finney, conducted services in the Philadelphia congregation as early as 1829. The year before Reily held a rather successful revival in York at which 300 souls were saved. Gradually this revivalism fanned out in the church.⁹

In *The Messenger*, in its first five years of publication, the avid support of revivalism is quite apparent. Revivals are reported throughout the church. In frequent editions of the paper there would appear compilations of the number of revivals held throughout the church, where they were held, and their relative success. About the only area of the church where revivalism did not seem to catch hold was the area now included in Lehigh and East Pennsylvania Synods. Very few are the churches from that area that reported revivals.

In *The Messenger* of February 17, 1836, there appeared an article describing revivals held in three of the Chester County churches. The author of the piece signed his name "Evangelist," but we know that it was either Smaltz or Davis, the men who assisted J. C. Guldin in the "protracted meetings." In this article, entitled "Protracted Meetings in Chester County, Pa.," the author tells of the revivals that were held at St. Matthew's, St. Peter's and Brownback's Churches. One of the amazing things about these meetings was the time of year selected. December is not the most advantageous month for getting people out to church, especially when they must drive buggies over dirt or mud roads. Yet throughout their series of services the people attended faithfully.

The results of the revivals were rather good—15 new members received at St. Peter's and 61 at Brownback's. That the evangelists did not hesitate to point the prophetic finger at sinners and say, "Thou art the man!" is evident in the statement and "Infidels, and the profane, and Sabbath breakers, and distillers of ardent spirits, and cold formalists were made to tremble and bow their knees."¹⁰

The same pastor caused quite a few troubles in another of his churches which have not quite subsided to this day. According to Dr. Charles E. Schaeffer in his *History of the Philadelphia Classis*, Guldin became infected with the spirit of the "New Measures" system rather early. In his East

Vincent Church strong opposition resulted from his protracted meetings. The opposition grew until a separate church grew up within the congregation. Dr. Schaeffer says:

Mr. Guldin himself had experienced a religious awakening in his own soul, and began to preach with fresh fervor and power; he instituted protracted and night meetings, and denounced in vehement language the sins and iniquities of his people, especially among those who held high office in his congregations. The upshot was a strong opposition to Mr. Guldin, and a division among the members, especially of the East Vincent congregation.¹¹

Thus it was that pietism and the "New Measures" which resulted from it influenced our Reformed Church fathers into a new interest in the personal lives of their parishioners. "The advocates of this system ('New Measures') conscientiously endeavored to bring about great moral reforms among the people, some of whom were following practices inconsistent with the ethical standards of the Christian religion."¹²

This spirit invaded the new Seminary as well. Frequent prayer meetings were held on the campus at Mercersburg. The students who went out of the Seminary in its early years carried this spirit into the various congregations to which they went. However, after Nevin's attack on the extremists in his *Anxious Bench*, the "New Measures" system gradually faded away. One of the direct results of the "New Measures" was the attack which many of our Reformed fathers made upon worldly amusements.

PASTORS AND PUBLICATIONS

Our church was blessed with a rather vocal group of pastors who expressed themselves quite freely on almost any area of life which was not in accord with their own Christian convictions. Although the group was small, it more than made up for its size with the sheer weight and volume of its utterance.

Chief of the vocal group was Henry Harbaugh, the first practical theology professor of the Theological Seminary. His entire ministry seems to be one crusade after the other. Harbaugh was a man who seemed to thrive on fights with his consistories, fellow pastors, and fellow editors of church periodicals.

Closely associated with Harbaugh was John F. Mesick, pastor at Salem Church, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and co-editor with Harbaugh of *The Guardian*. Mesick does not seem to have run into as much trouble as did his Lancaster colleague. Despite this, he too could talk with a forked tongue on such matters as temperance, Sabbath-breaking, and dancing.

Another of the early Reformed fathers who were anti-worldly was W. A. Helffrich. He was not of the pietistic strain as were his Harrisburg and Lancaster brethren. Indeed, Rev. Mr. Helffrich opposed the "New Measures" as being anti-Reformed. However, this did not keep the gentleman from expressing his opinions on worldliness rather forcibly upon offenders. His autobiography contains a wealth of material on his attitude against worldly amusements.

The church publications of that period were the *German Reformed Magazine*, its successor *The Messenger*, and *The Guardian*. The former magazines did not take too radical

9. James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the U. S. in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1911), p. 130.
10. *The Messenger*, Feb. 17, 1836, p. 103.

11. Charles E. Schaeffer, *History of the Philadelphia Classis* (Philadelphia, 1944), p. 47.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

a stand on issues of personal conduct. However, the editors gave favorable space to articles on Sabbath-breaking, temperance, and theatres. *The Guardian*, on the other hand, seemed to be aimed at all types of worldly amusements. This was a paper for young people, and hence it was interested in preventing as well as opposing amusements. Constantly the editors stressed the evils of which young people should beware. They conducted a continuous crusade against everything from dancing to humbuggery.

ATTITUDES OF THE FATHERS TOWARD WORLDLY AMUSEMENTS

Several times in his magazine, *The Guardian*, Harbaugh printed articles on thrift. His main contention in these articles was the waste of time and money on luxuries. In an article entitled "Taking Care of the Fragments" in the September, 1853, *Guardian*, Harbaugh sheds considerable light on his attitude toward all kinds of worldly amusements.

Let the young man attend theatres, shows, circuses, just once a week in an average, and \$1 is gone in the month. Then let him go to an oyster cellar or restaurant three times a week . . . and another \$3 is gone with the month. Then count the ice creams, the lemonades or other drinks . . . then count the cigars, sweetmeats, and the hundred other penny-eaters which nibble at the careless young man's pocket every day of the week—add them all up, and the remainder of the \$10 is gone!¹³

Again, Harbaugh carried forth his crusade against the ungodly of his community and every community through the means of an article entitled "Do Not Help the Wicked." Harbaugh says,

The many precious hours that are spent, the giddiness and vanity, the oaths and deceptions that are practiced over the checkerboard, cardtable and other kinds of gaming would not be done if there were none to make these things and furnish them to hand. Dancing would end if there were none to make the parties. Not so many minds would be weakened and polluted by novel reading if these long lies were not written and furnished cheaply to hand. The theatre would not long remain if contributions were not so freely made to its support. The slimy trail of the circus would not pollute the land if borough corporations would not admit them, if editors did not print their hand bills, if citizens did not give them lots on which to show, and if people did not carry to them their money. Drunkenness would not be so prevalent if men did not make, sell, and give liquor.¹⁴

It is plain to see from the preceding paragraphs that very little escaped the eye of the editor of *The Guardian*. He was deeply concerned about the social sins of the community. He strove to abolish them.

As might be expected, Harbaugh's fellow editor of *The Guardian*, John F. Mesick, had similar views. He too lashed out at the sins of the community. In an article, "On Amusements," Mesick says, "Our second proposition is that the most of popular amusements are decidedly wrong." He goes on to condemn "public revels where intoxication and noise are called fun, horse-racing, gambling, betting and

other sensual sports borrowed from a barbarous age." Also on the list of forbidden amusements were "theatrical entertainments, circuses, and those fashionable amusements which the world styles innocent to save their credit. . . . See all these evils exemplified in the card and dancing parties" where they "cannot hide their ambitions, pride, vanity, jealousy, or hatred excited by their rivalries in dress, entertainments, and equipages."¹⁵

A somewhat different approach to the problem of evil was taken by a contributor to *The Guardian* identified only as J. H. His approach was that of fear.

Where is the Christian who would dare approach the throne of Grace, and ask the blessings of God to go with him previous to his starting to the Theatre, Circus, Ball-room, or any such place with the intentions of sanctioning by his presence and conduct all the obscenities.¹⁶

It must be remembered, of course, that the contributors to *The Guardian* were aiming their articles at young people. They tried to catch the young mind before it had fallen into sinful ways and to guide it into Christian paths. Therefore, it is only natural that they should have played up the sinfulness of all worldly amusements.

William A. Helffrich dealt with the rural population predominantly and, therefore, had a different type of evil to attack. He, too, attacked dancing or frolics; but Helffrich had specific evils which he tried to uproot. Dr. George W. Richards in his address before the Historical Society in May, 1953, listed the following:

1. The people were not willing to be deprived of their so-called liberty, which actually amounted to license.
2. The rough and rude conduct of the young people—the weekend frolics in wayside hotels—which was their heritage from the fathers.
3. The desecration of the Sabbath by hucksters who pitched their tents defiantly on the sacred ground of the churches at cornerstone layings, dedications of church buildings, anniversaries and picnics. They shamelessly exposed for sale a vast variety of wares from candy sticks and pretzels to beer and whiskey.¹⁷

ON DRINKING

We so often think of the drinking problem in relation to the Anti-Saloon League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union of the latter part of the 19th century. The activities of these organizations did lead up to the 18th amendment to The Constitution. However, temperance education began very shortly after the turn of the 19th century in the German Reformed Church. The use of distilled beverages was roundly condemned in *The Magazine of the German Reformed Church* and in its successor, *The Messenger*. *The Guardian* was equally vocal on this matter.

In the November, 1830, issue of *The Magazine of the German Reformed Church*, an article appeared entitled, "Use of Distilled Liquors." In this article the question was asked, "Is it *Right* or *Safe* to use Distilled Spirits as a beverage or as an article of traffic for living or luxury?" The writer then proceeded to give very strong and forceful arguments why the "wets" were wrong, and why the use of

15. *Ibid.*, 4, pp. 228-229.

16. *Ibid.*, 4, p. 224.

17. George W. Richards, *Life and Work of the Rev. William A. Helffrich* (manuscript), pp. 69-70.

13. *The Guardian*, 4, p. 259.

14. *Ibid.*, 3, p. 342.

these ardent spirits was unsafe. The author told of the great mischief that was caused by strong drink. He concluded with, "But the remedy for these mischiefs is plain and simple. Abstinence—entire abstinence—from the use of alcohol in all its forms, as a beverage, as an article of luxury or living. This is RIGHT—this is SAFE."¹⁸

The Church took a definite stand a relatively short time after this article had been printed. In 1832 the Free Synod passed a resolution in opposition to alcoholic beverages: "Resolved, That it be the solemn duty of every member of this body to use every effort to bring into disrepute the practice of habitual drinking and by precept and example to expel forever the use of ardent spirits from his congregation."¹⁹

J. C. Guldin was one of the first men to lead his churches out of the old Synod into the Free Synod. It is reported that the main reason for the split in his East Vincent congregation was a direct result of the aforementioned resolution by the Free Synod. According to the report, Mr. Guldin brought one of his consistorymen before the church and charged him to cease manufacturing and using alcoholic beverages. As a result of this action, the consistoryman and his family and well-wishers left the church and formed a separate congregation. This congregation was incorporated in 1837 as the St. Vincent German Reformed Church.

The Free Synod was not alone in its attack on the Drinking Problem. The Philadelphia Classis passed a similar resolution in 1841: "Resolved, That we enjoin every minister to preach on the subject of Temperance as early as possible, and to permit no rumseller to be received into the Church from this time forth."²⁰ As can be readily seen, the Classis pulled no punches. They were against drinking and hit the problem as hard as they could.

Several other Classes passed similar resolutions rather early. They made no bones about their feelings. During this same period *The Messenger* constantly printed the latest news on the temperance front. The editors urged their readers to work toward the abolishment of the liquor traffic. It reported on efforts made in the state legislature of Pennsylvania to ban liquor entirely from the state.

In 1837 an article was reprinted in *The Messenger* from *The Pittsburgh Christian Herald*. The title of the article was, "Who Will Go and Do Likewise?—Temperance and Sabbath Keeping," by J. L. Egerton of Dundee, Michigan. In this article Mr. Egerton described a public house in western Pennsylvania where no liquor was sold at all. The bar room was used for Sunday services, and customers who arrived on Saturday were required to stay over at the hotel until Monday morning. The reason for this, of course, was that the proprietor would not receive money on the Sabbath, nor would he permit his guests to profane the Sabbath by traveling. The author of the piece was now convinced that at last a Christian was found running a public house.²¹

Henry Harbaugh, while still a pastor at Lewisburg, appointed himself a committee of one to interview the tavern keepers and request them to close on the Sabbath. In his diary he tells about the stubbornness of his wet opponents: "Monday, December 16—Went as a committee to visit the Tavern Keepers to request them not to sell liquor on the Sabbath day. Did not think that they were men of so little

principle. They weigh the law of God by dollars and cents—no moral perceptions—brutal."²²

Harbaugh never seemed to give up on his anti-alcohol campaign. In Lancaster he had a running fight with one of his consistory, a man of wealth, who owned and operated a tavern. Harbaugh forced the man to resign from the consistory. Then at the consistory meeting of April 10, 1854, a motion was made to reinstate the tavern keeper to fill a vacancy. The motion was at the point of passing when Harbaugh arose and opposed the move. Thereupon the consistory appointed a committee to go to the tavern keeper and "inform him that, if he should see fit to discontinue the sale of liquor at his tavern, the post would be gladly offered to him."²³

In 1850, when Harbaugh first arrived to assume his new pastorate at First Church, "He was shocked by local intemperance and Sabbath breaking."²⁴ He took Lancaster by storm and preached "not only against intemperance—intemperately—but every now and then hit not only the taverns but also tavern keepers, their families and friends, at milkmen and persons getting milk from them on Sundays, and other classes of people."²⁵

Indeed, Harbaugh was not merely content to preach against intemperance. He spoke out against the leaders of the community and the college and the church for their own intemperance. In June of 1850 the members of the Board of Directors of the newly merged Franklin and Marshall College gathered in Lancaster for their annual meeting. On June 4 Harbaugh, Philip Schaff, and Rev. Bucher were invited to the home of Mr. Buchanan. The latter offered his guests a glass of wine. Schaff and Rev. Mr. Bucher accepted the offer and drank with Mr. Buchanan. Harbaugh, on the other hand, refused the proffered glass. In his diary that night he wrote, "All drank but myself. Temperance principles! Alas! how weak!"

William A. Helffrich was another opponent of the "wets." In his autobiography he tells of his first trip away from home. He was visiting in Reading with his friend Herman. His friend urged him to have a glass of wine or beer, and he writes, "He occasionally drank a glass of beer or wine, but this was no temptation for me. All my life I naturally revolted against alcoholic liquors in every form. In all my wanderings, God, by his grace, saved me from the 'secularizing of my heart'.²⁶

Later when Helffrich was in Philadelphia, he saw a new type of Germans. He traveled with them several days to discover for himself their inner life. He was shocked at their utter disregard for moral ideals and standards. But "they had an enormous thirst for beer, unlimited frivolity, careless and indifferent about procuring the next dollar."²⁷

His worst trials were with the hucksters who pitched their tents on church grounds and sold their alcoholic beverages. Again and again he complained of their activities. He hated the wayside hotels where the frolics were held. Perhaps one of the biggest reasons for this hatred was the amount of liquor consumed at these gatherings.

Actually, Helffrich was not as outspoken as his Lancaster colleague. He himself had "snuck" out of the house in his youth to attend a frolic. He had tasted of the fiery fluid

18. *The Magazine of the German Reformed Church*, 3, p. 330.

19. Good, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

20. Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

21. *The Messenger*, March 8, 1837, *passim*, p. 122.

22. Henry Harbaugh, *Diary* (typescript), p. 78.

23. Elizabeth Kieffer, "Henry Harbaugh in Lancaster," *Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, 45, p. 69.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

26. Richards, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

himself and, therefore, was perhaps not in the position as was Harbaugh to speak out against it.

One other section of the church must be mentioned. In Lincoln County, North Carolina, in 1858, a blow was given to the alcohol industry when the church courts adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, That the making or distillation for the indiscriminate sale of intoxicating liquors, its use as a beverage, the practice of giving it to hands at log rollings, huskings, raisings, etc., is immoral in its tendency and justifies the exercise of discipline."²⁸

It is not indicated whether the church courts are German Reformed or Lutheran. The interesting note here is the relatively late adoption of this resolution in North Carolina. Perhaps the barrier of distance affected even the temperance feelings of the North Carolinians.

ON CIRCUSES AND SHOWS

All the wrath that could be vented was cast upon the traveling circuses and shows by various pastors of the German Reformed Church. J. H. Dubbs in an article in the *College Student* tells of his youth when he accompanied his parents to see Herr Dreisbach's Menagerie (1844). "It was a real menagerie, without a circus attachment, and could, therefore, be safely visited by ministers and their families."²⁹

Of all the men who opposed circuses and shows, none was more vehement than Henry Harbaugh. Eight times he mentions circuses and shows in his *Diary*. Each time there is a disparaging remark. Later in *The Guardian* he printed several articles on circuses and shows in which he showed their true depravity. He gave ample reasons why the professor of religion should not frequent such affairs. Of course, part of his ire may have been induced from his deep hatred of the practices of men like P. T. Barnum.

In his *Diary*, Harbaugh refers to circus as follows:

Aug. 2, 1844—Circus in town. The Devil is busy.

May 18, 1846—Battalion today—did not study much—was surprised at the silliness and childishness of some of the shows in town and the manner in which they are encouraged. "Flying Horses" for instance. Crowds went to this machine. There is yet much to civilize in this country.

June 13, 1846—A circus in town—the Devil arose—in full—Oh what is man!

Aug. 21, 1848—Circus in town! All gone.

June 29, 1849—Tom Thumb in town. Many go!! Alas! for human nature.

Aug. 31, 1849—Circus fixing up opposite my house on a lot of Thomas Rebers. It is a shame and a sin. . . . The bellowing of the circus could be heard in church.

Aug. 6, 1851—Show today. Spoke in the evening at Lectures on the impropriety of Christians attending the circus.

This was his attitude toward circuses. Unlike the parents of J. H. Dubbs, Harbaugh did not approve of menageries. In his *Diary* on Wednesday, August 1, 1849, Harbaugh wrote, "Menagerie today in town. The . . . who like things new are out. I did not think there were so many persons about this place whose tastes can be satisfied with little things."

28. Nixon, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

29. Joseph Henry Dubbs, "Formative Influence," *The College Student* (Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.), 28, p. 154.

In *The Guardian*, Harbaugh presented his brief against circuses and shows. He printed a rather lengthy article in which he listed five reasons why he opposed circuses. He wrote this article in the hope "of persuading, especially young Christians, not to give the influence of their example to circuses—these yearly pests of the country."

He describes the coming of the circus with: "At this season they come and drag their slow slimey trail along polluting all that comes within reach of their influence." His reasons for opposing the circuses were as follows:

1. *Because they do no good.* Not only "works of darkness" are reproved in the scriptures, but "unfruitful works." Any work that does no good is an evil work.
2. It is wrong for a Christian to encourage those who conduct these circuses in leading useless lives, and in perverting their talents to useless ends. It takes superior talents to make a successful actor. How useful might those have become to society who are capable of performing feats that astonish the gazers?
3. . . . on account of the cruelty to which the poor animals are exposed, which they carry with them to show. These animals . . . are not only taken out of their native climates, but in many cases also out of their native elements.
4. . . . they cause a great deal of waste of time and money.
5. It causes large gatherings of people, and thus becomes the occasion of evil.³⁰

Perhaps the most vivid description of circuses ever presented was in an article in the October, 1851, issue of *The Guardian*. The author, J. P. Krauth, has this to say in his "A Picture of the Circus":

The circus is the foul pool in which the leeches of society will be found swimming. . . . The wit of the ring is always low, often profane and indecent. . . . Licentiousness thinly veiled is offered to the minds of the young. . . . Is the circus the place for an immortal and responsible being who may be hurried from it to the presence of his God?³¹

DANCING

Dancing was the epitome of evil for many of the early "fathers of the faith." In the social dance could be seen all types of evil. Sin reared its ugly head wherever man and woman "tripped the light fantastic."

Probably no one was more opposed to dancing than was William A. Helffrich. He constantly opposed the frolics that were held in the wayside hotels in his region. He instituted week-day evening prayer services at which he preached sermons on repentance. He paid particular attention on these occasions to the non-Christian practices of the people. As a result of these services, "Many families were awakened the frolics in the hotels gradually ceased to be. 'The proprietors of three hotels in the region of Long Swamp thanked me for my sermons; the parents also upheld me.'"³²

In addition to these week-day evening services, Helffrich did a lot of personal work in his fight against the evil of dancing. He would go to the erring ones and warn them of their sinfulness.

30. *The Guardian*, 2, pp. 129-132.

31. *Ibid.*, 2, pp. 305-306.

32. Richards, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

When he discovered one of the catechumens going astray, even if the son or daughter of an elder or a deacon, he personally and privately warned such a one that if he attended a 'frolic' he would be debarred from confirmation and admission to the Lord's Supper. He cites a number of instances when girls came to him penitently confessing the error of their ways and promising never again to attend a frolic.³³

But then Helffrich knew whereof he was speaking when he condemned frolics as sinful. In his autobiography Helffrich tells of the time he "snuck" out of the house in his youth and attended a frolic. He gives a very vivid picture of how the dances were conducted, with a fiddler on a table in the center of the bar-room and the couples pounding the floor as they danced to his playing. At the conclusion of his account, Helffrich points out the immorality of these dances. The young men would take the girls home. The latch string would be out, and the young men would frequently "bundle" with their girls. Due to this practice, many marriages were consummated in which the girl was either pregnant or had already borne a child.³⁴

Dancing was just as evil in the eyes of Harbaugh. He records in his *Diary* on January 1, 1849: "There was a dance at Mr. Cline's. He is a communicant member in the Lutheran Church!"

Frequently Harbaugh printed articles in his magazine about the evils of dancing. One of the more familiar types of stories is the story of the young girl who goes to the ball, gets overheated, goes out in the cold night air, contracts consumption and dies. On her death bed she repents of her folly and urges her family to forsake the evils of the dance. At least four such stories are printed from 1852 to 1854. At the conclusion of one of these stories about the evils of dancing the author had this to say:

Above all, let not Professors of Religion dance. A Christian who was once asked to engage in dancing gave as a reason for his refusal that he would not like to be called, to meet his blessed Saviour, from a Ball Room. Reader, would you like to be called to your account from a Ball Room? I think not.³⁵

Harbaugh was not merely interested in stopping the evil after it had gotten hold; he was also interested in preventative measures. In his attempt at nipping the evil of dancing in the bud, Harbaugh carried on a strenuous campaign against dancing schools. He opposed sending children to the dancing master. "Childhood has its own loveliness and grace, which none of the borrowed tricks of art can improve. It would be better to send the dancing-master to the child, than the child to the master."³⁶

One of Harbaugh's familiar techniques in driving home a point was to use famous men as examples of righteousness. In such a way he used Governor James Pollock to oppose the fancy dress balls.

In the evening after the inauguration, a committee of very prominent men in the State called on the new Governor, informing him they had come to escort him to the Inauguration Ball. "A ball! gentlemen, I never attend balls!" The committee

33. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

34. William A. Helffrich, "An Old Time Country Frolic," *German American Annals*, 8, pp. 486-488.

35. *The Guardian*, 4, p. 29.

36. *Ibid.*, 2, p. 280.

DISCOURSE

ON

MODERN DANCING.

BY REV. JESSE WINECOFF,

Pastor of the Second Evan. Luth. Church at Selinsgrove, Union Co. Penn.

GETTYSBURG:

PRINTED BY H. C. NEINSTEDT.

1850.

Courtesy: Don Yoder

Title page of a pamphlet against dancing.

informed him that it was a special occasion, the Inauguration Ball, and that the ladies were already waiting in anxious expectation for his introduction. "I am very sorry, gentlemen, to occasion any disappointment, but I am conscientiously averse to balls, and these arrangements were made without my participation and, of course, without my consent." . . . We thank the Governor, in the name of every Christian in the State, for the sound words—for the noble example.³⁷

Official action was taken by the Philadelphia Classis, according to Dr. Charles E. Schaeffer. He reports that "at various times the Classis expressed itself against promiscuous dances and balls, also on the subject of loose marriage and divorce."³⁸

Even our Society of Inquiry of the Theological Seminary condemned dancing. A debate was held on January 13, 1862, on the subject, "Resolved, That a Christian may engage in dancing." One may conjecture the probable response to such a question at our Seminary 92 years later! Today the students would probably vote in the majority that the Christian could engage in dancing. Not so with our brethren of 1862! The result of the debate was, "UNANIMOUSLY IN THE NEGATIVE."³⁹

One of the most interesting pieces of literature, opposing the dance and its devotees, is a sermon by Rev. J. F. Mesick. While pastor of the Salem German Reformed Church in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Rev. Mr. Mesick

37. *Ibid.*, 4, p. 57.

38. Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

39. *Minutes of the Society of Inquiry* (Reformed Seminary, Lancaster), 3, No. 562.

preached a sermon at the evening service on March 8, 1846, entitled, "A Discourse on the Evils of Dancing." His text was Romans 12: 3—"Be not conformed to this world." His sermon contained two main points: (1) the necessity of non-conformity to the world; and (2) the facts proving that dancing is an act of conformity to the world. It must be said that this sermon was so well received by the congregation that Mr. Mesick was asked to allow the sermon to be printed in pamphlet form. The vestry of Salem Church financed its printing in order that they might distribute it in Sabbath Schools and to the votaries of the dance.

The vestry had this to say:

Harrisburg
March 11, A.D. 1846

Rev. John F. Mesick
Dear Sir:

On last Sabbath evening, 8th inst., you preached a sermon to our congregation on "The Evils of Dancing." As this is a custom which is in much practice even by those who consider themselves patterns in society, and, who generally comprise the youth, and say that it is an innocent amusement. We would esteem it as a favor if you would furnish us with a copy thereof for publication that it may be circulated in our Sabbath Schools, among the votaries of dancing, the parents and friends of those who have been assenting to it, in the hope that they might read it and learn its evil consequences, and abstain from its practice thereafter, and be satisfied that its use is not in character with the present age, whatever may have seemingly commended it in former days.

At the conclusion the 12 members of the vestry signed their names. In a letter to the vestry, Rev. Mr. Mesick stated that the sermon had been prepared as part of his regular work and, therefore, had not the refinements necessary for publication, but he was willing for them to publish the sermon.

In the introduction to his sermon Mesick points out that, "We take our ground boldly on this portion of Scripture, and assert that the fashionable amusement of dancing is contrary to the *spirit* and *aim* of the Gospel and, therefore, is opposed to the revealed will of God."

He goes on to expound upon his text in a very capable manner. He spends two pages on his exposition of the text and then launches into the second point which is, of course, the main part of the sermon.

He has three main points through which he shows the true depravity of dancing and the reasons why Christians should not engage in it. In the first place, he contends that even if dancing could be proven to be "a *healthful amusement*, the position assumed by the text would exclude it from the recreation of those who love and obey God, imposing on them the obligation to refrain from it, and to resort to other means of exercise, to which no valid objection could be made."

Under this first point he proceeds to show that the dance is not healthful because of the time and environment of the dances. He speaks of the late night hours as being unhealthful, and brings in the familiar refrain of the poor young lady, dressed in clothes fit only for the warmest day of summer, who goes out in the cold night air to the dance. While there, she becomes overheated from the strenuous

exercise, her pores open, and then she goes out in the cold night air again and dies of consumption.

Mr. Mesick's second point states, "The position assumed by the text would exclude dancing from the list of Christian diversions, even if it could be shown *that it is innocent in itself.*" To illustrate this point he says,

Persons on whose judgment we rely with great confidence in matters of this sort . . . (say) "that the nature of the amusement itself, even in its least exceptionable forms and in limited exercise, is such that it has a tendency to inflame passion, to poison virtue, to endanger purity, and to lead on to gross and deadly evils."

He then goes on to show that modern dancing is a gay and guilty pleasure and that it has no warrant from the Bible. He describes the religious dances held in the Bible but points out that none of these were promiscuous dances, nor were they ever practiced at night.

From his Biblical illustration he moves on to the nations where dancing is most popular. He cites France, Italy, and Spain as the worst of nations in this regard. He tells how in those countries it is equally consistent for the people to go to the House of God in the morning of the Sabbath and then to the bull ring or the dance in the public gardens after lunch.

In England the chief patrons of the dance are their card-playing, theatre-going, and horse-racing aristocracy; who are indebted to their purse and to their title for their standing in society; who are too indolent generally to cultivate their minds; and who are seldom capable of gaining distinction, except by extravagance and debauchery. In these *higher circles* no man is deemed respectable who cannot "trip it on the light fantastic toe." . . . Says a writer of this class: "He must be a desperate gnat-strainer who gives and goes to dances and yet objects to cards. The strictest Pharisee in the land, indeed, *could find no argument against it.*"

After so thoroughly blasting other nations, he turns the attention of the reader to America. He blasts the fact that dancing is an import from the luxuries of Europe. He then takes a swipe at the dancing master who teaches little children to dance.

In conclusion of this second point, Mesick quotes Miss Beecher whom he respects highly. "In the fifteen years during which she had the care of young ladies, she affirms she has *never known any case* where learning this art, and following the amusement, did not have a *bad effect*, either on the habits, the intellect, the feelings or the health."

Thirdly, he shows "*that it is an amusement by which the world is distinguished from the kingdom of Jesus Christ.*" He points out that dancing is an education for the world. He states:

No one ever yet adopted the absurd idea that it was the substitute for Faith and Repentance; that it was a means of recommendation to God; or that it was an accomplishment for the employment of Heaven. No one ever yet expected that a revival of religion would commence in a ball room; or that thoughtless sinners would be converted by going to a cotillion. . . . Dancing, so far from being a means of Grace, is a part of a

counter system of means; devised by the God-forgetting, pleasure-seeking multitude, to exclude their Maker from their minds and from his own world.

As if what has been said is not enough to convince his readers that dancing is evil and should, therefore, be shunned, Mesick goes on to clinch his argument by telling his people that those who engage in such pleasures will surely go to Hell. He says:

The practice of this amusement is altogether a worldly matter. Its obvious tendency is to keep dying sinners from thinking of the salvation of their souls, by pre-occupying their time and attention with earthly delights, and by tempting them to cast off fear and to restrain prayer. . . . No other measure is needed on the part of the God of this world, than to keep the votaries of pleasure engaged in vain amusements, to insure their destruction in Hell. The more alluring this tempting bait is to their carnal taste, the more certainly will they become a prey to the great enemy of souls. They are condemned already because they believe not. . . . There is but a step between them and death. The next hour spent by them in such frivolous enjoyment may be their last.

He draws his argument to a close by listing the ways in which the "dancing professor of religion" does harm by engaging in the evil amusement. ". . . he not only destroys himself but does immense injury to the souls of unconverted men; gives offense to his brethren in the Church; . . . by his inconsistent example, paralyzes the energies of the Church; . . . robs the Church of the benefit of his services."

In his conclusion, Rev. Mr. Mesick speaks of the day when the devotee of the dance will die.

When this event arrives, the votary of pleasure will turn pale with terror. He will beg for life. The absorbing inquiry will be, "What must I do to be saved?" But then, oh! how horrible the thought—it may be too late. Unconverted sinners flee these scenes of guilty pleasure as the Gates of Perdition. Prepare without delay to meet thy God. Let the golden moments of Life's short day be consecrated to Prayer, to Repentance, and to Faith in Jesus. Then, too, mayest thou ascend at death to that bright and better world, where the Saints forever reign, and where from before the light of God's countenance, sin, darkness, and sorrow flee away, and where the soul is filled with a joy unspeakable and full of glory.⁴⁰

ON SABBATH BREAKING

A Sabbath well spent,
Brings a week of content,
With health for the toils of tomorrow;
But a Sabbath profaned,
Whatso'er may be gained,
Is a certain forerunner of sorrow.⁴¹

Like so many poems published in *The Guardian*, there is no author given for this piece. The beloved poet who penned "Jesus I Live to Thee" printed many of his own

40. John F. Mesick, *A Discourse on the Evils of Dancing* (Harrisburg, 1846), p. 1-16.

41. *The Guardian*, 8, p. 239.

poems in *The Guardian*. Frequently a poem would be reprinted in a later number with a notation, "By the Editor." Not so with the above. However, this poem does express very well Harbaugh's attitude toward those who break the Sabbath.

Frequently in his earlier ministry at Lewisburg, Harbaugh mentioned the titles and topics of his sermons. One of the more frequent topics concerned the proper observance of the Sabbath. He himself observed the Sabbath very strictly, and when traveling to his home at Chambersburg, he would stay over for the week-end wherever he was on Saturday night. He not only refused to travel himself on Sunday except, of course, for preaching, but he also roundly condemned anyone else who did travel on Sunday. He criticized Jenny Lind for traveling from Harrisburg to Lancaster by train on the Sabbath. Her Sunday traveling was one of the main reasons for his opposition to her performances in Lancaster. The other reasons will be discussed in a later section.

In *The Guardian* Harbaugh printed accounts of drownings on the Sabbath, boats run aground, boiler explosions in the steam packets, and train wrecks which occurred on the Sabbath. Each and every accident was, for Harbaugh, an act of divine providence. God was showing forth his judgment on these people who had profaned his holy day! A typical example of how he treated such events was the article in the August, 1853, issue of *The Guardian* on "Sunday Traveling."

We have noticed for sometime past that by far the largest number of accidents—judgments we call them when they take place on the Sabbath—on the railroad near us have happened in the very act of violating the law of the Sabbath. Is it a wonder that God should smash such as dare Him and His authority in the broad light of heaven! What an awful thing it must be to be hurled into the presence of God in the very act of defying His law!⁴²

Harbaugh played up a drowning of a Franklin and Marshall College sophomore who went for a hike with friends one Sabbath afternoon to the Conestoga. He joined them in a swim. Being of the more adventurous type, he ventured out in the deep and then attempted to swim to the other side. He never made it! Harbaugh presents the story in such gruesome detail that the youthful readers cannot help but understand his point. This young fellow had been violating the sacred law of God.

Previously in this thesis, mention was made of Harbaugh's unsuccessful attempt to get the tavern keepers to agree to close on Sunday. They would not hear of such things. Mention was also made of his attacks upon milkmen and the people who bought milk from them on the Sabbath.

Harbaugh frequently wrote on Sabbath observance in other states, countries and cities. In one article he described the indecent behavior of the newly arrived Germans in Cincinnati. These Germans had their beer gardens just as in the old country. They felt nothing amiss about attending church in the morning and drinking beer in the beer garden in the afternoon.

In a comparison of parts of Pennsylvania, he observed:

. . . There is a great difference in the observance

42. *Ibid.*, 4, p. 233.

FAIRS.

ADDRESS TO THE STUDENTS OF MARSHALL COLLEGE, DECEMBER 21, 1843, BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE INSTITUTION.

YOUNG GENTLEMEN:

Notice has been given publicly, that a Fair will be held in this place, on the approaching Christmas. A similar occasion, one year ago, brought the government of the College into collision, to some extent, with a portion of the community, concerned in carrying it forward. It was judged necessary to testify against it, in the presence of the students, for the purpose of discouraging all connection with it, on their part. The system was condemned in a general way, without a particular statement of the grounds on which such judgment rested. Considerable offence was taken with this at

Page from J. W. Nevin's
"Fancy Fairs"

Courtesy: Franklin and Marshall College Library

of the Sabbath. The holy day is much more sacredly kept in the middle portions of the State than it is in the East. One who is a resident of the middle of the State opens his eyes with perfect astonishment when he sees in the towns of Eastern Pennsylvania oyster cellars, beer houses, ice cream shops, etc., all open and thronged on the Sabbath, especially in the evenings.⁴³

And yet, we must not let it be felt that Harbaugh was alone in this anti-Sabbath breaking campaign. The proper use of the Sabbath was frequently mentioned in *The Messenger*, with a plea for ministers to urge their people to observe their holy day in a much more fitting fashion.

Indeed, this was one of the big evils against which William A. Helffrich fought. In his running duel with the hucksters, Helffrich was constantly bothered by their profaning the Sabbath by selling their wares at church functions. He also strove to eliminate the practice of the public houses in his locality selling liquor on the Sabbath.

ON FANCY FAIRS

In 1843 a pamphlet was published in Mercersburg by Marshall College on the subject, "Fancy Fairs." The pamphlet was written by John W. Nevin. It contains an introductory notice by Nevin; an editorial originally published by Nevin in *The Pittsburgh Friend*, May 30, 1833; and an address to the students of the college by the president, J. W. Nevin, on December 21, 1843.

In this pamphlet Dr. Nevin condemns the practice of certain churches whereby they held what we would call church bazaars for the purpose of raising money for the church. The occasion for the address to the students was a fancy fair sponsored by the ladies of the Presbyterian Church in Mercersburg. Dr. Nevin enjoined the students not to attend and gave strong reasons why he objected to these fancy fairs.

In the editorial Nevin avers:

A Modern Fair seems to us objectionable on several grounds. In its own nature it is a purely worldly exhibition, as completely remote from everything that is truly spiritual as is the exhibition of the ball-room itself; and yet it puts in a kind of claim to be looked upon as having a serious and even a religious character.⁴⁴

His second reason for opposing the fancy fairs is that "It is a place where people come together to see and to be seen, under just those circumstances of feeling that make it almost certain they will have their minds dissipated and corrupted rather than made better by their intercourse with others."⁴⁵

His third reason is closely related to the second.

There is something in the public display which ladies particularly make of themselves on these occasions—when they stand forth in their most costly array, with all their light and gaudy merchandise around them, to be gazed upon by every eye, and sported with by every flippant tongue, that may choose to bespeak their attention—something in it, we say, that the soul of a pious female should recoil from, even as it recoils from the public exhibition of the ball-room itself.⁴⁶

The final reason for his opposition to this great evil in the name of religion is ". . . on the score of morality. We refer to the arts and tricks that are employed to get high prices for the articles that are offered for sale."⁴⁷

In his address to the students, Dr. Nevin went even further in his opposition to the fancy fairs. He gave three main reasons why the students should not attend them, and why they were wrong.

1. They are occasions for frivolity, vanity, and dissipation.
2. . . . It involves an improper *exposure* on the part of the ladies themselves who conduct these sales.
3. But the crowning objection . . . they always partake of the character of a religious *farce*. If they presented themselves honestly to the world . . . as occasions for light enjoyment and merrymaking, the case would be entitled to more indulgence. A ball or common frolic, in this respect, carries a more honest aspect.⁴⁸

But then Dr. Nevin brought the subject close to home.

44. John W. Nevin, *Fancy Fairs* (Mercersburg, 1843), p. 6.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

43. *Ibid.*, 2, p. 227.

He proceeded to bring in the evils which the fancy fairs have upon the general college routine.

A Fair here has a direct tendency to interfere with order and good government in the College. . . . It produces excitement and dissipation. This was the case a year ago . . . the Faculty could easily enough remark that a bad influence was created by it, that lasted for weeks. It endangered the interests of order and right feeling in the College, more than any other occasion we were called to encounter, the whole year.⁴⁹

Evidently Dr. Nevin had been criticized by some of the townfolk for "butting in" to the business of the Presbyterian Church when he was a member of the Reformed Church. He defended himself by saying,

If a dozen of persons belonging to the Methodist Church should exert themselves to establish a circus in the place, it would be asking too much to require that I should be silent with regard to it, because forsooth I belong to a different denomination. The Fair concerns the village and the Institutions, full as much as any particular Church.⁵⁰

Thus it was that Dr. Nevin attacked the fancy fairs. But he was not alone in his attack. His former student, Henry Harbaugh, had his word to say about them. Twice he mentions fairs in his diary, and both times he roundly condemns them. On July 4, 1844, he addressed a Sabbath School celebration, attended by from five to six hundred children. "I spoke to the teachers—motives to activity as a 'fight' and a 'fair' close together in two days. One about as respectable as the other—shame—dark ages—indulgences, etc."

Five years later to the day Harbaugh once again mentions a fair. "Wednesday, July 4, 1849: There is a Fair today by the Ladies of the Presbyterian Church! Just as well a Lottery or some other gambling establishment. And all this in the name of religion! A good deal of drunkenness."

Perhaps the continuance of church suppers, bazaars, white elephant sales, etc., in some sections of our church is due to the fact that more ministers have not been as willing to take such stands as were Nevin and Harbaugh.

ON THE THEATER

The theater from the very first
The favorite haunt of sin: though honest men,
Some very honest, wise and worthy men,
Maintained it might be turned to good account;
And so perhaps it might but never was.
And now such things are acted there as make
The devil blush; and from the neighborhood,
Angels and holy men, trembling, retired.⁵¹

Such is the sentiment of the editor of *The Guardian* toward the theater. Harbaugh consistently spoke out against the theater in his preaching and in his magazine. However, he was not alone.

In *The Messenger* of Wednesday, February 22, 1837, there appeared an article entitled, "Women at Theatres." The author of the piece cried out against Christian women abetting the theater by attending. He said:

It is amazing to think that women who pretend

to decency and reputation, whose brightest ornament ought to be modesty, should continue to abet, by their presence, so much unchastity as is to be found in a theater. How few plays are acted which a modest woman can see, consistently with decency in every part? . . . No woman of reputation, much less of piety, who has been ten times in a playhouse, durst repeat in company all she heard there.⁵²

In 1851 Henry Harbaugh cried out in indignation over the singing tour of the very popular Jenny Lind. He was indignant because her manager, the great "There's a Sucker Born Every Minute" P. T. Barnum, claimed things for Jenny that were not true. In the big blow-up which Barnum gave Jenny Lind before she took America by storm, he promised that she would not sing on Sundays, unless in a church, and that she would not sing in theaters. In his exposure of the "humbug" practiced by Barnum and his client, Harbaugh said:

It will be remembered that when Jenny Lind first came to this country it was particularly, and distinctly, and carefully announced that she positively refused to sing in a theater—that the whole affair was to be kept distinct from all the vain show of city amusements—that she herself would lend her talents and influence only at what was of good report and so on. . . . But were these professions kept and carried out? Alas! as old Humphrey would say, the thing began piously, but it did not end there. Jenny did sing in a theater *after a while*. She did it in Baltimore. What else? *On Sabbath, October 16, Jenny and her whole troupe came piously down the Central Railroad into Harrisburg!* . . . Both singing in theaters and traveling on the Sabbath might have been mourned over in patience, and endured with comparative charity; but when these violations have been preceded by those great *public professions* which we all recollect *were* made, we have a right, as a Christian, to complain. We have been deceived, and we feel the wound.⁵³

In an unsigned article in the February, 1855, issue of *The Guardian*, the editor printed an even more devastating article against the theater than his previous attempts. In this article he speaks of death and the theater in a very different way. The title of the article is "The Manager Is Dead."

"The manager is dead," said a lad to me as I passed the Bowery Theatre this morning. The walls, the pillars . . . were all deeply draped in black, for the manager is dead.

A theater in mourning—a place made for mirth in mourning! Oh, it was a sad sight. . . . There had been frequent deaths there before, and sudden deaths, living deaths, and yet no sign of woe appeared. The young had often entered these walls alive, but when they come out the leprosy of death was upon them.⁵⁴

ON HUMBUG

For most modern readers, "humbug" is merely a word

49. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

51. *The Guardian*, 8, p. 173.

52. *The Messenger*, Feb. 22, 1837.

53. *The Guardian*, 2, pp. 369-371.

54. *Ibid.*, 6, p. 53.

uttered frequently by that unforgettable character, Scrooge, in Dickens' *Christmas Story*. However, the word humbug had a very special meaning for our early Reformed Fathers. And, of all the early fathers of the Reformed Church, no one hated humbug any more than did Henry Harbaugh.

Harbaugh considered "humbug" to be anything not true to the claim made for it. Humbug was masking an impious act with the name of religion in order that the act might be received well.

It was this very thing that caused his biggest troubles with P. T. Barnum and Jenny Lind. The unkept promises of virtue and sobriety forced Harbaugh to flail them again and again in *The Guardian*. In the previous chapter mention was made of his first attack on Barnum and the golden-voiced Jenny Lind. Five years after his initial attack, Harbaugh once again cried out against the humbug of Barnum and Lind. This time he also mentioned another humbug specialist, Louis Kossuth.⁵⁵

However, Harbaugh was not done with Barnum with this article. In a book review in his column, "Notes on Literature," Harbaugh gave a very harsh criticism of Barnum's book, *Confessions of Barnum the Showman*. Harbaugh called the book itself "humbug" and mentioned the fact that it again and again testified to the trickery used by Barnum to swindle the innocent public. His attitude toward the book is thus summed up, "We regard this book as calculated to do much harm. . . . He merits and his book should receive the condemnation of all right-judging minds. The lesson of his life is a bad one. Let all young men who read his book beware of its gilded poison."⁵⁶

Again in *The Guardian*, Harbaugh flailed out against humbug in the form of "Musicales." He describes a group that came to Lancaster to hold singing schools. Free passes were given all the clergy and requests were made that the singing schools be announced from the pulpit. Harbaugh, of course, refused both the free pass and the announcement from the pulpit. Later, because of the big crowds that came to the musicales, the troupe moved to the Fulton Opera House. This, of course, infuriated Harbaugh and moved him to attack the entire scheme.⁵⁷

Another of the humbugs that Harbaugh attacked was false advertising. Several times he implored his fellow editors, and especially the editors of church papers, to be a little more careful of the advertisements they printed. He spent several rather lengthy articles in exposing various humbug advertisements that he had been asked to print. As he did this, he pleaded for a more alert group of editors for the many papers of the country.

In one typical editorial, which strikes out against humbug, Harbaugh exposed an advertisement of "a retired pastor, a Rev. Dagnall, who discovered a secret remedy for nerves." The Rev. Dagnall offered this secret to the nervous sufferers for the price of one dollar. In the conclusion of the article called, "Humbug Turns Pious," Harbaugh says:

We have given the history of this case of humbug not merely to expose it, but also to present it as one of a class, by way of specimen. Whenever the reader sees an advertisement of this kind . . . let him be on guard. There is a trick in it. When, may we ask, will the press, and especially the

religious press, assume a position of proper dignity and honor in relation to all such schemes, seeking victims among an unsuspecting public through their columns. Is it not plainly immoral and sinful to aid such deceivers, by advertising for them?⁵⁸

In another exposé of humbug, Harbaugh presented a series of five different humbug advertisements which had been sent to his desk for publication in *The Guardian*. In each case, Harbaugh pointed out very carefully the trickery behind each of the "cures." Perhaps the biggest factor which he opposed was the printing of these advertisements in the religious press. Second to that was his opposition to using religion as a cloak to mask the true nature and to sell the product.⁵⁹

ON GAMING, GAMBLING, HORSE RACING, AND PRIZE FIGHTING

Of the evils that tempted youth, none seemed worse than that of gambling. The "lead-up" to gambling (gaming) was considered almost as bad by the editor of *The Guardian* and its contributors. "Gaming" is defined as including board games, dominoes, etc. Card playing lies at the same low level as the aforementioned—as does racing and prize fighting. All are products of the barbarous age and, therefore, to be shunned. They incite the mind to things that are unworthy. They provide insufficient motives for achievement. For all these reasons, *The Guardian* conducted an active campaign against them.

In an article entitled, "Prize Contests," by G. H. Johnston, the history of prize contests is given. The author begins with the Greeks, moves to Rome, and then brings the subject to modern times. He states:

During all the ages since, this vile tree of evil has been bearing its legitimate fruits. All the different forms that exhibitions of brutality have assumed, down to our times, have their origin and necessary conditions in a barbarous age. The Prize Ring, the Duel, Horse Racing, the Cock-Pit, Bull-Fights, the Theatre and Circus are all relics of barbarism, whose tendencies are to invert the order of civilization, to blunt man's higher nature, and tarnish a nation's honor! . . . This blot upon civilization and disgrace to a Christian age, the Prize Ring, was conceived in Heathenism . . . and transmitted through the channels of moral corruption and sin! It is neither manly, dignified, nor ennobling. . . . Even the late Prize-Ring exhibition in which two most civilized and influential nations on earth were represented is no evidence against the truth and final triumph of Christianity. It only proves the deep depravity of man.⁶⁰

One of the most terse recordings in Henry Harbaugh's diary occurred on Tuesday, August 15, 1848. He wrote, "A horse race today—in Milton!"

However, it was not prize fights and races alone which caused Harbaugh to cry out on behalf of Christian decency. He also included in his list of prohibited amusements common board games. In an editorial in the March, 1857, issue of *The Guardian* entitled "Gaming," he presents his brief against these vain amusements.

How are Christians to regard the common plays,

55. *Ibid.*, 7, pp. 138-141.

56. *Ibid.*, 6, pp. 63-64.

57. *Ibid.*, 6, pp. 134-143.

58. *Ibid.*, 7, p. 304.

59. *Ibid.*, 10, pp. 47-48.

60. *Ibid.*, 9, pp. 250-252.

such as dominoes, chess, back-gammon, cards, and the whole tribe, by whatever name they are known, for all are in principle the same as to their moral or immoral character? . . . We have seen chess-boards and dominoes in minister's houses, and in the hands of pastor's children, which is an evidence that there are some even of God's commissioned teachers who see no evil in these things. . . . There are hundreds of good Christians who are offended by them, and who regard them as out of place in Christian circles; and for us, if we had no other reason for discountenancing them, we would do it on the ground which the apostle lays down, that if these plays cause my brother to offend, I will keep them out of my house while the world stands.⁶¹

Harbaugh goes on to list several other objections to gaming. He says that one game leads into another. "The boy that learns to love dominoes, will by the same exercise, learn to love cards, and so of the rest."

His next objection to gaming is that it supplied "no Christian want that calls for these plays, or that is satisfied by them." In addition to this, games do not furnish diversion and necessary relaxation to the mind. "There is nothing, except excessive novel-reading, that is more sure to throw the mind into a morbid state."

Harbaugh then proceeds to puncture the argument that chess and related games are a good intellectual discipline by citing instances from his college days to prove that the knowledge of mathematics was not improved by the players of these games. Quite to the contrary, the players of these games "stand at the blackboard . . . like an ox before the mountain; and we have found that those whose mathematical talents were least cultivated by games generally recited most to their credit."

His final objection to gaming is the great waste of time which gaming calls forth from the players. However, Harbaugh does not entirely consider it impossible for the Christian to play the games. He does attach so many strings to his agreement, though, that it makes gaming almost impossible. He closes his arguments with:

Seek the highest. And when you have so improved your mind that you can go no further—and so grown in holiness that you can make no more advance—and so performed all your duties that there are no more claims upon you from God or man—and if then the Saturday evening of your life is not yet at hand, so that you have leisure left—then, provided you have still taste for it, we consent that you shall sit down in the twilight of life's evening and play a game.⁶²

ON THE PURSUIT OF PLEASURE

This is a chapter devoted to the pursuit of pleasure which was held to be entirely opposite to the Christian way of life. Harbaugh especially stressed the fact that the Christian's life was so short—he has so much to do and, therefore, has little time for such folly. Harbaugh had a very definite belief concerning the Christian's stewardship of time. Frequently he printed articles on seconds wasted. Invariably he would add up a second lost here, a minute there, until several days would be lost in the year. As a

result of this waste of time, God was neglected by his children.

It was this very waste of time which prompted Harbaugh to cry out against the pursuit of pleasure. In *The Guardian* he wrote an article entitled, "The Female Votary of Pleasure." In this article he pictured for the reader a typical "female votary of pleasure."

Rising late, the rest of the forenoon as spent in dress and fashion. Then comes a luxurious meal at noon, followed by dullness and slumber. Then the penning of a note, the giving and receiving of a few formal calls, together with the evening party, ends the day.

The pursuit of pleasure in this way is a two-fold evil, and entails upon its votary double sin. Not only does it squander the precious time, talents, and means of the person who pursues it, but it perverts these means of doing good to others, and turns them out of their proper channel.⁶³

A contributor to *The Guardian*, Rev. J. V. Eckert, echoes Harbaugh's attitude toward pleasure and fashion. He wrote an article entitled, "The Crown of Industry." In this article, he shows how studiously many young people avoid industry of any kind. Instead they seek after the vain amusements and pleasures of the world. He tells of a drunkard who, while being hauled off to jail, said, "I am the son of the judge." Whereupon the officer replied, "So much greater the shame."

Mr. Eckert then proceeds to go into the matter of young ladies who "fritter all their sense."

Dancing, idle street promenading, and fashionable folly are substituted by many of them for plain modesty and kitchen exercise. They are permitted by their kind, indulgent mothers to lounge upon the sofa in the calm close parlor during the light of the day. When the invigorating rays of the sun and the balmy air of the morning has ceased to bless the earth, they are encouraged to link the arm of some young lord of creation and spend the dark, dreary hours of night in what they call recreation for health. . . . Little wonder that while the kitchen maiden is elastic, blooming and healthy, many of these fair daughters of folly and fashion are pining away with consumption and hysterical affections. It is not the industry of bacchanalian revelry, thespian exercises, or harlequin buffoonery that we advocate; but the useful diligence of a righteous Bunyan, a benevolent Howard, and enterprising Fulton and Morse.⁶⁴

After this picture of the pleasure pursuers, Eckert points out how men of achievement got to their places of honor by hard work. They were industrious and hence received the coveted prize. Their good name was earned by hard work.

In his conclusion, Rev. Mr. Eckert returns to the pursuer of pleasure and points out the result of such a life. He lists several negative goals for the young ladies, and tells them how they can achieve these lesser goals.

If a young lady wishes to fit herself only for the follies of the night, just let her deny herself the activity of day and doubt that she was created

61 *Ibid.*, 8, p. 90.

62 *Ibid.*, 8, p. 91.

63 *Ibid.*, 2, pp. 50-51.

64 *Ibid.*, 8, pp. 153-154.

for something better. If she wishes to paralyze her nerves and weaken her mind, just let her live idle and doat and weep over novels. If she wishes to get a light-minded, foppish husband, just let her never be seen in the kitchen, but always visiting, and suppose that honest young men have no brains.⁶⁵

In the November, 1853, issue of *The Guardian*, a small article appeared concerning divorcees. It was entitled, "A Worm in the Bud." The causes listed for the high number of divorcees one hundred years ago were "strong drink, idleness, unbridled tongue, and novels."⁶⁶

Not content with merely castigating the reading of novels, the editor of *The Guardian* printed a little "filler" in the September, 1851, issue of "Novel Reading." In this account he lists five results of novel reading. They are:

1. Produces insanity in many cases.
2. Wastes much precious time.
3. Hardens and sours the heart.
4. Produces an aversion to the exercise of religious affections.
5. Leads to disappointment and sorrow.⁶⁷

It will be remembered that one of the reasons for Nevin's opposing fancy fairs was the public display brought about by these occasions. This public display of the female advocate of pleasure was nothing more than a desire to see and be seen. She naturally would be most concerned that she was dressed in the height of fashion for all such occasions.

Vain amusements were criticized by another contributor to *The Guardian*, the Rev. John Johnson. In this article on "The Evils of Vain Amusements" in the March, 1857, issue, the author speaks of the great evil of wasted time in the house of mirth. While the votary of pleasure is in the midst of his pleasure seeking, there is no time for solemn reflection. "The thought of death seldom enters the ball room or any other place of amusement; and yet all who are in the house of mirth are liable from these places to be ushered into the presence of God."⁶⁸

He then sets forth the question so often asked by these pursuers of pleasure. "But why . . . would you wish to deprive us of these innocent amusements? I answer, because the Bible teaches men, and it teaches you, that all these pleasures and amusements belong to the work of the flesh; and . . . they who do these things shall not inherit the kingdom of God."⁶⁹

His conclusion drives the message home to the reader by mentioning the reward coming to the wicked and to the just. He says:

Ye votaries of pleasure, pause and consider these things. You may be ready perhaps to ask the question: must I part with all these things upon which my heart and affections are now centered? I answer, yes, if you would have a seat at the right hand of God. Oh, then, as you anticipate with exulting feelings the prospect and pleasure of life, may you learn to moderate your earthly expectations, and seek a better and more abiding substance in Heaven.⁷⁰

Not willing to merely criticize adults at their pursuit of pleasure, Rev. Benjamin Bausman also struck a blow at children's parties. He was, perhaps, trying to nip the worm in the bud before it became full bloom. In the March, 1854, issue of *The Guardian*, he presented an article for the parents, "Golden Thoughts for Parents." In this article he said:

Another very injudicious custom is that of giving parties to children. . . . Here all their companions are formally invited as guests, and treated with all the lavish extravagance of a soiree. . . . These parties are excellent schools of levity and fantastic flourishes. They furnish these little ones with material for silly gossip, with which they anticipate the folly of riper years.⁷¹

Closely connected to the pursuit of pleasure and the opposition to it by Harbaugh and his colleagues was the matter of special days. Holidays were frequently sore spots. On these occasions the unbridled spirits of certain members of the citizenry would take hold. Revelry, drunkenness, and general horse-play surrounded many of the holidays. In Harbaugh's diary on June 18, 1851, it is recorded, "Was called upon to contribute to the firing of cannon, etc. etc. for 4th of July. Declined such folly." In his earlier ministry at Lewisburg, Harbaugh was troubled by circuses and shows on the Fourth of July. Mention was made in a previous section of Harbaugh's attitude toward circuses and shows.

However, other special days were bothersome as well. Harbaugh was greatly concerned over the manner in which his young friends celebrated Christmas. Frequently he put little notes in his December issues of *The Guardian* admonishing his readers to worship the Lord on the day of His birth. He pleads for the observance of this day among Christian families.

Harbaugh was not alone in this, either. In *The Weekly Messenger of the German Reformed Church* of December 23, 1835, there appeared an article, "Christmas Holy Days," by Z. In this article the question was asked,

Reader! how do you purpose to celebrate the approaching "feast of the Lord?" Will you frequent the palaces of festivity and mirth? — the house of gambling and debauchery? — the scenes of unhallowed gaiety, the drunken revel, and the midnight brawl? . . . If in your projected festivity and rejoicing, holiday making and amusement, there be anything which shall keep you from the Lord's sanctuary, or from his table, O, pause before you resolve to indulge it. Add not another to the long catalogue of your still unpardoned sins.⁷²

Such an attitude toward Christmas was shared by the father of J. H. Dubbs, the beloved professor of Franklin and Marshall College. In his article, "Formative Influences," which was printed in *The College Student*, Dubbs tells of his youth in a Reformed parsonage. While speaking of the celebration of Christmas, Dubbs mentions, "There was some horse-play on Christmas Eve among the young folks of the neighborhood; but, as it was known that my father did not approve of it, we were generally left alone."⁷³

65. *Ibid.*, 8, p. 155.

66. *Ibid.*, 5, p. 336.

67. *Ibid.*, 2, p. 267.

68. *Ibid.*, 8, p. 88.

69. *Ibid.*, 8, p. 88.

70. *Ibid.*, 8, p. 89.

71. *Ibid.*, 5, p. 82.

72. *The Messenger*, Dec. 23, 1836, p. 71.

73. Dubbs, *op cit.*, p. 158.

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