THE DRESS OF THE PLAIN PEOPLE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

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THE DRESS OF THE PLAIN PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA

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THE DRESS OF THE PLAIN PEOPLE
(IN PARTICULAR, THE AMISH OF PENNSYLVANIA)

PART ONE

Introduction

> *If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.*
>
> *(Ref. 1)*

So Christ's followers are seen to be distinctly separate from the world, and the people of God are referred to as 'a peculiar people', 'strangers' and 'pilgrims'. One group of people who have often had this, and more said about them are the 'plain people'. Although diverse in background, these people - Amish, Mennonites and Brethren, collectively are known as plain people because they believe ornaments and finery are contrary to biblical principle.

For these people, who feel that how one lives reflects one's faith, clothing is simply another expression of their deepest convictions. They didn't set out to look odd; they purposed instead to practise humility, simplicity, nonconformity and modesty. They avoid all ostentation and keep competition at a minimum by insisting on a uniform simple dress. (See Fig.1)

Because they are otherwise quiet and unobtrusive, the plain people's dress utters volumes about them, and they have become the subject of much interest since the recent film 'Witness' which portrays a somewhat idealistic view of Amish life.

Lancaster Mennonite Conference	11,931
Old Order Amish	5,500
Old Order Mennonites (Wenger)	2,129
Old Order Mennonites (Horning)	2,450
Brethren in Christ	2,027
Atlantic Coast Mennonite Conference	1,599
Eastern Pennsylvania Mennonite Church	808
United Zion Church	755
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1. The Origins of the Plain People

Wherefore come out from among them and be ye separate saith the Lord.
(Ref.2)

In the midst of religious and social upheaval brought about by the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth century Europe, a group who called themselves Brethren formed a fellowship. They were nicknamed Anabaptists (which means 'rebaptizers') and became severely persecuted by both the Church of Rome and the Reformers because they represented a third option: a belief that the church should be a group of voluntary adults, baptized upon confession of faith, and like the early Christian Church, separated from the world and the state.

The Brethren movement spread quickly and the Anabaptists were put to death by the thousands; many of the leaders were dead within a few years. What began among educated, urban radicals, became a rural peasant movement, as the believers fled to the caves and mountains of Switzerland and South Germany to survive.

The Anabaptists were not a leaderless group, but they stressed the priesthood of all believers, and because so many of the able leaders were martyred so rapidly, no one leader emerged apart from Menno Simons, a Catholic priest from Holland, who joined the movement in 1536. His moderate leadership and prolific writings did so much to unify the scattered Anabaptists that they soon became known as 'Mennonites'. If one believes that the church consists of adults who voluntarily commit themselves to the fellowship and discipline of their fellow believers, then the purity of the church becomes very important.

Fig. 3

2. The New Puritanism

In 1693, a young Swiss Mennonite named Jacob Amman, who felt the church was losing its purity broke with his brethren and formed a new Christian fellowship whose followers were the Amish.

The Amish and Mennonites have split many times. Almost always the concern has involved the purity and faithfulness of the fellowship, and generally, the Amish groups today consider themselves conservative cousins of the Mennonites. There are Mennonites of many races and tongues throughout the world, while the Amish live mainly in the United States, though some groups are found in Canada, Guatemala, Belize and other countries.

Interestingly, only thirty Amish people emigrated to the States originally: today there are thousands scattered across the continent, the largest contingent of which are living in the State of Pennsylvania. (See Fig. 2).

During last summer, I visited Lancaster County in Pennsylvania in order to find out more about these people. Because my thesis deals with the clothing worn by the plain people, I have reserved my observations of the Pennsylvania Amish for my conclusion.

3. Clothing Which Intentionally Separates and Purposely Identifies the Wearer

> *Man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart.*
>
> *(Ref. 3)*

The film 'Witness' aroused my interest in the Amish people, and what struck me particularly was their style of dress. It was not so much that the clothes were wonderfully designed (see Fig.3) (because they were not), as the fact that they represented a way of life very unlike our own, and one which, in a different way,

DU CÔTÉ DES AMISH :

LE RETOUR A LA SIMPLICITE

Hommes de la terre et des grands espaces, les Amish de Pennsylvanie ont l'âme simple et le Bon Dieu marche à leurs côtés. Héros de « Witness », le dernier film de Peter Weir, ils ont le goût des matières brutes et aiment la discrétion dans l'apparence...

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

and for different reasons, partly echoes the lifestyle for which we are striving now. (See Fig. 4).

Certainly, as regards fashion, the cut of clothes has generally mirrored the mood of the times. When religious values are dominant, dress tends to enshroud the figure in a relatively loose garment of simple design. The enveloping tunics, wimples and head veils of the early Gothic period in Medieval times were carried on in the habits of Catholic nuns. The rise of Puritanism in England during the early seventeenth century stripped clothing of its ornamentation, and brought the sober, drab costume that spread to America in the dress of the early colonists. (See Fig. 5). The same influence persists today in the dress of the Amish and Mennonites.

Now in the 1980s, practicality and simplicity of line are major features in the work of top fashion designers the world over, synonomous perhaps with the new type of puritanism evident in our society, (see Fig. 6), partly due to the increasing concern of the killer AIDS disease. Interestingly, since 'Witness' was released in this country, three of our leading fashion designers have based collections on the Amish people; John Rocha, Mairaid Whisker and Paul Costelloe have used the Amish as inspiration for their personal portrayal of Irish fashion design in the 80s.

Using predominantly black and white, they, individually, produced collections of simply designed, Ready-to-Wear garments, which looked comfortable and contemporary, yet had a certain old world charm, symbolic of the return to morality within our society. (See Fig. 7).

Religion has always played a large part in Irish life, and I think that, indirectly, the fact that the Amish style of dress has been so influential in dictating trends to our designers, is a reflection of how strong a hold religion has on us, in that the Amish clothes represented a very moral religious society.

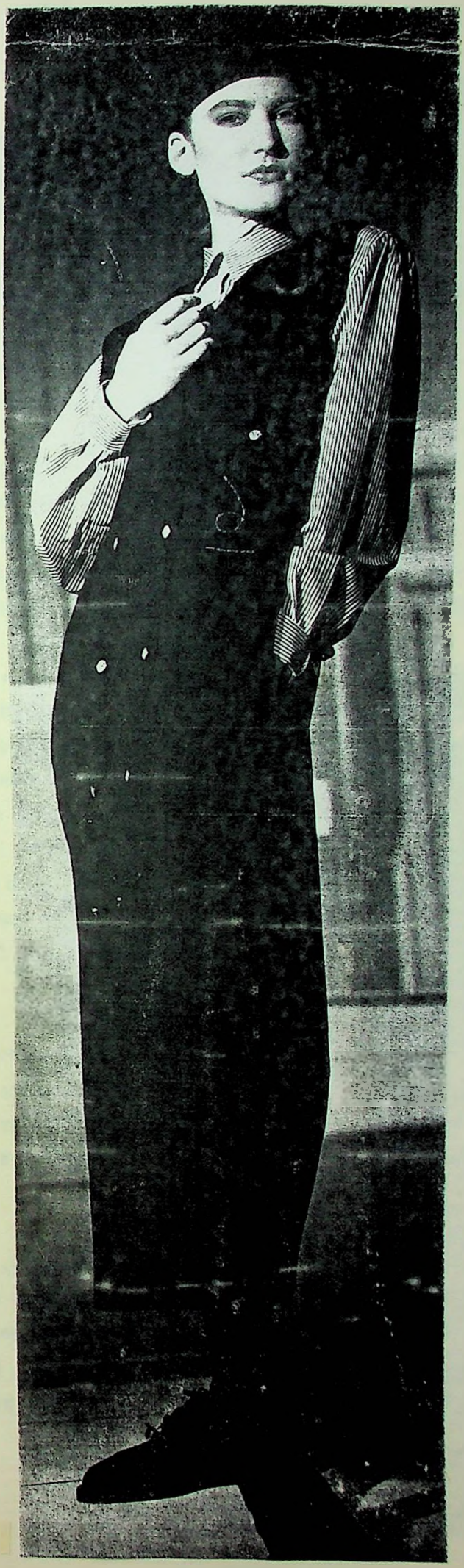
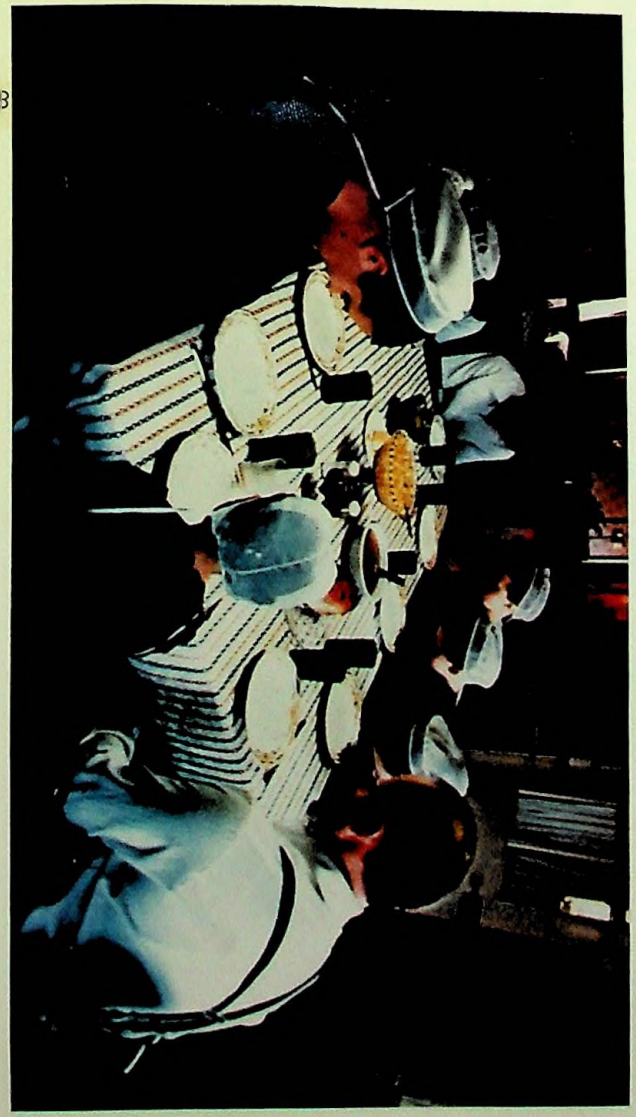


Fig. 6

Like mother like daughter – The small girl here is Maraid's daughter India. A Puritan inspired pinafore in wool with a big collared white blouse. And left, severe informality for a wool coat.

Fig. 7

Fig. 8



The Irish designers felt that they had chosen a them to which Irish people could relate.

4. The Religious Basis for Plain Clothing

> *Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father but of the world. And the world passeth away and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth forever.*
>
> *(Ref. 4)*

Dress is not the main issue for most plain people, but it serves as an indication of their faith both for themselves and for the rest of the world. They do not separate doctrine from daily living, believing that a true follower of Christ will be recognized not only by conduct and speech, but also by appearance. (See Fig. 8).

The plain people look different because they believe God's people should be distinctly separate from the surrounding world. The values and beliefs of a committed Christian are seen as radically opposed to those of the unconverted masses. They feel the world is controlled largely by Satan and the forces of evil. And so, they reason, conformity to the fads and fashions of popular society indicates identity with the world's system.

The plain people insist that the church, guided by the word of God and not the dictates of fashion, should decide what a Christian should wear. They point out that the fashion centres have not been known for their righteousness. Economically, they judge the fashion industry to be a deceitful, greedy force. Keeping up with the latest styles is seen as wasteful, planned obsolescence.

To many plain people, the most important value of distinctive

Fig. 9

dress is its usefulness in identifying the community of believers. Plain dress gives the wearer a sense of belonging and a feeling of kinship with brothers and sisters in the faith. (See Fig. 9) By wearing distinctive garb, plain people are constantly conscious of being outwardly identified as Christians and so, ideally they seek to make their conduct consistent with their dress.

Nearly every plain church has arrived at some kind of standard to govern the dress of its members. Some rules are spelled out specifically, while others are general and subject to individual interpretation, though there is usually an understanding of what is appropriate and what is not - even in the inexplicit areas. Some of the prescribed modes might not be of obvious religious significance. They are sacred, not because of their intrinisc value, but because they have become symbols of identity for the group. These symbols include such things as tie strings on women's caps, peplums on the back of dresses, and hooks and eyes on men's coats, all of which I will deal with at a later stage.

4.1 Nonconformity

> *And be not conformed to this world but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind.*
>
> *(Ref. 5)*

Although for most plain people dress is rather a minor issue in their total belief system, they do not take lightly the importance of nonconformed attire. Plain churches are convinced that modest, simple dress is essential to real Christian discipleship and must be maintained and they believe that nonconformity is a New Testament principle with direct implications for their clothing. Plain Christians regard the world as a hostile environment for the true believer. They do not expect to receive the approval of the larger society and are convinced that scripture cautions against the consequences of worldly enjoyment. Ironic

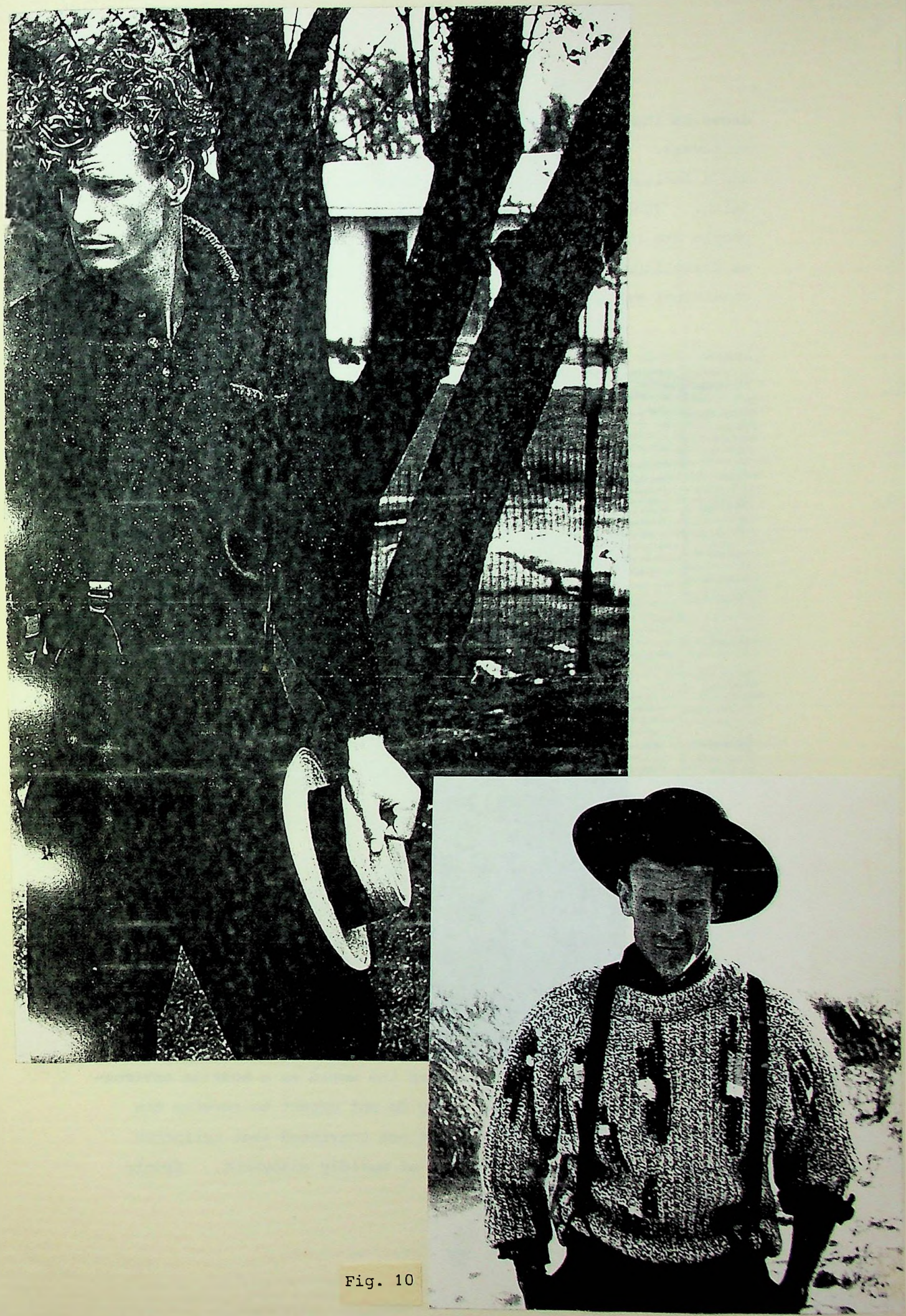


Fig. 10

then, that in an age when nonconformity is the height of fashion, the plain people are influencing that very evil which they have so strongly opposed down through the centuries, and the fact that they are so much against fashion, somehow makes them very fashionable. (See Fig. 10). The film 'Witness' helped to promote the Amish in such a way that it attached to them a certain glamour which they did not want, and, as a result, the film has been widely condemned by the Amish community.

4,2 Humility

> *Yea, all of you be subject one to another, and be clothed in humility: for God resisteth the proud and giveth grace to the humble.*
>
> *(Ref. 6)*

Humility is also a central theme for the plain people, and again, the teaching is rooted in scripture. From the earliest times, written statements by these people have repeatedly warned against the evil of pride. Plain people believe strongly that Christians should all be on one social level, and they consider the displaying of wealth through outward appearance an overt expression of pride. They reason that a uniform plain dress avoids this evil.

4.3 Modesty

> *That thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear.*
>
> *(Ref. 7)*

Modesty is seen as an important Christian virtue which naturally accompanies humility. The necessity of adequate clothing appears in the very beginning of the Bible, where sin made Adam and Eve ashamed of their nakedness. Sincere, plain people wish to conceal the forms of their bodies, rather than reveal them. (See Fig. 11). There is a story told of an Amish man, riding in his buggy, who, when the vehicle came to a stop, noticed a scantily clad woman standing on the pavement. Seething

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

in righteous indignation, the old man yelled,

> *You're going to Hell, and you're going to take a lot of men with you.*
>
> *(Ref. 8)*

Most plain people discipline themselves to be quiet in their behaviour and not given to such outbursts. The man's sentiments do, however, reflect the plain people's strong underlying feelings about modesty in dress. Western society has become increasingly more permissive in the exposure of flesh. The plain people believe modesty requires more than being a little more covered than is currently socially acceptable. They contend that modesty should not be relative. To avoid the difficulty of swimsuits, most plain churches prohibit mixed bathing of any kind. An occasional dip in a secluded spot by a group of the same sex is allowed.

From scripture, the plain people learn that their dress should be modest, simple and economical, and that jewellery (including wedding rings) and elaborate hairdos are inappropriate for the Christian. By a lack of emphasis on external beauty, the plain people believe the inner virtue of the heart can shine through. (See Fig. 12). They also feel that if one's mind is not preoccupied with beautifying one's body, a person can be free to do the Lord's work.

Plain people do, however, appreciate physical beauty. They admire pure, natural beauty - it is the glamour that comes from a bottle which they regard as cheap, artificial and tawdry. Cosmetics of all varieties and degrees are seen as needless vanities. Outward attractiveness, not accompanied by a

meek and quiet spirit

is believed to be of little value, even harmful. (See Fig. 13)

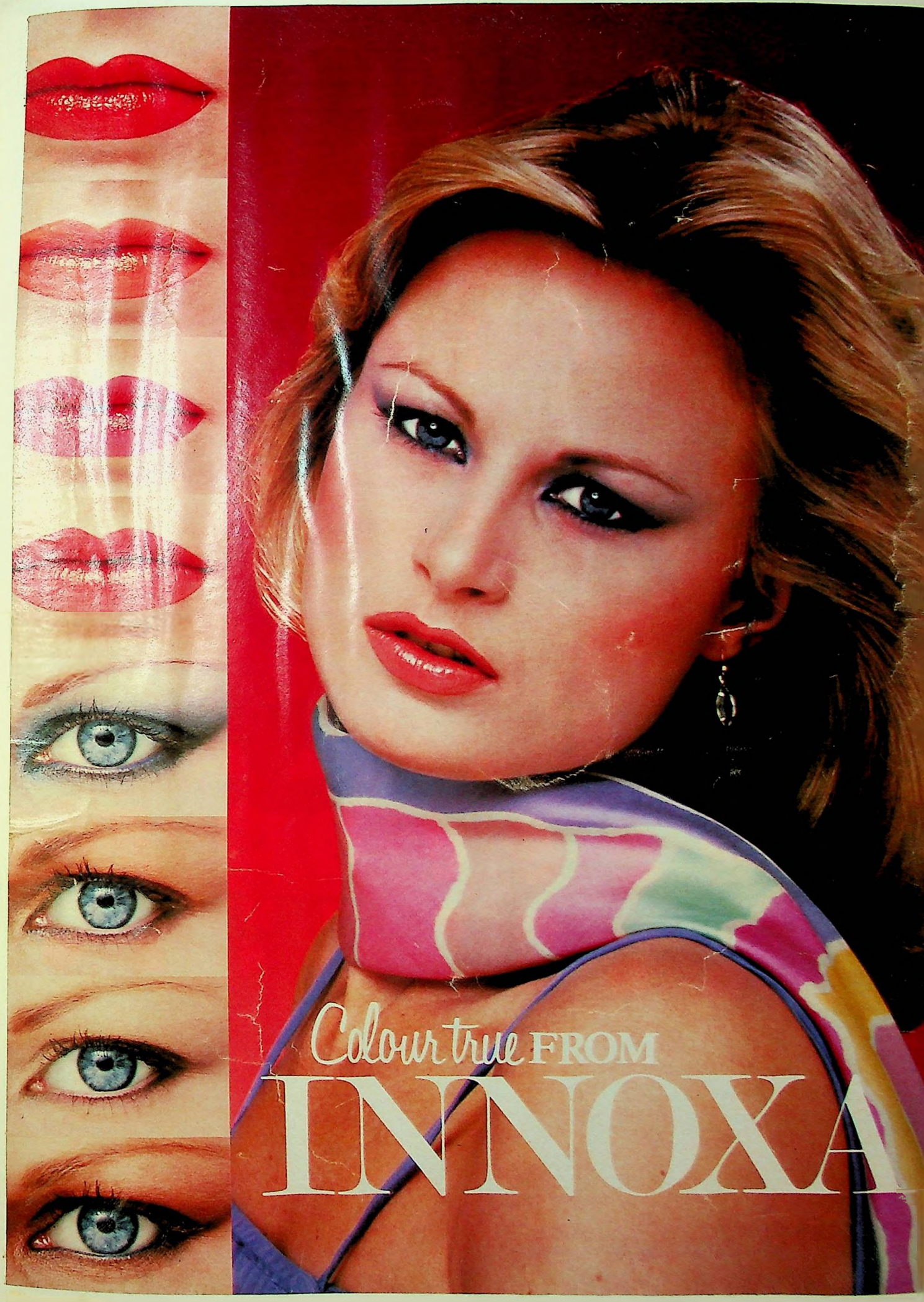


Fig. 13

5. The Origins of Plain Dress

> *I will punish the princes, and the king's children, and all such as are clothed with strange apparel.*
> *(Ref. 9)*

Several scholars have theorized that plain dress is an adaptation of styles that were formerly fashionable or were carried on from peasant clothing (which also originated from once-fashionable styles). It is often explained that the various plain groups merely latched on to certain items of apparel, not of their own design, and 'froze' them into a static religious costume.

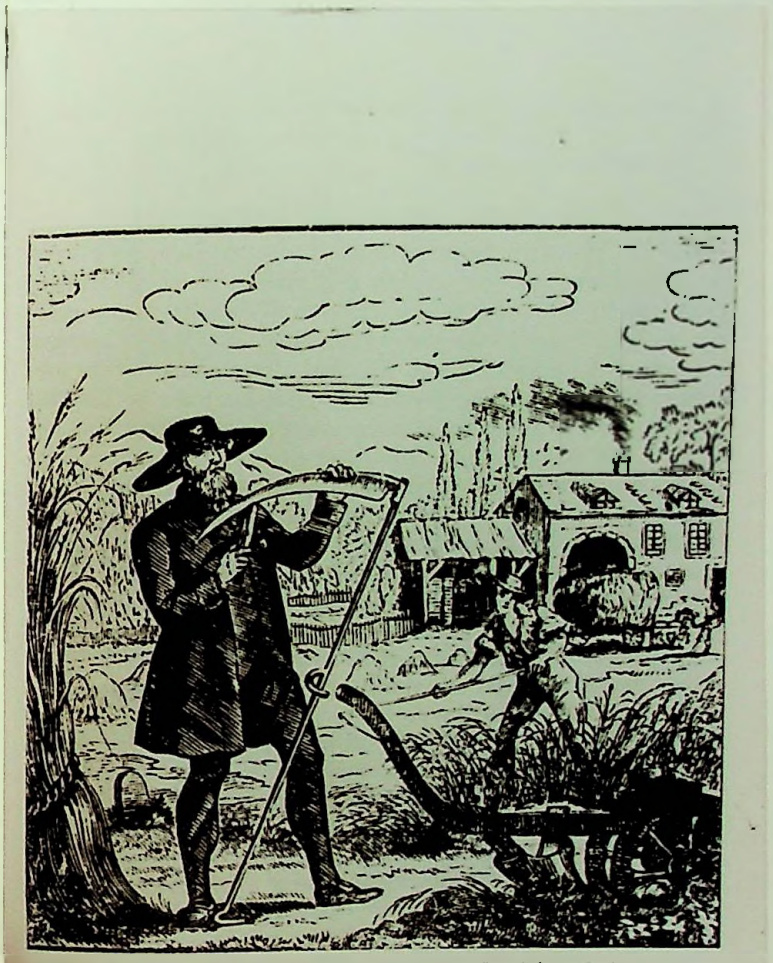
5.1 Early Anabaptist Dress

The early Anabaptists prescribed no special garb for their followers; a distinctive cut of clothing is thought to have been a comparatively recent development. Though there is an element of truth in these suppositions, they are misleading in that they do not explain why certain types of clothing were accepted and others rejected.

The documentary evidence related to early Anabaptist dress is rather fragmentary, but, taken as a whole, can lead to certain conclusions concerning the appearance of these first plain people. In Switzerland, from the very beginning of the Anabaptist movement in 1525 down to the mid-19th century, there are numerous references to the distinctive dress of these people. In 1568, at an international gathering of Anabaptists, a list of directives was drawn up:

> *Article 20. Tailors and seamstresses shall hold to the plain and simple style, and shall stay by the present form of our regulation concerning our apparel, and make nothing for pride's sake.*
> *(Ref. 11)*

Memno Simons (after whom the Mennonites are named) had a great



An Anabaptist (probably Amish) farmer from an 1841 French farmer's almanac.

Fig. 14

deal to say about ostentatious dress, and in condemning hypocrites he says,

> *They say that they believe, and yet alas, there are no limits or bonds to their accursed haughtiness, foolish pride and pomp; they parade in silks, velvet, costly clothes, gold rings, chains, silver belts, pins and buttons, curiously adorned shirts, shawls, collars, veils, aprons, velvet shoes, slippers, and such like foolish finery.*
> *(Ref. 12)*

In many areas where the Anabaptists were found, in 16th century Europe, sumptuary laws were imposed on the populace. Men of low estate were forbidden by law to indulge in pompous finery. The aristocracy proudly reserved this privilege for themselves.

5.2 Development of Plain Dress to Its Present Form

Most sumptuary laws were either ignored or abandoned by the 18th century. While many peasants then exercised great freedom in adopting lavish costumes, others including the plain people, continued to wear very simple clothing. Often, the 'high church' Protestant neighbours of the plain people were nearly as simple in their dress as the plain people themselves, but a more marked difference developed when these non-plain people began to follow the rapidly-changing urban fashions. When stylish, ready-made clothing became cheap and easily obtainable in the 19th century, most country people gladly stepped aboard the constantly revolving fashion merry-go-round, which, until then, had only been accessible to wealthy riders.

The plain people saw danger in letting the whims of worldly fashion dictate what they as Christians should wear. Even though they could have afforded to do otherwise, they continued to observe the time-honoured simple dress which had become a symbol of humility. (See Fig. 14). So it was from this time that plain clothing began to develop into its present form. It took several hundred years for the various symbols of non-conformity to become fixed. Some of these symbols have a much

Conservative Friends (Quakers) from eastern Ohio in the early 1900s.

Fig. 15

longer history than others as each item of dress became established by a very slow process of group consensus. Accommodation to current fashions was minimal. Selective and careful scrutiny was exercised. Practices were accepted or rejected within the context of an all-encompassing Christian belief system. The plain people have therefore sought to control cultural influences rather than be controlled by them, so what has resulted is their own kind of counterculture, rooted in Christian understanding. Their intent is to create a system for living, including dress, that is faithful to their beliefs and which serves as an effective barrier against assimilation into the world.

5.3 Identity with the Common Man

Many religious, social and historical factors have helped to develop plain dress. By studying the history of the individual garments incorporated into plain costume, and considering the religious principles for which the plain people have historically stood, one can make certain observations and conclusions.

The plain people have always identified with common, country folk. This part of their emphasis on humility. Some of the items of plain dress, often attributed to a high fashion origin, can actually be traced to a peasant beginning. While women's bonnets became fashionable in the early 1800s, they were wron by the peasantry in the late 1700s, and the large shallow-crowned, flat hats worn by many plain women in the 18th and early 19th centuries, were fashionably popular for a time, but their common name 'milkmaid hat' reveals their rural beginning. Long trousers were also found among common folk long before they became accepted as fashionable garments. Many plain people probably adopted these items during their period of peasant use, and continued wearing them after they became fashionable. (See Fig. 15).

The plain coat and cape dress worn by this Lancaster Conference Mennonite couple

Fig. 16

5.4 Clothing with a Purpose

The plain people have tried to choose attire consistent with their emphasis on simplicity and modesty. They feel strongly that clothing should be functional, thus a coat buttoned to the neck seemed more practical than one with useless lapels folded back, only to reveal a ruffled shirt or fancy cravat. Long pants appeared more modest than knee breeches and the broadfall closing on trousers more modest than the fly front (referred to as an

> *indelicate and disgusting fashion.*
> *(Ref. 13)*

Of course, the cape, apron and long skirt served to conceal the feminine form, and the bonnet put into practice the 'shamefacedness' spoken of in the Bible. (See Fig. 16).

Even though the plain people derived some of their clothing from that of simple country folk, they often simplified it further still. For example, the plain frock coat differs from the typical 18th century version in that it has no outside pockets. The Amish use hooks and eyes rather than buttons on their coats and vests.

Because of the plain people's strong conviction against worldly fashions, they deemed that clothing should be durable and long-lasting, and set down lists of items they considered vain, foolish and inappropriate for those wishing to be nonconformed with the world. Some new styles of clothing did gain acceptance; others were permanently forbidden.

5.5 Good Times and Immoral Times

The appearance of being old-fashioned has played an important part in the formation of plain clothing, and plain people have deliberately chosen to be behind the times in the way they look.

Mary Brackbill Eshleman (1769–1848, left) and Anna Stauffer Hershey

Fig. 17

Their refusal to be fashionable conveys an image of stability. However, their clothes do not represent the frozen ensemble of one particular era or area. A plain woman may wear a 17th century style dress with an 18th century style bonnet and a 19th century shawl. The man's coat does ressemble the 18th century man's coat, but the powered wig, three-cornered hat, ruffled shirt, knee breeches and shoe buckles of that period did not become part of the plain dress.

Some periods of history have been known for higher morals than others which have had the reputation of decadence. Many items of plain dress developed during, or were selected, in times of higher morals and religious respect. On the other hand, the fashions of morally-loose eras sometimes had a reactionary effect on the plain people. In these cases, some of the styles of the preceding era were maintained in order not to be identified with the lower moral standards of the new period. This is especially true of women's dress. This process extends back at least to the 17th century. The basic elements of the more conservative plain woman's costume are identical to those of the mid-1600s, the Puritan era. The unpretentious combination of cap, kerchief, apron, jacket, bodice and long skirt were distinct to that period. This costume which was never really high fashion, endured among the common classes for over two hundred years, which gives it additional favour with the plain people. The Puritan-based dress received new strength in the early 1800s as a reaction against the immodest dress and low morals of that decade. (See Fig. 17). In New England, a Congregationalist minister criticized the flimsy Greek inspired attire in 1811:

> *A young lady dressed à la Grecque in a New England winter violates alike good sense, a correct taste, sound morals, and the duty of self-preservation.*
> *(Ref. 14)*

It was also during this time that the man's button-to-the-

Plain churches are convinced that modest, simple dress is essential to real Christian

Fig. 18

neck standing collar was established as a religious symbol in lieu of the relatively new coat with flaring lapels.

While plain women could not identify with the flamboyant fashions of the 1820s and 1830s, they could look with favour on the 1840s, which brough about a sense of respectability and sobriety in dress. The shawl and bonnet became symbols of these early years of Queen Victoria's Reign, and became fixed expressions of modesty and simplicity among many plain groups. However, in the 1920s, the plain people were shocked into a new tenacity for their traditional dress by the unprecedentedly revealing fashions of this decade.

During this time, a number of fashions were introduced which even mainline Protestants and civil magistrates tried to curb. Hemlines rose to the knee for the first time, women's hair was cut short, make-up was used more extensively than ever before, stockings became sheer and flesh-coloured, and slacks and shorts became acceptable for some activities. Most sociologists agree that this reaction to traditional standards of decency was brought about by the impact of World War I. To the plain people, the world had never appeared more worldly. In the eyes of many plain people, morals have increasingly degenerated since that time. They do not wish to be identified with that trend and so have made a great effort to separate themselves from the masses.

The basic pattern of dress preserved by those who still dress plain has remained basically unchanged since the 1920s. Very few new symbols of nonconformity have been introduced since then. The wide-brimmed hat, plain frock coat, broadfall pants, braces, and high shoes for men, and the cap head covering, bonnet, shawl, cape, apron, black stockings and long dress for women, have remained virtually the same for the last sixty years among some orders. The general point of reference maintained by these groups is the dress patterns held before the moral decline of the 1920s. (See Fig. 18)

Fig. 19

Fig. 20

6. General Clothing Details:

.... a peculiar people..... *(Ref. 15)*

6.1 Colour

The popular belief is that plain people wear only dark colours, generally black or grey. In real practice, most groups allow a good deal of colour in their clothing. Many plain churches do, however, advise their members to wear quiet, subdued tones, but this is subject to widely varying interpretations. The Amish insist that all clothing be made of only solid coloured fabrics, but the colours used in many Amish communities are quite bright. Some of the more conservative Amish wear completely black and white garments. In Lancaster County, purple is a gavourite colour among Amish women, though blue is the most common colour, especially for men's and boys' shirts. (See Fig. 19 and 20). Shades of wine are sometimes used and red is not unknown - though this colour is strongly condemned in some Amish groups and even among Mennonite groups which are otherwise less traditional than the Amish. The Old Order Amish are the more conservative members and seldom use pink, yellow and orange.

6.2 Black - a Dominant Colour

Black is used for some items of plain clothing. Today, black suits for men are typical in many communities, but this was not always so. (See Fig. 21). In the 19th century, there was widespread sentiment that black was a fashionable or worldly colour. During this period, black was popular for formal wear among the fashion conscious, but as brighter shades became popular in the larger society, the plain people began to see black as appropriate for a sober appearance. (See Fig. 22)

Among the Lancaster Amish, grey was the preferred colour for men's suits in the earlier part of this century, and before

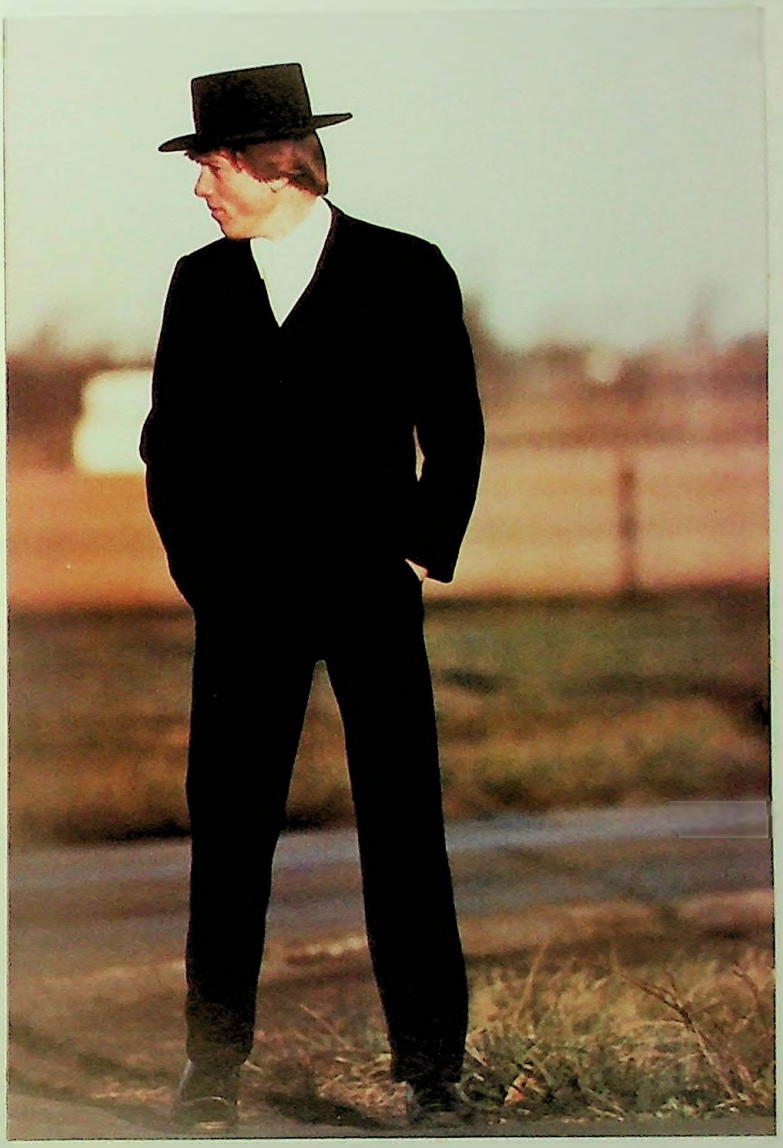


Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

The polka dot head scarves of Hutterite women are a distinctive group symbol. (Lehrerleut from Saskatchewan)

Fig. 24

that brown was the most typical. The brown custom probably originates from the early use of readily available natural dyes, such as butternut, to colour homespun fabrics. For centuries, russet brown was the characteristic colour for farmers, but some plain people believed any use of dyes was unnnecessary and insisted on natural undyed fabrics.

Black is the usual colour approved for shoes, stockings, men's felt hats, and women's bonnets and shawls. Lancaster Amish have used black for men's work clothing, and in some areas, women traditionally wear black for communion services and for times of mourning. A black cap is the symbol for a single girl in most Amish communities, but among the conservative Mennonites, the unmarried wear white head shawls and the married women wear black. Conservative Mennonites only allow grey weddings, consiering white for the bride to be too worldly and also impractical since such special white dresses can only be worn once.

6.3 The Use of Prints

Mennonites and Brethren groups have allowed patterned fabrics to be used in garments, (see Fig. 23), though the more conservative groups specify that the prints and patterns be small. Another conservative group of plain people whose beliefs are similar to the Amish and Mennonites are the Hutterites, and they are distinctive because of their polka dot heat scarves. Sometimes, the use of polka dots carries through to the dresses of Hutterite women. (See Fig. 24).

6.4 The Wide and the Narrow

The width and length of various items of clothing are highly symbolic to the plain people. Among most Old Orders 'wideness' indicates conservatism when it comes to hat and bonnet brims, the front piece of the woman's cap, and suspenders. 'Ample' length is traditional for women's dresses, men's beards and hair, and the height of shoe tops (for both men and women).

On the other hand, 'narrow' is plain in hat bands, apron strings and men's shirt cuffs.

6.5 Jewellery

In nearly all plain churches, jewellery is excluded, including wedding bands. Some say that it is God and not a ring that should bind husband and wife together. And in closely knit communities where marriage to outsiders is forbidden, the need to demonstrate one's marital status is minimal. Wrist watches are counted as jewellery in many plain churches. Old-fashioned pocket watches are the approved timepiece though the wearing of fancy fobs and chains by some are thought to defeat the purpose of this practice.

6.6 Underwear

Some plain groups have very definite regulations on appropriate underwear. Understandably these rules are rather difficult to enforce (would examining the lines of washing have been the answer?) Contemporary styles of underwear are really quite recent and, as in other matters, plain people have retained older styles. Briefs for men and women were not popular in America until the 1930s. The most traditional Old Orders have insisted that underpants have legs (these are necessarily often made in the home). Brassieres, which date back to the 1920s have not found acceptance among the ultra conservative groups. Any kind of lacy, fancy underwear is not favoured by the Old Order; plain slips are made commercially by several Old Order women. The more moderate plain groups have few, if any, requirements in these areas. However, it is accepted that women are never permitted to have the straps of their undergarments showing through their dresses. Some groups prefer nightgowns and nightshirts to pyjamas. They also stress that women should not indulge in fancy trimmings on sleepwear which would not be permitted in daytime clothing.

Fig. 25

PART TWO

WOMEN'S CLOTHING

In like manner also that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with braided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array, but with good works.
(Ref. 16)

1. The Cape

The cape or 'hals duch'(neck cloth) of plain women is derived from the kerchief worn by European women as early as the 16th century. (See Fig. 25). Originally it was a square piece of cloth folded into a triangle. Later it was cut in a triangular shape. The kerchief was placed around the neck and over the shoulders like a small lightweight shawl. One point extended down the back and the other two points were either pinned straight down the front, or were crossed over each other and pinned at the waist.

The kerchief or cape is worn by nearly all plain women from all the various groups. Its wide appeal to pious country women is no doubt based on the modesty it provides. The extra covering is seen to conceal the neckline and the form of the bosom and provides privacy when nursing a baby. A 19th century English woman remarked on an Amish woman's cape (See Fig 26):

Certainly the most ingenious device ever contrived for concealing all personal advantage.
(Ref. 17)

Some modifications on the original form of the cape have been adopted by the less traditional groups: it is often given a cut away neckline and a more tailored look, and also the gradual blunting of the points which, in the most modern form, are cut off square and sewn to a belt or directly to the dress. The opening can be in front, behind or at the shoulder while

Fig. 26

Fig. 27

Fig. 28

the garment is sometimes sewn directly to the dress, sharing the same back opening.

2. The Apron

Aprons - in the larger society - are regarded as protective utilitarian garments. This was not always the case. For the common woman, an apron was an integral part of dress for both formal and informal occasions. While aprons have enjoyed periods of fashionable acceptance, only the common folk continued to wear them into the 19th century as part of their usual attire. The apron, like the cape, is regarded by the plain people as an extra covering for the sake of modesty. Jacob Brubacher, a prominent Mennonite of the late 19th century is said to have made the statement:

> *the cape to cover the bosom, the apron to cover the abdomen.*
>
> *(Ref. 18)*

2.1 The Waistband Apron

While many of the more moderate plain women have dropped the apron but retained the cape, the Old Order woman very rarely appears in public without it. Aprons are of several different types. The waistband apron may be worn for dress occasions or for work. The oldest type has long strings which are crossed at the back and tied in front. These are mainly common among Amish and Hutterite women. (See Fig. 27). In many groups the work apron is tied behind, while the dress apron is pinned, snapped, hooked or buttoned at the side. In some cases, the apron is sewn or zipped to the dress.

2.2 The Bib Apron

The bib apron is a type of work apron with a flap in front that is either pinned to the dress or held up by straps. (See Fig.28) Among some Amish the bib apron may be made to match the dress and

Fig. 29

take the place of the two-piece cape and apron for daily wear. In very conservative groups, the bib apron is not allowed at all.

2.3 The Arm Apron or Pinafore

A type of apron worn by young girls is called an 'arm apron' because it has arm holds. (See Fig. 29) It may also be called a 'pinafore' or 'frock apron'. This type has no waistband and covers the entire front of the dress. At the back, however, it is fastened only at the top, thus exposing the back of the dress. The arm apron is seen most often among the more traditional groups. The majority of plain women, who wear the cape and apron make them of material which matches their dress. The more traditional Old Orders have preserved the separate character of each garment by insisting that one or both be of a contrasting colour from the dress. If all three pieces match, the combination is called a 'suit' in some circles. White capes and/or aprons are part of the church-going dress in many Amish groups. A conservative practice is to have the apron shorter than the dress to make it more apparent that an apron is being worn. Making the cape and apron of one piece is considered progressive.

3. The Short Gown

A two-piece style of dress, consisting of a bodice, separate from the skirt in the form of a jacket, developed in the 15th century. This long-sleeved jacket varied in length but was usually considerably shorter than the skirt. In English, it was known as a 'short gown'. This combination became typical of peasant garb over a wide area including America in the 19th century. It was also common attire for black slaves in the early 1800s. Many plain groups changed to a one-piece dress in the late 19th century while the Old Orders have preserved

Fig. 30

These Swartzentruber Amish children from Ohio wear "mandlie" (mantles) and quilted bonnets. Very small Amish boys often wear some items of girls' clothing. (The

Fig. 31

the short-gown style. In most cases, the bodice is now sewn to the skirt but the characteristic peplum - often reduced in size - remains.

4. The Skirt

A long pleated or gathered skirt is common to most plain women. (See Fig. 30). Some less traditional groups prefer gored skirts. A very old practice, still observed by a few plain groups, is to sew a tuck or fold around the lower part of the skirt. This feature, also seen in many peasant costumes, is to allow extra length to be added easily. Plain churches have waged a constant battle against short skirts since their fashionable appearance in the 1920s, and since then, only a comparatively few plain groups have been successful in keeping the hemlines at the traditional ankle level. A common standard is midway between the ankle and knee or mid-calf length.

5. Mantles, Shawls and Coats

One of the oldest garments to survive among plain people is the cloak or mantle. This outer wrap has been worn since ancient times, (and was one of the dominant garments which I came across last year writing about medieval dress). Currently, this item is worn by adult women in only a few Amish groups in central and western Pennsylvania, but it is still a custom in many communities for very young girls to wear the mantle. (See Fig. 31).

The mantle takes the form of a long tailored cape which is fastened up the front with snaps, hooks or buttons. It usually has a wide turnover collar, or it may have only a collar band at the neck. Slits for the arms may or may not appear in the front.

The shawl largely replaced the mantle as an over-garment among

Fig. 32

the plain people. In the larger Western society, the shawl gained popularity in the early 1800s and is thought to be an adaptation of an Oriental style. The shawl became the most typical outer wrap in the mid-19th century - the early Victorian era - symbolizing the propriety and respectability of this period with the Amish. It is made of a large square piece of fabric, usually black wool. It is folded either into a triangle or rectabgle, with fringing often present on its borders. The shawl is wrapped around the body and usually fastened with a large pin at the neck. (See Fig. 32)

Plain, full-length coats are preferred in many of the moderate groups. Old Order Amish and Mennonite women wear short coats for some occasions, but not generally for church. In the more conservative groups, a coat is not be worn in public without a shawl over it. A plain dark coat is the typical overgarment of many Old Order women and especially schoolgirls. The presence or absence of a turnover collar, lapels, outside pockets, and the method of fastening is subject to individual church regulations.

Many plain groups permit simple buttoned sweaters, but not pullovers. Sweaters are forbidden in many Amish churches. In some places where they are allowed, they are to be worn only under a shawl or coat and their buttons are often replaced with snaps or hooks. The objection to sweaters is probably based on their tendency to take the shape of the body, and because they are usually obtained from the mass market, and are, hence, subject to stylish fads.

6. Stockings and Shoes

The type of stockings women wear did not become an issue among plain people until the 20th century. Before that time, women's stockings were simply not seen in public. Black stockings were by far the most common type before the 1920s, but hosiery became thinner as hemlines rose, and finally, sheer flesh-coloured stockings came into vogue to more effectively

Fig. 33

display the legs. While many plain people did eventually raise their hemlines slightly, they did not give up black stockings as readily, since they provided a degree of modesty. The tendency for stockings to become thinner and thinner has been met with rules specifying in deniers, the weight of material to be used. Virtually all Old Orders and many of the more moderate groups require women to wear only black stockings.

For many informal occasions, plain women might wear neither shoes nor stockings. Amish children often go barefooted to school and church in warm weather, and it is quite common in some communities for adults to do likewise. Pantyhose are worn by more modern plain women, but this item of apparel does present a problem when the ritual of feet washing is observed. Among Old German Baptist Brethren the seams at the toes are taken out and the hose rolled back for the occasion. Most women do wear some other kind of leg-wear on those days.

Shoes are not actually made by the plain people, and as such, shoe styles have changed more than any other area of dress. In each generation, an approved type of shoe comes to be recognised in each group. During the last half of the 19th century, high-topped shoes replaced the slipper-type shoes worn previously. Probably since this change was in the direction of greater modesty, plain women easily accepted them. When women's high-top shoes went back out of favour in the 1920s, some Amish and Mennonites retained the old style. Among some groups, high shoes are worn in the cold season and low shoes in the warm season. Many conservative churches, especially the Amish, require that all shoes must be lace-ups. Quite often, black is the only accepted colour for shoes. Running shoes and other canvas styles are rejected by some as being too sporty, but many Old Orders do wear them. Sandals are approved for everyday wear in some groups, but the more traditional groups see them as a contemporary fashion rather than a reversion to a biblical mode. (See Fig. 33)

Fig. 34

Fig. 35

7. The Bonnet

The black bonnet has become somewhat the symbol of the plain woman. It seems to best put into practice the 'shamefacedness' spoken of in the Bible. The bonnet worn for outdoor protection against the elements is not to be confused with the cap or prayer covering worn under the bonnet. The origin of the black bonnet is rather obscure. While small fashionable bonnets made their appearance at the turn of the 18th century, simple black bonnets were worn by English country women a few decades earlier. Popular bonnets of the 1840s were very similar in appearance to present plain bonnets. These were called 'poke' bonnets or 'coal scuttle' bonnets. When wearing one of these, a woman's face could not be seen except from directly in front. Fashion historians describe the 1840s as a time of extreme prudery, severity and modesty. All of these criticisms would have been considered virtues by the plain people. (See Fig. 34)

Fashionable bonnets became increasingly smaller in the latter part of the 19th century and by the 1880s were abandoned altogether. Some groups of plain women made certain modifications in their bonnets down through the years, while others have retained the very large traditional bonnets up to the present day.

The bonnet brim has been constructed of various materials including cardboard, either in a single piece or in long narrow slats sewn in individually - these are still used by Pennsylvania Amish. Celluloid and door screen material are also used for bonnet brims and , recently, cut-down plastic bleach bottles have been used for this purpose. Buckram is a common material for both bonnet brims and crown. Metal wire is often used for re-inforcement and shaping of bonnets. Heavily quilted bonnets are worn in the winter in several Old Order groups. Felt crowns are typical of some smaller bonnets. Some groups have cut back the bonnet brim away from the face and either greatly reduced or eliminated the curtain or bavolet at the neck. Among some Mennonites in the East U.S. the bonnet has shrunk to a small

'beanie' pinned to the back of the head, many of which are now crocheted, often of colours other than the traditional black. Long ribbons tied under the chin have been the usual means of holding the bonnet on the head, but a more recent development was a chin-strap hooked at one side. Sometimes, for work on the farm, the bonnet is replaced by a headscarf.

8. The Cap or Covering

A plain woman is seldom seen in public without a head covering of some kind - a practice which was widespread in Western society until recently, and is upheld by the plain people. According to the scriptures, a woman's head should be covered when 'praying or prophesying' so the cap is often called a prayer covering. Some women feel it is so important that they wear some form of covering in bed. The type of covering varies from group to group but most often takes the form of a simple cap, usually white but sometimes black. Materials range from opaque muslin to very sheer net. The oldest kind is made with a crown and front piece that often extends over the ears. Tie strings, whether actually used to hold on the cap or not, are the mark of a conservative group. Some white Mennonite caps have black tie strings. Coverings are often pinned to the hair but some women do actually tie them tightly under the chin. Sometimes among Amish communities and Old Order Mennonites, girls wear a cap only at church services until adolescence when they begin wearing it all the time. In many churches the covering has been reduced to a very small, net scullcap. This may have lace edging or be made entirely of lace. (See Fig. 39)

9. The Hair

If a woman have long hair it is a glory to her.
(Ref. 19)

The shamefulness of a woman being 'shorn or shaven' is also

spoken of and most plain Christians interpret this to mean that women's hair should be uncut. In conservative churches women always wear their hair pinned up in knots or buns which are concealed by their coverings. It is felt that a woman's 'glory' is not for the world to see but is reserved for her husband along. In most Old Order groups, the girl's hair is worn up from a very early age. In some groups a young girl will wear her hair in long braids. This is not thought to conflict with the injunction against braided or plaited hair spoken of in the Epistles, which is instead interpreted to mean very elaborate coiffures and not simple pigtails. In most plain groups, women part their hair in the centre.

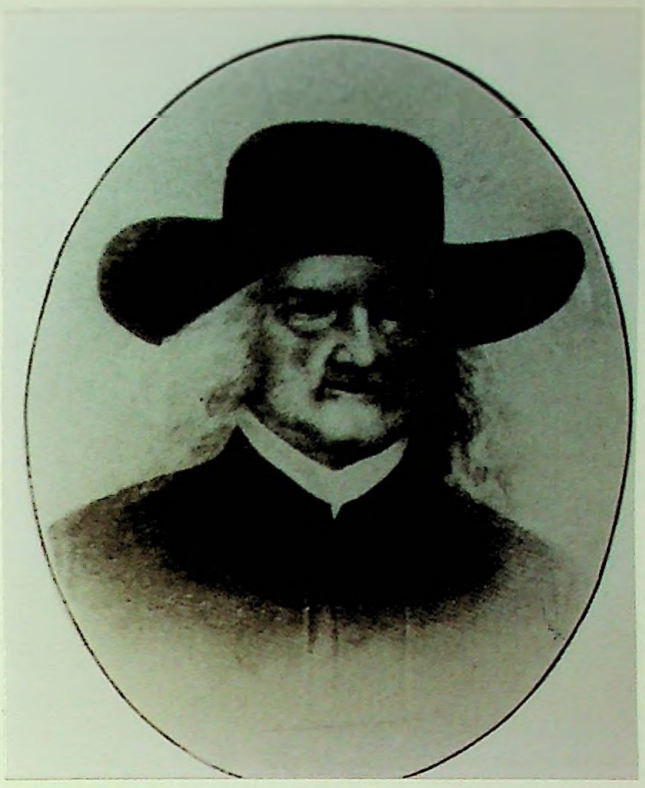


Fig. 36

Fig. 37

PART THREE

MEN'S CLOTHING

... one like unto the Son of Man, clothed with a garment down to the foot... *(Ref. 20)*

1. The Hat

A broad brimmed hat has been the symbol of the devout believer in the Judeo-Christian world for many centuries. Its use by such diverse groups as Catholic clergymen, Hassidic Jews, and nearly all groups of plain people attest to its widespread religious symbolism. The appeal of the broad brim no doubt is for its functional simplicity - a hat merely to provide shade and protection. Anabaptists were distinguished by their broad felt hats at the very onset of the movement in the 1520s, long before broad brims became generally popular in the mid 1600s. (See Fig. 36)

The width of the brim and hat band, and the height and shape of the crown are variables which gauge the orthodoxy of the group and the individual wearer. A wide brim, low crown and narrow hat band denotes the oldest, most traditional style. Within church groups the wearer's age and status is often reflected by the dimensions of his hat. For warm weather, straw hats are preferred by plain men. Most of these are purchased in stores, but some of the Pennsylvania groups produce their own hats made from strips of braided straw. (See Fig. 37)

2. The Hair (See Fig. 38)

There was a time when Old Order Amish men were criticized for having long hair. Later, their hair was considered comparatively short, but the Amish hairstyle has varied very little. As with other matters of personal appearance, the plain people have

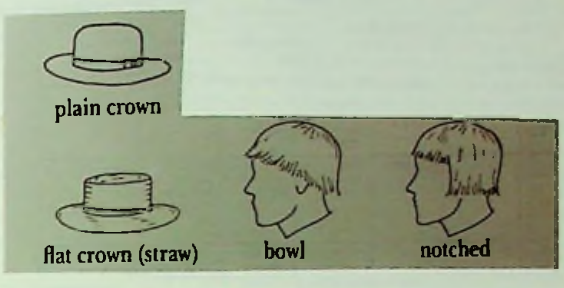


Fig. 38

Fig. 39

both sought to choose a hairstyle that best expresses their convictions, and then determined to stick with it regardless of what the world around them does. They claim that combing the hair down in all directions from the crown is the natural way the hair grows. Some cut their hair in a 'bowl' style; others prefer the 'Dutch boy' cut with the fringe being shorter than the hair at the temples. Using a centre parting or combing the hair straight back is seen as an expression of non-conformity among conservative Brethren groups. The more moderate plain groups, especially Mennonites, adopted the closely cropped style with a side parting that becamce the almost universal hairstyle of Western man for the first half of the 20th century.

3. The Beard (See Fig. 39)

The Amish, Brethren and Hutterites have always encouraged or required men to wear a beard. The Mennonites, Quakers and Shakers have fluctuated on this issue. Some groups regard the beard as merely a symbol of nonconformity. In the Amish community it is the mark of a married man and one group does not require the beard until the first child is born. Traditionally, most beard-wearing plain churches have observed shaving off the moustache. It is thought that this practice originated as an effort to abstain from the evil appearance of European soldiers with their curled moustaches. Some feel that the moustache is unclean. A number of conservative Mennonite groups are strongly opposed to the beard. While they agree that beards do grow naturally, they believe that man in his natural state is not pleasing to God.

4. The Coat

The practice of wearing a coat as part of a man's attire began in the 1660s. The first suit coats were knee length, had no collars or lapels and buttoned to the neck. The coat with a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DUNKARD FROCK.
AMISH SACK.
AGENTS WANTED.
FEDERAL TAILORING CO.,
230-32 Market St., CHICAGO, ILL.

Fig. 40

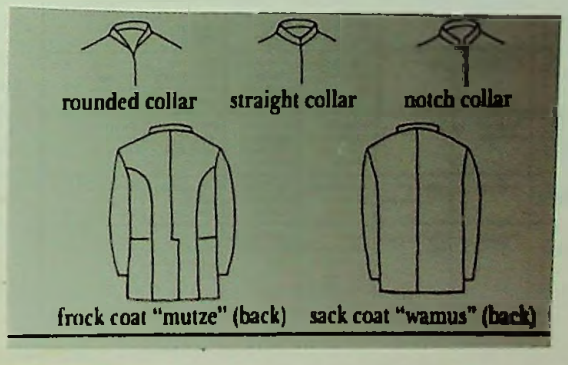
rounded collar
straight collar
notch collar
frock coat "mutze" (back)
sack coat "wamus" (back)

Fig. 41

standing collar and split tail adopted by plain men was similar to the mid-18th century style. Unlike fashionable examples of this period, plain coats did not have extra ornamental buttons or the typical pockets with flaps. The standing collar was very rare among the general public after 1800 when lapels became increasingly popular, and throughout the 19th century the only versions seen were on the coats of plain men and some traditional ceremonial coats. Among the plain people, the coat has been modified in various ways. Many traditional groups rounded off the collar at the neckline; others preferred a notch or step in the collar in front.

After 1900, the traditional shad-belly cut - curved away from the stomach - was replaced in many groups by a style that fastened all the way down the front. This style with the standing collar became known as the plain frock coat or 'mutze' among the plain people. Nearly all Old Order plain men wear this kind of coat for church and other formal occasions.

The short, loose-fitting sack coat (the conventional suit coat of today) gradually gained popularity among the fashionable after 1840, and eventually replaced other styles except those used for some very formal occasions. About 1900, among some plain groups, standing collars were put on sack coats to form a new kind of plain coat. By the 1930s, this became the most common style among the more moderate groups. Unlike the first coat, this plain sack coat usually had outside pockets, typically three. In many Amish groups sack coats without outer pockets are worn by men for non-church occasions while boys wear this style for church also. Some plain coats did not retain the standing collar, and conventional coats with turnover collars became the norm, but in the case of some conservative Mennonite groups, these are only worn by boys until they reach the age of conversion. (See Fig. 40 & 41)

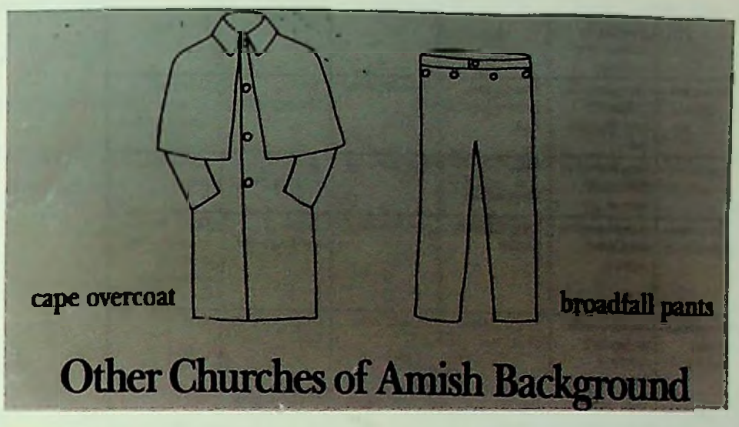

Fig. 42

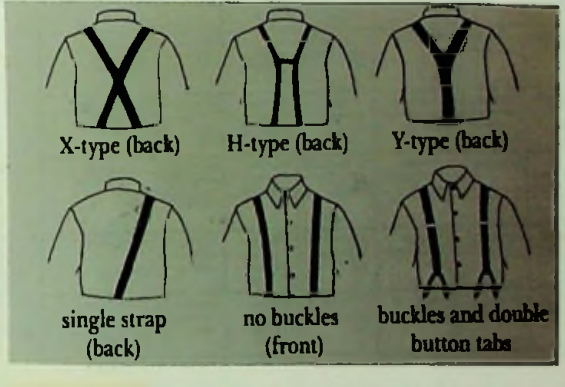

Fig. 43

Fig. 44

5. Pants

Long trousers were worn by the common man long before they became fashionable in about 1800, and their modest appearance - as opposed to knee breeches - made them acceptable to the plain people. As fly fronts were considered indecent, many plain people wore trousers with a flap or fall in front. This was usually quite narrow and fastened with two or three buttons. An alternate type which was more easily produced had the flap all the way across the front. This was called the broadfall and is the type most common among plain men and boys. It is similar to sailor's pants, but unlike them is only buttoned across the top with four buttons (sailor pants have thirteen). Some recent innovations, such as creases down the pant legs, hip pockets and cuffs have been prohibited among many groups notably the Amish. (See Fig. 42)

6. Braces

Colonial men's pants were held up with laces at the back of the waistband. Suspenders were introduced at the end of the 18th century. At first many plain groups objected to suspenders, but later came to accept them. Eventually too, they began to symbolise rural old-fashionedness, an image people could readily identify with. Conservative groups of Amish, Mennonites, Brethren and Hutterites have all made suspenders an integral part of men's attire, though some Amish groups called for modifications to be made; one group allows only one strap diagonally across the right shoulder, while others require that the straps form a'Y' rather than the usual 'X' shape behind. Others do not allow elastic material or buckles. (See Fig. 43)

7. The Shirt

Originally, the shirt was considered an item of underwear and indeed for many years it was the only item of underwear worn by men. For this reason the shirt was never worn alone for

Fig. 45

formal occasions. Most Old Order people believe that it is still necessary to wear at least a vest over the shirt in church. Some Amish require that a coat also be worn even in the warmest weather. The most traditional plain groups have retained a 'pullover' type shirt which opens only part way down the front. The usual open shirt of today was only adopted recently among more moderate groups. The number of buttons, the type of collar, the width of the cuffs and the presence of pockets, are subject to local custom and church regulations. Many groups do not permit short sleeves and shirts must be loose fitting rather than shaped to the form. The most popular colour for shirts is white, or, notably among the Amish, blue. (See Fig. 44)

8. The Vest

Among Old Order Amish and Mennonite groups, vests are an important item of attire. They are known as jackets and generally the more conservative the group, the more often they are worn. In some instances, young boys wear vests to school. Some Old Orders have a standing collar attached to their vests, but most groups have adopted the common V-neck style. (See Fig. 45)

9. Shoes

High laced shoes are the approved footwear in the more orthodox plain churches. The more moderate groups permit low shoes but specify that they should have laces. Black is the predominant colour for dress shoes while brown or tan are favoured for work. Boots and high shoes became established as proper footwear in the Victorian era and later became the mark of a conservative or old-fashioned man. Again, this was sufficient reason for plain people to adopt this style as their own. Rulings on plain shoes have been rather flexible in recent times since the plain people have had to depend on mass-produced footwear. Only among the Hutterites have any plain groups endeavoured to manufacture shoes.

Amish boys have traditionally worn dresses until they are out of diapers. (Ontario)

Fig. 46

PART FOUR

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING AND MOURNING DRESS

1. Children's Clothing

Following a very old practice, many Old Order male babies wear dresses until they are at least out of nappies, the idea being that dresses made nappy changing easier. In some circles boys wear bonnets, mantles and pinafore aprons. Some very traditional Old Orders have not adopted the use of ready-made plastic pants for babies. Instead they fold pieces of plastic over the nappy. (See Fig. 46)

The Amish have stressed that children should be dressed in the full order of the church. There is widespread deviation from this practice however, and in a few cases, wayward teenage Amish (mostly boys) dress 'worldly' until they decide to join the church. Generally, children are dressed modestly and simply, in such a way that they look somewhat old-fashioned and, hence, nonconformed. Pigtails and simple dresses for girls (sometimes with pinafore aprons), and short haircuts, long pants and suspenders for boys are typical traditional practices.

2. Dress in Death and in Mourning

Some keep the custom of dressing the dead in shroud - long, loosely fitting gown-like garments for men and women - in white. The woman's version has a cape. Among the Lancaster County Amish in Pennsylvania, women are dressed in white dresses of the usual Amish style. The white capes and aprons which they wear at their wedding, are again used for their funeral. Lancaster Amish men are dressed in regular white shirts and specially made white vests and pants. Other Amish men are dressed in regular suits while the women appear in black dresses. Babies and older women are always dressed in white. Old Order women generally wear black when attending funerals. The Lancaster Amish have a detailed code on the length of time one

Fig. 47

wears black as a sign of mourning: a year for a spouse, parent, child, brother or sister; six months for a grandparent or grandchild; three months for an uncle, aunt, niece or nephew, and six weeks for a first cousin.


PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburgh
Philadelphia
Harrisburg
Lancaster County
Lancaster County
LEBANON COUNTY
BERKS COUNTY
CHESTER COUNTY
YORK COUNTY
Reinholds
Adamstown
Denver
Reamstown
Brickerville
Ephrata
Terre Hill
Churchtown
Chickies Creek
Akron
Hinkletown
Reidenbach
Goodville
Rothsville
Weavertown
Blue Ball
Litiz
Manheim
Brownstown
New Holland
Leola
Bareville
White Horse
Neffsville
East Petersburg
Intercourse
Eden
Smoketown
Mount Joy
Landisville
Bird in Hand
Kinzers
Silver Spring
Rohrerstown
Paradise
Gap
Lancaster
Christiana
Mountville
Millersville
Strasburg
Lampeter
Georgetown
Columbia
Washington Boro
Willow Street
New Providence
Susquehanna
Pequea Creek
Quarryville
Safe Harbor
Dam
Buck
Pequea
Holtwood
Dam
Wakefield
Octoraro Creek
PENNSYLVANIA
MARYLAND
Built-up
Forested
Agricultural
NORTH
0 KM 5
0 MILES 5
490

Fig. 48

Fig. 49

Conclusion

Set your affections on things above,
not on things of the earth.
(Ref. 21)

While in New York last summer, I decided to visit an Amish community in order to find out what they were really like. Discovering that Lancaster County (See Fig. 48) in the State of Pennsylvania had the largest concentration of Amish, I telephoned the Pennsylvanian Tourist Board, making the mistake of telling them that as a student of fashion design, I was particularly interested in their clothing. Up to that point, they had been very helpful in giving me information on where to go etc., but when I began to talk about clothes, I came up against the proverbial brick wall.

The train journey to Lancaster, Pennsylvania provided me with ample opportunity to view the surroundings of these plain people, and the landscape is very beautiful. Stretching for miles in every direction, it is dotted with picturesque Amish farms - each whitewashed and with its own windmill, vegetable plot and garden in full flower. (See Fig. 49) Large fields of corn appeared every now and then and the feeling is almost one of travelling back in time.

In the centre of Lancaster town is the local market place where Amish from neighbouring farms gather to sell their produce - a miscellaneous variety of goods from hand-made chocolates, bread and vegetables, to wreaths of flowers and picture postcards of the Amish themselves. Here I discovered that some 'plain people' are not averse to making a fast buck, but it is easy to be critical and I was surprised to see that the traders were wearing traditional dress. The women wore plain coloured dresses in blue, purple or mauve, and waistband or bib aprons in matching colours, or sometimes white. They all wore the cap head covering - most were white but some black, black stockings and black lace up shoes. The men wore either black or straw wide brimmed hats, blue or white shirts, suspenders and broadfall

Effective September 1, 1986

Route 13

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Phone: 397-4246

Fig. 50

Fig. 51


INTERCOURSE
FORMERLY "CROSS KEYS"
FROM A NOTED OLD TAVERN STAND
FOUNDED
1754

Fig. 52

MAP E9

What's doin' tonight?

HAZEL'S PEOPLE

Starring

Geraldine Page, Pat Hingle, Graham Beckel and introducing Rachel Thomas

Based on the novel by Merle Good

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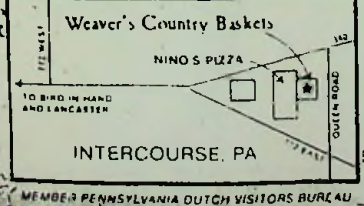

MEMBER PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH VISITORS BUREAU
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Map E9

QUILTS

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Fig. 54

pants. There were no children present.

I discovered that outside the town were a number of Amish villages and the limited bus service allowed me to take in the townlands of 'Intercourse' and 'Kitchen Kettle Village'. (See Fig. 50). On the bus to these places were some of the more traditional Old Order Amish (see Fig. 51) dressed totally in black (even though it was a hot summer day). The women wore black bonnets with bavolets, heavy black dresses in what seemed like a woollen fabric, and waistband aprons which were held in place with straight pins. No buttons were used. The men also wore black, and either black or straw wide brimmed hats. They wore short coats with standing collars, again plain shirts and broadfall pants. The coats were fastened with hooks and eyes. It was extremely difficult to photograph these people, as they do not allow photographs to be taken, believing that the spirit of the person does not show through, as demonstrated in Fig. 52.

At first glance, Intercourse Village was promising; Amish people in horse-drawn buggies (see Fig. 53) mingled with the Chevrolets and Oldsmobiles in the streets. Along the Main Street were a number of shops selling a variety of Amish paraphenalia - quilts, fabrics (plain and printed cottons), souvenirs and of course, the stick of rock to take home to Mom and Dad. The local 'Intercourse News' included things to do and places to go while in the area, (see Fig. 54) presumably for the busloads of American tourists that were swarming around. In short, the whole place was a tourist trap which I should, of course, have been expecting.

Kitchen Kettle Village was probably more disappointing. It was a kind of village within a village, solely for the benefit of the visitor. Yes, there were many Amish people to be seen - in full regalia - but I hadn't expected to see them selling Amish hats, aprons, ashtrays, cigarette lighters etc., and I was quite disillusioned by this facade. Was this not the kind of worldliness they despised most? The children looked charming however;

Fig. 55

Fig. 56

groups of girls and boys (see Fig. 55 and 56) curiously gathering around, apparently bewildered by the whole scene (or was that part of the act?) My last postcard epitomises what I saw that day (see Fig. 57): groups of people selling picture postcards of their beliefs.

No doubt these plain people were not representative of the majority of the plain people, but I believe that it was relevant to portray the Amish of Intercourse and Kitchen Kettle Village exactly as I saw them in contrast to that which is written about them by others.

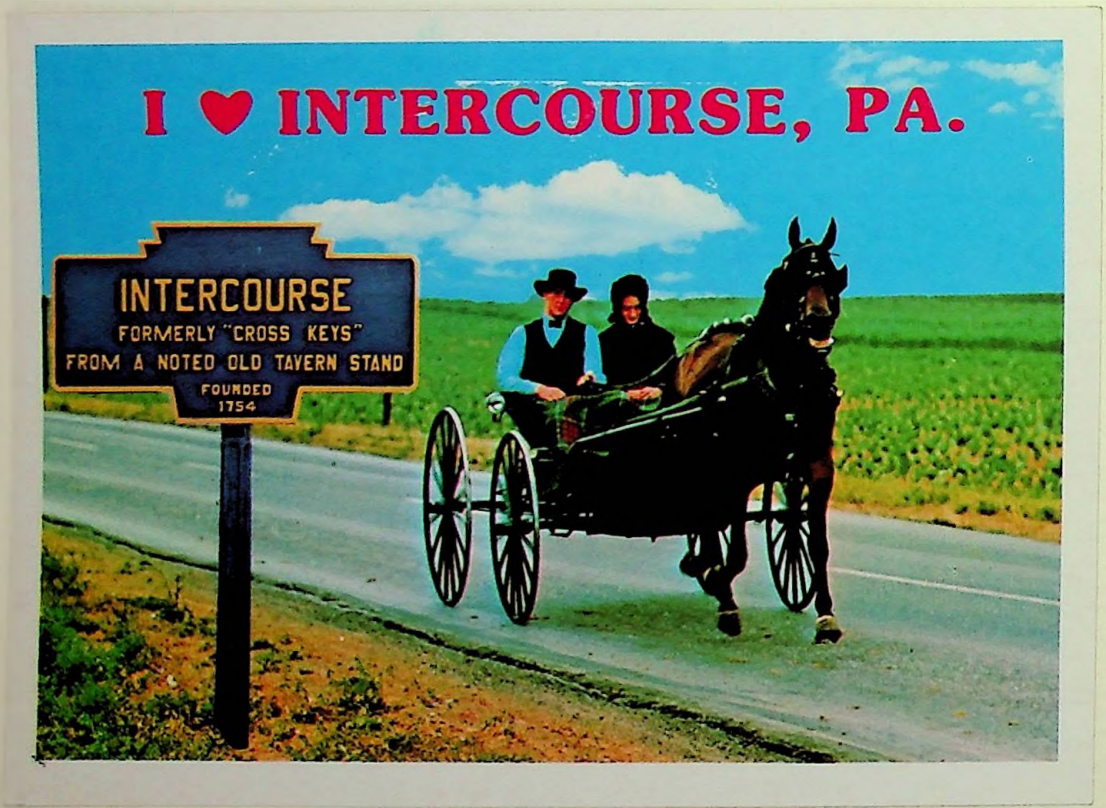

Fig. 57

VISUAL REFERENCES

Fig. 1 Who Are the Amish, p.7

Fig. 2 20 Most Asked Questions About the Amish and Mennonites, p.80

Fig. 3 Postcard from Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Fig. 4 Vogue Hommes International Mode: Autumn/Winter '85/86, pp. 150 - 155

Fig. 5 The Second Skin, p.

Fig. 6 Vogue Magazine, January '87, p.162

Fig. 7 Belfast Newsletter, Monday, Oct. 27 1986, p.10

Fig. 8 National Geographic, Vol. 165, No. 4. p.507

Fig. 9 Postcard from Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Fig. 10 Vogue Hommes International Mode: Autumn/Winter '85/86. p. 154.

Fig. 11 Postcard from Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Fig. 12 Why Do They Dress That Way? p. 16

Fig. 13 Cosmopolitan Magazine, Feb. 1986

Fig. 14 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.19

Fig. 15 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.25

Fig. 16 Amish Life, p.38

Fig. 17 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.27

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Fig. 19 Who Are the Amish

Fig. 20 Postcard from Lancaster Pennsylvania

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Fig. 22 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.5

Fig. 23 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.77

Fig. 24 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.72

Fig. 25 Postcard from the National Gallery, London

Fig. 26 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.87

Fig. 27 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.102

Fig. 28 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.72

Fig. 29 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.72

Fig. 30 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.72

Fig. 31 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.93

Fig. 32 National Geographic, Vol. 165, No. 4, p.496

Fig. 33 Postcard from Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Fig. 34 Postcard from Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Fig. 35 Photograph taken on bus in Lancaster, Penn.

Fig. 36 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.22

Fig. 37 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.105

Fig. 38 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.124

Fig. 39 Postcard from Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Fig. 40 Why Do They Dress That Way? p. 89

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Fig. 42 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.126

Fig. 43 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.126

Fig. 44 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.124

Fig. 45 Who Are The Amish? p. 117

Fig. 46 Why Do They Dress That Way? p.83

Fig. 47 Postcard from Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Fig. 48 National Geographic, Vol.165, No. 4, p.499

Fig. 49 Photograph of Amish farm, Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Fig. 50 Route Map for No. 13 Bus, Lancaster

Fig. 51 Photograph taken on bus to Intercourse Village

Fig. 52 Postcard from Intercourse, Pennsylvania

Fig. 53 Photograph taken in Intercourse Village

Fig. 54 Articles from the 'Intercourse News', Vol.18, No. 16, September 18, 1986

Fig. 55 Photograph taken in Kitchen Kettle Village

Fig. 56 Photograph taken in Kitchen Kettle Village

Fig. 57 Postcard from Intercourse, Pennsylvania

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The opening quotations for each section in the text are taken from the Old and New Testaments of the Bible and are as follows:

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Ref. 2 2 Corinthians 6:17
Ref. 3 I Samuel 16:7
Ref. 4 I John 2: 15-17
Ref. 5 Romans 12:2
Ref. 6 I Peter 5:5
Ref. 7 Revelation 3:18
Ref. 9 Zephaniah 1:8
Ref. 15 I Peter 2:9
Ref. 16 I Timothy 2:2, 10
Ref. 19 I Corinthians 11:15
Ref. 20 Revelation 1:13
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