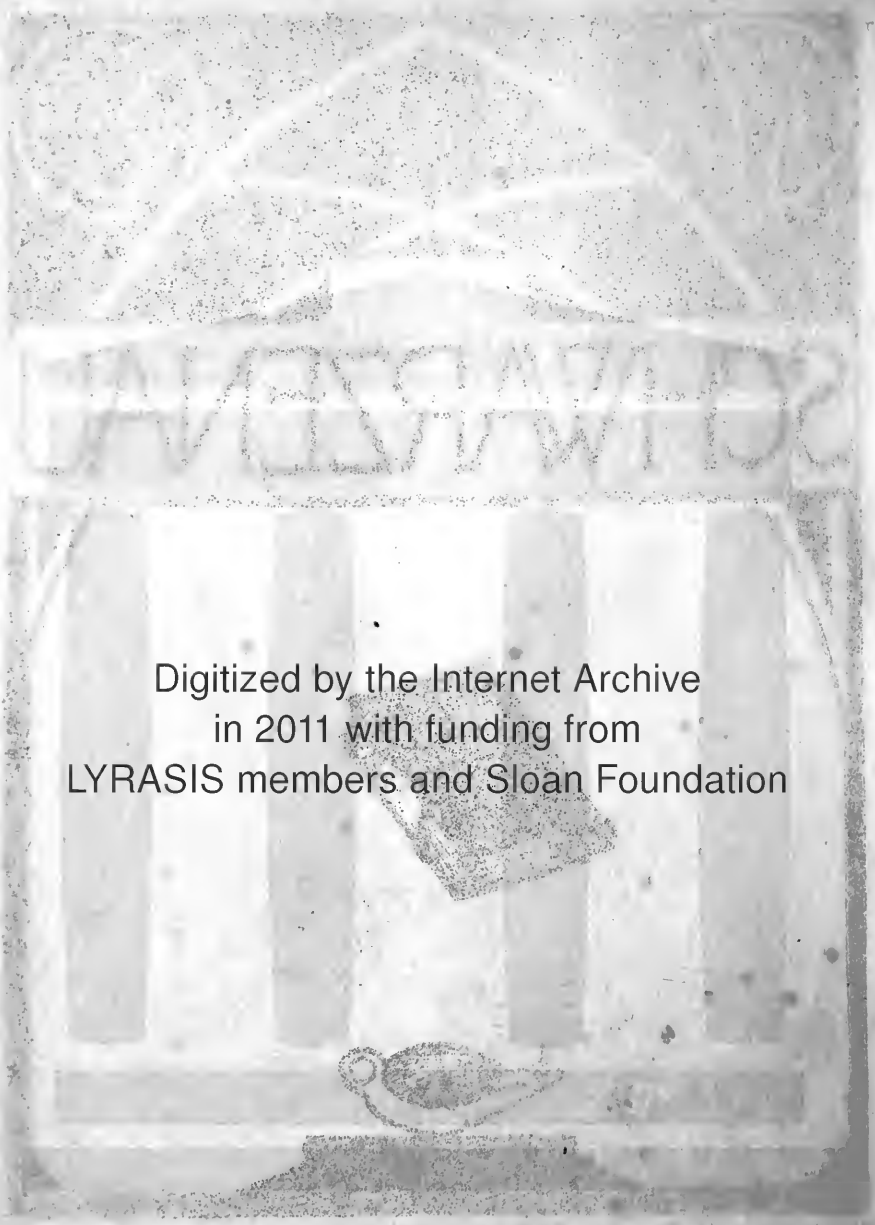

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SCHWARZENAU

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SCHWARZENAU

EDITORIAL STAFF

Editor, F. E. Mallott, *Professor of Church History Bethany Biblical Seminary*
Assistant Editor, Elgin S. Moyer

Volume I JULY, 1939 Number One

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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

Rufus D. Bowman, B.D., D.D., is President of Bethany Biblical Seminary and member of the General Mission Board. He is one of the ablest ministers among the younger men of the Church of the Brethren and one of the best known men in her ministry. This journal, like the sparrow of the Psalm, "hath found her a house" under the roof of the Seminary. Dr. Bowman speaks as President and gives us his blessing.

Chalmer Faw, native of Washington, graduate of Laverne College and Bethany Biblical Seminary, recently received his doctorate from the University of Chicago. At present he looks forward to the mission field of Nigeria. He has been Greek teacher at B.B.S. while attending the University and has been active in peace work.

L. D. Rose, is Librarian and Professor of German at Elizabethtown College. A native of Eastern Pennsylvania and born with historical instinct Prof. Rose displays a matured talent in the field of research and writing. "Schwarzenau" is planning to add him to its staff as contributing editor.

Susie M. Thomas, would have been in China but for the Sino-Japanese war. While held from the mission field she has been studying in Bethany Biblical Seminary. The paper reproduced here represents in abridged form her thesis for the M.R.E. She holds an A.B. from Fairmount State Teachers College. Her native place? See the splendid congregational history she has given us.

Kenneth Long, minister, Church of the Brethren, has seen pastoral service. A.B. from Manchester College. B.D. of Bethany Biblical Seminary 1939. Difficult to tell whether he is from Ohio or Indiana. We have told enough to give the origin of the study printed herein but the quality speaks for itself.

F. E. Mallott, A.M., D.D., Professor of O. T. and Church History. Pastor of Church of the Brethren, Battle Creek, Michigan. Most serious concern just now is editing "Schwarzenau."

E. S. Moyer, Ph.D., minister, Church of the Brethren, writer on missionary and historical themes. Many years member of the faculty of B.B.S. and at present Librarian, Moody Bible Institute. Assistant-editor.

William M. Beahm, A.M., B.D. Professor of Christian Theology and Missions of the Seminary. Missionary to Nigeria 1924-1935. Well-known in his own right and as the scion of a family long prominent in the Church of the Brethren, we hope to present him as a frequent contributor.

Russel G. West, Pastor, Church of the Brethren, Roanoke, Va., and Miss **Lucile Sanger,** student, Bethany Biblical Seminary have collaborated to furnish the cover design of this number. Study it.

SCHWARZENAU

RUFUS D. BOWMAN
President Bethany Biblical Seminary

This is a sacred name in Brethren history. The different bodies of Brethren people all go back to "Schwarzenau." The backward look is valuable for at Schwarzenau we see the great principles that bind us together. The name wins us because of the spirit of those eight pious souls who met on the banks of the Eder. Schwarzenau was the official birthday of Brethren history. The name has become a symbol for the great first principles upon which our Church was founded: the New Testament as our rule of faith and practice, the ordinances as a means of grace, no exercise of force in religion, religious freedom even at the cost of suffering, the simple spiritual life, peace according to the spirit and teachings of Jesus. I hope some day that an artist will paint the picture of Schwarzenau with Mack and his companions at the Eder. Until that time word pictures will keep alive the sacred torch of history.

Dr. Floyd E. Mallott, head of the Church History department of Bethany Biblical Seminary is a man who believes in the destiny of the Church of the Brethren and loves her traditions. For the last few years, Dr. Mallott with a few of his companions has been dreaming dreams of the creation of a Journal of Dunker History for the preservation of historical data. This issue is the first product of these dreams. One is finding today a tremendous interest in our own church history. Our people have a rich history full of inspiration for youth, but we have been short on preserving it. Consequently, we welcome "Schwarzenau" with its clear cut purpose to print historical data and preserve Brethren history. This journal is an independent project sponsored by the Church History department of Bethany Biblical Seminary. The Seminary is in full accord with the purposes and the creation of this project and I am sure that those who are interested in Brethren history will lend encouragement to these efforts.

EDITORIAL

This first number of an historical journal is issued in hope. The Sower Bicentennial observance stirred anew and revived into discussion the latent historical interest among the spiritual descendants of Alexander Mack. In such a time of active discussion of our great heritage one feels that we need some such a medium of communication as this historical journal.

In many different places there are individuals with not only a deep interest in our own distinctive tradition of Christianity, but many possess a valuable and even a specialist's knowledge of the subject. These students of Dunker history need to be made more aware of one another.

An increasing number of good and able investigations and studies in the field of our history are being carried on. At present many of these are written in connection with academic courses to fulfill institutional requirements. Up to the present there has been no medium of publication where the results of such studies could be shared.

The difficulties confronting those who would make a contribution to our denominational literature are most discouraging. One must write a book and guarantee publication at his own expense. Many cannot do that.

There is another reason why a journal such as this is needed. A great deal of historical data is already lost. More of it is about to be lost. The pages of such a journal may serve as a repository for much information that would otherwise be lost. But of more importance than actually publishing material, we believe the mere existence of such a publication will stimulate a new respect for the records and evidences of our history. There are a few libraries whose purpose is to gather collections of all extant historical materials of our denominational family. Those responsible for such libraries need to be encouraged and there ought to be an increase of such collections of Dunkeriana.

We are glad to present in this first issue two congregational histories. The Church lives in its congregations. A few excellent con-

gregational histories have been published in our midst and these ought to serve as an incentive to others.

Every congregation ought to cultivate a pride in its own past. A people without a past has no future. Each church ought to cultivate pride in its own pioneers, its meeting houses, its achievements, and its worthy families.

Apropos of the last named item, it is the conviction of this writer that we are changing in America in our appreciation of genealogy. We Americans have been a people without ancestors. A well-known minister of the Church presented himself at a marriage-license window, for he had decided to exercise the privilege to which the Apostle referred. "What is the bride's mother's family name?" asked the representative of the Law. The bride-to-be was miles away at that moment. The bridegroom-to-be mopped his brow. The Law was courteous but specific. Finally, a bright idea. A trip to the telegraph office enlightened the bridegroom-to-be as to the name of the tribe which he was joining.

Believe it or not, but—there are intelligent Americans who are not sure of the names of their own grandparents.

It is characteristic of a pioneer people to be careless of ancestors. America is leaving pioneer days behind. We are even now beginning to develop local traditions and in places there is evident local atmosphere.

This is gain. We shall strike roots into our soil. Our lives will be more colorful and richer. We shall learn to live more wisely and more leisurely. (We better!!!) As in every old society we shall become aware of our ancestry.

This is of significance to the historian. Genealogy and religion are the bases of history. The "key" to history is a knowledge of ancestry and of religious ideas.

The Brethren have been a family people. The Church has been like Israel in one respect—it has been a cluster of superior families.

All of which is a way of saying that we view genealogical studies as within the province of this journal of history. Its pages are open to studies concerning families of Church connections.

In another part of this issue is printed the tentative constitution of the Alexander Mack Historical Society for the perusal of all readers. The present relationship between the Society and this journal might be compared to the relationship between Siamese twins. If one grows and is healthy the other does also.

There have been predecessors to this Society. As we view it they suspended because of lack of a definite task. So the A.M.H.S. has a good chance to live. Its task was born with it.

The promoters of this journal dream of a quarterly. When? When the Historical Society becomes strong enough to supplement the present privately pledged support.

Our first need is Subscribing Members. Our second need is Sustaining Members. Our third need is more members for the Alexander Mack Historical Society. F. E. M.

APOLOGIA PRO VITA SUA

F. E. Mallott

The name of this journal was not placed on the page by accident. It represents a deliberate choice. The name of that little-known German village signifies both an idea and an ideal.

It has now been more than two centuries and a quarter since a small group of earnest men and women gathered to pray in that village of Schwarzenau.

As they talked and read and prayed in their remote and quiet retreat, they were cognizant of the fierce influences of what we today call the "modern world". They had fled to Schwarzenau as refugees (how very modern) that they might preserve their own liberty from a tyrannical State. In their day the Church was in partnership with the State, and partook of its tyrannical nature.

In 1708 the modern democratic movement was just getting under way. Just twenty years before that date there had occurred in England the Revolution of 1688, and in its wake came the Bill of Rights. By common consent the Bill of Rights is a major point of historical reckoning in the western world.

In 1708 the disillusionment of thinking men everywhere had prepared the way for the revolt of The Enlightenment against organized religion. The spread of rationalism was to reduce the Organized Church to a state of weakness, such as she had known in only one other century—the awful tenth. The rise of humanitarianism with its inescapable effects for Religion had begun in 1708. As the vision of mediaeval universalism, expressed thru a World State (called an Empire) and a World Church faded from the memory of eighteenth century men they were becoming increasingly nationalist and individualist. The clash between nationalism and individualism was not seen as clearly in 1708 as in 1939. But in retrospect we can see the struggle.

It is the sameness of that day to this day which gives relevance to the words and deeds of that company who met for prayer in Schwarzenau. We are accustomed to pay oratorical tribute to them as the founders of our Household of Faith.

But our tributes are often hackneyed and but quotations from the books we have read. The genuineness of the idea developed at Schwarzenau has not been clear to us. And so its ideal has not challenged us.

There amid the beginnings of humanitarianism, humanism, political democracy, and modern nationalism that group at Schwarzenau matured their faith and took their stand. They have thrown a shaft of light across the darkened world and many of us are still walking in that light. But some who walk in it take their light too much as a matter of course and seem not to feel how dark the world-shadows are around us. Let us put the light emanating from Schwarzenau under a spectroscope and attempt a partial analysis.

The group yonder asserted the necessity of the Church. One of the commonest assumptions of today has been the irrelevance of the Church. The materialism and secularism of the age has set a style. It is so easy to drift with the spirit of the age. Even from Christian homes and Christian colleges go splendid young people who would recoil with horror from the degradations of a pagan society. For the ethical code of Christianity has been presented to them and won the assent of their reason. The sight of the practice of human slavery, the practice of witchcraft, of polygamy, or of cannibalism would rouse them to horror and to action—if these evils were presented suddenly and not gradually. Yet these same people drift

along complacently with the forces that point ultimately to the depths of pagan depravity.

The men and women of Schwarzenau had once been seceders from the Organized Church. They found the No-Church position empty and fruitless. They found themselves helpless to improve themselves or to improve others. And so they returned within the borders of organized, institutional Christianity. They constituted themselves a fellowship for their own good and their influence in the world.

While they became a part of the historical, or institutional or Constantinian Church they became a unique group within its borders. They did not lapse back quietly into conformity with the ways of the State Church about them. They became pioneers of a new conception, which re-interpreted the historical Church. It is a trick of fate that the name of their descendants has become identified as a synonym of unvarying conservatism. The men of Schwarzenau were pioneers and radicals.

To elaborate—they stood for an ideal of society so far ahead of their day that many Christians (some of whom are Dunkers) have not even glimpsed their vision. The rule of the new brotherhood was to be the Sermon on the Mount and Matthew eighteen. The men of Schwarzenau were not learned scribes neither were they theologians and philosophers. So they did not long debate the how and the when. But as earnest pietists they went to work to build the Kingdom of Goodness. They began where all improvement must begin, with themselves.

Over against the multi-form nationalism and imperialism of the modern world stands the ideal of a pacifist society founded on the teachings of Jesus and governed by His technique. At this present moment in Time, we seem to be as far as ever we were from the realization of that ideal. But was ever an age more restless? In occasional places and in individuals we glimpsed what this type of thinking will do and now we know—in that direction lies the Kingdom.

Analyzing further and under a different aspect we may say the men of Schwarzenau struck a balance between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. The eighteenth century has been named the Century of Man and by the same logic the sixteenth is one of the Centuries of God.

We need today to maintain a right balance between anthropocentric and theocentric religion. After a long period in which most of the churches of America have acted as if "God were made for man" we seem to be entering a period of theocentricism. The very violence of the reaction against the absurdity of treating God as if He were a public utility will no doubt carry us so far that the common Father of the Lord's Prayer will again be obscured.

In taking the New Testament as a text-book and manual of life the brethren at Schwarzenau struck the happy mid-ground. For the New Testament preserves both the values of theism and humanism. That type of democratic and ethical religion which grows from a study and practice of the New Testament was really needed by the world in 1708—and since.

In staking the case on the New Testament those men took advanced ground. They had never heard the words, "progressive revelation" but they had apprehended the fact of a progressive revelation. There was set in Schwarzenau the example of open-minded, fearless, and withal devout study of the Scriptures. This example needs to be followed in each generation. For in each major shift in the currents of life, new light breaks out from the Word.

And last but not least, there was struck at Schwarzenau a balance between form and spirit. Ritual or the sacramental always bulks largely in religion. Man will not long hold a philosophy in the abstract. He will make of his philosophy a religion. And a religion will clothe itself in a ritual.

Therein is the explanation of our own lukewarmness toward the New Testament symbols in some quarters. A generation without religious passion is not greatly concerned over the forms of religion. Forms arise from the necessity of expressing vital conviction. But without such conviction forms become to the traditionalist a vain bondage and to the indifferentist something to be neglected and discarded at will.

But the ardor of Pietism glowed in the souls of that group at Schwarzenau and they were touched by missionary passion. They were humble before the awful fact of the Incomprehensible Majesty and obedience to His Messiah became their watchword. Abjuring the intellectual error of secession they re-entered the Church. Therein they found their own spiritual freedom safeguarded and their soul growth directed in the New Testament symbols. These

ordinances they celebrated and propagated as the representative symbols of the new spiritual life and brotherhood as it is in Christ.

Today Christendom is permeated by a most impressive liturgical emphasis. It is interesting to observe the effects of this influence upon some of our Brethren churches. What a laborious and artificial straining after "worship" there is in some quarters. The invocation and the benediction are pronounced with the solemnity of Romish mass. The lifting of the offering is made a minor, if not indeed a major sacrament. Colored glass windows become an object of reverence and the minister acquires a "sanctified" tone of voice. This development is to be deplored for it leads straight to trivialities. Reverence becometh the house of God but so also does simplicity.

It need scarcely be said here that the opposite error is an exclusively intellectual emphasis. The church assembly is made the occasion to carry on an educational propaganda. This leads to barrenness and to empty pews.

Between these two extremes is a simple, natural, hearty congregational life in which everything is done decently and in order. The New Testament ordinances or symbols are frankly the basis and raison d'etre for the maintenance of the congregational identity. Preaching is prophetic rather than academic. Here worship is realized as a simple and natural group experience from which issues individual soul growth. The mock-solemnities of much of the current worship emphasis are not only unnecessary but may prove to be very harmful.

The type of character developed in the intelligent practice of the New Testament symbols is the guarantee of the rightness of this type of church-life. In the twentieth century we shall do well to base our church-life on apostolic precedent (our cue from Schwarzenau) as nearly as we can, until the shadows of this world-darkness give way before the light of the New Jerusalem. Then we shall need no temple for the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb shall be the temple thereof. Until such consummation we shall need very much the fellowship of the living house into which we are being built as living stones.

To the service of that living fellowship as it was visioned at Schwarzenau this journal is dedicated.

IN THE SHADOW OF MUNICH

CHALMER FAW

This article is the reproduction of an address given in Bethany Chapel in September, 1938 at a time when it seemed but a question of hours until irrevocable catastrophe would be upon us. The clarity of its reasoning and the solemnity of the hour of its delivery when personal consequences seemed not far away, make it of unusual value as a present-day statement of our Peace Position. —Editor.

In the light of this morning's screaming headlines I should like to retouch a well-known sermon text of Jesus to read, "Repent ye for the kingdom of *hell* is at hand!" Repent ye of participation, in any way, in the war system. Repent ye of slackness, of do-nothingness, for the kingdom of hell is at hand! For, whether war comes immediately or is delayed, all hell will be turned loose in that hour. The kingdom of heaven will be curtained and the stage left to the forces of hate and destruction. And if the kingdom of hell is at hand, the men of the kingdom of heaven must be ready to resist it.

"But if war can be confined to Europe . . ." we soothe ourselves in smug isolation. Small comfort this, for if and when war comes in a large scale in Europe the United States will almost certainly be drawn into it. War is man's most costly sport. The major powers of Europe would not have fought a year before our country would be the only solvent great nation on the globe. The war would be fought on American money and American credit. Then, before we could realize it and against our every avowed desire, we would be in fighting to make the world safe for the American dollar. This process of sucking the United States into war would create such a maelstrom of high-pressure propaganda in this country that even the strong among us would be swept from their feet. Democracies would give way to war-time dictatorships, and peace-time social groups would be replaced by new groups born of the demands of force.

Is there nothing that we, as Christian individuals, can do about it? In the faith that there *is* something we can do, I wish to submit a three-point program for the Christian pacifist. First, the Christian should achieve religious and philosophical clarity in his own thinking on peace. Pacifism, as I see it, is basically a religious problem, and a clean-cut mastery of the fundamentals of the philosophy of peace is indispensable. In reality each one must think

through the problem for himself and reach his own working formula. All I can do this morning on this point is to share with you some thinking which has proved useful to me. Pacifism, in its repudiation of violence as a solution to individual and national problems, has always been in danger of becoming passivism, a gradual retreat from the active scene, an abstraction into a Nirvana of restful nothingness. As its critics well contend, it often works harder to avoid strife than to right wrongs and is in danger of losing its own soul in a negative program. Not so the true philosophy of pacifism. The Christian pacifist has a fight. And that fight demands all the zeal, intelligence, and strength the individual can summon. This fight, however, is not against humans but the common enemies of human beings. This is the point on which pacifism takes issue with militarism, not on the necessity of struggle. Instead of fighting persons, whether of the same race or nation—class war—or of a foreign nation—international war—the Christian pacifist is summoned to a relentless struggle against the enemies of persons and personality the world over. On the physical level his battle is pitched against such foes of mankind as famine, disease, hunger, ravages of the elements, disasters by land, sea, or air. On the intellectual plane the enemies to be exterminated include ignorance, prejudice, superstition, and intolerance, some of which is to be found in all men, including the pacifist and his associates. On the social level the fight must be waged incessantly against the injustice, oppression, inequality, and poverty which seem especially to haunt "Christian" civilizations and implicate individuals of most enlightened background in their outreach. On the spiritual level the Christian's struggle is joined against the sin and sins of all humankind. Our wrestling is against the principalities, powers and spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenlies, those intangible foes which make such hopeless victims of us all and which thrive because we have so feebly united to fight them. Our enemies are not human beings—not Hitler or Mussolini, nor any human opponent—but our enemies are the short-sightedness, the weaknesses of soul, the poverty of social imagination and the unregeneracy of spirit which infest not only the Hitlers and the Mussolinis, but ourselves. We have a fight, but our fight is never against persons, but is the fight of all mankind against his common enemies: physical, mental, social, and spiritual. Instead of dividing persons and destroying

personalities such a struggle unites man and men in a common drive against the foes of human welfare. For, once this philosophy becomes the dominant attitude of the individual, it must, by its very socially inclusive nature, spread from him into the enlistment of his society, nation, and world in this thrilling and constructive war on the real destroyers of mankind.

Having achieved clarity in the religio-philosophical basis of pacifism, the Christian must move on to a second attainment, that of intellectual integrity and discrimination. War is made possible by lies, some of the most delightful, vengefully delicious lies known to man: lies coated with sweet hatreds and camouflaged in an imposing array of fact. Such lies are necessary before a large-scale war can be put over, for masses of peace-loving people do not easily leave their happy homes to engage in the cruel sport of bombing and plundering the homes of like peace-loving persons against whom they have neither grudge nor reason for grudge. Men must be lied to, taught to hate and hate bitterly a people whom they neither know nor dislike. They must be hoodwinked into trampling upon every moral principle incompatible with the prosecution of the war. These war-time lies are the more effective because they have behind them all the sanction of established government, the approval of the social group, and, sad to relate, very often the blessing of religion. To call these falsehoods into question has the appearance of a revolt against civil authority, the social group and religion. But the Christian pacifist can and must retain his intellectual integrity even in a crisis. The church has not always prepared him for careful discrimination, by its constant insistence upon child-like faith, often to the neglect of faith's indispensable corollary, honest doubt. Faith is not an unmixed virtue, for, shorn of all critical faculties, it lapses into gullibility and credulity. Discriminating doubt is the other side of the shield of faith. Just as one cannot believe in the one true God unless he doubts the existence of other gods, so to have faith in the ultimate triumph of righteousness one must doubt the tenets of its opposites, materialism and pessimism. The truth cannot be believed until the false is discerned and doubted. The Christian pacifist can achieve mental integrity and discrimination only at the price of clean living, careful study, and clear reflective thinking. He must keep himself informed, foreseeing and forearming himself against lying propaganda. Two among many help-

ful books for this purpose are Walter Millis' The Road To War and Abrams' Preachers Present Arms. The Christian will school himself to remember, whatever the pressure, that truth is bound to lie on both sides of a national controversy, that the use of shibboleths and slogans is not thinking but is a sell-out to the cause of the unscrupulous, that moral principles are as operative in war as in peace, and that the kingdom of heaven must be brought to earth even midst the war-time reign of hell.

The third step in the crisis preparation of the Christian pacifist is the achievement of emotional stability.

> "If you can keep your head when all about you
> are losing theirs and blaming it on you;"

if you can keep sane in the insane world which a war crisis creates; if you can remain emotionally poised amid a hate-crazed, fear-fevered people—you'll not only be a man, my son, but a Christian. The emotional problem of a war situation is, after all, one of the most crucial. If men could remain and in full possession of their powers of reason they would know how utterly foolish and irrational war is and would stoop to it under no provocation. To do this demands of the Christian pacifist a new strengthening of the inner life, a grip on reality sufficiently strong to dispel all unreality and irrationality about him. While others exhaust their energies in vengeful attacks on the human foe the Christian will spend his time and strength combatting the true enemy, war hysteria itself. The best way I know to accomplish this necessary emotional conditioning is to cultivate a three-way line of contact: back into the long sweep of history, out into a sympathetic group fellowship, and up in a close communion with the Eternal. Set in an ongoing historical process the pacifist can hold tryst with the long line of kindred spirits who are calling upon him to hold true. Sharing the fellowship and support of a closely knit contemporary group of pacifists he can dare the disapproval of all other groups if necessary in his efforts for peace. Taking time for quiet periods of meditation and the reorientation of his life in harmony with his realization of God, he will come forth blessed with a clear-eyed calm to meet the pressures of the time. Fellowship with the long succession of peacemakers of the past will create in the individual a sense of responsibility to the centuries. The shuttling between group fellowship and

private devotion will weave a fabric of under girding relationships that will make the pacifist both strong and sympathetic.

A war-crisis threatens. It is time for Christians to make special preparation for the extraordinary strains such a crisis would bring. This can be done, I believe, by achieving philosophical clarity, intellectual discrimination, and emotional stability. If the Christian learns to do this the kingdom of heaven will have already begun to come to supplant the kingdom of hell.

WHY THE EARLY GERMANS CAME TO PENNSYLVANIA

L. D. Rose

I. Introduction

The three dominant groups of people settling in Colonial Pennsylvania were the Quakers, Scotch-Irish, and the Germans. The Quakers, English and Welsh under the leadership of the great Penn, founded our metropolis and engaged in trade with the mother country across the Atlantic.

The Scotch-Irish, bold and aggressive and daring, pushed their way to the frontier, subdued the Indians, carved homes out of the wilderness, erected schools and churches, and materially modified the policies of the proprietary government.

The Germans, lovers of home and of land, loyal and religious, peace-loving and industrious, sought the fertile soil of the Atlantic plain and engaged for the most part in agriculture. They laid the foundation of successful farm life in America; and their descendants, far and wide, are still the best farmers in America. They also in part gave themselves to the textile industries, weaving in flax and wool and later in cotton, giving to America her great textile industry. Others, especially the group that had contact with the schools at Halle, gave themselves to the study of the medicinal value of plants and set up the practice of medicine. The first medical school and botanical garden in America were in Germantown. From this enterprise of German people came the founding of the great medical school of the University of Pennsylvania—the first in America.

Nor were these Germans neglectful of the religious obligations that rest upon all people. They brought here a fine devotion to the things of the Spirit and set up in houses, barns and cabins, temples of worship to Almighty God.

At least seven distinct faiths were represented in this German migration—the Lutherans, the German Reformed, the Mennonites, the Moravians, the Schwenkfelders, the Brethren and the Seventh-Day Baptists.[1]

It is a fact that the first German immigrants to set foot on American soil came to Pennsylvania. It is also a fact that most of the German immigrants who came to colonial America entered through the port of Philadelphia. Why are both of these statements historical facts?

It is true that in Pennsylvania the modes of thought have persisted stronger among the descendants of the early Germans than in any other state; in other words the "Ideengang" has been subject to less change in Pennsylvania. It is also true that the whole viewpoint of life or "Weltanschauung" is more distinctly German in Pennsylvania than in any other state. Again, why are these statements true?

Recently the writer received a copy of "Unsere Heimat", a German magazine published in the Palatinate. Now the Palatinate is that beautiful section of southwest Germany dear to the heart of every student of Pennsylvania German history. It is the section from which the first immigrants came to America. In this magazine there is an article in dialect about a lady traveling to Philadelphia by rail with her mischievous boy. The youngster was a constant pest; entreaties in the choicest English were of no avail. Only a few words that showed "Die Macht der Muttersproch" were necessary to calm the youngster.[2]

In the same magazine there is also an article about "Das Brauchen in Pennsylvanien". Here are given verses gegen Verbluten, Kopfweh, Gift, Wildfeier, Kolik, Owachse and other ailments.[3] Without raising any question at all about the merits or demerits of powwowing, the question must be raised in all sincerity why two articles about Pennsylvania should appear in a German magazine.

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1. Brumbaugh, M. G., *An Outline for Historical Romance Proceedings,* Pennsylvania German Society, Norristown, Pa., 1928, pp. 5, 6.
2. "Unsere Heimat," *Kaiserslautern,* August, 1937, p. 334.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 328.

From Pennsylvania German Colonists settled in New York, Maryland, Virginia and other states. However, we never speak of Maryland German, Virginia German or any other type of German. Why only the term Pennsylvania German?

Last summer a Rotarian from this county toured Europe. In his travels he met a number of men in Berlin whose names he recorded on slips of paper. On his return he was invited to address the Elizabethtown Rotary Club. During the course of his address he passed around the slips of paper to men of the same name he had met in Berlin. Our fellow Rotarian could have done the same had he secured names from any other city in Germany. Furthermore, he could have found names to match in any village or city in any German community in the country.

Only a casual inquiry among the members of the faculty and student body of this institution would reveal a number of German names. In many instances it might be easy to trace lineage to the Fatherland.

In this paper a number of questions have been raised. These questions cannot be answered in a sentence or two. To attempt an adequate answer it will be necessary in a series of discussions to explore the devastating influences of the Thirty Years' War on German culture; a rather detailed study of the pietistic movement must be undertaken; and finally, there must be a resume of William Penn's missionary travels in Germany before he came to Pennsylvania October 27, 1682.

II. The Thirty Years' War

The seventeenth century was a period of turmoil. To Germany it meant the horrors of the Thirty Years' War and its terrible consequences. The war was primarily a religious war and was waged with the bitterness of such wars, but at the same time political questions were interwoven with the religious question, with the consequence that the armies, considering themselves as their master's retainers rather than champions of a cause, plundered and burned everywhere, military violence being in no way restrained by expediency.[1] The war began in 1618 in Bohemia when the Protestant princes refused to elect Ferdinand, a Catholic, to the vacant throne and ended with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The war pro-

1. *Encyclopedia Britannica,* (11th ed., 1911) vol. XXVI, p. 852.

duced several famous heroes: Tilly, Gustavus Adolphus, the Piccolomini and Wallenstein. The last two form the theme of Schiller's trilogy which is usually considered his masterpiece: Wallenstein's Lager, Die Piccolomini, Wallenstein's Tod.

Other countries involved in the struggle at various times were Sweden, Denmark, Holland, England, Spain, Italy and France. Of these brief mention will be made only of France because of its importance for future discussions. When the war began Richelieu was the French premier. He propounded the doctrine that all territory west of the Rhine originally belonged to France. Hence the boundary line should be moved eastward. This doctrine stands in direct contradiction to the doctrine of Ernst Moritz Arndt as inscribed on a monument to his honor on the bank of the Rhine at Bonn: "Der Rhein ist Deutschlands Strom, nicht Deutschlands Grenze." (The Rhine is Germany's river, not Germany's boundary.)

Soon after the close of the war Louis XIV ascended the French throne. He regarded war as a fixed and permanent factor of civilization. In his study of history he arrived at the conclusion that the greatest glory had always fallen to the world's warriors and conquerors. Hence it is not surprising that he was almost continually at war for over half a century and that he sought domination of Europe by arms.[2] How the pious, unassuming people of the Palatinate fared at his hands will be recounted later.

During the war very few pitched battles were fought. The armies were usually on the march. The coming of an army with its mob of camp followers meant ruin to any region. The country-side had to furnish wood, straw, food and fodder. The camp followers wandered around plundering and stealing everything of value.[3]

Johannes Herberle, a Swabian peasant, recorded in his diary: "Gott lob und Dank wir sind diesmal noch gern geflohen weil es die letzte Flucht war, die 29. oder ungefähr die 30."[4] (God be praised we gladly fled this time because it was our last flight, the 29th or possibly the 30th.)

The fate of the cities was only a little less severe. Often a city

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2. Hazen, Charles Downer, *Modern Europe,* p. 28. New York, Henry Holt & Co. 1920.

3. Kuhns, Oscar, *German and Swiss Settlements of Pennsylvania,* p. 3. New York, Henry Holt & Co. 1914.

4. *Ibid.,* p. 5, footnote.

was ransomed at great expense. If a city was captured, the conquerors cut down the men in masses, dishonored the women, and destroyed everything on which they could lay their hands.

Volumes could be written about the economic and political losses of Germany as a result of the Thirty Years' War. However, these losses have to do with the outer life of man and in these discussions the dominant theme is the inner life of man. Spiritual and moral losses are equally important but more intangible. A whole generation had grown up in Germany without schools, without the ministrations of religion and without the civilizing influence of gaining a livelihood by means of industry and sobriety. Alles wert war vernichtet. (Everything of value had been annihilated.) Gradually the churches had been plundered and destroyed. The clergy had been killed and driven off, so that religious life was practically at a standstill.[5] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Germany had shared with Italy the leadership of the intellectual world; in the seventeenth she was thrown into a state of semi-barbarism. Alles wert war vernichtet. When her neighbors were developing their languages into flexible instruments of literary expression, Germany had to retain a cumbersome vernacular, so distasteful to her educated men that even in the eighteenth century Frederick the Great always wrote in French in preference to German.[6]

During the Thirty Years' War Germany produced no great men who made substantial contributions to the world stream of culture. No renowned thinkers, scientists, historians, musicians. The flower of German youth had been sacrificed to the ravages of war. Leibniz, mathematician and philosopher, was born two years before the close of the war, Bach and Händel, names too well known to require explanation, a generation after the war, Kant and Lessing three quarters of a century after the war, Goethe, Germany's greatest genius and one of the world's four, a century after the war. Germany did not regain her usual stride in the realm of the spirit until at least 125 years after the close of the Thirty Years' War.

There is however, a sphere of activity that must be examined here; in fact, it must be emphasized because of its relation to future issues that will arise. Although the religious life of Germany had

5. Hayes, Carlton J. H., *Political and Cultural History of Europe* vol. I, p. 322. New York, Macmillan. 1932.

6. Ogg, David, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century,* p. 169. London, A. & C. Black. 1925.

been disrupted and had been practically at a standstill, yet there were men, devoted to the highest interests of mankind, who made a permanent contribution in their realm. This contribution is the German hymn.

The hymnody of Protestant Germany is the richest in Christendom. By 1820 it was known to include more than 80,000 hymns of varying merit. In word and melody many of the German hymns have their origin in the Thirty Years' War and the generation following. These hymns go to the very rock bottom of human experience. The Oberammergau Passion Play, with its fine music and religious drama, also dates from this period. These creations of the spirit form an enduring monument to creative German genius. The earliest hymns of the Reformation were those of the Bohemian Brethren or Moravians, of which a collection of 89 was printed at Prague in 1501, and another of about 400, in 1505; but these were so effectually suppressed that only one imperfect copy of the former is known to exist, and none of the latter. For practical purposes the history of modern hymnody begins with the publication in 1524 at Erfurt and Wittenberg respectively, of two small books of German hymns, in each of which about three-fourths of the contents were from the pen of Luther. Many of these hymns are still in more or less common use.[7]

At first, German hymns are neither didactic nor retrospective but natural, cordial, and fearless, and at once popular and churchly. Gradually there is a transition toward the subjective style of later times, with the introduction of references to personal circumstances and didactic matter. The Psalms now become the model and type; prominence is given to personal matters; brevity and terseness give place to enlargement of thought. During the Thirty Years' War, hymns assume more and more of a subjective character. "Der Deutsche steigt in sich hinein". (The German descends into himself.) The objective features tend to disappear, while hymns relating to various circumstances and events in life—as suffering, consolation, death, the family, etc.,—become more numerous. There is often a tendency to excessive length, a common characteristic of meditative verse.[8]

The chief singer of this generation—in the judgment of many

7. Hastings, James (Editor), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* vol. 7, p. 28 ff. "Hymns" (Modern Christian) by T. G. Crippen. New York, Scribner. 1926.
8. *Ibid.*

the greatest of all German hymnists—is Paul Gerhardt (1607-76). Foremost among his 120 hymns is the incomparable "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" and not far behind it comes the ever popular "Befiehl du meine Wege" and "Ist Gott für mich so tretc gleich alles wider mich". To the same period belong Johannes Heermann, (1585-1647), "O Gott, du frommer Gott," Martin Rinckhart, (1586-1649), "Nun danket alle Gott," Georg Neumark (1621-81), "Wer nun den lieben Gott lässt walten" and Joachim Neander (1650-80), "Lobe den Herrn den mächtigen König der Ehren".[9] These hymns have a decided subjective, contemplative character which is also one of the characteristics of the pietistic movement in Germany.

SEMI-CENTENNIAL, WALNUT GROVE MEETING HOUSE

Elgin S. Moyer

This paper was read at the Semi-Centennial observance held in the Silver Creek Congregation Oct. 2, 1938. The writer is our assistant-editor. He was called back to the old home congregation to participate in this celebration.—Editor.

The Silver Creek congregation with its two meeting places, the Hickory Grove and Walnut Grove houses, is a scion of the Lick Creek church which now comprises the southern part of Williams County, Ohio. The Lick Creek congregation was organized in 1845 and the church house was built in 1870. The Brethren of the Lick Creek church, like the Brethren in many other congregations, were interested in preaching the Word not only at their central meeting place but also at outlying points. Thus quite early in their history they were conducting preaching services in schoolhouses and in other church houses in the northern part of Williams County, Ohio, and in the southern edge of Hillsdale County, Michigan.

As time wore on the membership in the northern part of the Lick Creek territory increased sufficiently to organize a new congrega-

9. *Ibid.*

tion. Thus in 1874 the Silver Creek church was organized with the following eighty-four charter members:

Peter Baker and wife
Nathan Bohner and wife
Jacob Bollinger and wife
Brother Clark and wife
John Conley and wife
George Copeland and wife
Jacob Couts and wife
William Finicle and wife
Brother Freed and wife
Frederick Greek and wife
Martin Hoke and wife
Jacob Keiser and wife
John Keiser and wife
Adam Kimmel and wife
Jacob Kinsey and wife
John Kinsey and wife
George Kurtz and wife
Samuel Landis and wife
William Lehman and wife
Jesse Long and wife
John Mahler and wife
David Martin and wife
Brother Matthas and wife
Joseph Moore and wife
Washington Moyer and wife
Abraham Reppard and wife
Christian Rittenhouse and wife
David Rittenhouse and wife
Eli Rittenhouse and wife
Samuel Rittenhouse and wife
Jacob Shaneour and wife
Edward Smith and wife
John Stoner and wife
George Throne and wife
Henry Throne and wife
John Wallace and wife

Lemuel Yocum and wife
Josiah Blair
Athelenda (Ethelinda?) Bollinger
Nancy Burkholder
Fortunatis Clark
Sister Culbertson
Catherine Justin
Hannah Rittenhouse
Sister Underwood
John Wallace
Susie Wallace

For a few years council meetings were held in the homes of the members while communion services were conducted in barns. At the time of the organization of the church there were residing within the bounds of the new congregation three ministers, Joseph Moore, David Rittenhouse, and Jacob Shaneour; and eight deacons, John Keiser, John Mahler, John Martin, Abraham Reppard, Christian Rittenhouse, Eli Rittenhouse, Henry Throne, and Lemuel Yocum. John Brown of the Lick Creek church was chosen as elder in charge of the new congregation. Just a few months later, the same year, B. F. Sholty, a minister, moved into the congregation.

On the day of the organization of the church, Jesse Long was called to the ministry, and Jacob Miller and John Lehman were elected deacons. In 1879 the church decided to ordain to the eldership one of its own number. As the election resulted in a tie vote for David Rittenhouse and Jacob Shaneour, these two brethren were given joint oversight of the church.

In 1878 the first church house was built two and one half miles southeast of Pioneer. Being located within a clump of hickory trees, it became known as the Hickory Grove meeting house. When this congregation was organized it comprised and comprises today the extreme northwest congregation of the District of Northwestern Ohio.

Before the building of the Hickory Grove house, however, the Brethren were holding meetings in the eastern part of what is today the Silver Creek congregation. Services were being held in schoolhouses, in a union church north of Primrose, and in a Universalist

church midway between Primrose and the present site of the Walnut Grove house. The Brethren seem to have been holding biweekly services in the Universalist house for quite some time prior to 1878, the time of the building of the Hickory Grove house. This practice came within the privilege granted by the Declaration of Principles of the Universalist church, dated December 29, 1863, which says that the house that was soon to be erected "shall be open for the use of all religious denominations, when not occupied by the one who has it in control."

The Universalists organized their society at Primrose in January, 1864, with a charter membership of twenty-five and built their house of worship shortly after. The growth of their church, however, was so meagre that before many years they found themselves unable longer to finance the church or to carry on their services. They finally leased their property to the Brethren for a period of ninety-nine years. Under these arrangements the Brethren held preaching services here regularly for perhaps six or eight years and conducted a Sunday school here at least a part of the time.

Some of the Brethren, realizing that that house was too small for their growing membership, which numbered perhaps forty in this part of the congregation, were urging that a new and more commodious house be built. In September, 1886, the Silver Creek church in council discussed the matter and appointed Jacob Miller and Samuel Landis to ascertain how much money might be raised for this purpose. But at the next meeting in December, the church decided to drop the project for the time being. At this meeting it was decided to raise funds to build horse and buggy sheds for the Hickory Grove church grounds instead.

A year later another committee, consisting of Lemuel Yocum, H. W. Moyer, Noah Long and Jacob Rockey was appointed to raise funds for the Primrose meeting house. At a special council meeting in October, 1887, it being reported that $722 had been raised, the church decided to make plans for building, and appointed Jacob Miller as chairman of the building committee. In January H. W. Moyer was elected treasurer of this special building fund.

Since the church had taken this action and knowing the desire of the church to have a house of worship near the church's burying ground, H. W. Moyer gave a new plot of ground for the site of the church. This plot lies about eighty rods south of Primrose.

The transaction was dated January 17, and the deed was recorded May 1, 1888. In 1884 he had given the adjoining plot for the cemetery. The first person to be buried in this new cemetery was Daniel Marks in 1888.

With a plot of ground for cemetery and another for a church site belonging to the church, the members in this part of the Silver Creek territory urged that the church soon be built.

Early in 1888 the subscription sum had grown to about two thousand dollars. With this amount and with the timber and stone that was donated by members and other neighbors, further plans for building were soon under way. Stone had been hauled by sled the previous winter from Noah Long's place five miles north and one and one half miles west of Pioneer. In the spring of 1888 the work of building was begun with George Mahler, a minister, and Jacob Miller, a deacon, as head carpenters and George Miller, George Keiser and Anthony Pickens as helpers.

The trustees of the church whose duty it was to supervise the planning and construction of the building were Jacob Miller, Samuel Landis and Lemuel Yocum, all deacons in the church.

The building was completed by midsummer. We find in the diary of my father, Mahlon Moyer, the following entry for Aug. 8, 1888, "Church raising today. I was up awhile in the A. M. and also in the P. M. Got thru about 4 p. m. Perhaps 90 men present. Everything went together pretty nicely. Got all rafters up. Had basket dinner in our barn. About 200 persons ate dinner. Had a nice table set. Everything passed off nicely."

On Sunday, Nov. 11, 1888, the house was dedicated. Father made the following record in his diary, "Weather cool and pleasant. Roads muddy. We all attended dedication of the Walnut Grove Church at Primrose, 10:30 a. m. Addressed by Elder J. C. Murray of North Manchester, Indiana. The earth and the fulness thereof were created for the purpose of man. Man was created for the purpose of God. Are we serving his purpose as we should? Had an able sermon. House well filled, some had to stand. Brother Murray used as his text John 5:2. He impressed his audience with the importance of dedicating themselves to God and his service."

Following the dedication service on November 11, a revival meeting was begun by Elder Murray and continued until November 25, resulting in one accession to the church.

It may be in point here to mention that the little meeting house that had been owned by the Universalists and leased to the Brethren was purchased by grandfather Moyer in 1888 or 1889 for the sum of twenty-four or twenty-five dollars. The building was razed to the ground and the lumber was used in farm buildings.

These two meeting houses, in true Dunker fashion, were named after some of nature's own handiwork. The new church was called Walnut Grove house, receiving its name from the small grove of black and white walnut trees growing on the Moyer farm a few rods south of the church. As has been mentioned the west house was built in a clump of hickory trees, and became known as the Hickory Grove house.

The Walnut Grove house has been the meeting place for a minority of the congregation, but in its regular Sunday school, weekly or bi-weekly preaching services, annual revival, and its prayer meeting thru the years, it has had a vital place in the life of the congregation, and has had no small influence in the life of the community. Although it is less than five miles distant from the Hickory Grove house, in the days of horse and buggy and muddy roads, this distance made it difficult for members to get to church and was a barrier in reaching the more or less disinterested nonmembers for Christ and the church. Thus many have become interested in the church and have become followers of the Lord Jesus, who otherwise perhaps would never have been reached for the Kingdom.

This church house was not built to accommodate love feast occasions. The communion services and council meetings have always been held in the Hickory Grove house which is more nearly in the center of the entire congregation.

Nearly every year since the house was built, revival meetings have been held here; and even before the present house was built, Sunday school was carried on. In the earlier years the Sunday school was closed during winter months; but before many years this little church was able to report an "evergreen" Sunday school, that is a Sunday school carried on the year round.

During the whole or a part of the last twelve years of the nineteenth century, being the period that this brief history covers, there were in the Silver Creek church ten ministers and one other who died the preceding December. Following is the list:

Jacob Shaneour, in the ministry before 1874, died December, 1887, Elder 1879; Joseph Moore, in the ministry 1864 to 1890, Elder, 1888; David Rittenhouse, in the ministry before 1874 to 1914, Elder 1879; Jesse Long, in the ministry from 1874 to 1905; B. F. Sholty, in the ministry before 1874 to 1904, Elder 1888, and served as elder in charge from this time until his death; Jacob W. Keiser, in the ministry from 1891 to about 1934, Elder, 1898, being elder in charge for more than twenty years following 1904; George Mahler, in the ministry from 1883 to 1913; Eli M. Rittenhouse, in the ministry from 1883 to 1919; John Mark, in the ministry from 1886 to 1915; Alfred Throne and William St. John, called to the ministry in 1898.

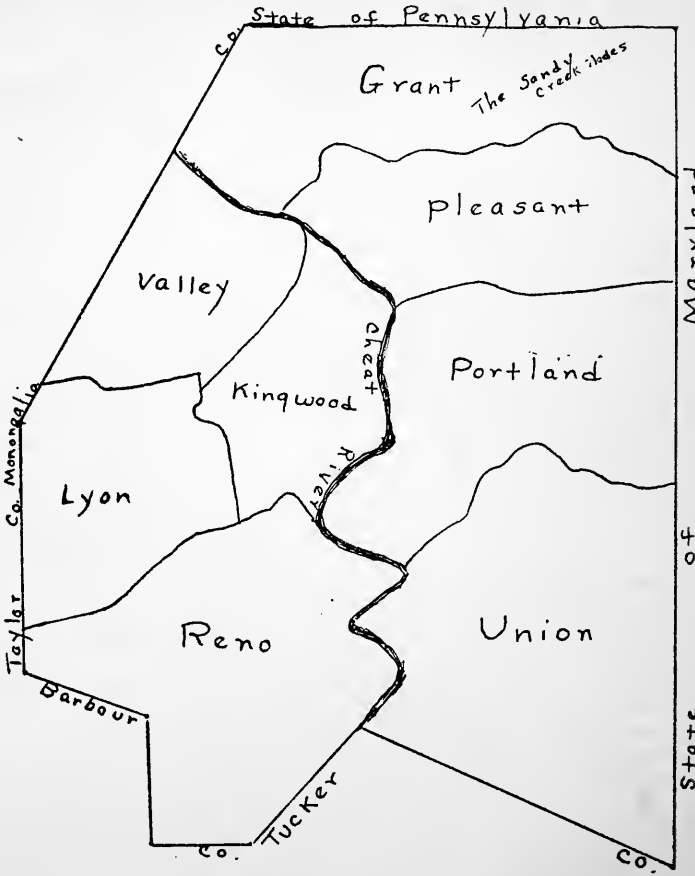
Of these eleven ministers, three lived within the bounds of the Walnut Grove territory, at the time of the building of the house in 1888, namely, Jacob Shaneour, Jacob W. Keiser, Eli M. Rittenhouse.

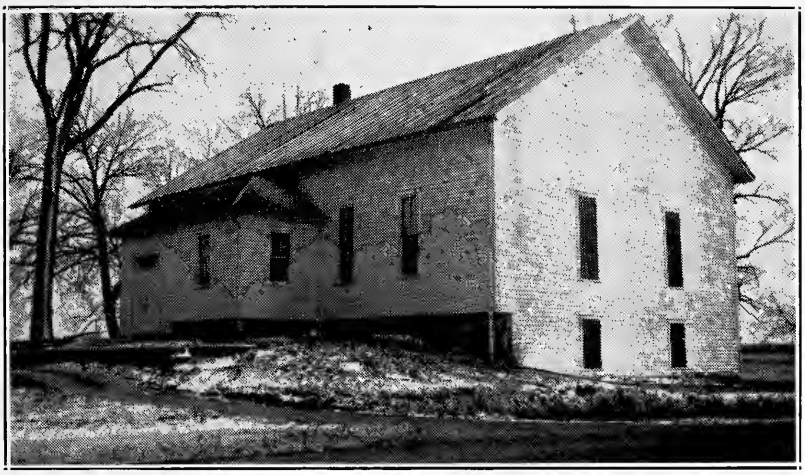
The following people who were members of the Silver Creek church, living in the Walnut Grove territory, at the time of the building of the house, are still living: Mary Sampson, Samuel and Rachel Miller, John Keiser and Dora Winters.

The members living within the bounds of the Walnut Grove territory have always loyally and faithfully supported the work of the local branch, and have borne their share of the congregational, district and general budgets. In the main, peace and Christian fellowship have always existed among the members, and the work of the Kingdom has been a joy and a pleasure for the members of this little church. This little band of God's children thru the years has had a wholesome influence upon the community, and has again and again had the joy of taking into its fold those from among the unsaved of the neighborhood.

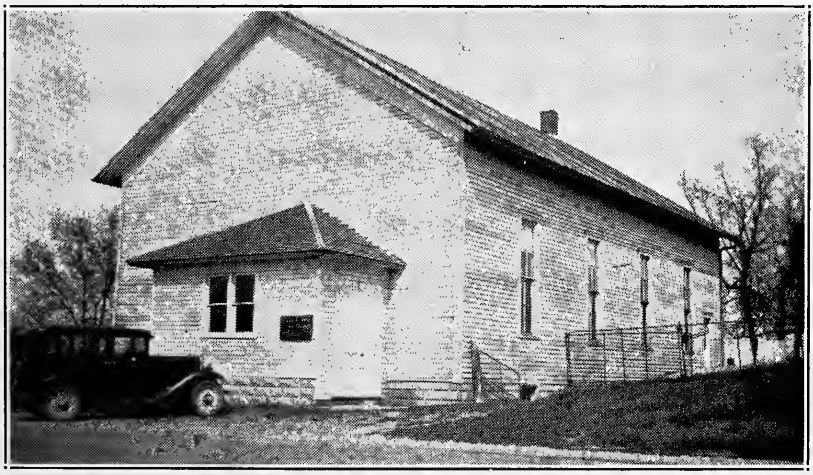
West Virginia—Location of Preston County

Map of Preston County, Showing the Districts





Hickory Grove Meeting House, Silver Creek Congregation
District of N. W. Ohio

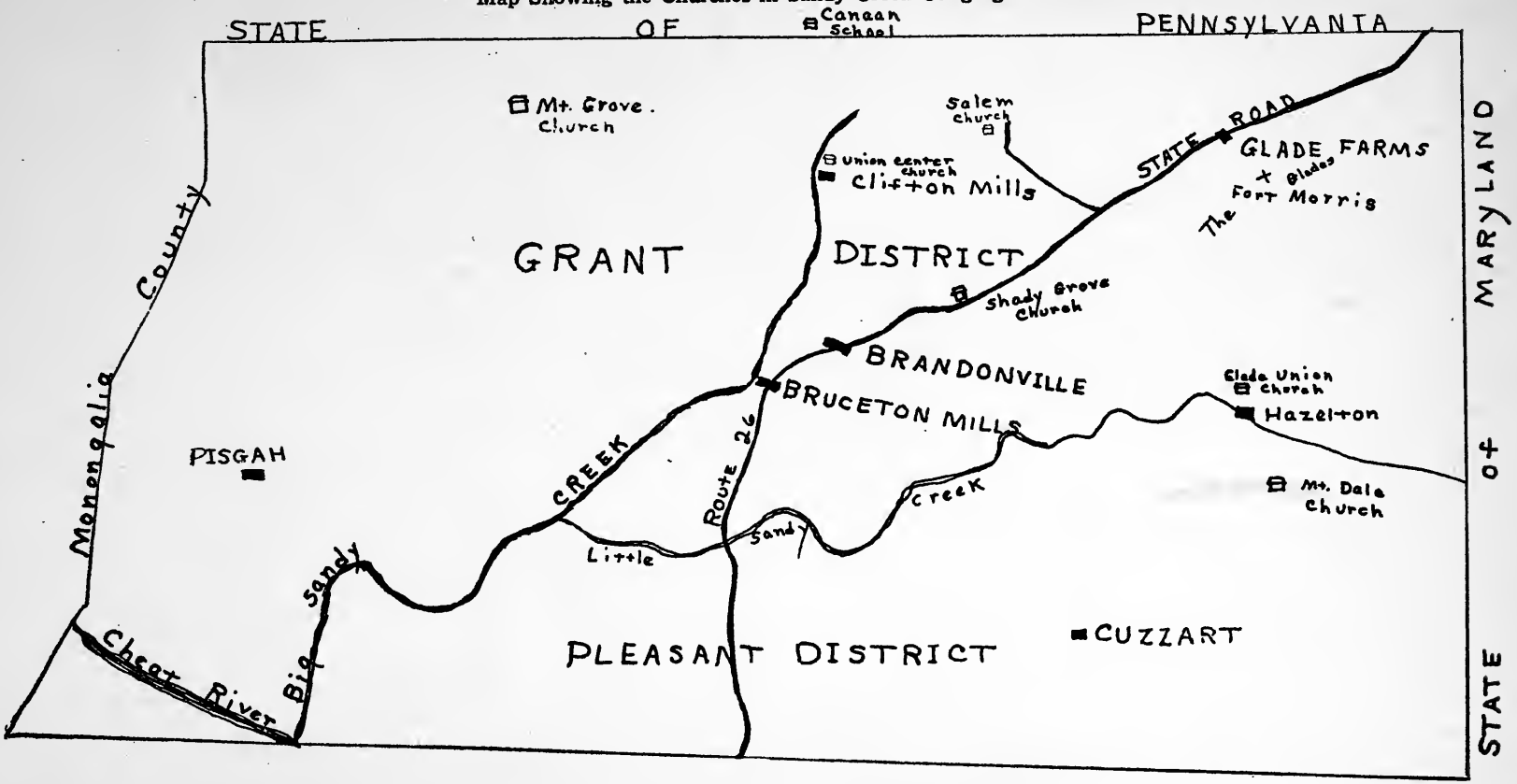


Walnut Grove Meeting House, Silver Creek Congregation
District of N. W. Ohio

Mountain Dale Meeting House, Sandy Creek Congregation
First District of West Virginia

Salem Meeting House, Sandy Creek Congregation
First District of West Virginia

Map Showing the Churches in Sandy Creek Congregation



HISTORY OF SANDY CREEK CONGREGATION, FIRST DISTRICT OF WEST VIRGINIA

Susie M. Thomas

CHAPTER I

Life During the Early Days of Preston County

To grasp the importance of the early church in Sandy Creek Congregation an understanding of life in the early days of Preston County is of much help. The life of the people a few years prior to the organization of the Congregation may be described as follows:

The people were of Welsh, German, and Scotch-Irish descent. They lived in the older and more developed half of northern Preston County. Sometimes the farms had been cleared by the fathers before them. A local spirit had arisen.

To use a single home as an example it would be somewhat as follows. It was composed of the father and mother, four living sons and four daughters of assorted sizes. An older girl died in early womanhood and two boys passed away in childhood. All the living children were still at home except the oldest daughter. The parents would have been very much surprised if they would have been asked, "Is your daughter a clerk or a teacher?" She was a wife and mother and lived in the settlement.

To approach the home from the country road, a half mile of timber was passed through in which there was scarcely one tree missing. The squirrels, rabbits and feathered denizens of the forest were in great numbers. The public road was so narrow that one wagon could pass another only with great inconvenience. It was used more often by a man on horseback than by one in a noisy wagon of the period. It was variegated with rocks, stumps, and mudholes. The streams were without bridges and a man using his own locomotion had to either find a couple rails or pull off his footgear and wade through the waters.

The home was made of hewed logs. A crowd of men gathered from an eight-mile radius and put up the walls in a single day. The chinks were filled by small flat stones, held in place by a plastering of reddish clay that gave the walls the color of ochre. From one

end of the roof projected a massive inside chimney of unhewn stone. The ends of a row of joists projecting below the eaves, and an opening in each gable were the only evidence of an upper story.

One of the low rooms was lighted after a fashion by a half window containing six panes of glass, the size of a pane being 8 x 10 inches. The other room was lighted only when a shutter was opened. Below were three windows supplying two rooms. The sashes of the lower windows were of unequal size, there being nine lights in the lower ones and three in the upper. One sash was raised being held up by a stick.

The cleated entrance door was furnished with very long strap hinges forged by the neighborhood blacksmith. Those of the door in the board partition were of the same material but smaller in size. There were scarcely more than two handfuls of nails in the whole house. The reason is evident from the following.

> An inducement to the free use of wooden pegs lay in the fact that iron was ten cents a pound, even before it was slowly wrought into hand-made nails and hinges.[1]

The floors and partitions were of broad poplar boards which were unevenly sawed by an up and down saw driven by an overshot waterwheel. By use of the adze, however, the floors were made quite level. The strong arms of the owner and his friends supplied nearly all of the materials as well as the labor.

> It was no child's play to raise a heavy log. It took four men at each end and one in the middle. The ends had to be kept level to prevent a slipping, and perhaps a resulting accident. Even the roof, of riven clapboards, had to be held in place by heavy-weight poles, with their accompaniment of eve-bearers, ribs and knees. But since this help was gratuitous, save when it was returned in kind, the outlay in cash for materials was very small.[2]

The larger apartment of the lower division was kitchen, dining room and living room, all in one. All the rooms on the first floor were unfinished. The wall logs were in full view as were also the hewn joists over head. The large fireplace required much wood to fill it. It would have taken less labor to have dug black diamonds from the hillside, but the housekeepers regarded it intolerably dirty for domestic use.

There were no matches and the fire was started with a piece of maple punk, a piece of tow, and a few grains of powder. Later a

1. Morton, Oren F., *History of Preston Co.,* Part I, p. 110.
2. Morton, *op. cit.,* pp. 110, 111.

device came in as a substitute. It was a little oblong tin box with two partitions. In the larger of these were some punk and tow, and also a flint and a long cord. In the top of the smaller partition was a brass wheel an inch and a half in diameter, with teeth like a clock wheel. The cord was wound around the pin, on which the wheel freely revolved, and the flint was placed in position. There was a quick jerk on the cord, and the wheel rotated too rapidly for the teeth to be distinguished, and a shower of sparks fell from the flint upon the combustibles below.

The bedstead was massive and high with a network of creaking cords upholding the feather-ticks, which were hidden by a home-made coverlet. At the foot of the bed was the ladder leading to the upper rooms. At the top of the ladder were two broad, low chambers, looking very bare except for the beds, of which there were two or three in each room, the pile of extra bedding stacked on the floor, the big hardwood chest and a considerable quantity of wearing apparel dangling from pegs. Limited as was the house room and large as was the family, there was always a place over night for not only one guest, but more than one.

Preparations for dinner were made in quite a different way to what they are made in our modern age.

> Close before the fire is a smooth, semi-carbonized board, on which lies a browning johnny cake. The housewife proceeds to turn it, so that the under side may get done. A pot simmering above a bed of coals contains bacon and vegetables. In another, hot water is bubbling.[3]

The husband would not have been true to the usage of the community if he would not have insisted on the guests breaking bread with him.

> So we sit down to a bountiful repast of corn-bread, garden beans, potatoes, bacon, berries, spicewood tea, rye, coffee, and milk. If it were Sunday, a loaf of white bread and plump pie would grace the table, although the wheat loaf is not quite relished by some of the household. If it were later in the year, there would be a dish of apple-butter and another of stewed dried apples or berries. But there are no jellies, and no dish of fruit from a glass jar, the process of airtight canning being yet to come into vogue. "Store tea" and "store coffee" are great rarities on this table. As for rice, macaroni, or a dessert of bananas, we would never see such articles on John's table from the beginning of a year to its end. But during the colder months we would

3. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

see venison, wild turkey, or pheasant, and perhaps bear meat or else some fish. The bill of fare is almost strictly a product of these hills.[4]

The dishes were meager in variety and very plain in pattern. There were wooden and pewter spoons and wooden and common earthenware utensils. In the dooryard was a Dutch oven. It was built of stones. A fire was made in it and after the wood was reduced to coals the embers were cleared away and the loaves of wheat dough were put in. The heat that passed into the stonework assured the baking.

Not far from the house was a log barn. The roof was covered with rye straw bound with hickory withes. The spaces between the logs were wide and not generally chinked.

There were many chestnuts and a sugar camp was made each year. Here was made all the sugar used at the house except for some honey from the hives which supplemented it. The surplus of maple sugar was sent to market over the National Road. There were no galvanized sap-spouts and sap-buckets, and no modern hives, for the bees. A concern of straw, or a section of a hollow log answered for hives.

Stumps were quite gone from the old clearings, but there were plenty in the new ones. The virgin fertility of the former was much impaired. The opinion was still held that a field was to be considered good for so many crops, and then thrown out of active use in favor of a new clearing. So long as new fields could be tilled there was little thought of keeping up the fertility of the older ones. The surface of the small tilled area was scratched with a wooden plow, which was liable to "ball up". There was a wooden-toothed harrow for heavy work, but the grain crop was brushed in with a bush harrow. The corn-field and the potato patch were given their chance against the weeds by means of the hoe, every grown and partially grown member of the family taking part in the crusade.

The grain was reaped with a sickle. The expert reaper brought his narrow crescent blade close to the fingers that were grasping the handful of wheat or oats straw, and the left hand sometimes bore the scars of more than one miscalculation. Threshing was done with the flail. Twelve to fifteen bushels of grain were threshed a day not including the time spent in winnowing away the chaff. Portions of corn, wheat, and buckwheat were taken to some water

4. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

mill, and there ground into flour or meal. Now and then the hand-mill was still used.

The acre of flax that was annually grown was as necessary as the other crops that were grown. Cotton in bulk was almost a curiosity. The distance to where any could be obtained was far and the price was almost prohibitive for the lean pocket books of the people.

By much hard labor and no little skill, and with almost no outlay in ready money, flax fiber and wool were produced and turned into cloth of which the family clothing, bedding, and the grain sacks were made.

A brown color was given to the new cloth by a cold solution of walnut hulls, but if a black was desired the liquid was boiled. Madder, a plant, gave a red color, maple a green, and hickory a yellow color to the cloth.

The process for preparing the flax is described as follows:

> The pulling, retting, breaking, swingling, and scutching of the flax consumes much time, and the swingling is dusty work. After the pulled stalks have become soft, as well as ill-smelling from retting in the damp, they are broken by blows from a wooden knife, and the tow is separated from the splintered bark by passing through sets of steel blades in the hackling boards. The fiber is boiled in lye to soften it . . . . The spinner is paid either by the clip or skein. The grades of the linen are the "pure linen", the tow linen, and the flax linen, the second has a tow woof, and the third a tow woof also, but coarser. Bleaching takes place on the grass. The sensation produced by putting on a new shirt of the coarser grades is compared by the boys to being rubbed with chestnut burrs. So it is the practice to beat the linen with clubs to break down the irritating "shivs," or to draw the shirt of torture back and forth over a smooth rail.

The tenth of May was the conventional date for donning the summer's linen. When a warmer cloth was needed, it was found in the combination of wool and linen, known as linsey woolsey.

Potatoes did not arrive until near the fall season. The garden yielded a smaller variety of vegetables than present day gardens, yet was more prominent with respect to savory herbs. There were some flowers and ornamental plants, among them a few tomatoes, known as Jerusalem apples, beautiful fruit not being supposed to be put into the mouth for it was thought they were poison.

A heavy beam, with one end anchored in a large oak, supplied the squeezing power for separating apple juice from the pomace. Apples were wanted for cider as much as for other purposes. Fruit

trees were set out soon after the arrival of the settler. In any but unfavorable seasons there was an abundant supply of apples, peaches, pears, plums, and cherries, a large share of the apples finding their way to the big copper kettle where the sliced fruit emerged as apple-butter. Some were dried for winter use and also a quantity of blackberries from the old clearings.

Very nearly everything worn or eaten by the settler and his large family was produced on the farm. Whatever the family needed could usually be had either by exchange of work or barter. At the store, he could sometimes get rid of a few pounds of butter or a few dozen of eggs, yet the price of the former was only six cents a pound and the latter only three cents a dozen.

The nearest neighbor was at least a third of a mile down the run. There were a few people in the community who had a horror of over exertion, and lived a meager existence.

In the settlement across the creek were so many people of German birth or ancestry that the family records were written in the German Bibles, and some instruction was given through the medium of the German tongue. The older people did not converse in English with much freedom.

A wedding was a great social event, and was followed by the infare at the home of the groom's father. A party went forth to meet the bridal group. The leaders on each side then galloped to the house, the one who arrived first received a bottle of liquor, which was immediately passed around with entire impartiality. A sequel to the infare was the inevitable serenade. The wedding festivities were not likely to pass off without some very coarse jokes.

In the weekday social gatherings utility was nearly always a feature. There were "frolics" galore. Every little while there was a clearing of new land, a log rolling, a corn husking, a wheat harvesting, an apple paring, a quilting, a house raising, a wood chopping, a sheep washing, a fish gigging, or a kicking frolic. On an occasion of the latter sort, a hundred yards of new cloth were fulled by being laid on boards placed on the floor of the barn. The cloth was kept drenched with soapy water, and was then stamped on for several hours by barefooted men and women, lads and lassies.

People gathered from within a radius of several miles for the frolic. The demands of the stomach were liberally supplied from

a well-filled table after the work was done. There was always a period of amusement afterwards.

These gatherings were both utilitarian and social. The purely social party was scarcely known, even among the young people. When it did occur, the sports which took place were likely to be rough.

There were still other forms of neighborly assistance. The people of the settlement were usually stout but occasionally some one got down sick. There was a doctor fifteen miles away, but he was less often called than Aunt Polly Bee, who with her native tact in the sick room, and her packages of boneset, chamomile, pennyroyal, and fever few, seemed sufficient for any ordinary emergency. While the simple life rendered the people hardy, and nervous affections were not particularly common, the more serious diseases were more often fatal than with us, because their nature and proper treatment were less understood. Since certain ailments were not known to be contagious they worked no little harm. The crowded homes, and the nonobservance or downright ignorance of proper sanitary care, were responsible for much of the illness, especially among the infants.

When a neighbor was ill or had a broken bone, the neighbors took turns in sitting up with him, and in seeing that his farm work did not suffer. The nearest doctor was the only substitute for the professional dentist, yet all he could do was to jerk out the tooth in blissful ignorance of anaesthetics.

Peace and harmony were not found at all times in the settlement. The persons who disagreed and had trouble over some matter did not take it to the squire or the lawyer at the county seat but met and fought it out. Although it was understood that the battle was to be square and without kicks, the victor might show his temper and his brutality by gouging the eyes of the vanquished, or attempt mutilation of the other. Arrests were seldom made. As the men fought the boys did also.

People went to the schoolhouse to hear an itinerant preacher once a month or met in some home for services. Few of the hearers were members of any church.

The teacher boarded around the district. The schoolroom was well filled during the winter term of three months. It presented

altogether a different scene as compared with the one-room schools of today.

The county seat contained but fifty inhabitants, and the farmer went there no oftener than actually necessary. Every second or third Saturday he visited the new village eight miles away. There he traded for something at the one store, conversed with men he did not meet in his own settlement and took a possible letter or paper from the post office. Of remote portions of the county and of neighboring counties his knowledge was hazy, except for the illumination afforded by strangers who have lodged with him.

The only musical instruments they knew were the "fiddle", accordion, and the jewsharp, with the addition of the drum and fife on musterdays.

The stranger visiting in the settlement was an object of curiosity. The people found out about the person if they could possibly find any way of doing so. Yet they treated him with great hospitality and the other stranger, who had moved into the settlement to stay, was made welcome with a housewarming.

Bachelors and spinsters of long standing were few. The daughters continued to live in the settlement. One of the sons would build a small house on the home farm, and eventually own a half of the place. Another would purchase some wild land, and though it was not easy to raise $100 with which to purchase the hundred acres the parent would come to the rescue although not in a gratuitous way. The third son would go to the newer land of promise toward the Father of Waters. He would never think of turning his steps in the direction from which his grandfather came. He would not think of moving to Pittsburgh, for then it had few workshops.

> The call of the city is a mild voice in 1825. The industries of the land are performed mainly by hand labor, and are carried on in the villages and farmsteads quite as much as in the cities. The people of America are still living in very much the same manner as when the Declaration of Independence was signed.[5]

Life in Preston County today presents altogether a different picture with the many modern conveniences in the homes, electric lights, automobiles, and good roads making it possible for them to reach the important centers.

5. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

CHAPTER II

Religion in Preston County

Although a desire for religious freedom led to the founding of more than half of the American colonies, it would be a great error to suppose the American people were generally religious at the time the settlement of Preston began. A religious feeling was not prevalent in a very vital form during the entire Revolutionary period. The wild freedom of the frontier wilderness was little inclined to observe the salutary restraints of either law or religion. Yet this spirit was only a passing cloud, for the backwoodsman was not so perverse as he presents himself to us of the present day. After the year 1820, there was a very marked change for the better.

The denominational preferences of the settlers of Preston are capable of ready explanation when we look at the characteristics of the elements that people the county.

The first arrivals were mainly of the Scotch-Irish, and this people came to America as Presbyterian. It is to them that the existence of this denomination in Preston is assignable. The very numerous German element was primarily Lutheran, German Reformed, or German Baptist, and all these sects were represented. Members of the Reformed Church were few as compared with the Lutherans, and were absorbed by the latter. The Methodist Church arose in America shortly before the Revolution, and its peculiar fervor struck a very responsive chord, especially in the South. That it heavily predominates in Preston is thus a matter of course. The Methodist Protestants are an offshoot of the parent Methodist Episcopal Church, and the United Brethren and the Evangelicals are also so similar that no special remark concerning them is here necessary. The Baptists have always been a strong and aggressive branch of Protestantism, and it would therefore be strange not to find this denomination present.[6]

The Lutherans were the first to settle in Preston County. The first church in Grant District and the second in Preston County was that of the Friends organized between 1796 and 1812.

Strong for a number of years, the organization shrank in membership to such an extent as to close the doors of its church in 1847. In 1868, the building was torn down.[7]

The Methodists came next. They had class about 1819. The Baptists next appeared.

The German Baptists or Dunkers were the fourth group to come into Grant District and the fifth in Preston County. They are most

6. Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 169, 170.
7. Scrapbook of Preston County History.

numerous in Grant and Union Districts but have organizations in Pleasant, Portland, and Reno Districts. The parent church in Grant, is the Salem, which dates from 1845.

The Church of the Brethren and Methodists predominate in Grant District. The Lutherans have decreased in number. There are a few Baptists.

An enumeration taken about 1913 shows that the Methodist Episcopals had 54 buildings, the Lutherans 11, the Baptists 10, the United Brethren and the German Baptists, each 7, the Methodist Protestants and the Roman Catholics, each 6, and the Evangelicals 4, the Presbyterians 3, the Disciples and the African Methodist Episcopals, each, 1, thus making a total, including the union churches, of 113 in the County of Preston.

CHAPTER III

Some Historical Incidents

One of the most severe calamities to hit Preston County occurred in 1859. A white visitor came during the night of June 3 and the results of the visitation were seen on a Sunday morning.

It was the June Frost.

Although wheat had been selling at advanced prices during the spring of 1859, during the latter part of May the signs of a promising crop caused a drop in the market. Waving fields of wheat could be seen all over the county, for by that time there was much cleared land.

Other crops were good, and with no very serious thoughts of an approaching inter-state war there seemingly was no warning. People observed Saturday by doing their shopping, trading in town, and the various early-summer gatherings that were then popular.

A blanket was all over the county on Sunday morning. Drooping blades and leaves were mute evidence to the slaughter worked on growing things. Fields of wheat that had once flung their heads into the sun, now forlornly bent as if all life had been ruthlessly dragged from them.

The farmers became quite alarmed, but as the sun mounted higher and higher during the day, thoughtful planning slowly took

the place of alarm and panic. Hurriedly, the owners of the once planted fields took off in search of additional grain for seed before the demand for it would cause prices to advance too much. Others took stock, and decided upon a different approach.

Fields were plowed under. Buckwheat, corn and potatoes, although planted late sprouted in fine shape and later in the fall, a plentiful harvest was taken in.

In the fall of 1860 great havoc was wrought among the young by an epidemic of diphtheria, a half dozen children sometimes perishing in a single home. The scourge was a new as well as severe disease, and it almost defied the measures taken to combat it. The next year the infected localities suffered a second visitation though in a milder form.

Almost the only immigrants to Preston County who made use of slavery were men like Fairfax who came from east of the Blue Ridge. There seem to have been no slaves in Grant, Pleasant, and Union Districts and no more than a very nominal representation in Lyon and Reno. There were few in Portland, or in Kingwood Districts, outside the county seat, Kingwood.

The older Virginia looked upon the western Virginia as being different. It sought to prevent a transfer of political power to the westward face of the Alleghenies. The western Virginian folks were in sympathy with the Union. May 23, 1861 the people of Virginia voted upon the ordinance of secession. In Preston the affirmative ballots were 63 and the negative 2,256. A comparison of these figures with the total population shows that few voters failed to go to the polls.

Although Preston County furnished many men and boys to the Union cause during the Civil War, with the exception of a skirmish at Rowlesburg and the firing of a few shots at Terra Alta little action was seen in this county.

Jones' raid was the title given the activity, and while neither the county seat nor Preston County was the main objective, the fact that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, an important link in the communication system between the armies of the west and headquarters in Washington traversed this county led these Confederate raiders to this section.

West Virginia adopted its first constitution in 1862. On June 20, 1863 it became an independent state in the Union.

CHAPTER IV

Historical and Geographical Sketch of Grant District and Preston County

Sandy Creek Congregation is located in Preston County, West Virginia. There are many things of interest connected with this county. Preston County was originally under the jurisdiction of Orange County, Virginia from 1734—1738 and Augusta County from 1738—1776. During the Revolutionary War it became a part of Monongalia County and was under its jurisdiction until 1818 when Preston became a separate county, due to the increasing population of this section of Monongalia County which prompted a desire for the division of the county.

Preston County is one of the fifty-five counties of the State of West Virginia. It is not as homogeneous as the average county. There is but one Preston County in the United States and it lies in a northeastern angle of West Virginia.

Preston County is divided into eight districts and in this history we are mainly concerned with one district in which five of the churches with which the Church of the Brethren are connected, are located. There is one church house in Sandy Creek Congregation which is located in Pleasant District and a schoolhouse in Pennsylvania.

The territory of Grant District was embraced in the First (Magisterial) District when Preston County was divided in 1852. In 1863, in order of division of the county as then made, it became without any change of boundaries, Pleasant Township. By a change of designation merely in 1873, it became Grant District. It is bounded on the north by Pennsylvania, on the east by Maryland, on the south by Pleasant District, and on the west by Cheat River, which separates it from Valley District.

Grant was the first district to become numerously settled. For about seventy years it stood foremost in population, wealth, and development. Until after 1850 it continued to about hold its own. Its relative decadence since then was due to the superseding of the National Road by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The improved roads in recent years have offset this condition.

Grant District was named for the victorious commander-in-chief of the Union armies in the war of 1861.

The early settlers of Grant were mainly of English and Scotch-Irish derivation. Their descendants have in large measure migrated, thus giving place to a steady influx of German families especially from Somerset and Bedford counties in Pennsylvania, so that now the predominant strain of population is of German origin. This later immigration helps to account for the community interest of the people on either side of the state line. In great degree Grant is the parent district whence many families or branches of families dispersed into other portions of the county.

The Sandy Creek Glades

To the region of the Sandy Creek Glades rightly belongs the credit of at least the second, if not the first, permanent settlement on the soil of Preston County.

Jacob Judy settled here in 1769, and the same year on a 400 acre tract of land whose northern boundary was the Mason and Dixon Line, John Cuppy (Cuppett) built his log cabin, cleared his patch of corn ground, and firmly established a "settlement right." Subsequent to this date and by the year 1782, no fewer than seventeen like settlements had been made within this area, around the nucleus of Fort Morris.

Of these, all but two of the pioneers came from Pennsylvania territory, mostly from the vicinity of Philadelphia, York and Lancaster, and thought they were settling on lands owned by Pennsylvania. They were of German extraction and "Pennsylvania Dutch" was spoken as fluently as English.

Both Pennsylvania and Virginia laid claim to this territory. Virginia exercised jurisdiction over a part of Fayette and Green counties of Pennsylvania and held her courts for a time at the home of Theophilus Phillips, (near New Geneva) and as late as 1784 Washington in his last journey across the mountains, found out that Cheat River was not wholly within Virginia territory.

Pennsylvania and Virginia disputed over part of what is now West Virginia territory, but the dispute was finally settled in 1781.

The Mason and Dixon Line was begun in 1767 and extended as far as the northern boundary of Preston when the Indians stopped the surveying party from going farther. A path twenty-four feet wide was cut through the forest by the surveying party, and this afterward afforded a road for the incoming settlers who entered north Preston. Another route followed by the settlers was the old Braddock Road

which at its nearest point was only four miles from the northeast corner of Preston. Over these two routes came the first settlers to the Sandy Creek Glades. From data in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society it appears that the Mason and Dixon surveying party, of which there were a considerable number, were Pennsylvanians, and mostly from Philadelphia, York, and Lancaster counties, and there is very strong reasons to believe that the later settlers in the Sandy Creek Glades gained information of the location of this desirable region from some of the surveying party.[8]

Grant District lies within the celebrated Ligonier Valley. On the east Laurel Hill and on the west Chestnut Ridge loom up, while through the center high and broad-topped hills extend. The surface is broken except in the eastern part, where a high elevated plain, called "The glades", stretch away to the foot of Laurel Hill Ridge.

On the hills the soil may be classed as a clay loam, while along the creek bottoms and on the chestnut ridges, it is a sandy loam and when properly tilled yields very good crops of wheat, corn, rye, buckwheat, oats, and potatoes. The suitability of Grant for tillage is above the average in Preston and there is rather more than the average of good farm buildings.

The Climate

The climate is healthy, but naturally cold in winter from the high elevation of the district. At Glade Farms on the eastern rim the elevation is 2110 feet, at Brandonville, 1798 feet, at Clifton Mills, 1529 feet and at Bruceton Mills 1548 feet. The winters are mostly open and broken with cold spells. The district is well supplied with water. Springs are abundant, and Big Sandy Creek with its tributaries, Laurel Run from the west, and Little Sandy from the East, afforded water power for saw and grist mills at many different points.

Timber

Timber is still plentiful although much of it has been destroyed and hauled away. Oak is most abundant on the hills and chestnut was on the ridges. The chestnut blight has killed the chestnut trees which were very plentiful and were a source of delight for children and older folks too, in the fall when they supplied many chestnuts to be sold and to be eaten around the fireside in winter when the

8. Scrapbook of Preston County History.

snow was falling and the winter wind howled outside. There are many maple trees, not as many as in years gone by, however, which were a source of sugar and also provided building material. The locust trees have been a source of post in mines and for fences and wherever very strong material was needed in building. During the past year the locust blight hit the locust trees and they were dying by the thousands.

Animals

The panther, bear, buffalo, elk, and wolf once roamed over the hills and through the glades. Wild-cats were the last formidable animals to disappear. Deer still remain in limited numbers.

Indian Graves and Trails

Grant District as a hunting ground did not possess sufficient attraction for the dusky sons of the forest to cause them to locate permanently on its soil. Near Bruceton there are one or two large Indian stone-pile graves that never have been opened. Arrows and spear heads are found all over the district. A tomahawk was found on the land owned by the father of the writer. An old Indian Trail came down Big Sandy Creek and McCullough's old path, coming up Big Sandy and passing through Wymp's Gap, was originally the great northern Indian Trail.

Fort Morris

On the land of Richard Morris in the Sandy Creek Glades in 1774 stood Fort Morris. It stood in a glade a fourth of a mile southwest of Glade Farms. The wall was built of sapling logs standing eight or ten feet above the ground and sunk about three feet into the soft alluvial earth. It contained one or two cabins, and here the families fled for shelter at the rumor of an Indian invasion. People from Washington County, Pennsylvania, and from around Morgantown flocked there for safety. When immediate danger seemed past, the men would return to their clearings, leaving their families in the stockade.

The fort was on a run emptying into Little Sandy, graced by the more practical than euphonious name of Hog Run. The correct name is Hogue Run named for Zebulon Hogue. The women and

children drank of the water from the run in low marshy ground and had something like the ague.

A monument now marks its site. The land on which it stands is owned by James Barnes, a son of Fleming Barnes who was an early minister in the Church of the Brethren.

Moccasin Rock

Not far from Fort Morris is Moccasin Rock, which bears its name from the imprint of an Indian moccasin in the rock. It looks as though at some time the rock had been heated and an Indian had stepped upon it.

Cooper Rocks

A little distance from the Monongalia County line and not far from Pisgah are the Cooper Rocks, a spot of repute for picnicing. They were named for Frederick Cooper, who came in the year of American Independence. Here are some huge rock masses that look as though they were in an unstable equilibrium. To outward appearance a not very strong force would pitch them into the chasm below.

These rocks were the subject of a very clever newspaper hoax perpetrated by the late Henry C. Hyde. It stated that some men and boys succeeded in dislodging by levers one of the larger rocks, which took a mad plunge down the river-hill, snapping trees like pipestems and falling with terrific force into the middle of the channel. The effect was to open a crevice in the rock-bed through which the waters disappeared into a cavern. It further stated that the people near by were leaving their homes, fearing the whole mountain was hollow. The Pittsburg dailies were victimized by this cock-and-bull story, and one of them dispatched a member of its staff provided with a camera. When he had arrived near enough to learn the truth, he vented his chagrin in language that had a strong odor of sulphur.[9]

Beautiful scenery can be seen most everywhere. On a bright summer day it is not often surpassed for quiet pastoral beauty. Between the mountains are rounded hills and oblong ridges, sometimes wooded and sometimes grassy. The tracts of fairly level land sometimes skirt the watercourses and sometimes they are lifted above them. There are meadows and tillage fields of every imaginable outline. Dotting the wavy expanse are white frame houses with their shade trees, orchards and gardens and quite large barns.

9. Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 238, 239.

CHAPTER V

Organization of Sandy Creek Congregation

Name and Location

Sandy Creek Congregation was named from "Big Sandy Creek," the stream of water flowing south through its territory.

It is located in the northern part of Preston County, in the whole eastern part of Grant District and northeastern part of Pleasant District.

Originally it embraced part of Wharton and Henry Clay townships in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, and a small part of Garrett County, Maryland.

In 1879 the territory in Pa. and Md. were cut off and organized into a separate congregation, known as the Markleysburg congregation, now belonging to the Western District of Pennsylvania. However it was understood when it was cut off, that those members living in Pennsylvania, along the West Virginia line could hold their membership in the Sandy Creek congregation if they so desired; hence, there are a number of members in Wharton Township, Pennsylvania, that have their membership in Sandy Creek.[10]

This congregation had two regular preaching places in Pennsylvania at the Canaan Schoolhouse and the Guthrie Schoolhouse. At the present time it includes only the Canaan School.

Organization

There is a great difference of opinion by writers as to when the Sandy Creek Congregation was organized. Howard Miller, in the Record of the Faithful, says it began in 1820.

The early history of the Salem Church of the Brethren dates back to about 1830. At that time there was no church building but meetings and the occasional visits into the community by ministers were always occasions for services, which were held in homes of the early settlers. Schoolhouses and even barns were used for services.

One of the homes used for these meetings during the early period of the church was the home of Jacob M. Thomas, who became one of the first ministers.

It is generally accepted by the people of Sandy Creek Congregation that it was organized in 1835 and the Centennial of its founding was celebrated at Salem Church August 11, 1935.

10. Thomas, Jeremiah, *History of Sandy Creek Congregation.*

There is no record to be found of the organization of the congregation. It is possible that it grew into a congregation, rather than having been made so by any special act or council. It was probably informally organized in 1835.[11]

The first minister known to be elected in Sandy Creek Congregation was John Boger who preached in German. He was elected sometime between 1830 and 1835.

Very soon after the election of John Boger, Jacob M. Thomas was elected to the ministry in 1836 and shortly after ordained to the eldership in 1841, being the first resident elder of the congregation.

Next in order were Andrew Umbel and Michael M. Thomas. Then George Meyers was called who preached in German, but later went off with the sect led by George Shumaker (Shumakers) but in their decline he returned and preached for the Brethren again.

Philip J. Brown and Christian Harader were elected between 1850 and 1855. Following them were Samuel C. Umbel, Larkin Hall and James Bennett. Larkin Hall was a man of ability and a fine scholar who was a great debater. He had an all-night debate with the learned school teacher, Jacob Rush, who afterward became a minister in the Church of the Brethren. Bro. Hall later moved to Iowa. Philip Brown was also a man of considerable ability. He moved to Ohio and later went with the Progressive Brethren. Bro. Harader moved to Iowa and Joseph Reckner and William Thomas were in the congregation for only a short time.

Fleming C. Barnes was elected to the ministry about 1863. He remained until his death in the Sandy Creek Congregation. John S. Hook was elected at the same time. He was somewhat advanced in age when called.

Jacob Beeghly moved here from Bear Creek Congregation, Maryland about 1855. He died in the Markleysburg Congregation.

About 1868, Michael J. Thomas was called to the ministry, labored a number of years, moved to Iowa, and later gave his labors to the Progressive Brethren.

In 1874 Jacob Rush moved from here to Cheat River Congregation after having labored here for several years.

In 1875, Solomon Bucklew moved here from Cheat River Congregation, near Terra Alta and labored for Sandy Creek Congre-

11. *Ibid.*

gation a little over 13 years. Jacob M. Thomas, who had been elder for thirty-five years and now eighty years old, was largely instrumental in having Bro. Bucklew to come here and take charge of the congregation as presiding elder.

Joseph Drennen moved here from Maryland, in 1878, labored here in the ministry for two years, and then moved West.

Joseph Guthrie was called to the ministry in 1880, and was ordained to the eldership.

On January 14, 1882, Jeremiah Thomas and John H. Baker were elected to the ministry. In a few years Bro. Baker moved to Illinois where he died. Bro. Thomas was promoted to the second degree of the ministry, July 4, 1885, and ordained to the eldership March 23, 1889. Eld. Solomon Bucklew was now leaving Sandy Creek Congregation and Bro. Thomas was given charge as presiding elder, and continued in that capacity until his death in 1934.

George W. VanSickle and Vestus Thomas were elected to the ministry sometime before 1898. Bro. Thomas did very little while in the ministry and was later relieved by the church. Bro. VanSickle was ordained to the eldership and is still living in the congregation.

In April, 1905, Calvin R. Wolfe was called to the ministry. Later, he moved to the Markleysburg congregation, where he was ordained to the eldership.

James W. Wolfe and Chester A. Thomas were elected to the ministry in 1913. Later, both of them were ordained to the eldership. Bro. Wolfe moved to Los Angeles, California, where he now resides, while Bro. Thomas is presiding elder in the congregation where he was elected and ordained.

Lloyd Liston was called to the ministry April 6, 1918 and Walter VanSickle was duly ordained in 1919. Both are active in the ministry at the present time.

Many of the ministers were deacons when called to the ministry, especially in the early years of the congregation.

It has been the custom for many years to have a series of meetings at each church in the congregation every year, conducted either by the home ministers, or by ministers called from elsewhere.

Since the organization of the congregation, many ministers have been called to conduct series of meetings, or at least preach a few sermons. Years ago, it was more customary to call a minister to

preach possibly Saturday night, Sunday and Sunday night. Of late years, a series of meetings are held for about two weeks at each church within the congregation.

Through the faithful labors of the home ministers and assisted by the evangelists hundreds of souls have been brought into the family of God. Several ministers and scores of members have been transferred to other congregations.

The places of worship are Salem, Shady Grove, Mountain Dale, and Mountain Grove, and Canaan School. Sandy Creek Congregation also has a part in the union church houses, Glade Union and Union Center.

Communion services are held at two of the churches, Salem and Mountain Dale, each year. The communion meetings are very well attended by the membership. The deacons visit the entire membership each year prior to communion service.

Council meetings are held quarterly in the churches adapted for communion services, and annual councils are held at the others. At these council meetings arrangements are made to hold series of evangelistic meetings each year at all the churches. The membership selects the evangelists to hold these meetings. The home ministers hold some of them, but more frequently the evangelist is called from elsewhere. By this method the territory is well worked.

The Christian Workers Meetings and Vacation Bible Schools have helped to educate and hold the young people. The first Vacation Bible School was held in 1920 with Olive Early of Bridgewater College and Ruth Howe of Blue Ridge College in charge.

Sunday schools are in session each year at all the places of worship. The first Sunday school in Preston County was organized at Aurora in 1825 by the father of James H. Shaffer. After that time they spread rapidly to the other churches in the county. There is no record of when a Sunday school was first organized in Sandy Creek Congregation, but they were probably held at an early date.

A social and prayer meeting was organized in 1898. Bro. Jeremiah Thomas gave the following comments about it in the Gospel Messenger:

> Our social and prayer meeting is progressing nicely. It was gratifying to see our young members take up their cross in these meetings, each one taking his turn in leading. I think the many congregations throughout the Brotherhood, who have not established meetings of

this kind, would do well to do so without delay, and see the good results.

My impression is that too many of our members especially the young feel that they have nothing to do in church work, excepting to be listeners. In the preaching service, and probably scholars in the Sunday school, there being no other meeting established by the congregation in which they can take part. Why not have a social and prayer, or young people's meeting in every church established and guarded by the congregation, so that all, young and old, can have the privilege to exercise in public prayer and talk upon Scriptural topics?

It is surprising to see what improvements many of our brethren and sisters make when they have the opportunity to do so.

My observation is, that many, who, at first, because of inexperience, can scarcely offer public prayer or stand up and speak a single minute on a subject to edification, will, through perseverance, become creditable speakers, and, above all, more fully consecrated to God and more fully educated in the Scriptures.

The young people now have this opportunity in the B. Y. P. D.

Sandy Creek Congregation has always been missionary in spirit although not much money was spent on missions for quite a long time. Many of the ministers were filled with the missionary spirit and traveled on horseback for long distances, gave their time and services free, and bore all expenses of the trips themselves.

Word would come to the better and older organized churches from members who had moved into a new settlement. The ministers would go over rough and winding mountain paths, through dense forests infested by wild and dangerous animals, and often more dangerous Indians, wading or fording rivers and streams to carry the message of Hope and Salvation to the rugged pioneers. Frequently they went by twos, perhaps partly as a means of safety and companionship, but also because it was apostolic.

Ministers went on missionary trips that extended over weeks and sometimes months. They went from settlement to settlement, holding meetings and love feasts.

For a number of years the congregation has been supporting some foreign missionary. First Sister Mary Cline was supported on the China mission field and at the present time the members are supporting Mrs. Lynn Blickenstaff who is working in India.

There has never been a pastor in the congregation. The seven regular places of worship are cared for by the home ministers who are four in number, Chester Thomas, George W. VanSickle, Walter VanSickle, and Lloyd Liston. There is a ministerial program and each minister is responsible for his part of the program which

rotates so that each minister gets to all the places of worship in his circuit. The church provides a small fund from which the minister is paid at each appointment.

Rev. Jeremiah Thomas, in his sketch of Sandy Creek Congregation states its greatest needs as follows:

> Our greatest need is more pastoral or ministerial visitation among the members. Our ministers are engaged in making a living and do not have time for as much visiting in all the homes as would be profitable. Because of this need, we have asked the membership in council assembled, to consider the advisability of securing a pastor who could give his entire time to the work of the church, but they decided that we were not ready for a pastor, as we were getting along very well with our present method.
>
> Considering the size of our territory, it hardly would be possible for one pastor to serve all places of worship, however, if our present working ministers would co-operate with a pastor, more effective work might be accomplished.

There is a fine spirit of unity between the people of the different places of worship. Much that is worthwhile has been accomplished by the ministers and the desire of the congregation is that the cause of Christ may go forward.

CHAPTER VI

Churches in Sandy Creek Congregation

Salem Church

The Salem Church was the first one built in Sandy Creek Congregation. It was built in 1845. This house was 40 x 80 feet, ten feet of the end being partitioned off for a kitchen. Before this time services were held in schoolhouses, dwelling houses, and for large gatherings, barns were often used. Love feasts were frequently observed in large barns.

Salem Church is located in Grant District, Preston County, West Virginia, about four miles northeast of Brandonville.

The old Salem church was replaced by the present one in 1890, after having served its purpose for forty-five years. It was first built 35 x 50 feet, besides the kitchen, and later to accommodate the growing congregation, a wing 25 x 35 feet was added to it in 1914. Electric lights were installed in 1923. Since that time quite a number of improvements have been made in the interior.

The church is on the farm now owned by Elder Chester Thomas. Near it stands the Thomas Schoolhouse. There is a cemetery not far from it on the Noah Thomas farm.

Evangelistic meetings are held here each year. Some 400 members take part in the communion service which is held at the close of the meeting. In 1934 the communion service was changed from Saturday evening to Sunday evening.

It was at this house that the centennial of the congregation was observed in an all-day meeting August 11, 1935. Dr. J. M. Henry was the chief speaker of the day.

Mountain Dale Church

Mountain Dale church house is in Pleasant District, three miles southeast of Hazelton, W. Va. The church house was built in 1896. It is 28 x 40 x 14 feet in size, besides the kitchen. This house is equipped for communion services. It was built to take the place of two services held in schoolhouses.

Mountain Dale church is the only one in the congregation besides Salem which holds lovefeast services. As many as one hundred and sixty persons have taken part there in the sacred communion service.

Evangelistic meetings are held each year. There is Sunday school annually and council meeting is held quarterly.

Shady Grove Church

Shady Grove Church is one and one half miles east of Brandonville, W. Va., on State Route 26. There is a grove of trees which makes it ideal for picnics and reunions.

Shady Grove Church was built in year of 1913. It was dedicated September 14, 1913, free of debt. Bro. D. K. Clapper of Meyersdale, Pennsylvania preached the dedicatory sermon.

The land on which the church is standing was donated by H. F. Goodwin and Mrs. Jones Miller. The money was solicited by Rev. Fleming Barnes before the building was erected. It was through his influence that the church was built. He also picked the location and gave it the name of Shady Grove. The bell was put on the church because he always liked to hear the bell ringing calling the

people to church. He also thought a funeral service seemed more solemn when the bell was tolled.

The size of the church is 26 x 40 feet. The contract for building was given to David Bishoff.

The Willett Cemetery which is now called the Union Cemetery is near the church and therefore many funerals are preached at this place.

Sunday school is held here nine months out of the year. District Sunday school conventions have been held here a number of times in which all the churches in Grant District took part.

Mountain Grove Church

The Mountain Grove Church is five miles northwest of Bruceton Mills. The first preaching done here was in a schoolhouse. The church was built in 1900 to take the place of two services held in schoolhouses. It is 25 x 40 feet in size. The Mountain Dale and Mountain Grove churches are about twenty miles apart.

Canaan Schoolhouse

The Canaan Schoolhouse is two miles north of Clifton Mills in Pennsylvania near the West Virginia line. It is the only place of worship outside West Virginia at the present time in Sandy Creek Congregation. Services were held at the Guthrie Schoolhouse for a time but were discontinued.

Formerly evangelistic meetings were held in the Canaan Schoolhouse. In a letter written by Jasper Barnthouse to the Gospel Messenger which was published January 22, 1889, is found the following account of one:

> I left my home in Garrett Co., Md., on the Saturday before Christmas, and preached at the Canaan, Pa., schoolhouse the same evening. We met again on Sunday morning for public worship, and also Sunday evening when Bro. S. C. Umbel of Markleysburg came to our assistance. We held forth the Word until the following Sunday evening when we closed our meetings. On Monday morning three young sisters and six young brethren were buried in the emblematic grave, confessing Christ as their Savior. Three, who had wandered away from the fold were reclaimed. One applicant for baptism, a young man, is very anxious to go with God's children, but is hindered by his father, who has gone "progressive", and wants his son to go with him.

This he refuses to do. In all, we had ten meetings, receiving 12 into the church. May God bless the young lambs of his fold, and keep them from the snares of the devil!

People from this section attend evangelistic meetings at Salem and Clifton. There is Sunday school each Sunday and services once a month.

Union Churches

Union Center Church

Besides the four church houses named, Sandy Creek Congregation has a one-third interest in two other church houses. Union Center Church is at Clifton Mills in the north central part of Grant District. It was built in 1879. Clifton Mills is a small country village on Big Sandy Creek.

Glade Union Church

Glade Union Church is one fourth mile northwest of Hazelton. At first church was held in an old log building near the present one. Rev. Westfall was a Methodist circuit rider at the time the church house was built. The new one was built by the Baptists, Methodists, and Brethren. The Baptists never used it very much.

Jacob Thomas, Solomon Bucklew, and Jacob Beeghly worked in this church. There has been Sunday school here as much as six months every year and evergreen Sunday school a time or two.

The Methodists have services twice a month and revival meeting once a year. The Brethren have services once a month and revival meeting once a year.

(To be continued)

ATTITUDES OF BRETHREN IN TRAINING CAMPS DURING THE WORLD WAR

KENNETH LONG

INTRODUCTION

In his *Imitation of Christ* Thomas 'A Kempis has made this interesting comment: "For occasions do not make a man frail, but they show what he is." The statement is not without merit. And whether or not we would agree unreservedly with 'A Kempis, certainly we are ready to admit that while the World War may have made the Church of the Brethren's stand for peace neither frail nor strong, it has at least helped us to see what it was at that time. For the World War *was* an occasion when historical peace traditions and convictions wrestled against mass hate, stirring propaganda, intense public opinion. In such a crisis those who dared raise their voice for peace were outstanding. The pacifist was Uncle Sam's sore thumb which demanded no little attention.

It is the purpose of this study to present the attitudes concerning Peace and War which are portrayed in letters written by those members of the Church of the Brethren who were drafted and went to the various training camps of our country. Over two hundred letters written directly from the camps by the boys themselves have been read and studied. The views and attitudes of 93 members of the church are represented. These men lived in different parts of the United States, from Virginia to California, from Michigan to Texas. By far the largest part of these letters were addressed to W. J. Swigart, chairman of the Central Service Committee, a committee appointed by the Special Annual Conference of Goshen in 1918 to deal with the many problems directly arising from the war. In other words, the letters likely present a one-sided view of prevailing opinions, as most of this correspondence came from definite problems arising in the camps. This very fact does mean that the attitudes are very apparent, but represent those mainly in cases of trouble and uncertainty.

Attitudes arise from the combination of two factors. There is the individual himself, his training, education, temperament, ethics,

character. Added to this is the situation in which he is placed, his environment, his treatment, his problem or obstacle. From the interaction of these two factors emerge attitudes. This latter factor is, for the most part, clearly discernible in the letters. Not so the former.

It would be both an interesting and valuable study to make a comparison of attitudes of men in similar situations who had different training. One wonders how the well educated man responded in a given situation compared to one who had received little formal education. How much did parochial training influence the attitudes shown?

Unfortunately we cannot answer these questions with the data available. For in only a very few cases can one know the educational attainments of these men and the same thing is true regarding their parochial training—in both cases far too few to base any accurate deductions or conclusions. The temptation here is, of course, to strive to determine by the style of the letter, the writing, and the general tone, what the educational attainments were and then to work backward from that to what has produced the attitudes. The fallacy is apparent; one starts on an assumption which he then attempts to prove by a reverse in the argument.

This study, therefore, will of necessity be only a presentation of the various attitudes found among the Brethren men in the camps with some observations based on the total picture presented.

The Background

As a background for the study of the attitudes of our Brethren men who were in training camps during the years 1917, 1918, 1919, it will be well for us to observe briefly the conditions surrounding them at that period. Questions such as the following might be raised. What was the attitude of our Church prior to and during the war? What was the attitude of the government toward church people who objected to fighting? What steps were taken by our denomination to solve the problems arising out of the extraordinary situation?

The mind of our Church on this question prior to 1914 can be found by a careful reading of minutes of Annual Meeting. To

summarize minutes scattered over a period of one hundred and thirty-five years one might say that the general attitude of our Church was a positive aversion to war expressed in a negative way —in refusal to bear arms, drill, or participate in any form. *Practically nothing* was done to further peace aside from the pledge at baptism and the exhortation to teach peace. Both of these were largely negative. As early as 1875 it was petitioned Annual Conference "to adopt suitable measures to enable the Church to co-operate actively with the peace association of America." The answer given was: "Our Church itself being a peace association, we need not, as a body co-operate with others, but we may, as individuals, give our influence in favor of peace." In 1911 a peace committee was appointed, but a request to send a representative to the Universal Peace Conference was disapproved. This refusal to co-operate with peace groups seems rather indicative of the general lethargy on this point.

With the outbreak of the war and a Peace committee already appointed there was much more mention of this doctrine in the minutes of Annual Meeting. Those taking the form of resolutions and reports expressed: Our Church's abhorrence of the war and dislike of increasing militarism in the United States; our commendation of Pres. Wilson for his efforts to end hostilities and to keep us out of the conflict; our faith in the Word of God as the only perfect standard of conduct for men and nations; and our belief in judicial arbitration of all international differences. Three queries against militarism and military training were unanimously passed by Annual Conference in 1916. In 1917 W. J. Swigart and H. C. Early were authorized to co-operate with representatives from the Mennonite and Friends churches for the common interest of peace and nonresistance.

A special General Conference was called at Goshen, Indiana, January 9, 1918 for the purpose of considering "the draft for military training and service, the attitude our drafted Brethren should maintain in the training camps, their spiritual care here and in Europe, if any are sent across the sea, relief work, and such other matters as may demand attention."

In a paper adopted by the conference, copies of which were sent to Pres. Wilson, Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, and Provost

Marshal, Gen. Crowder, this statement was made: "We earnestly and humbly pray the President of the United States to assign to us our noncombatant duties in agriculture and the peaceful industries, where loyal and valuable service to our country may be rendered without violence to conscience, and in a way that will avoid unhappy confusion in camps, in the effort to apply the provisions for noncombatant service under the military system, or to do, in harmony with our nonresistant principles, relief work and reconstruction work, here or elsewhere, at the judgment of, and if need be, under the control of the government."

To the drafted brethren in camps the following was issued: "I. We believe that war or any participation in war is wrong and entirely incompatible with the spirit, example and teachings of Jesus Christ.

"II. That we cannot conscientiously engage in any activity or perform any function, contributing to the destruction of human life."

The Foundations of our Belief were re-stated and the Church's attitude toward the government was expressed as loyalty to the leaders who are ordained by God—this loyalty to be superseded only by supreme loyalty to God. The members were urged to pray faithfully for our nation and her leaders; to contribute liberally to the relief of human suffering; to express gratitude to God by giving freely to constructive relief work, such as Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Friend's Relief Work, or through our own Service Committee; to labor strenuously and live frugally, so that the suffering and hungry in the world may be warmed, clothed, and fed.

Furthermore, the conference commended the Brethren in the camps for their loyalty to the position of the Church and enjoined them to continue to be faithful and true. It appointed a committee to look after relief and reconstruction work.

A Central Service Committee, replacing the Special Peace Committee was appointed. Its task was to represent the Church and her interests at Washington, to advise with all committees visiting the training camps and to receive reports from them and help unify the work, to be the final avenue for adjustments of problems of draft, noncombatant work, etc., and to co-operate as seemed advisable with other churches holding views similar to ours. W. J. Swigart

was the chairman of this committee; I. W. Taylor and C. D. Bonsack were the other members.

Camp Visitors were appointed from the various districts to visit the men in the camps and help them obtain proper treatment and advise them as to noncombatant work, as well as to provide for their spiritual well-being in so far as they could.

This, then was the official position taken by our Church. Two factors, however, need to be kept in mind. In spite of the best efforts through the "Gospel Messenger", pamphlets, and peace meetings there were quite a number of men who reached camp without a clear conception of the Church's stand. In addition it must be admitted that these statements made were, at best, general and the individual was forced to put his own interpretation on them. In the second place owing to our democratic form of Church polity opinions throughout the Brotherhood differed widely. For example, in the "Gospel Messenger" of September 22, 1917, p. 594, D. L. Miller writes in an editorial as follows: "Pres. Wilson has placed hospital work and caring for the suffering wounded as noncombatant service. . . . Simply caring for the sick and wounded, feeding the hungry and clothing the naked . . . is fully in accord with the teachings of Jesus. It is always right, and not only right but our duty, to help the suffering, no matter how the suffering has been brought about. When Jesus commended the good Samaritan because he cared for the naked, wounded man by the wayside, he did not favor the robber. The care for the suffering caused by war, is not favoring war."

On the other hand Wm. K. Conner in an issue published January 5, 1918, p. 12, writes: "It is very inspiring to see the firm stand many of you (boys in camp) are taking against becoming a part of the war machine—refusing even to do 'noncombatant service'. I heartily agree with the officers who say there is no such service. What a pity that the Church did not make that declaration! May we all recognize it now!"

A few statements in regard to the attitude of the government toward persons whose religious convictions would not permit them to engage in war are now in order. For the most part the government men were very gracious in their attitude. Especially were the higher officers considerate provided they felt the men were really

sincere and conscientious in their stand. It was not until March 22, 1918 that the President issued his statement regarding what types of service were considered as noncombatant ones in which the religious objector was asked to serve. This long delay made a difficult situation in many camps where some petty officers did not share the generous attitude of their superiors.

In some cases Local Boards refused to classify ministers in V and insisted on Class II B. Occasionally they refused to issue form 1008 to religious objectors. At other places the Boards and officers were unusually considerate, so we find as great a range in attitude here as in that of the church members.

Under such conditions it will be only natural to expect a wide variety of attitudes on the part of the conscientious objectors, and such there were. It is to these that we now direct our attention.

Attitudes Toward the War and Government

With only a few direct references to petty camp officers it would hardly be fair to attempt a generalized statement regarding the attitude of the C. O.'s (conscientious objector) to them. Still the ones expressed show a likeness in their general distrust and misgiving. This comes from a belief that these officers are trying to "work" them into active service by hook or by crook. Let me quote as a typical example No. 6. "They (the officers) lie to us and deceive us in various ways when they can." Another man, No. 11, gives a good and bad example in this statement. "They took my form 1008 and my Church certificate away from me the other night. They went through my suit case. The captain we had was an awful man. But the one we have now is an awful nice fellow. . . . I am praying every day and I feel that there was a change coming." No. 1 made a strong picture, recording a strong attitude of distrust. Said he, "We are going to make the best stand we can, but we think it would be well for someone to investigate our situation at once for you can't risk what an officer tells you, not even his 'death bed' oath." No. 28 shows an unusual attitude and gracious spirit. The war spirit is an awful thing and the C. O.'s are made a "gazing stock" and called the offscourings of the world, "but we love them (the officers) just the same and pray for them."

In regard to the higher officers the attitudes seem more evenly divided with more respect usually shown. In most cases the boys thought the officers were very slow in getting promises carried out. It seemed a common experience of some men to be continually transferred to escape exempting them from combatant service. So No. 39 wrote: "They have transferred me again so you see that they don't intend to give me justice on my exemption." No. 1 remarks, "They took the advantage of us throughout and sent us here as privates with no noncombatant marks at all." No. 49 had a different attitude, "Thursday morning . . . I refused to go out to drill. The captain was up to see me and was very nice. I . . . wondered why there hadn't been anything done about my transfer. He told me there was something being done. . . . The first sergeant came . . . and asked me what was the matter. Monday I was called up to the Fort Adjutant's office. . . . I was much surprised that he did not try to persuade me to take combatant service. . . . he was very courteous."

The few references to our highest war officials, President Wilson and Secretary Baker show an attitude of respect and confidence as well as gratitude for their consideration of C. O.'s. Some impatience was evident at the seemingly long delay before the President pronounced upon noncombatant service. No. 61 probably best represents the general attitude towards these executives. "However the President of the United States has promised all C. O.'s the right to noncombatant service and Bro. —— and I are determined to make use of this splendid privilege." When officers refused to segregate the C. O.'s No. 57 wrote: "Now if this is in accordance with the wishes of the President and Secretary Baker, then I have no complaint to make. If it is not . . . I would like to have you investigate the matter."

No. 28 gives us a more religious point of view and also introduces us to our next sub-division in our study, i. e., the attitude of the C. O.'s toward the government in general. To quote: "I say we cannot thank God enough for our good government we have as I know it is ordained of God. I know the President and Secretary of War have respected our convictions and I know that the Lord has directed them as we have offered many prayers for them."

The boys in camp desired to be loyal to the government. It was

not that they loved the United States less, but that they loved God more. It was a case of conflicting loyalties and they felt that above any government their God should be obeyed. Thus we find No. 73 accurately interpreting the consensus of opinion. "We are anxious to do what we can for our government and still be true to our God." At the same time they desired that the government should give them fair consideration. "I think the government ought to do the right thing by me" states No. 13 during a time of trouble in getting his noncombatant claims recognized.

In some places the C. O.'s were segregated in Detention camps and this they appreciated very much. It was not, by any means, easy for them to stand against the overwhelming opinion of the majority of the men who accepted the army life without question. The militarism on every hand distressed them and the conduct of their fellow men was often revolting. No. 1 had a positive aversion against the unsanitary conditions in which they were forced to live. Venereal disease abounded and the danger of contamination was ever present. No. 25 passes judgment in this sentence, "I want to get out on a farm, this is such a wicked place," while No. 2 observes, "God knows that this is the toughest of all the camps." From this it is easy to infer that none in his experience was very satisfactory.

Yet even so the men still tried to set a good example. "We try to set the boys an example of clean living and high ideals but of course are only laughed at for our sober ways," says No. 64.

One case is outstanding enough to be included in more detail. No. 50 had refused to wear the uniform and when men and officers asked him why he did so he told them his religious convictions. That evening they returned and demanded again that he put on the uniform. When he refused they seized him, put him in a blanket, and took him out of the tent. "They carried me a few rods to the end of the tents, and started with their fun. I don't know how often they tossed me up or how high. And I don't know how many had hold of the blanket. But I was told that all took a hold that there was room for. I held to the edge of the blanket a few times with my right hand and I suppose that had a tendency to throw me on the ground. They might of did it (sic) on purpose and left me fall on the ground for all I know. I noticed that my

arm was broken and I told them that it was. They picked me up and took me to the tent, and called an ambulance. Took me first to the infirmary and then to the hospital. It happened about eight in the evening of the 20th of September. . . . That is about as good as I can tell you about it by writing. I received very good attention since I have been at the hospital."

The letter was written over three months after the accident occurred and the man was still in the hospital, his arm in a cast, and he wasn't sure "if it will straighten out or not." And yet in the whole letter, five large pages, there is no word of condemnation, *no syllable of bitterness or hate.*

Attitudes Regarding the Church

A great variety of attitudes are given regarding the church and her stand, her convictions and faith. Rather naturally none of the letters question whether the peace position is right or not. Those of our Brethren who apostatized and entered into the war without reserve had little occasion to write to our Central Service Committee for help or advice. The questions in the minds of the ones who did write were: Just what is the stand our Church has taken in regard to the war? Noncombatant service? How far shall we go? Should one refuse to do anything at all?

Along with the first came many pleas that the Church might take a firm and more clear cut stand on the issue. Notice the attitude expressed by No. 82. "I have learned that the authorities want us to make a definite stand. Let our stand be supremely for peace, for we cannot do even the least little thing in the military machine and not prolong the war. If we, as a church, want to stand for peace we must stand 'four square'." In close relation to this No. 81 would like to see more positive work done by the brotherhood. "I am very sorry that our church has not gone into the reconstruction work more fully, for that is not only noncombative but is doing something to alleviate and help build up what the war has destroyed. It seems to me that a church like ours should show more interest in a crisis like this, and as we are exposed to war in all its forms we could do more in preaching peace and doing more to bring about peace . . . we are keeping too much in the background and I am afraid that we will get the rep-

utation of being just *objectors* and who wants to be an objector when there is so much to do that is constructive. What a good many of us need is an ability to appreciate the other fellow's position, and not think of our own interests all the time."

One brother was especially interested in the Church setting aside a special day for prayer. He had for some time felt the need for the whole Church to pray for peace, and was continually asking his father to write to the editor of the "Gospel Messenger" and suggest this. Accordingly his father did so. But the editor felt that he had no authority to do this, so stirred by his son's insistence the father wrote to Bro. J. H. Moore and asked him to do what he could. Bro. Moore sent the father's and the son's letters to W. J. Swigart with a note of explanation. This correspondence was dated during the latter part of October. So it came about that in the "Messenger" of November 9, 1918 was included an article, "A Request and An Appeal," the first paragraph of which I quote:

> Impressed with a deep personal desire and having received suggestions from others, the Central Service Committee of the Church of the Brethren makes request that on Sunday, Nov. 10 special and united prayers be made in behalf of the righteous termination of the war and a speedy return of peace to the earth.

Meanwhile the son, No. 43, wrote in reply to a letter from Bro. Swigart. "I certainly am glad that you are setting aside a special day that our whole church may unitedly go to God in prayer and ask that peace might reign on the earth again." The day following the Armistice he observed, "I surely believe God has heard . . . and has already begun to answer our prayers."

One more reference might be in place. In a letter dated November 16, this same brother expresses the wish that we might "have special prayer in behalf of this (peace) conference in the near future, for I believe it will have lots to do with peace." Twenty-one years later we realize more truly how much in need of guidance that peace conference had been!

Loyalty is shown in letters such as No. 13 penned. "Find enclosed $5.00 as you didn't tell me what your expenses were. If you have spent more let me know. As I don't want our Church to pay for my expenses." No. 65 had an interesting way of expressing it, although it might be interpreted a bit pugnaciously. "I solemnly

respect my vow to the church not to take direct part in war or bloodshed and if I were forced to continue here I would defend it with my life."

One or two were not completely satisfied with what the Church was doing in their cases. It was already two weeks since No. 14 had written for help and none had come. "I can't understand," he says, "why the church doesn't stand back of us. We have told the officers here that we had the support of our respective churches and so far no evidence has been produced of the veracity of this statement. This morning three of the C. O.'s were put in the Guard house and it is only a question of time until the fate of the rest is sealed."

Two cases are recorded where the home church gave positions which the C. O.'s thought were not in accord with the Brotherhood's convictions. "Last night," writes No. 56 telling of a companion's problem, "he got a letter from ——— congregation advising him to take up some kind of noncombative. I don't see how they can take this view of the war against the church principles. It seems like our church is just a little lenient on this war question. I think she should come out and declare herself just what she stands for as the Mennonites and Friends do. . . . It is certainly discouraging to ——— when his own home Church doesn't encourage him in his stand. If our Church gives in in this war the government will not recognize her at all in future wars."

The men were always eager for the camp visitors to call upon them. They looked forward to the same and were grateful for the service done to them. Next to the Central Service Committee their help and advice was most respected. But occasionally the men did not agree with the advice given. After two brothers had called and advised noncombatant service No. 22 wrote a bit unkindly to W. J. Swigart: "It seems like it isn't our place to be in service and this is the reason I am writing for men's advice that I can put confidence in."

No. 18 observed that "our ministers who come here to see us look at the matter so differently (from Mennonites who stand behind their boys). Judging from both the preachers and the boys it is a little hard for the officers to decide whether or not to class us as objectors. I should say that some of our ministers who come

have apparently not given the matter much study as we succeeded in getting them to see things somewhat differently after telling them what our experience had been."

Now and again the men were inclined to think that the camp visitors were a bit negligent in their activities on their behalf. "I can't help but feel that our committee is a little slack, perhaps I am wrong, tho' I know they are very busy," writes No. 86 wishing to give them the benefit of the doubt.

In the Central Service Committee the men found their chief source both for advice and for obtaining their rights. Here our evidence is more nearly unanimous. The attitudes are two: Confident expectation of sound advice or efficient service, and sincere gratitude for such advice and service already given. In a quotation from No. 65 we find these two attitudes combined. "I feel to thank you heartily for the action you have taken in helping me to secure my rights in the army. I assure you I will remember your kindness . . . . Please do all within your power to get action done before we leave here, because you can appreciate my anxiety and concern in the matter."

Using sound psychology, although he likely never heard of that word No. 21 states persuasively, "I am not going to ask you to come down, but it has been nearly two months since you were here." After some deliberating No. 42 says, "Mr. ——— and I have decided for you and Bro. ——— to be our advisors. We will try our best to keep you posted as to where we are located."

The four references to the "Gospel Messenger" show in four ways how the men in the camps valued it and used it. No. 21 followed advice given through its columns; No. 24 can't learn what he as a C. O. should do as he has failed to get the paper for three weeks. Through the "Messengers" sent to him by his mother No. 87 manages to keep himself "pretty well posted;" while No. 89 closes a letter to the editor of the same "With kind regard to yourself and all the folks who help publish our excellent 'Messenger'."

Attitudes Regarding Themselves

A large part of the C. O.'s attitudes were moulded by their treatment and it is interesting to try to determine the general re-

sponse to suffering in so far as they themselves are personally concerned. Much was endured but it is very difficult to ascertain how they regarded it. It would be fair to say that all felt the injustice of it, but this was so evident they do not dwell upon it. Certainly none openly sought punishment. The nearest thing we have to the martyr complex is suggested by No. 28 when he says, "I know the more I am persecuted the better and closer I get to Christ. I believe the Lord has us here for a purpose."

There is resignation felt as No. 33 writes of his refusal to drill along with other C. O.'s. "The captain had the others to beat us every day until we had to go to drilling. . . . We no (sic) they have no right to do so, but we can't help ourselves. . . . We showed our card to the captain and he made us taire them up."

A contrasting note of triumph comes from Fort Leavenworth where No. 91 was sentenced. He writes: "I am getting along as well as can be expected behind stone walls and iron bars. In the eyes of the military authorities I am a criminal, but the day I passed through the iron gates an honor was bestowed upon me and when the time comes for me to be dishonorably discharged, I will be honored again."

Much more were the men concerned about the future. In most cases the present treatment could be endured, but what of the future? Fort Leavenworth via a court martial or combatant service and going across to the actual fighting were the Scylla and Charybdis between which they endeavored to steer their course, and at the same time remain loyal to God, their conscience, and, as much as possible, the government.

No. 43 showing some signs of anxiety which doubtless gave rise to his insistence on a special day of prayer, noted earlier, writes: "I came here against my will as I said before. I was afraid I got started wrong and now I feel it more than ever. I have been trying to get transferred, but haven't made much headway. I am awful anxious for Bro. M. C. Swigart to call on me as I feel if I could get help right away I could get through all right."

He who was No. 21 sees difficult times coming. Says he, "I have just been transferred from the depot Brigade to the artillery. There is trouble ahead just now for me. I mean to make a stand God helping me. . . . I want to be with the Hosp. Corps, not as

a noncombatant with combatants. . . . I was almost ordered to do guard duty. But the order was withdrawn. I intended to say no.

"We are in quarantine but they will drill us.

"Oh my!" Later he writes again. "I was to the intelligence on Sat. evening and I fear I signed the wrong papers. It is all right if the officers are all right, but I am afraid they can make an ammunition carrier of me. But I was weak and they were sharp."

The separation from the fellowship of the church was no little item. No. 12 remarks expressing the views of a good many. "We feel utterly alone here. We have been earnestly praying for help and none has come. Please do something immediately."

Yet in spite of their concern over the uncertainty of coming events the majority of men expressed a faith in God that was vital and strengthening. No. 21 in another letter states it in this way: "Now I may have done some of these things in a clumsy manner but I did the best I knew at the time.

"As I said before I do not know what will be next but I trust God will take care of me in life or death—to him I leave it . . . ."

The largest or most important problem of the C. O. was that of noncombatant service. Is there such a thing as noncombatant service? If so, what is it? Where is the line to be drawn? Merely at taking human life? What of drilling? Wearing the uniform? Is reconstruction work under government direction consistent with our stand as a church? These were some of the questions the C. O. had to answer. A study of the chart will immediately show the great variety of attitudes expressed. One half of the men either accepted or were willing to do some form of noncombatant work such as serving in the Medical corps, the Quarter Master corps, or the Remount Station. Over against this 15 expressly refused to do any noncombatant work. The other 30 were undecided or did not state their views definitely enough for classification. No. 81 had evidently given the matter much thought before he wrote: "You know I have changed my mind about these things quite a bit, although I cannot tell many people about it for it is not everyone that understands, but the condition of affairs has gotten so that it seems to me that everyone should endeavor to help in some way or other. There are so many different departments that one can have

a variety of things to choose from and if a fellow is really sincere it seems to me that he can find something to do that will not interfere with his conscience."

The period between the outbreak of the war and the declaration of President Wilson was an anxious one for many of the C. O.'s. In several camps special detention barracks were provided. Here the C. O.'s were segregated and awaited the President's statement. During this time they did nothing but take care of their camp doing the cooking, cleaning up, etc., and also exercised enough to keep physically fit. Most of the men agreed with No. 1 who said that the "best place for us boys is in a detention camp until some action is taken by the war department." A number were glad to accept noncombatant service from the very beginning, however, especially those who were first placed in combatant service and succeeded in getting transferred. When the President finally did declare on noncombatant service, there were immediately varying attitudes. What about the service the President declared as noncombatant wonders No. 79? "Most of the boys here I don't think will accept anything under the military arm. . . . These fellows hold that to do this work is the same as bearing arms. . . . You would do me a favor if at your earliest convenience you would give me the position of the Church and your opinion."

In contrast No. 49 says, "On account of the statement of the President being so plain I have no fear of being forced into combatant service. On this account I have also decided to accept the uniform. While I do not question the decision of the men who have gone to a detention camp, the idea is repulsive to me. The monotony I should think would be the most tiresome. I should prefer to be in some capacity where my mind and body would be busy, provided, of course, it was some line of work where I could labor with a clear conscience."

No. 69 used this system. "I have taken all the work given me, at the same time making it clear and plain to the officers that it was against my conscience. That is some of the work." It worked to his satisfaction, too, for at a later date he states: "I was given everything I asked for. I asked to care for the sick and wounded. Surely that was the work assigned to me as an orderly in the ward.

I have been treated O. K. ever since I arrived and have not had hard 'sledding'. And now that I have my job I am going to try to make good."

We must not overlook the absolute objectors. At least five men refused to do any work whatever, not even fatigue duty about the camp. Here is the way they looked at it. "The reason I have not accepted any service," quoting No. 82, "whether combatant or noncombatant is because both of these capacities are a constituent part of the military machine. One part will not work without the other. If I wear the uniform I am advertising militarism and that is absolutely inconsistent to our principles of nonresistance, and as you know yourself that Baker knew that fact and has said we are not required to wear the uniform. . . . Again in accepting any form of military service a military oath or affirmation must be taken, if, then, after affirmation has been taken, and a person refuses to obey some order that he feels is against his conscience, he is, at once, subject to court martial.

"Furthermore, if even we should accept hospital service the regular military drill must be engaged in. This we cannot do for our church has said that we are not to learn the 'art of war'. I and others are living up to this, and upholding the standard of the church, but we cannot do it alone. We want you and the entire church with us."

No. 18 says: "It is hard for many to understand why we cannot accept Medical service. In fact I came very near doing it at one time, but one is 'not their own' anywhere in the service and to me II Cor. 6:14-18 is good advice."

In the case of No. 35 after he had worked at the Base Hospital and later in the Quarter Master corps he decided he couldn't do any work at all for the officers told him that all work was combatant. Therefore he has been charged with violating Article of War 64 and is being held awaiting his trial. He has laid aside the uniform.

The uniform was a problem. Direct reference in the letters tell us that 17 men accepted it while only 7 refused it. No. 15 doesn't object to wearing the uniform but "I do object to being placed . . . where I may be called at any time to do combatant service." No. 12 is "wearing the uniform but I positively will not bear arms

nor drill." The main objection to the uniform was that it advertised the war and military spirit as No. 82 has already suggested.

In regard to drilling the men were more obstinate, as might be anticipated from the quotation just given. Five tell us they accepted it, at least some, six more did but only after severe punishment while ten refused outright. Standing guard and bearing arms were incompatible with the C. O.'s. Yet one or two needed help here as the case of No. 13 indicates. He was compelled to drill and the officer said he would have to take a gun when they told him to or he could be shot. "So you see when they offer me it I will hafto take it and drill. . . . So please advise me what to do in this case. As I can't do anything within my selfe."

Only the extreme of the extremists spoke against farm furloughs. Nineteen were in favor of this work. No. 76 suggests that "If there is any chance at all I would like to be furloughed on a farm, for I don't feel like I can conscientiously do anything else but I made the mistake when I signed up to work here in the Q. M. but they told (me) to sign for it and I did it but I tried to urge that I be furloughed on a farm somewhere but it seems that it didn't do any good." Another brother, No. 85, doesn't want anything under the military arm and he feels farm work would be under it. He would like to get into mail service.

Five wrote letters of inquiry about reconstruction and in no letter was there any trace of doubt as to the advisability of doing this work, although some of the absolute objectors would likely have refused to do that under government supervision.

No. 6 writes after the Armistice has been signed in regard to this work and wonders "if the chance is still open, because I feel able to do the work, and willing to make the sacrifice of a year's time to do it." He goes ahead at some length to describe his abilities in various lines of work.

Having been sentenced to Fort Leavenworth No. 61 says: "In regard to the Reconstruction work I presume the committee has done practically nothing. . . . If we apply for a furlough for Reconstruction work it seems to me that the church should be prepared to take care of us and send us across at once if released. . . . I am more than willing to do farm work but I think Relief work better shows our Christian spirit and our willingness to sac-

rifice in order to help carry the burdens of the world as true Christians."

These conscientious objectors had faith and convictions and frequently expressed the same in their letters. They were loyal to the church and to their own consciences. So No. 29 could write: "I have never refused to work at nothing what I thought wasn't against the rules of the church of the Brethren." Another one remarks (No. 65), "In my conversations with them (officers) I have upheld our doctrine and never wavered. . . . May we ever be faithful to our God and to our country where possible."

The men realized that their stand would affect the position of the church and were concerned that it might be for the best. Thus No. 53 gives expression to this idea. "If we go into extremes too much we might cause some unnecessary trouble and that possibly the government would not be so considerate to our people after this." Of course the problem was that of determining where the "too much" extreme began.

When a number of C. O.'s were confined in the Guard house after having been run hard and then made to stand at attention for several hours one writes: "The situation is rather acute, however the boys are standing firm, for that which they believe to be right. I'm inclined to think that such treatment is almost punitive hardship. . . . Everyone of our Brethren boys have stood firm." Later when this group was up for trial for breaking Articles of War 64 and 65 No. 62 has another paragraph indicative of the attitudes of these Brethren. "The boys felt as if they didn't want an advocate or counsel as this is only a trial, a test of Christian faith and principles and they didn't care to make a fight of it. Of course they will plead guilty of disobeying an order, and whether it is lawful is to be found out yet. The boys are feeling good, cheerful and hopeful, knowing they are standing firm in the Lord." Another month passed and one of these tells W. J. Swigart that he has seen his (own) name in the paper as having received a ten year sentence to Fort Leavenworth culminating in a dishonorable discharge. Nevertheless, "I am as certain as ever that no true Christian has any place in the Army." (No. 61.)

In several camps the men held prayer meetings regularly and their letters give ample evidence of the value and help they de-

rived from personal and group communion with God. No. 87 says simply: "I have been doing right and reading in my Bible daily and pray . . . every night and ask Him to forgive all of my sins and to guide and strengthen me through this terrible war and army. And I know that God will never forsake any of us if we live as near to him as we can."

Let us close with a glimpse of an attitude developed through camp life which led to a broader, more comprehensive view of Christianity. The C. O.'s were of several denominations and as is often the case a common cause brought a new feeling of brotherhood. Here is how No. 61 admirably describes it.

"We at camp live much on the community plan. Each one's belongings, news, etc.,. are very much in common. Churches have long since dropped from minds and it is the man we love. Creeds are forgotten, differences of opinions are charitably borne which I think is a Christian grace that too many church members don't exercise."

Observations and Conclusions

Certain observations may be made after noting the attitudes of these conscientious objectors. But always reservations must be held. For as has been stated this study does not include all the men coming from Dunker homes into the training camps. There is no way of knowing how many joined the army with no tinge of conscience and were swallowed up in the very immensity of it. Again, these letters do not come from all the C. O.'s of our Church, although it is probable that the majority are here represented. Finally, we must remember that most of the letters arose out of specific needs, usually a need of help in time of trouble, and so are not as unbiased nor as complete as personal friendly letters or diaries would have been. Still the following observations may be ventured.

It is apparent that our Church members have been taught to respect and honor our government. Whether the Church is directly responsible or not the fact remains. In no letter do we find disrespect or bitterness against the nation. The absolute objectors may differ violently in their beliefs. The men may dislike the treatment of certain officers and officials. The C. O.'s may become

impatient with the seeming slowness in providing transfers and certificates. Yet the nation and government were loved and respected. It was not animosity towards the state that made the C. O.'s refuse to join the army. It was their hatred for war and bloodshed.

Again and again is expressed the desire to find some way in which loyalty may be expressed to the government without disobeying the higher loyalty to one's conscience and one's God. And many of those who refused to do anything and went to Fort Leavenworth did so believing that by so doing they were proving most loyal to their country.

This attitude of respect and honor to the government is surely commendable.

There is likewise clearly discernible a loyalty to the Church which is wholesome. It is true that this took various forms and degrees. As to exactly what constituted loyalty was not entirely agreed upon, but the essence of loyalty was there. No one would say that mere unenlightened loyalty is enough, but the quality itself is essential. Part of this loyalty was engendered, no doubt, by the helpful and efficient service of the Church to these men. Here the Central Service Committee is to be especially honored.

On the other hand it is evident that the Brotherhood's stand was not as united nor as clear as many of the C. O.'s desired. This is to be expected in as democratic an organization as we have. Yet it would be fair to say that had the Church declared herself more clearly and had so instructed her Camp visitors and the conscientious objectors those who were weakest might have been more strong while those who were convinced in their own minds would have continued faithful in their beliefs.

Finally it is to be observed that the Church in her stand was on the defensive almost altogether. Her greatest concern was to keep her members out of the war. In a country at war, it may be argued, there is little that can be done for peace in a positive way. It was apparent, however, that our peace work had been largely negative before the war, for we were not able to turn to reconstruction work as easily as did the Friends. Serious thinking C. O.'s realized this fact as their letters have indicated and wished

for the Church a more aggressive and positive position in this field of peace.

In conclusion let us say that the World War was an occasion which made the Church neither strong nor weak but helped us to see how effective our peace teaching and doctrine has been. And this deeper insight points us to the need of developing a more positive and aggressive program to help bring about the reality of peace on earth.

APPENDIX

Classification of Conscientious Objectors into classes as Evident from Their Letters as Studied by Kenneth Long.

Absolute Objectors (refuse to do anything at all)	6
Those refusing all noncombatant work such as Quarter Master Corps, Medical Corps, but occasionally did a little fatigue duty, cleaning up the camp, etc.	11
Accepted (or were willing to accept) noncombatant work as outlined by the President	49
Those refusing uniform	7
Those accepting uniform	17
Those refusing drill	10
Those who accepted drill only after severe punishment	6
Those accepting drill	5
Favorable to furloughs	19
Favorable to reconstruction work	5

In all cases these figures represent only those men who stated in their letters their position clearly. Some who stood with the first two groups later accepted noncombatant work and therefore are classed in the third group, i. e., accepted noncombatant work as outlined by the President.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

AN HISTORICAL SOCIETY ORGANIZED

After several years of discussion and everybody agreeing that it ought to be done, a meeting of those interested in forming an historical society met in one of the offices of Bethany Biblical Seminary. When the meeting was called to order there were eight (!!) persons present. But upon computation it was found that the number who were fully informed and actively enlisted in the project totaled thirteen (!) persons. We are not superstitious.

After F. E. Mallott had been called to the chair and Susie M. Thomas was appointed secretary pro tem the meeting proceeded to a leisurely and enthusiastic discussion and organization. The organization issued in the following officers: F. E. Mallott, President, E. S. Moyer, Vice-President, Mrs. Ruth Mallott, Secretary-Treasurer, additional members of the Executive Committee, Ira Scrogum, Chalmer Faw. The Executive Committee was instructed to draft a tentative constitution incorporating the ideas agreed upon in the meeting. This they did on April 21 and the result of their draft is presented in this issue.

The organizing group decided to hold open the organization until after Anderson Conference of the Church of the Brethren, at which place a public invitation to membership in the Society would be issued.

Tentative Constitution of the Alexander Mack Historical Society

Article I.—Name.

The name of this society shall be Alexander Mack Historical Society.

Article II.—Purposes.

The purposes of this society shall be:—

1. To encourage the serious study of Dunker history.

2. To promote the publication of historical studies and studies in allied fields that are related to Church life.

3. To stimulate interest in the preservation of our historical landmarks and in the erection of memorials; to encourage the development of library and museum facilities as they relate to Dunker history.

4. To foster fellowship among those interested in history who regard themselves as spiritual descendants of the brotherhood founded at Schwarzenau.

Article III.—Membership.

The membership of this society shall consist of three classes as follows:—

1. Subscribing Members shall pay dues of one dollar per year and be entitled to receive the journal of the Society.

2. Sustaining Members shall pay dues of five dollars per year and be entitled to receive all publications of the Society and shall be entitled to vote in the business meetings. The Executive Committee may grant Sustaining Memberships in return for services rendered. A Sustaining Membership for life may be secured by payment of One Hundred Dollars to a fund designated by the Society.

3. Honorary Life Membership may be granted by a vote of the Society and carries with it the privilege of voting.

Article IV—Organization.

Section 1.—The officers of this society shall be President, Vice-President, and Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2.—The Executive Committee shall consist of the three officers and two additional elective members.

Section 3.—The duties of the officers shall be those that commonly pertain to their respective offices.

Section 4.—The term of all officers shall be one year or from one regular business meeting to the next except the Secretary-Treasurer who shall be elected for three years.

Section 5.—The Executive Committee shall appoint a nominating committee of two, at least three months before the Business Meeting. The poll of the society shall be by mail and the result announced at the Business Meeting.

Section 6.—The regular Business Meeting shall be held annually, the time and place to be decided by the Executive Committee. The members at a regular Business Meeting shall constitute a quorum.

V.—Publications.

Section 1.—The journal "Schwarzenau" is declared to be the official journal of the Society.

Section 2.—The editorial staff of the journal shall be chosen by the Executive Committee with the approval of the Society.

Section 3.—The Society shall assume the financial responsibility for the journal as they are able and the Secretary-Treasurer shall disburse all money at the direction of the Executive Committee.

VI.—Amendments.

This tentative constitution will become the permanent constitution of the society by an affirmative vote at the Business Meeting of 1940. Thereafter it may be amended at any regular Business Meeting by a two thirds vote, provided the notice of intention to amend with the proposed amendment has appeared in the journal, at least a month before the Business Meeting convenes.

BOOK REVIEWS

Die Deutschen Familiennamen by Dr. Paul Cascorbi. Sold by Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses.—Berlin, Germany—$6.25.

This is a volume published in Berlin in 1933 and is a recent addition to the Bethany library. It is the result of the continued research in the field of German family names, first published in 1882 by Dr. Heintze and here revised in its seventh and enlarged edition by Dr. Cascorbi. It is based on the researches of many scholars and is supported by a substantial bibliography.

The material of the book consists of a hundred pages of stimulating discussion of the nature and development of family names throughout Europe. There then follows 430 pages more consisting of an exhaustive dictionary of German family names.

It is first pointed out how family names serve as a mirror of the spirit of a people. For these names often contain early words which have long since gone out of current usage. But they have become fixed in the form of family names and thus represent one of the most basic philological sources of earlier culture. Accordingly the Greek names suggest imagination and an idealistic flair. We have *Pericles* (very famous), *Sophocles* (famed for wisdom) and *Euagoras* (excellently spoken of). The old Roman names show the marks of a practical spirit. They include *Agricola* (farmer), *Porcius* (swineherder), *Rufus* (the red one), *Tertius* (the third one), and *Octavianus* (the eighth one). Hebrew names are laden with religious significance. There are *Nathanael* (God-given), *Elieser* (my God is help), and *Obedia* which is the equivalent of the Arabic Abdullah (servant of God). The German names speak of the early days of war, of battle, of weapons, of victory, and of heroic struggle. The name stems *Hild-* and *Wig-* referred to war and battle and so we have *Hildebrand, Brunhilde, Wigand,* and *Lodewig.* The old German throwing spear was *ger* and that leads to *Garibald, Ansgar* and *Osgar.* The shield was called *rand* and so we have *Bertrand.*

German family names are classified according to origin. There are, first of all, those family names coming from the early pre-Christian personal names. They were at first not inherited by the son from the father but later on came to be used, not only as personal names, but as the fixed family name and continuing through the generations as they do today. They include the list of warlike names above together with many other types. There are animal names like *Eberhard* (Eber, wild boar), *Arnold* (Aar, eagle in old German), *Wulfila, Wolfgang, Woelfkin* (Wolf, wolf) as well as the names of the mythological names of the ravens who were the servants of Wotan. There are God-names like *Gottlieb, Godfrey, Godwin,* and *Goddard.* An older name for God (Asen, ans, ôs) shows up in such names as *Anselm, Anson,* and *Oswald.*

Then there are, in the second place, those family names based on personal names which came in during the Christian era. These would include both Hebrew names on the one hand and Graeco-Latin names on the other. So we have *Paulus, Petrus, Johannes, Jacobus, Philippus, Michael, Christoph, Georg* with their many varied forms. A good example would be the case of *Johannes*—which appears to come from the Hebrew and to mean

"whom God has favored"—which shows up all over Europe in the varied forms of John, Jean, Yohn, Jon, Jan, Ian, Ion, Giavanni, Ivan and the patronymic forms of Johnson, Jansen, Fitz-John, Ivanovitch, and the Welsh Jones which used to be spelled Johan's.

All these personal names, whether German, Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, continued to be used as personal names even after they came also to be fixed as family names. Indeed the practice of christening has had much to do in the spread of the names brought in during the early years of the Christian era. But later the early German names came again to the fore even in the Church. By the time of the Crusades the Christian names were largely German again.

One of the earliest ways in which these personal names came to be used as family or surnames (as contrasted with personal or christening names) was the use of patronyms whereby the son would be designated as the son of the personal name of the father. This was an ancient custom especially prevalent among the Semitic people with the Hebrew *Ben-,* the Aramaic *Bar-* and the Arabic *Ibn-* which are familiar to us in Benjamin, Benhadad, Benoni, Barabbas, Barnabas, Bar-jonah, Ibn Khalid, Ibn Khaldun, and Ibn Saud. This shows up in the European usage by the addition of "son" to the name or by the genitive form of the fathers' names. So we have Gabrilovitch, Johnson, Hansen, McDonald, O'Connor, Fitz-Hugh, Williams and Davis.

The third class of family names are based on additions to or qualifications of these earlier personal names of the above two classes. Among the many such names at least three distinct groups can be seen. There are names of position or occupation. These are the equivalent of our very prevalent trade names and include the butcher: Fleischauer, Schlachter, Fleischmann, Metzger, Metzler, and Wurstler; the carpenter: Zimmerman; the merchant: Kauffman; the mason: Steiner, Steinhauer; the smith: Schmidt, Messerschmidt, Eisenhauer, Schmelzer; the tailor: Schneider; the tile-maker: Ziegler; the weaver: Weber. It would also include the town officers Schulze, Meier, and Richter, i. e. mayor and judge. Other names of this sort would be Bucher, Buchfeller, Rothmaler and Drucker of the publishing business, Weidmann and Jaeger of the chase, Hoffmann, Bauer, and Ackerman of the farm and Geiger, Pfeifer and Rohrer of the town band.

A second group of this third class are names of place or origin. Here would fall all the "von" names of the Fatherland which are used so lavishly among those who can affect them. There are other names ending in "-er" which are also place names such as *Schweitzer, Hamburger, Wiener,* and *Frankfurter.* The majority of the names based on origin or place are those which contain significant suffixes like: *-bach* (brook), *-baum* (tree), *-berg* (mountain), *-brück* (bridge), *-burg* (citadel), *-dorf* (town), *-feld* (field), *-haus* (house), *-heim* (home), *-hof* (manor or court), *-thal* (valley, dale), *-wald* (woodland). Many of these names show up with the ending *-er* in addition to the above stem endings. So we have Brubacher, Shamberger, Kochendorfer, Schwenkfelder, Niederhauser, Weltsheimer and so on.

The third group of this third class would be called "characteristic" or nick-names. These are very familiar in the form of Jung and Alt, Lang and Kurtz, Gross and Klein, Weiss and Schwartz as well as Grosskopf,

Rotbart, Krumbein, Stolsfusz. Closely related to these names would be parts of the body like Mund, Haar etc., and pieces of clothing like Rothrock and Holzschuh.

The fascination of these name lists is almost endless and there are good reasons why our readers would be profited by the volume under review. It is very suggestive material for the principles involved in the growth of words and the development of language. It gives glimpses into the psychology of personal names and the sociology of family names. The study of these names is enlightening in the tracing of population migration. And this book would be invaluable as a background for the study of genealogy. Members of the Church of the Brethren are thoroughly German in genealogical background. And the names in this dictionary read almost like the Brethren Yearbook. We are a folk of strong clan consciousness or Freundschaftgefühl in our veins and we would do well to collect and arrange much of the genealogical material now still existing in the memories of the older members of our group. This book will help much to awaken our interest in this field of research. 10 May 1939.

Chicago, Illinois. William M. Beahm.

SCHWARZENAU

EDITORIAL STAFF

Editor, F. E. Mallott, *Professor of Church History Bethany Biblical Seminary*
Assistant Editor, Elgin S. Moyer Contributing Editor, L. D. Rose

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CONTENTS

WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

Susie M. Thomas, A. B., M. R. E. of Bethany Biblical Seminary has sailed to join the China Mission during the past summer. This issue concludes the congregational history. We have printed it somewhat abridged.

Chester I. Harley, minister, Church of the Brethren, has been in pastoral service. A. B. of Bridgewater College, Virginia. B. D. 1939 of Bethany Biblical Seminary. His most recent location is Greene County, Virginia.

Earl S. Mitchell, minister, Church of the Brethren, Pastor of Naperville, Ill. Church. A. B. of Bridgewater College and at present waiting to receive his Seminary degree. The quality of his production makes us hope for further articles from his pen.

EDITORIAL

We have been very grateful for the kindly reception of the first number of this historical journal. Letters of encouragement and words of appreciation have come from all sections of the country. Some have been from old friends and students. For these I have been happy. Some of the men whose scholarship is universally respected have endorsed the journal and given us the encouragement of taking membership in the Alexander Mack Historical Society. A large number of the active pastors have joined the society and have expressed pleasure in "Schwarzenau." We welcome every Subscribing Member as a colleague in this endeavor to perpetuate the memory of an ideal and an Unique People and to interpret and apply our spiritual inheritance in our generation.

Approximately three hundred Subscribing Members represents the statistical position of the Alexander Mack Historical Society at the time of this writing.

In order to put "Schwarzenau" on a permanent quarterly basis we need four hundred paid subscriptions. But we are going forward in the expectation of a sufficient increase in our Subscribing Membership roll to make it possible.

It is really an achievement to have gathered so many subscribers, when we have had no funds to advertise and no formally appointed agents.

We expect to publish four numbers in this year. After that? Our course will depend upon the interest and co-operation of the Church public. Right now we need one hundred additional Subscribing Members.

We (editorial we and also the editorial associates) are proud of the quality of every contribution appearing in this journal. (We hope the quality of editorials may improve.) And so it might seem gratuitous to single out a certain contributed article for comment.

But we are so proud of a number appearing in the present issue we just must offer a word of commendation by way of introduction. "The Development of Practical Ethical Mysticism" represents the type of study this paper is glad to pass to its readers.

Sometimes there is an atmosphere of unreality about the discussion of our denominational history. The cause is frequently a lack of knowledge and appreciation of the relation of denominational achievement to the course of general Christian history.

To see our denomination in the larger setting makes one humble but this writer has never seen "inferiority feeling" come from a genuine knowledge. To understand the relationship of denominational history to the course of Christian development is most important.

To that end we commend the thoughtful reading of "The Development of Practical Ethical Mysticism."

A footnote to editorial comment. We are planning to print a general index and are investigating a commercially available cover for the volumes of "Schwarzenau". We believe a year's issue (nay, a quarter's issue) has more value than many hard bound volumes, that stand on library shelves.

"THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRACTICAL ETHICAL MYSTICISM"

or

THE ROOTS OF PIETISM

Earl S. Mitchell

I. Introduction

Mysticism "may be termed that emphasis on religion which makes it essentially an immediate awareness of God. It is a personal relation that is established and primarily promoted by renunciation, prayer, and meditation even apart from the ordinary rites and offices of the church. The latter may be utilized, as the mystics sometimes did, but they were not essential."[1] Rufus M. Jones says that mysticism is both the first hand experience of direct intercourse with God, and the union of the human soul with this Ultimate Reality.[2]

Mysticism has to do largely with the metaphysical experiences of life, but there is one phase of it which has to do with the practical and ethical side of life. Here and there in the history of the race there have been certain individuals and groups who have attempted to achieve this mystical union with the Ultimate Reality by means of practical ethics and morality in their daily living. But by far the larger group of mystics have attempted to come into the presence of, and to enter into union with, the Infinite by other means: by contemplation and prayer, by asceticism and suffering, or by the observance of church ordinances and rites.

Practical Ethical Mysticism is concerned with the spiritual union of the individual with the divine by means of the high quality of living in terms of ethics and morality. The rise of Pietism in the eighteenth century is the best example of this type of mysticism; and even though this was a comparatively new approach to religion, it was not really new. This type of mysticism was rooted deep in the Ethical Monotheism of the Hebrew religion, it found much expression in the teachings of Jesus and the life of the early church, and there were traces of it all down through Christian history.

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1. Nagler, *The Church in History,* p. 107.
2. Hastings, *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics,* Vol. IX, p. 83.

All devout Christians have in one sense been mystics, but only a small portion of them have placed major emphasis on the ethical quality of their daily living as the means of attaining this spiritual union with God. Through the influence of the Greeks, the devout Christians of the second, third and fourth centuries thought of attaining this mystical union by means of the proper intellectual understanding of the nature of the Divine Reality and by giving full accent to it. It was an intellectual mysticism. Sincere members of the Roman Catholic Church have attempted to achieve this mystical union through the observance of ordinances and rites and obedience to ecclesiastical authority. Those who doubted the sufficiency of this means have entered the monasteries and lived a life of asceticism. There have been others whose mysticism took the form of emotional and psychic behavior which included the seeing of visions and talking in tongues and similar experiences. The practical ethical mystics represent only a small portion of the whole Christian Church; this however does not mean that all the other Christians were immoral and unethical, but that morals and ethics were not of first importance in the attainment of their highest and most spiritual experiences of the Divine.

II. Basis in the Hebrew Religion

An Ethical God.—As the Hebrew nation and religion developed from a nomadic tribe into a well organized society, they were constantly attempting to establish the universality of the power and influence of the God in whom they believed and the ethical quality of his activity in dealing with men. Even though they could not always understand their difficulties and hardships, they never doubted the justice and fairness, the righteousness and goodness, of their God. And it was on this moral uprightness and ethical purity and holiness of God that they based their religion. If God was ethical and moral, then the only way into contact with him was through ethical and moral living on the part of his people. This did become conventionalized in later Judaism; but back of their legalism there were many practical, ethical mystics who were seeking to come into intimate contact with God through the quiet, simple, upright quality of their daily living. There were many such Hebrew mystics among the common people when Jesus came.

III. Christ and the Early Church

Jesus had Intimate Fellowship with His Heavenly Father.— He was deeply devotional and intensely religious, yet he had a constant contact with his fellowmen. He lived in the presence of his loving heavenly Father; God was real, and intimate and personal; he lived in the mystical presence of God. Jesus demonstrated the mystical contact with the divine by the confidence in which he did his work, the calmness with which he faced danger, the faith with which he prayed, and the spiritual uplift which he was able to give others.

The early church lost this intimate mystical contact with God; they swung back to the apocalyptic which placed God far away. But they did have contact with a special power, the Holy Spirit. The mysticism of the early church was more ecstatic than practical; nevertheless there was a very practical emphasis in the relationship of the individuals within the group.

The church, during the last half of the first century, began to swing back to practical, ethical mysticism. Paul still held to some of his apocalyptic concepts of God and Christ; but he also believed in the mystical presence. He spoke of being "in Christ", and having fellowship "with Christ". The author of the Johannian literature placed primary emphasis on this mystical, spiritual union with God, and with Christ, here and now. "The kingdom of God is within you." (L. 17:21) They were to "abide in Christ." Christ was to be in them; he said, "He that abideth *in* me, and I *in* him, the same beareth much fruit." (Jn. 15:5). And this mysticism was to be based on ethical and practical Christian living: "Love one another;" "if we say that we have fellowship with him and walk in the darkness, we lie, and do not the truth." "He that saith he 'abideth in Him' ought himself also to walk even as He walked." (I Jn.). The Christian Church at the end of the first century was placing primary emphasis on that which was nearer to the heart of Jesus' own life and message than at any other time prior to the Reformation. They emphasized the mystical and spiritual presence of the Divine Reality, and the possibility of one having union and fellowship with Him; but this fellowship with God and knowledge of Him was to come only through the high moral and spiritual quality of their everyday lives.

But by this time the Church had already come into contact with Greek philosophy, which was a new and challenging form of mysticism. During the next several centuries the primary emphasis of the Church was shifted from the practical ethical philosophy of life to the intellectual speculations regarding the nature and activity of God and of the Christ. The practical ethical mysticism was lost sight of as the major emphasis of the church; and, except for rare individuals here and there, it was not recovered until the modern period and then by only a small portion of the church.

IV. Monasticism

Monasticism grew out of the Greek philosophy of *dualism*. The body, the material world, and all physical manifestations are evil; these must be suppressed for the full development of the spirit of man. These ascetic ideas drove many individual Christians out into lonely places of the world during the second, third and fourth centuries. The crushing influence of the declining Roman civilization, and the growing rigidity of the ecclesiastical system, helped to increase the number of these hermits. During the fourth century they began to get together in groups for worship and fellowship; this was the beginning of monasticism. It continued to grow through the centuries, and was one of the most profound influences on the life of the church during the middle ages. Yet there was little in monasticism, with its primary emphasis on asceticism and individual righteousness, that resembled the practical, social, ethical teachings of Christ and the early church.

However, under the influence of the Benedictine Rule, the life in the monasteries was better organized and the 'religious' began to participate in slightly more practical activities. As a part of their prayer life they were permitted and encouraged to render help to those outside the monasteries who were in actual need. The reform of Benedict (480-543) did give new life and organization to the monastic orders, but it failed to save monasticism from the decay that swept over the church and civilization during the dark ages.

The Cluniac Revival.—After another period of darkening shadows in both church and state, another revival was greatly needed; it came in the form of a quiet monastic attempt to clean its own house. This revival that started at Cluny, France (910) spread rapidly, and with the support of Gregory VII, its influence was felt

for a short time throughout the church. "It sought to spiritualize, not merely the personal lives of monks, but the wider social relations of men. Thus a propaganda for peace called the 'Truce of God' received its hearty support. Certain evils in the church, such as simony, clerical marriage, and lay investiture, were made special objects of attack. On the whole this movement saved its own soul by losing its life in service."[3] Thus, we see that in the Cluniac revival there was greater unity of practical ethics and mysticism than at any previous time in the history of monasticism. But the noble influence of this revival was short lived. The capture of the papacy by Hildebrand brought them in control of the church. Increased wealth brought luxury; and accumulated power led to secularization. The Cluniac monasteries lost much of their spiritual power and gradually declined. This was followed by the inroads of the Norsemen and the marching of men in the great Crusades. The world was beginning to awaken, but the activities of the Crusaders is sufficient evidence of the lack of practical ethical mysticism in the church.

Bernard of Clairvaux: The Cistercian Revival.—This revival began with the founding of a monastery at Citeaux in 1098 by Robert, a nobleman of Champagne; it re-interpreted the Benedictine Rule and began a stricter enforcement of the monastic ideals: poverty and simplicity, chastity, obedience and humility. But it received its greatest impetus through the efforts of Saint Bernard (1090-1153); he was, indeed, one of the most remarkable men of this whole middle period of church history. As a monk, a saint, a prophet, and a crusader he was the first great exponent of PRACTICAL ETHICAL MYSTICISM since the first century. "Although abbot of Clairvaux, his influence was felt throughout the church; although a pronounced mystic, he entered into all the vital concerns of church and state. To an age of moral laxity in church and world, of increasing apathy toward things divine, Saint Bernard became God's spokesman. In his manifold activities as advisor of popes and kings, as father confessor to high and low, he revealed the moral grandeur of an Isaiah. His beautiful, spiritual piety radiated streams of spiritual light and warmth to many whose lives were dark and cold."[4]

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3. Nagler, *The Church in History,* p. 310.

4. Nagler, *op. cit.,* p. 311.

Bernard made Jesus the ideal pattern for man's life and conduct. He consistently emphasized throughout his life that all men should live just as near as they could to this pattern. He placed the primary emphasis on the spiritual experience of God, and not on the intellectual concept of God. He recognized both the intellect and the affections as means of discovering the Ultimate Reality; but in opposition to the school men of his day, who placed major emphasis on the intellect, he thought of the affections as man's best road to God. He openly opposed the free thinking Abelard, and stood consistently for his principles in spite of much opposition from the theologians of his day.

Those of us who in later years have valued the Pietistic tradition might join with the Catholics in calling Bernard a saint.

Francis of Assisi: The Franciscan Friars.—What Bernard had taught and lived in the monastery, Francis of Assisi and his followers actually lived out among the poor and needy people of the world. His was indeed a practical mysticism lived among people.

Saint Francis (1182-1226), the man of humility and prophet of love, came from a wealthy family. As a youth he aided his father in his business when he was not leading the boys of the community in some mischief and hilarity. He joined with the poor people in a war against the nobles; he was captured and spent a year in prison. This brought no noticeable change in his character. A little later in failing health he went through a gradual conversion. He became a monk despite his father's protests; he turned his back on a life of wealth and luxury, and married his life to Poverty. Being disinherited by his father he spent the next two years in and about Assisi helping the unfortunate and sharing life with the common people.

"In 1209, the words of Christ to the Apostles (Matt. 10:7-14), read in the (church) service, came to him as a trumpet call to action. He would preach repentance and the kingdom of God, without money, in the plainest of garments, eating what might be set before him. He would imitate Christ and obey Christ's commands, in absolute poverty, in Christ-like love, and in humble deference to the priest as His representative. . . . Like-minded associates gathered about him. For them he drafted a 'Rule', composed of little besides selections from Christ's commands, and with it, accompanied by eleven or twelve companions, he applied to Pope Innocent III for approval (1215) . . . and Francis was not refused. . . .

"Francis's association was a union of imitators of Christ, bound together by love and practicing the utmost poverty, since only thus, he believed, could the world be denied and Christ really followed. Two by two, they went about preaching repentance, singing much, aiding the peasants in their work, caring for the lepers and outcasts. . . .

"He withdrew increasingly from the world. He was much in prayer and singing. His love of nature, in which he was far in advance of his age, was never more manifest. Feeble in body, he longed to be present with Christ. . . . On October 3, 1226 he died in the church of Portiuncula."[5]

"His graciousness of manner, his winsome attitude, his humility, unquenchable joy, love of nature and all living beings, have combined to make him one of the world's most potent forces. . . .

"Although the church laid its hands upon the movement and threatened to crush the lofty ideal of the founder, his spirit walked abroad in the hearts of men and could not be quenched. This was especially true of the third order called the Tertiaries, founded by Saint Francis in order to give the common people the advantage of living a holy life without strict adherence to the monastic vows. Of them, on the contrary, was demanded a wholesome love of neighbor, the simple life of service, humility, harmlessness, pacifism, and mutual helpfulness. The significance of this innovation lay in the transference of the ideal of Christian perfection from the regular monks to the common people. To proclaim love as the supreme ideal; to maintain that all, irrespective of station, ordination, or rank, might be expected to attain unto it; to assert that living after the manner of Jesus was essentially the way of salvation—was to transcend the double standard which this asceticism of the monastic institution had foisted upon the church. It was a momentous milestone in the direction of the great Reformation doctrine of the sacredness of all callings of life. Had the medieval Catholic institution adopted this noble Tertian ideal with all of its implications, the revolutionary schism of the sixteenth century might have been avoided."[6]

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5. Walker, *Church History,* pp. 257-259.

6. Nagler, *op. cit.,* pp. 314, 315.

V. Summarizations and Conclusions

First.—Practical ethical mysticism is rooted far back in the religion of the Hebrews. It is most truly manifested in message of the great Old Testament Prophets who lived during the sixth and seventh centuries B. C.

Second.—Jesus, and his immediate followers, were concerned primarily in the ethical quality of individual living. But this ethical living is founded on the concept of God as a loving and just Heavenly Father who is always near and ready to share the life of his children. Jesus gave little attention to speculative theology, and condemned publicly the evils of institutionalism.

Third.—After the first century the major interest of the church was speculative theology and institutionalism. In order to be Christian one had to know and be able to use the exact words, without variation, in speaking of or to the Deity. Loyalty and obedience to the church was placed before and between one's loyalty and obedience to God—to God through the church.

Fourth.—Monasticism arose because of the secularism and formalism of the church; the church was no longer meeting the religious needs of the people. Monasticism has stood through the centuries as a testimony to the inadequacy of institutionalized religion.

Monasticism has been primarily an introverted, ascetic form of mysticism. It has appealed mostly to the eccentric and introverted personalities, and these people have engaged in many extravagant and unusual experiences. But in spite of all this, it has been through monasticism and especially a few of her great leaders that the ethical and moral qualities of Jesus' message have held its place in the life of the church.

Fifth.—In response to the great intellectual waves that have swept over the church, there have arisen great practical ethical mystics to pull the church back to the center of the road. In response to the Gnostic intellectualism there arose the Benedictine Rule with some emphasis on practical, spiritual religion; in fact the whole monastic system is in one sense a response to this Greek thought movement. In response to the Schoolmen, Bernard and Francis came as great powers in the Christian movement.

And if we were to go over into the next period, which is beyond the scope of this paper, we would discover the rise of Spener and Francke and the Pietistic movement in response to Rationalism. And it may be possible the influence of Barthianism and other prominent movements of today are the response of the church to the over emphasis on science.

Finally.—Practical ethical mysticism is fundamental in the life of the Christian church. It has not been a major emphasis since the first century, but it has been kept alive as an undercurrent down through the centuries. A re-emphasis of this phase of the Christian message has produced great revivals in the church. In this present low ebb of the church, those of us who have been schooled in this phase of the Christian message have a unique opportunity of leading in the revival of the life and influence of the church today.

A STUDY OF THE YEARBOOK OF THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

CHAPTER I

CHESTER I. HARLEY

History of the Yearbook

The history of the Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren is extremely interesting. A study of its development to the present stage presents a varied bit of evolution, both from the standpoint of appearance and inner contents. To study the contents of the Yearbook is to gain insight into the onward march of the Church of the Brethren itself. This will be stressed more at length in the chapter, "Changes in the Contents of the Yearbook", but it is the immediate purpose of this chapter to give the history of the publishing of the Yearbook.

The first issue was published in the year 1871 at Tyrone, Pennsylvania by H. R. Holsinger. At this time he was publishing a weekly paper for the Brethren, the Christian Family Companion. In addition he had a monthly publication, The Pious Youth, designed, he said, "To promote the welfare, and enlarge the number of the class of persons whose name it bears."[1]

1. *Brethren's Almanac,* 1871, Back Cover.

It was through the Christian Family Companion that H. R. Holsinger first advertised the Brethren's Almanac. Here we find in his own words the following:

"We are making preparations to publish an almanac for our Brethren and friends who may wish to use the popular household commodity for the year 1871, and we now solicit suggestions, selections, and contributions.—It will contain history, statistics, doctrine, peculiarities, and incidents. It will also contain the names of all our ministers so far as they can be obtained.—The astronomical calculations and calendars will be as full and reliable as in the best works of the kind. Will be ready by the first of September. Sent postpaid by single copy for 12 cents; ten copies for one dollar. Liberal deductions to dealers and merchants to sell again."[2]

The first edition of the Brethren's Almanac must have sold much better than first anticipated. The copy was ready for sale by October 1, 1870, and not by the first of September as first announced. But by the sixth of December nearly all of the Almanacs were sold. Thus we find appearing in the December 6th issue the following:

"The edition of our Almanacs has already been exhausted. As there is quite a demand, and being yet time enough before it will be wanted for use, we have concluded to publish another edition, and orders may be sent in by the hundred."[3]

This preface appeared in the 1871 issue:

"Almanacs having become a household necessity, their pages afford a valuable medium for disseminating wholesome instruction to every family throughout the land. The publisher being aware of this fact, and from the conviction that it is the duty of the Christian, not only to improve the opportunities presented, but even to seek after occasions for doing good, has resolved to publish an annual pamphlet to be called the Brethren's Almanac, of which this is the first issue. It will impart all information usually expected in such works. The reading matter will be such as will be thought most useful to, and acceptable with its patrons. The present edition has been somewhat hastily compiled, yet it is hoped it may be generally acceptable."[4]

The first issue of the Almanac was printed, not by Holsinger, but by a printer in Philadelphia. By the second year Holsinger printed it himself. He writes this:

"Last year we had it (Brethren's Almanac) printed in Philadelphia, but thought it had cost us too much. In consequence of doing the work ourselves we reduced the price, and now find that we again have been a

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2. *Christian Family Companion,* July 19, 1870, p. 459.
3. *Christian Family Companion,* December 6, 1870, p. 762.
4. *Brethren's Almanac,* 1871, p. 15.

little too liberal. Besides, we committed a mistake in announcing the price. The dozen price had been reckoned at one dollar, instead of which we gave it at 75 cents, and now we shall sell the whole edition at the figures announced."[5]

By the time the 1872 issue of the Brethren's Almanac was ready for printing, H. R. Holsinger had moved his printing plant from Tyrone to Dale City, Pennsylvania. From the Christian Family Companion we find that the move was made in the period between October 17th and October 31st, 1871.

Here at Dale City, Holsinger printed the 1873 issue also. However, by 1874 James Quinter had taken over the printing interests of Holsinger. He continued to publish the Almanac from Dale City in 1874 much as his predecessor had done.[6]

In 1873, H. B. Brumbaugh & Bro. of James Creek, Pennsylvania started publishing the Pilgrim Almanac as a free supplement to all who subscribed to the Weekly Pilgrim. No copies could be bought. Here is their statement:

"The Pilgrim Almanac is highly spoken of by all who see it, and are especially pleased with our improved "Ministerial Record". We still have a good supply and are waiting to give them free to every subscriber for 1873. To some we may have sent two copies; such would do us a favor by giving one to some person who would be willing to take the Pilgrim. Remember, we have none for sale."[7]

By 1874, H. B. Brumbaugh & Bro. had moved their printing plant to 1400 & 1402 Washington Street, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania. In 1875, Quinter and Brumbaugh, feeling it was an unnecessary duplication to have two almanacs published by the Brethren, combined to publish one almanac which they called The Brethren's Family Almanac. Quinter was then located at Meyersdale, Pennsylvania. The price for this combined issue was 1 copy, 10 cents; 12 copies, 75 cents; 17 copies, $1.00; and 100 copies, $5.75.[8]

With each publisher still being located as cited above, the 1876 issue was again published jointly, but under the title Brethren's

5. *Christian Family Companion,* December 12, 1871, p. 782.

6. I have not beeen able to see a copy of this 1874 James Quinter issue, for we do not have it here in the Bethany Library, nor do they have it at Elgin. But it is in the Juniata College Library, and through the kindness of the librarian there, Miss Lillian Evans, who described its contents so well to me by letter, I have been enabled to include it in this study. Her information made it possible for me to index the articles which appeared in this 1874 almanac published by James Quinter, which would have otherwise been impossible.

7. *The Weekly Pilgrim,* January 14, 1873, p. 15.

8. The Pilgrim, November 24, 1874, p. 364, and December 8, 1874, p. 380.

Almanac. However, in 1880 the title was again The Brethren's Family Almanac. By 1877 Quinter had moved to Huntingdon, combining interests with Brumbaugh. They continued thus until, in 1883, the Brethren's Publishing House was formed at Huntingdon, Pennsylvania. In 1884 the front of the Almanac has "Brethren's Publishing Co., Huntingdon, Pa., and Mt. Morris, Ill." Its printing continued thus until in 1891 when the Brethren's Publishing Co. had its sole interests in Mt. Morris.

With the turn of the century the Brethren Publishing House sought a location which would be accessible by railroad. This was thought necessary because of the expansion of publishing, so the House moved to Elgin in 1899. Thus we find the Almanac coming from there in 1900.

The Almanac has been published from there ever since. Therefore, from 1900 on there is little to be said about the history of its publication. One significant change was made in 1918 when the name was changed from Brethren Family Almanac to Church of the Brethren Yearbook. In the succeeding year, 1919, the name was changed to Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren and has remained so ever since. Since the year 1931, J. E. Miller has been editor of the Yearbook.

Before finishing the history of the Almanac I should mention several other almanacs not of the main stream just followed in the above history. In 1880, H. J. Kurtz of Dayton, Ohio started publishing an almanac called Our Almanac and Annual Register. This continued at least for the next year, 1881. In 1882 the publishers of Brethren At Work put out an almanac called The Brethren At Work Almanac and Annual Register For All the People. This was printed at Mount Morris. Here in the Bethany Theological Library there is only this one copy. From all evidence it is the only one.

The break having occurred in 1881 which led to the formation of the Progressive Brethren Church and The Church of the Brethren, the former started an almanac of their own. H. R. Holsinger, first publisher of the Brethren's Almanac, 1871, was the publisher of this in 1884. It was called The Brethren's Annual and published at Ashland, Ohio. According to the files at Bethany Library he continued for two years and then in 1886 H. J. Kurtz published Our Almanac from Covington, Ohio. It may be others were pub-

lished aside from these mentioned. However, the significant thing is that as late as 1887, which is the last issue in our library, they still had the ministers of the Church of the Brethren listed. These were in a separate list, however, from their own ministers. Another separate list contained the ministers of the Old Order Brethren. From an excerpt one may gather that they still had a circulation among some of the members of the Church of the Brethren as well as the Old Order Brethren, hence these three lists of ministers. Here is their statement:

"The aim has been to make a good family almanac especially adapted to the wants of the Brethren organizations."[9]

I am not prepared to write further about these Progressive Brethren Almanacs.

CHAPTER II

The Almanac

It is probably hard for the youth of today to realize the importance of an almanac in the lives of our forefathers. They studied an almanac almost as religiously as their Bible. Because the Brethren were a rural people they depended much on signs and on the weather predictions made by almanacs. The following excerpt from a letter in the 1872 Almanac may well show this:

"In writing to you about Almanacs a week or more ago, we said substantially that the greatest objection to your Almanac, by the brethren, was, that there were not 'signs' and other conjectures enough in it. Some have said that it did not look much like an Almanac—meaning no doubt that the signs, conjectures, notable days, etc., were not given sufficiently in detail—not being able to find all the sage and venerated prognostications to be found in the old Lancaster Almanacs. It must be remembered that the study of the Almanac, in some families, constitutes the most important and persistent literary pursuit, with some of its members at least."[10]

The 1871 issue of the Brethren's Almanac has the following things contained in the actual almanac section: (1) Eclipses of the year 1871, (2) Memoranda for 1871, (3) Epochs of 1871, (4) Moveable Festivals, (5) Perigee and Apogee of the moon, (6) Seasons, (7) Astronomical characters explained, (8) Planets and aspects, (9) Signs of the Zodiac, (10) Chronological Cycles, (11)

9. *Our Almanac,* 1886, p. 48.
10. *The Brethren's Almanac,* 1872, p. 22.

Ember Days, (12) and a chart for every day of the year, giving every possible bit of information, including conjectures of the weather.

Substantially, the almanac continued from this time to 1905 without much change. However, there was a dropping out now and then of a few of the first bits of information, so that in 1905 there is no longer a Memoranda, Epochs, the Chronological cycles, or Conjectures of the weather. This 1905 issue added a remarkable and helpful feature which has been of great interest to the Brethren people. Among the pages of the almanac, along with the days of the year, there are listed "Notable events". These give important dates in Brethren History and the history of the world. This feature continued through the year 1927, which was the year before the Almanac itself was discontinued.

Because of the interesting events and information contained, I go through the year 1927 and list the events appearing there which I think should be of special interest to Brethren people. I choose the year 1927 because it is the last year this feature appears and hence should give us the items of most up-to-date interest. I list these just as they appear, abbreviations and all.

Jan. 1, 1876, C. Hope started for Denmark.
Jan. 7, 1796, Peter Nead was born.
Jan. 12, 1913, B. F. Heckman died in China.
Jan. 12, 1874, Henry Kurtz died in China.
Jan. 14, 1914, Mary Quinter died in India.
Jan. 24, 1826, James R. Gish born in Virginia.
Jan. 25, 1917, J. G. Royer died in Elgin, Ill.

Feb. 1, 1816, James Quinter born in Philadelphia.
Feb. 4, 1835, Daniel Vaniman was born.
Feb. 6, 1895, John Forney died in Kansas.
Feb. 7, 1890, Jacob Miller died.
Feb. 15, 1832, Geo. C. Bowman was born in Tennessee.
Feb. 19, 1735, Alex. Mack, Sr. died in Pennsylvania.
Feb. 24, 1737, Christopher Sower II was baptized.
Feb. 28, 1903, A. H. Puterbaugh died in India.

March 7, 1908, H. M. Barwick, editor of the "Inglenook" died.
March 8, 1892, R. H. Miller died in Mt. Morris, Illinois.
March 14, 1908, A. W. Vaniman died.
March 15, 1795, Jacob M. Thomas born in Pennsylvania.
March 16, 1877, Peter Nead died near Dayton, Ohio.
March 20, 1803, Alex. Mack Jr., died.

April 1, 1851, "Gospel Visitor" started.
April 3, 1910, First converts in China.
April 13, 1923, I. J. Rosenberger died in Ohio.
April 17, 1921, J. H. B. Williams died in Africa.
April 22, 1838, J. G. Royer born.
April 23, 1908, Abram H. Cassel died in Pennsylvania.
April 25, 1897, first eleven baptisms at Bulsar, India.
April 27, 1873, John H. Umstad died in Pennsylvania.
April 29, 1910, Enoch Eby died in Illinois.
April 30, 1896, James R. Gish died in Arkansas.

May 1, 1906, Jacob M. Meyer died in Pennsylvania.
May 2, 1917, W. M. Howe died.
May 3, 1867, W. M. Howe born.
May 10, 1879, Jacob M. Luck died in Pennsylvania.
May 16, 1839, Daniel Hays born.
May 19, 1888, James Quinter died at North Manchester, Indiana.
May 21, 1910, I. D. Parker died.
May 24, 1894, First Missionaries appointed for India.

June 6, 1885, D. P. Sayler died.
June 7, 1921, D. L. Miller died in Huntingdon, Pa.
June 11, 1922, J. B. Brumbaugh died.
June 13, 1884, Church Erection and Missionary Committee organized.
June 15, 1864, John Kline killed in Virginia.
June 17, 1797, John Kline born.
June 20, 1857, Geo. B. Holsinger born.
June 23, 1811, D. P. Sayler born.

July 3, 1911, E. W. Stoner died in Maryland.
July 13, 1895, Brethren Missionaries arrived in Asia Minor.
July 18, 1856, Jesse C. Ziegler born, Berks County, Pa.
July 22, 1796, Henry Kurtz born in Germany.
July 31, 1899, Christian Hope died in Kansas.

Aug. 1, 1914, Germany declares war on Russia. The Great War begins.
Aug. 3, 1890, J. B. Ebersole died in Ohio.
Aug. 4, 1885, Book and Tract Work organized.
Aug. 20, 1879, Mt. Morris College opened.

Sept. 5, 1899, Publishing House Moved to Elgin.
Sept. 8, 1863, John A. Bowman killed in Tennessee.
Sept. 14, 1876, "Brethren at Work" started, Lanark, Ill.
Sept. 18, 1884, Sarah R. Major died in Ohio.
Sept. 21, 1820, Abram H. Cassel born in Pennsylvania.
Sept. 25, 1909, First Brethren Missionaries reach China.

Oct. 3, 1905, Bethany Bible School opened.
Oct. 4, 1899, Brooklyn Church, N. Y., organized.
Oct. 11, 1816, Samuel Zigler born.
Oct. 16, 1894, First Brethren Missionaries sailed to India.

Oct. 20, 1910, C. H. Brubaker died in India.
Oct. 25, 1874, Christian Hope baptized.
Oct. 28, 1832, Daniel Yount born in Virginia.

Nov. 4, 1884, Brethren arrived in Southern California.
Nov. 5, 1916, Daniel Hays died.
Nov. 6, 1900, B. F. Moomaw died in Virginia.
Nov. 8, 1910, John S. Holsinger died in Virginia.
Nov. 12, 1875, Danish Mission started.
Nov. 15, 1828, Enoch Eby born.
Nov. 15, 1903, Daniel Vaniman died in Kansas.
Nov. 16, 1865, Geo. Wolfe died in Illinois.

Dec. 4, 1893, S. S. Mohler died in Missouri.
Dec. 7, 1844, Christian Hope born in Denmark.
Dec. 31, 1923, Barbara Kindig Gish died.

In this sample list one sees the names of some of our outstanding leaders of our church before 1927.

With the improved communications, better transportation, and daily weather reports the use of the almanac began to wane in importance. In 1917 there were thirteen pages given to the almanac, but by 1918 this number was reduced to seven pages. From 1917 through 1927 there were seven pages devoted to the almanac. Then in 1928 this number was boosted up to thirteen pages again, but this was the last year for the almanac. From that time on the publication was indeed a Brethren "Yearbook" and not a Brethren "Almanac", though the name had changed in 1918.

CHAPTER III

Advertisements in the Yearbook

The Yearbook did not carry any advertisements in the first issue except those advertising the editor's own publications or books which he had for sale. However, he had the following insertion which brought results in the 1872 issue:

"We will admit a limited number of select advertisements at the following rates: One insertion, 20 cents a line. Each subsequent insertion, 15 cents a line. Yearly advertisements, ten cents. No standing advertisements of more than 20 lines will be admitted, and no cuts will be inserted on any consideration."[11]

In 1872 the entire inside of the front cover was an advertisement of "Dr. Peter Fahrney's Celebrated Blood Cleanser or Panacea".

11. *The Brethren's Almanac,* 1871, Back cover.

In the years which followed Dr. Peter Fahrney was a consistent advertiser in the Almanac. But Holsinger's Almanac never carried many advertisements. The Pilgrim Almanac carried more. With the coming of The Brethren's Almanac published jointly by Quinter and Brumbaugh we find the following policy:

"We shall probably publish about eight thousand copies of our Almanac for 1876. We insert advertisements on the cover, and the number we publish being large, it affords a good advertising medium. We yet have some space, and we call the attention of the advertisers to the circumstance. We will insert unobjectionable advertisements at the following rates: 1 column, $30.00; ½ column, $16.00; ⅓ column, $12.00; ¼ column, $10.00; ⅛ column, $6.00."[12]

It would become monotonous and it is useless to follow a careful history of the advertising through all of the issues. Suffice it to say that an increasing amount of advertising appeared in the almanac until it reached its peak in 1911. In that year there were twenty-one pages given to advertising. From that time to the present there has been a diminishing amount of space devoted to advertisements, so that in the 1939 Yearbook there is only one page given to advertisements, and these are all strictly concerning Brethren interests.

The Annual Meeting gave some decisions concerning advertisements in church publications. However, none directly mentioned the Brethren Family Almanac. But there is a minute of interest and significance in the minutes of the 1911 Annual Meeting which is fitting here:

"We, the Middle Creek Congregation, assembled in council, April 14, 1911 petition Annual Meeting, through the District Meeting of Western Pennsylvania, to pass a decision preventing any real estate advertising from appearing in the literature of the Church of the Brethren.—Passed to Annual Meeting."

After a lengthy discussion the answer of the Standing Committee that the query be "referred to the General Mission Board" was passed. P. R. Keltner said this before it was passed:

"I want to give the reason for this answer on behalf of Standing Committee. We consider this query to be too sweeping. It says, 'to pass a decision preventing any real estate advertising from appearing in the literature of the Church of the Brethren'. A brother might have a farm for sale and might like to advertise it in our literature. He would be prevented from doing even this. It cuts out every opportunity of this kind. Our Gen-

12. *Christian Family Companion and Gospel Visitor,* August 31, 1875, p. 554.

eral Mission Board are men of experience and good brethren. They are going to profit by this query in this paper, and it is the judgment of the Standing Committee, by referring this paper to them, that they will do the very best they can to keep out everything that will be objectionable."[13]

This decision must have had its effect, for the advertising shrank from twenty-one pages in 1911 to eleven pages in 1912.

The bulk of advertising can be grouped into certain classifications. I am going to give these classifications and attempt to list a few of the most interesting advertisements under each one.

1. Remedies—
   - A. Dr. Peter Fahrney's Blood Cleanser or Panacea. These advertisements appeared in the Almanac for about thirty consecutive years.
   - B. Dr. Wengert's Vegetable Family Medicine.
   - C. "Ebersole's Sure Cure"—For the relief and cure of rheumatism, neuralgia, scrofula, dyspepsia, and kindred diseases, arising from impurities of the blood.
   - D. Dubbel's Family Medicines.
   - E. Catarrh Successfully treated with the *Ox-o-na-ter.*

The Almanac grew up in the days when patent medicines were at their height. At the turn of the century a total of three or four pages was appearing in each Almanac. These continued to appear through the years but they gradually began to be more conservative, that is, they no longer carried advertisements which made such miraculous claims for themselves.

2. Farm Land.
   - A. Advertising Southern Idaho—1901 issue and following.
   - B. Advertising North Dakota and Western Washington—1901 issue and following.
   - C. Advertising California—Various issues.

Railroad companies and land agencies inaugurated their advertising through the 1901 Almanac. They made the new land appealing, giving some testimonials of the few Brethren who were already there. It is an interesting observation that we now have large numbers of Brethren in most all of the sections which we find advertised in our Almanacs.

3. Farm Machinery.
   - A. Peerless Machinery

Threshers	Traction Engines
Clover Hullers	Portable Engines
Hay Presses	Stationary Engines
Gasoline Engines	Saw Mills
Grain Drills	Steam Plowing Outfits

13. *Annual Meeting Minutes,* Met at St. Joseph, Mo. 1911, pp. 194-196.

B. Studebaker Wagons.
C. General Farm Machinery—Larimer Manufacturing Company, Chicago.

One could easily surmise from the numerous advertisements of farm machinery in the Almanac that the Brethren are a rural people.

4. Books.
   A. Gish Fund Books.
   B. Bibles
   C. Bible Biographies, by Galen B. Royer.
   D. Bible Student's Library—A long list of books suggested by the Brethren's Publishing Company, Mount Morris, Ill.
   E. A suggested library for the Sunday School.
   F. Hymnals.
5. Publications.
   A. Church Periodicals.
      1. *The Christian Family Companion.*
      2. *The Pious Youth.*
      3. *Weekly Pilgrim.*
      4. *The Christian Family Companion and Gospel Visitor.*
      5. *The Young Disciple.*
      6. *The Brethren At Work.*
      7. *The Primitive Christian and Pilgrim.*
      8. *The Gospel Messenger.*
      9. *The Inglenook.*
      10. *Our Young People.*
      11. *The Missionary Visitor.*
      12. *The Brethren Teachers' Monthly.*
   B. Books.
      1. *Brethren Hymnal.*
      2. *Hymns of Praise.*
      3. Various books by Brethren authors.
      4. Other outstanding books.
6. Brethren's Plain Clothing.
   A. Suits and hats for men (Various dealers).
   B. Bonnet supplies.
   C. Covering supplies.

Many different individuals and companies carried these advertisements.

7. Schools.
   A. The Brethren's School, Huntingdon, Pa.
   B. The Brethren's Normal, Huntingdon, Pa.
   C. Ashland College.
   D. Wolf's Business College.
   E. McPherson College.
   F. Elkhart Institute.

Later the Brethren schools received publicity through the General Education Board and didn't have formal advertisements.

This is in no sense an exhaustive list of even the types of advertisements, but it is hoped that these will be of interest and give the reader an insight into what an important medium for advertising the Yearbook was in its early days, though at present it is in no sense used for this purpose.

CHAPTER IV

The Ministry of our Church

Each one of the Yearbooks has carried a ministerial list in as complete form as the editors were able to compile. They have acknowledged the incompleteness of the list from time to time and have appealed to the people for corrections.

I have made a count of the ministry for each of the years from 1871 through 1939. The graph on the following page will show the trends in the ministry of our church during this period. I will record all of these figures here, at the same time telling how they were found:

Year	Number of Ministers	How the Number Was Found
1871	641	By actual count
1872	965	" " "
1873	1,107	" " "
1874	1,237	" " " in the Pilgrim Almanac
1875	1,423	" " "
1876	1,467	" " "
1877	1,509	" " "
1878	1,549	" " "
1879	1,579	" " "
1880	1,605	By adding the totals which are listed by states.
1881	1,688	By actual count
1882	1,695	" " "
1883	1,686	" " " (In addition there were listed *67* "Old Order Brethren" Ministers and *20* "Progressive Brethren" Ministers.)
1884	1,726	By actual count
1885	1,745	" " "
1886	1,766	" " "
1887	1,762	" " "
1888	1,839	" " "
1889	1,777	" " "
1890	1,885	" " "

1891	1,962	" " "
1892	2,004	" " "
1893	2,014	" " "
1894	2,055	" " "
1895	2,103	" " "
1896	2,150	Totals given in the Yearbooks
1897	2,208	" " " " "
1898	2,298	" " " " "
1899	2,361	" " " " "
1900	2,397	" " " " "
1901	2,569	" " " " "
1902	2,646	" " " " "
1903	2,750	" " " " "
1904	2,763	" " " " "
1905	2,769	" " " " "
1906	2,723	" " " " "
1907	2,831	" " " " "
1908	2,938	" " " " "
1909	2,987	" " " " "
1910	3,012	" " " " "
1911	3,049	" " " " "
1912	3,066	" " " " "
1913	3,017	" " " " "
1914	3,062	" " " " "
1915	3,082	" " " " "
1916	3,106	" " " " "
1917	3,172	" " " " "
1918	3,250	" " " " "
1919	3,330	" " " " "
1920	3,400	" " " " "
1921	3,551	" " " " "
1922	3,448	" " " " "
1923	3,535	" " " " " including missionaries.
1924	3,405	Actual count, including missionaries, sisters, and licentiates.
1925	3,551	Same as for 1924.
1926	3,525	" " " "
1927	3,095	" " " "
1928	3,226	" " " "
1929	2,986	" " " "
1930	2,766	" " " "
1931	2,894	" " " "
1932	2,917	" " " "
1933	2,920	" " " "
1934	2,965	" " " "
1935	2,976	" " " "
1936	3,044	" " " "
1937	3,043	" " " "
1938	3,032	" " " "
1939	3,003	" " " "

This list may have its inaccuracies, for it would be very easy for one to make a slight error in counting two or three thousand names in every Yearbook. However, this list is accurate enough to show that the ministry of our Church grew steadily until it reached its peak of 3,551 ministers in 1921 and again in 1925. In the next few years there was a rapid decline until in 1930, when it was the lowest since 1906. After 1930 there was a rise until 1936. Following 1936 we have been on the decline a little each year. These figures make one wonder how far our ministry will shrink in number the next few years, especially when he realizes how many ministers of old age there are in our Church and how few young men are being added.

One may wonder what caused such a sharp drop in 1927 and again in 1930. The only explanation I can offer is that up to the year 1926 there were a number of names being retained which should have been dropped. A revision of the ministerial list naturally corrected this. Therefore one should not become alarmed by the drop, but should be thankful that the record is more accurate.

J. E. Miller wisely gave this advice after I had questioned him about the situation:

> "Don't take statistics, especially church statistics, too seriously. They are often faulty and never perfect. About the only thing that statistics teach us is that nothing is very correct. In spite of the old saying about the truthfulness of statistics, my observation is that they often do 'lie'."[14]

In 1925, when we had the most ministers on our ministerial list (except in 1921 when it was the same), there appeared for the first time a number of sisters who were licensed to preach and a list of men who were licensed to preach. A list of the sisters will show this growth in numbers:

Years	Number of Sisters
1925	21
1926	25
1927	28
1928	37
1929	37
1930	31
1931	32
1932	39
1933	43

14. In his letter to me of May 13, 1939.

1934	49
1935	47
1936	52
1937	53
1938	53
1939	59

Likewise, there have been more licentiates added, with 1939 showing the largest number. The following table gives the totals for each year:

Year	Number of Licentiates
1925	56
1926	81
1927	100
1928	131
1929	104
1930	114
1931	118
1932	99
1933	121
1934	141
1935	162
1936	155
1937	192
1938	212
1939	222

The Yearbook gives invaluable information concerning the ministers. The churches owe to the Elgin Office an accurate list of the name and address of every minister in his local church, for that is the only way the records can be kept accurate.

CHAPTER V

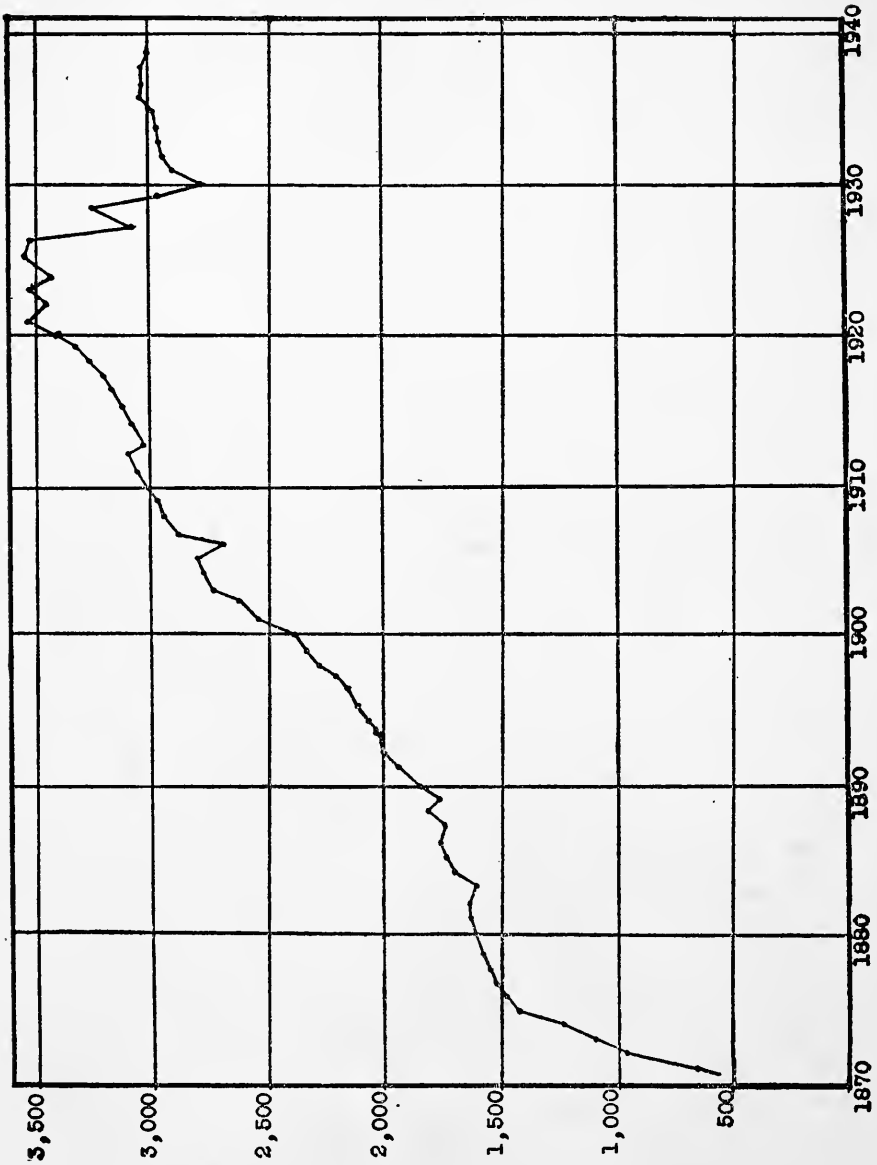
Excerpts of Interest

It is the purpose to show in this chapter some of the nuggets contained in the Almanac, or Yearbook. Certain passages which should prove especially interesting and informative will be cited.

One might think he had picked up a philosopher's scrap book or a new book of Proverbs, if he should judge by the maxims and philosophical sayings appearing at the bottoms of numerous pages of the 1871 and 1873 issues of the Brethren's Almanac. Some which should fit well into any minister's sermon today will be selected:

"Thought.—Keep the mind constantly filled with pure thoughts, and there will be no room for impure ones to come in; so long as the measure

GRAPH SHOWING THE TRENDS OF THE MINISTRY



is full of something good, it will hold nothing bad. Never think of anything bad."[15]

"The gem cannot be polished without friction, nor man perfected without a diversity."[16]

"Work.—Hard work is the grand secret of success. Nothing but rags and poverty can come of idleness. Elbow grease is the only stuff to make gold with. No sweat, no sweet. He who would have crows' eggs must climb the tree. Every man must build up his own fortune now-a-days. Shirt sleeves rolled up lead on to the best broadcloth; and he who is not ashamed of the apron will soon be able to do without it."[17]

"It is the small, unsuspected habits of the mind that usually control it."[18]

"God's word is like God's world—varied, very rich, very beautiful. You never know when you have exhausted all its secrets. The Bible, like nature, has something for every class of minds. Look at the Bible in a new light, and straightway you see some new charms."[19]

"The word 'heart' is named 800 times in the Bible, the word 'soul' 440 times, and the word 'head' only 80 times."[20]

"Men are born with two eyes, but with one tongue, in order that they may see twice as much as they say."[21]

"In quarrels, leave open the door of reconciliation."[22]

"Self-made men are apt to be a little too proud of the job."[23]

In the year 1883 there appeared a timely article on "How to Preach".[24] This article is full of good, sound advice for any minister, whether he preached in 1883 or 1939.

The main points of the article are, first, make no apologies; second, have short prefaces and introductions; third, leave self out of the pulpit, and take Jesus in; fourth, do not bawl nor scream; fifth, do not scold the people; sixth, stop your declamation and talk to folks; and seventh, regulate your breathing.

In order to show the pointed words and sentences of the article I am going to quote a portion of the last paragraph:

"Come down from sacred tones; become a little child. Change the subject if it goes hard. Do not tire yourself and everyone else out. Do not preach till the middle of your sermon buries the beginning, and is buried by the end. Look people in the face, and live so that you are not afraid of them. Take long breaths, fill your lungs, and keep them full—stop to breathe before the air is exhausted. Then you will not finish off each

15. *Brethren's Almanac,* 1871, p. 1.
16. *Brethren's Almanac,* 1871, p. 1.
17. *Brethren's Almanac,* 1871, p. 2.
18. *Brethren's Almanac,* 1871, p. 5.
19. *Brethren's Almanac,* 1871, p. 10.
20. *Brethren's Family Almanac,* 1871, p. 13.
21. *Brethren's Family Almanac,* 1873, p. 3.
22. *Brethren's Family Almanac,* 1873, p. 5.
23. *Brethren's Family Almanac,* 1873, p. 10.
24. *Brethren's Family Almanac,* 1883, p. 13.

sentence-ah with a terrible gasp-ah, as if you were dying for air-ah, as some preachers do-ah, and so strain their lungs-ah, and never find it out-ah, because their friends dare not tell them-ah, and so leave them to make sport for the Philistines-ah.—Aim at the mark. Hit it. Stop and see where the shot struck, and then fire another broadside. Pack your sermons. Make your words like bullets. A board hurts a man worse if it strikes him edgewise."

I. J. Rosenberger wrote an interesting article for the Almanac entitled "Some Events of Interest in the Lives of Some of Our Old Brethren."[25] Two of the men of whom he wrote are Elder Henry Kurtz and Elder Henry Reubsome. Here is a portion of the article:

"It is generally known that Elder Henry Kurtz, our pioneer editor, emigrated from Germany, a Lutheran minister. On board the vessel he fell in company with Elder Henry Reubsome, who was educated for a Catholic priest. Although one a Lutheran and the other a Catholic, they separated at New York warm friends.

To their joy, they met the next time at an Annual Meeting, both members and ministers among the Brethren. Brother Reubsome died some years ago at his home near Springfield, Ohio."

An unusual article appears in 1894 concerning the life of "Johnny Kline".[26] This sketch, seven pages long, was written by Mrs. Ora Langhorne for the New England Magazine. Mrs. Langhorne was not a member of our church, but lived near John Kline in the Valley of Virginia at the time he was shot. She tells how patiently he bore the sorrow of having a wife who had lost her mind and how he ministered to the Brethren far and near. John Kline had been to her father's home just before he was shot while returning home. She tells of how her father wept when he learned of the passing of the grand old Tunker preacher. She concludes her tribute to him in the following way:

"Among the Tunker communities throughout the Union the memory of gentle old Johnny Kline will ever be revered, and the example of his patient, faithful life will be held up for emulation among his people. Today in all that region 'Johnny Kline' is spoken softly as the household word—of one whom God has taken."

In 1904 James M. Neff writes interestingly of being "Among the Mountains".[27] He was born in Indiana and had never seen a mountain until he was twenty-nine years old, though his parents were natives of Franklin County, Virginia. New experiences were his as he travelled among the mountains of Pennsylvania, Maryland,

25. *Brethren's Family Almanac,* 1887, p. 19.
26. *Brethren's Family Almanac,* 1894, p. 3.
27. *Brethren's Family Almanac,* 1904, p. 15.

the Virginias, the Carolinas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama. This paragraph will show how picturesquely he describes the things he saw:

"Within the last twelve months I have seen the old horse-power thresher at work, I have visited homes where the old-fashioned spinning wheel still sings and where deft fingers ply the shuttle and the old loom rattles out the homespun slow but sure. I have been received with the heartiest welcome in homes where most of the indoor life was spent in one room, and where we and 'the old folks' retired in beds arranged in a row at one end of the room so close together that we could easily shake hands from bed to bed while the young folks sat and 'sparked' by the fireplace at the other end of the room. I have visited and lodged in many a home where a good-sized family lives in a one-room log house and sometimes where the clapboards serve as both roof and ceiling, eighteen of us, men, women and children, having slept one night in such a room, and that, too, without suffering for want of ventilation, though there were no windows and the doors were closed. In many such homes they depend for light upon the open doors in the summer and the fire in the fireplace in winter, and upon the open cracks for ventilation, and so the modern extravagance in the way of windows is scarcely thought of.—"

The last excerpt I wish to make is from the life of "Elder Peter Nead in Rockingham County, Virginia".[28] Peter Nead was a class leader and lay preacher identified with the Methodist Church. He read a little book by Elder Benjamin Bowman, written in German, on "Christian Baptism". This drew his interest and he was led to visit Rockingham County, where Benjamin Bowman lived. His visit coincided with a love feast being held there. After further inquiring into the teaching and practice of the Church he was baptized. A very fruitful life in business and the ministry followed. Listen to a paragraph by D. H. Zigler:

"Elder Nead's home life greatly strengthened his work in the ministry. Soon after uniting with the church, he formed the acquaintance of Elizabeth Yount, whose home was near Broadway, Va. Their marriage followed Dec. 20, 1825, and they settled on the Yount homestead. Here he spent fifteen years of his busy life. Beside meeting the calls for his ministerial service, he conducted a tanning business and taught school during the winter. It was his custom to rise at three o'clock in the morning and read, write, or commit passages of scripture to memory until six o'clock, the usual breakfast hour. The duties of the day were met in systematic order, and the evenings were spent with the family or in communion with his God.—"

Such is the nature of the articles which appear in the issues from 1871 through 1913. These types, as will be clearly pointed out in

28. *Brethren Family Almanac,* 1913, By D. H. Zigler, p. 15.

the next chapter, soon began to fade out, giving way to the organizations and movements of the Church of the Brethren, which were well publicized in the Yearbook, beginning about 1917.

CHAPTER VI

Changes in the Contents of the Yearbook

The Brethren's Family Almanac has gone through a complete change since its beginning. One could pick up the 1871 Almanac and never know it was the ancestor of the 1939 Yearbook. The only bit of contents which has remained the same is the ministerial list. This has always been an important part of the Yearbook and itself has been useful enough to justify a yearly publication of the Almanac, or Yearbook.

Remembering this one constant bit of contents I will trace briefly the disappearance of certain important contents and the appearance of new and important contents.

The chapter on "Advertisements in the Yearbook" shows the growth and decline of the use of the Yearbook as an advertising medium. Likewise, the chapter on "The Almanac" shows how it declined in importance and the number of pages used for it, until in 1929 it was no longer contained in the Yearbook.

One of the important items which has lasted for most of the life of the Yearbook is that of biography. Glance over the index and see how frequently the names of great men and women of the Church of the Brethren appear. Names like John Kline, the two Christopher Sowers, George Wolfe, James Quinter, the two Alexander Macks, and John Umstad will be found appearing from three to five or six times. Biography continued in this form from 1871 through the year 1917. In 1918 there appeared a group of articles under the heading "Entered into Rest". These contained a brief biography of outstanding men of the Church of the Brethren who had died the preceding year. 1924 was the last year of these biographies and from that time on there were no biographies in any form.

Articles on doctrine were an important part of the early issues. The very first article of the first issue was "What the Brethren Preach". Other doctrinal articles follow, such as "Is the Brethren Church the True Church of Christ?", "New Testament Simplic-

ity", and "On the Simplicity of Dress". Such doctrinal subjects as these continued until along about 1910. After this time there followed only a few articles, gradually being replaced by the activities of the Church of the Brethren in the realm of the educational and the organizational functions of the Church. It must be remembered that these doctrinal articles continued to come before the members of the church through the Church publications other than the Almanac. The Almanac, or Yearbook, was just beginning to change its function.

History is one of the outstanding features of the Almanac. There appear histories of individual congregations, of districts, of work in certain states, of movements, of the printing of church publications, of missions, and of other activities. The last historical articles seem to have appeared in the year 1916, though "Important Events" continued to be listed in the pages of the almanac through 1927.

Miscellaneous articles have appeared throughout all of the Yearbooks up to about 1920. They were of a wide and varied nature, ranging from anecdotes, jokes, etc. to long discourses on the dangers to be faced in this modern age.

In a brief way this traces the disappearance of certain outstanding features which were a large part of the early issues. Now let us see just how new features came to take their place.

At the turn of the century there begin to appear certain things in the Yearbook which show a growing consciousness on the part of the Church leaders that there is a need for closer unity and organization within the ranks of the Church. Thus as this organization is effected we find the Yearbook being the place that it could best be published to get it before, and keep it before, the people.

The first evidence of this is in the 1900 issue when there is printed, just before the Ministerial List, a list of "The Mission Boards and Their Organization" and also a list of the "Sunday School Secretaries".

This same listing appeared until in 1912 when there was added "Temperance Committees and Their Organizations". "General Sunday-School Board" was listed in 1913. At the same time there were minor bits of information appearing in rapid order: "General Missionary Receipts", "Membership in Churches", "Old Folks' and Orphans' Homes", "Missionary Offerings at A. M.", "Gen-

eral Education Board", "Our Ministerial Force", "Annual Meeting Delegates", "Sunday School Statistics", "Our Church Boards", and "Total Receipts for the Year".

Then in the year 1917 five full pages were devoted to the "General Education Board of the Church of the Brethren". In connection with this extensive information was given about our Brethren Colleges and Bethany Bible School. Also, five pages were given to the Sunday School work of the Church, including plans for "Remodeling an Old Church".

In 1918 "The Forward Movement in the Church of the Brethren" was launched. Ten pages were devoted to "Home and Foreign Missions". This time nine pages were given to the "Sunday School Work" and eight pages to "Our Educational Activities". There followed in this same year thirteen pages on "General Reforms and Relief Work".

In general, these types of activities continued through the next ten or twelve years. Meanwhile, added space was being given to statistics. These included "Conference Budget", "Financial Report of the Council of Promotion", "General Statistics of Giving For the Year", "Financial Statement of the General Mission Board", "The Home Department" (statistics of), and "Summary Statistical Report of General Ministerial Board".

The early nineteen thirties finds less space being given to statistics and church organization. In fact, the Yearbook itself began to shrink in size. In 1928 there were 127 pages in it, but by 1933 there were only 64 pages. Since 1933 the size has remained the same, there being also 64 pages in the 1939 issue. Thus we come to the 1939 issue. It contains information designed to inform the ministry and laity of the church. To the minister it is indispensable, for it keeps him informed about the addresses of his fellow ministers and their churches, at the same time giving invaluable statistics and the personnel of the Brotherhood and District Organizations. For the laity it serves the same purpose, and it also assists all in getting a view of the total Church of the Brethren in a way that would otherwise be impossible.

(To be continued)

HISTORY OF SANDY CREEK CONGREGATION, FIRST DISTRICT OF WEST VIRGINIA

Susie M. Thomas

(Continued from July Number)

CHAPTER VII

Biographies of Ministers Who Served in Sandy Creek Congregation

John Boger

John Boger, son of Christian Boger, a German immigrant, was born at Pine Hill, Pennsylvania, 1774. About 1808 he came with his family to the A. K. Frazee place, between Brandonville and Hazelton, West Virginia. He there built a brick house which has since been torn down. He was a justice of the peace and a minister of the Church of the Brethren.

He was married to Frances Cover who died in 1806 and then he married Barbara Breneisen.

Though a hardworking man he was a lifelong reader. He was the first minister known to be elected in Sandy Creek Congregation, being elected about 1830 to 1835. He was the grandfather of Mary Boger who married Emanuel Beeghly.

John Boger and Jacob Thomas preached in the first church house built at Salem in 1845. He preached in German and was well versed in the Scriptures. He was one of the pioneers of Preston County.

During the last eight or nine years of his life he gave himself wholly to study of the prophetical books of the Bible.

The walls of at least one room in his house were covered with his calculations concerning those prophecies which related to the millennium. The result appeared in "The Coming of Jesus Christ," written "with a trembling hand in my seventy-third year." This booklet, written in German, was published by Jonathan Rau of Somerset, Pa., and came out in 1846. It contained 24 pages, four by six inches in size, and was the first printed volume emanating from Preston.[12]

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12. Morton, O. F., *History of Preston County,* p. 324.

This treatise fell into the hands of "Pastor" Russell and formed the foundation for the Millennial Dawnists Church. The calculations worked out by Boger were taken by Russell and furnished the principal material for his sensational propaganda.

John Boger died in 1852 and is buried on the Boger farm near Brandonville, W. Va. Through emigration and a shortage in male posterity, the family name has disappeared from this county.

Jacob M. Thomas

The Thomas family originally came from Wales, England in Colonial days. There were three brothers who sailed across the waters of the Atlantic together. They were Alexander, William, and Lewis. Alexander settled in Pennsylvania, William went West, and Lewis settled in the southern part of Ohio.

From Alexander who located on a large farm in Lancaster County, near Philadelphia descended the Thomases of Preston County. He was a large and successful farmer, but lost all he had by selling his farm for Continental money, which proved valueless.

His son Michael Thomas, Sr., was born in Conemaugh Township, Somerset County, Pennsylvania, August 15, 1774. Michael Thomas, Sr., married Magdalena Maust who was the daughter of Abraham Maust, and she was born near Summit Mills, Somerset County, Pa., December 25, 1775. She was of German descent. They were married October, 1794. To this union were born seven sons and three daughters. An initial "M" was used in each of these sons' names in honor of their father. These seven sons were Jacob M., Michael M., George M., John M., Samuel M., Daniel M., and Christian M. The sisters of these brothers were Magdalena, Barbara, and Anna, the latter becoming the wife of Andrew Umbel and spending her life in Fayette County, Pennsylvania. The sons, Michael and George, remained in Fayette County, Pa.; Samuel and Daniel went West, one to Iowa and the other probably to Ohio. John and Jacob became permanent residents in W. Va.

Jacob M. Thomas was the oldest of the children. He was born on a farm in Conemaugh Township, March 15, 1795.

In 1810 the family moved to a farm near what is now Markleysburg, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, near the West Virginia line where all the children were reared. Jacob grew to manhood on his father's farm where he worked and took advantage of the little

schooling those early days afforded. He was a real student and acquired a wide range of knowledge.

It is not known when or where Michael Thomas, Sr., united with the church, but his wife was the first person ever baptized in the Sandy Creek congregation. All the children with their companions became faithful members of the church of their parents, who were hardy pioneers in a rough country.

Jacob M. Thomas was united in marriage to Mary Fike on August 8, 1816. He came to West Virginia from Fayette County, shortly after the close of the second war with Great Britain. He built his pioneer home on his farm four miles east of Brandonville, near Salem Church, and lived there the rest of his life. Four sons and six daughters were born to them. They were John J. who married Lydia Maust, about 1840 to whom were born four sons and three daughters; Andrew, born May 4, 1836 and died Feb. 2, 1907, was married twice. His first wife was Barbara Boger, born May 3, 1840 and died February 22, 1879. She was the daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth Boger. They lived on the home place and took care of the father. To them were born one daughter and three sons. Elizabeth, the daughter married Ervin Wilson, to whom were born four daughters, Etta, Delila, Stella, Cora, and one son, Victor. Jeremiah Thomas, who became elder of Sandy Creek Congregation, Noah Thomas, who still lives on part of the home place, and Ira Thomas who lives at Bruceton Mills, were their sons. Andrew was married again to Hester Wilson, who remarried and is still living. They had one son, Scott. The home place was divided between the two sons, Noah and Scott. Jacob married Nancy Lambert and to this union five sons and five daughters were born. The daughters were Magdalena, who died unmarried; Sallie who became the wife of Adam Rosenberger; Anna who married William Conn; Barbara who was the wife of Joseph Zimmerman, and Catherine who married Samuel Rishel. After the death of the mother of these children April 27, 1840, Jacob Thomas married Hepsy Davis, but there were no children from this union.

As a business man and farmer he was successful, being the owner of a good 175-acre farm. While an industrious farmer, his life was of considerably more importance than that of an individual business man.

There were no Church of the Brethren and no minister where they lived. They welcomed occasional visits of ministers, and their home was open for their services.

When thirty-five years old Jacob M. Thomas united with the Church of the Brethren and from the start was an earnest student of the Bible. He could read German and English equally well, but his sermons were delivered in English. He knew German well because his mother was of German ancestry and the Thomas family had lived in a German community of Pennsylvania.

In the year of 1835 the Sandy Creek Congregation was organized and a year later he was called to the ministry. He had a gift as an expounder of religious doctrines, and as a missionary, accompanied by a few friends, built up church communities and caused the erection of a number of places of worship.

The Sandy Creek Congregation grew and Brother Thomas grew in the work. His earnest contention for the faith stirred the people. In 1841 he was ordained, the first bishop in the First District of West Virginia, and perhaps in the State.

Under his preaching and fatherly shepherding the membership increased rapidly. In 1845 the Salem meeting house was built. This was much enjoyed by a people who had been holding their meetings and love feasts in barns and homes under many discomforts. His usefulness was not confined to his home congregation; neither did he wish to center all his labors in so narrow a limit. Astride his horse with Bible in hand, he went forth and planted the seed of the Gospel over a large territory of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and over into Maryland. Sometimes he was gone for three and four months. On some of these journeys he was accompanied by Elders Samuel Fike and Jacob Beeghly. He held meetings at the homes, sometimes in barns and often preached in courthouses at the invitation of the judges who frequently turned their halls of justice into meeting houses for his accommodation. He preached in the courthouses of three counties.

He was a large man, somewhat of muscular build, was capable of great endurance and when about sixty years old retired from the active duties of a farm life and devoted all of his time and attention thereafter to the work of the Gospel. That he might not be at the expense of the others of the church, he reserved a competence out of his own life's earnings, including a horse.

He was a leader in his District, served as moderator frequently, and represented the District on the Standing Committee several times. He served on a number of important church committees.

His knowledge and interest extended to the events of his day. He was one of the early readers of the old Wheeling Intelligencer and was one of the pioneer voters of the Republican faith in his section of West Virginia. He was a great reader and was informed on a large range of subjects.

Earnestness and sincerity characterized all his actions. He was a good councillor, earnest and sincere in what he did. On his convictions he stood and would not be moved; yet his mind was ever alert to understand fully first before taking his stand. His simple faith was a fortress in his dark days; it also led him as he grew older to pursue nothing but the Master's work, leaving all else for this. Yet all was done without receiving any compensation from the church. He lived to see his labors bear fruit in multiplied congregations and many happy in Jesus.

He continued to go on missionary journeys as long as his health would permit. The following excerpt is taken from the Gospel Visitor, Sept., 1870.

Report of an Exploration of Western Virginia by Elder Samuel A. Fike and Elder Jacob M. Thomas.

The last District Meeting of West Virginia having requested Brother Fike to visit the scattered churches and members in Northwestern Virginia, Bro. Thomas cheerfully offered to accompany him on his mission of love. Bro. Thomas left home on the 17th of June, and arrived at St. Joseph and stayed all night at Bro. D. Millers, and met Bro. Fike next day at Bro. Dancer's on the Northwestern pike. On the 19th they preached the funeral of Sister C. Lefter, in a schoolhouse near Stephen Bollyards. In the forenoon of the 20th they had a meeting in the schoolhouse near Bro. Keyser's, and in the afternoon in a Methodist meeting house near Valley Furnace. When they arrived at this place they were told that a few weeks before a Methodist minister had preached in this meeting house and maintained "that baptism was altogether non-essential to salvation" and that the brethren had announced that at 4 o'clock in the afternoon on the 20th of June, Samuel A. Fike would answer or reply to this sermon. The announcement of which caused a considerable excitement among all classes of people—all anxious to hear the reply, and the house was therefore overcrowded, and many could not get in, and it was said that not less than nine licensed Methodist ministers were present. The time of meeting was here, and Bro. Fike had but little or no time, on so short a notice, to prepare himself for such an important issue. The large and respectable audience—expecting to hear a severe stricture and

defence of the mode of baptism and our church doctrine generally—were not a little surprised to hear it so mildly announced that as neither the mode of baptism nor any other essential doctrine was assailed, Bro. Fike would confine his reply alone on the Essentiality of Baptism in the plan of salvation. Several of the ministers present took down notes, and after Bro. Fike closed his remarks, the Rev. Mr. Hacker (who had made the aforesaid assault) rose and asked leave to reply; his request being granted, he said that he always understood the birth, to which Christ referred in his conversation with Nicodemus, to be the natural birth—explaining that birth in language and expressions altogether inadmissible here, and which ought never to be permitted to be used before a mixed audience.

Bro. Fike replied briefly: that he could not believe his friend believed what he said himself, and felt certain that the audience was too intelligent to believe what he did say! Mr. Hacker then said that he looked upon baptism as a mere outward form—like that of marriage—where the married couple were brought out of a single into a married state. Bro. Fike replied that that was our identical views, and showed that such a view was a perfect confirmation of the essentiality of baptism, etc. After the meeting one of the ministers present told Bro. Fike, that he had done today the very best day's work he ever had done before—in establishing so important a scriptural doctrine. And one of the ministers who took notes and went home to compare his notes with the Scriptures with a view to overset the doctrine, declared the next day that no powers on the earth could overset the doctrine which Mr. Fike had so well established by the Word of God.

Many other expressions were made and incidents took place that showed that Bro. Fike's humble efforts to maintain and establish so important a scriptural doctrine gave general, if not universal satisfaction, and made a deep impression upon the people. The doctrine of the "non-essentiality of baptism," so universally preached in West Virginia, has, we hope and trust, received a "death blow," at least in old Barbour County.

On the 21st, at 10 o'clock, they had a meeting at Bro. Moats' and in the afternoon went to Bro. Rasse's in Taylor Co. On the 22nd, in the forenoon they preached a funeral in the Baptist meeting house at Simpson's station; preaching at the same place in the afternoon. On the 23rd to Harrison Co., (saw wheat cut at three different places) stayed with Bro. John Skidmore, at Turtletown. On the 24th to Bro. Moser's in Lewis Co., and had two meetings next day and a Lovefeast in the evening. Meeting again at the same place on the 26th, and after meeting Tobias Moser was ordained and Bro. Riffee advanced from first to second degree. On the 27th went in company with Bro. Moser to Sister Sigans in Doddridge Co. On the 28th two meetings at Sister Sigans—small congregations. On the 29th to Ritchie Co., and meeting in the afternoon at Bro. Freadlies. On the 30th in the forenoon meeting again at the same place, and in the afternoon at Bro. Coughron's. On the 1st of July meeting again at the same place, in the forenoon, and Bro. Sigans chosen deacon, and in the afternoon meeting at Bro. Coughron's mill. On the 2nd two meetings at friend Moat's. On the 3rd, forenoon, meeting at Bro. Freadlie's and baptized

two. In the afternoon preached Sister Charity Flanagan's funeral at friend Flanagan's house. On the 4th came to Doddridge Co., meeting at Strait-Fork, and also Sister Sigans. On the 5th to Gilmer Co., meeting at friend T. Law's, and in the afternoon went to Bro. Moser's. On the 6th to Upshur Co., meeting in the evening at Bro. J. Houser's. On the 7th two meetings in the Sand Run meeting house. On the 8th returned into Barbour Co., to Bro. Wilson's, and had meeting in the afternoon, and baptized three. On the 9th to Randolph Co., meeting in the forenoon at Leeting Creek, council meeting in the afternoon, and restored one to membership. On the 10th two meetings at the same place and baptized one, stayed all night with Bro. Samuel A. Perkey. And on the 11th returned into their home (Preston County) to Bro. Samuel A. Fike's. On the 12th meeting at our newly built Maple Spring meeting house. On the 13th Bro. Thomas left for home, some 35 miles northeast from German Settlement.

The brethren Fike and Thomas were absent from home nearly four weeks, travelled through eleven different counties, held twenty-eight meetings, preached three funerals, and received six members by baptism. The field which these brethren but partially explored, is truly a very important one—and is perhaps of all others the most neglected, by the ministerial brethren of our church. Only at about one half of the places where they held the above meetings are regularly organized churches—and at some of them large congregations could soon be gathered and organized into regular churches, if they had but more regular preaching. Ministerial brethren, traveling east or west ought to visit more frequently these destitute counties. Stopping at Simpson's Station in Taylor Co., and Ellenborough, Ritchie Co., on the Parkersburg R. R., will bring brethren in reach of our members and friends, who will receive them gladly and give them the most important points or places to preach at.

The foregoing report was hastily prepared from a few notes and conversation with the brethren on their return home with a request to have the same published in our church periodicals. J. M.

About ten years before his death Brother Thomas was very sick. The attending physician told him one morning that his end was at hand and left, telling the neighbors that he was dying. He called for the anointing and recovered speedily to the amazement of the doctor, who said he had felt a death pulse in him.

Brother Thomas started out again on a missionary tour but his health would not permit him to continue as is shown by a report in the March, 1871, Gospel Visitor.

Of an Exploration of Southwestern Virginia

During the late exploration of a portion of Western Virginia, in June and July last, by Elder S. S. Fike and Elder J. M. Thomas, the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us," reached these brethren so often and repeatedly from the more southwestern counties, that on their return home they resolved that they would visit these counties

in Sept. and Oct. But we are sorry to say that the extensive and laborious traveling over mountains and dales in the heat of mid-summer, exposed to a warmer climate than they were used to at home, and impure air and water, proved too much for the feeble and broken down constitution of our dear beloved and aged brother and Eld. Thomas, who is some eighty years of age; and soon after his return home was prostrated with a severe attack of sickness for several weeks, which at one time seemed to threaten to close his so long useful career on earth but by the over-ruling Providence of a merciful God, he is yet a little while restored to health and strength, to enable him to travel some thirty-five miles to attend on the 29th and 30th our Communion season here in the German settlement, which it is admitted on all sides, was the largest, the most solemn and interesting religious meeting ever held in this section of the county. Our large and extensive new church house was over-crowded at each meeting from Saturday to Sunday night, with anxious hearers and a large number of true worshippers of the living God. It was truly a feast of love in the nourishing of hungry souls with the bread of life. And the writer, with a large number of dear and beloved brethren and sisters, were once more rejoiced and refreshed in the participation in the glorious ordinances of the house of God in their primitive and apostolic purity and simplicity.

The feeble constitution of Bro. Thomas would not justify the attempt to accompany Bro. Fike on the contemplated mission of love, and Bro. Jacob Beeghly of Pa., took his place . . . . J. M.

When eighty-five years of age, Elder Thomas, by special request preached the first sermon, the Saturday evening before the dedication, in the large church in the Markleysburg congregation in Pennsylvania. He was blessed with a clear, strong voice; his delivery was exceedingly earnest, even to the removal of his coat when he became too warm; his discourses were largely exegetical, strongly fortified by many proof texts; and the closing was warm and touching admonition. He was revered by old and young and for the most part delighted to heed his advice. With a clear mind and an abiding trust in his Lord unto the end, he passed peacefully to his long rest, November 21, 1881, aged 86 years, 8 months, and 6 days and his body was laid in the family cemetery on his own farm, which is known as the Thomas cemetery, not far from the Salem Church.

Andrew Umbel

Andrew Umbel was the son of Isaac and Nancy Umbel. He was born July 9, 1802, near Markleysburg, Pennsylvania. He was married to Anna Thomas, who was born October 11, 1805. They were married January 22, 1825. They united with the church in their young days. Five sons and three daughters were born to this

union. Three of the sons were deacons, Michael T., Isaac M., and Elijah and Samuel C. was an elder.

Brother and Sister Umbel were born and reared in the vicinity of Markleysburg, and all their children were born and reared in the same house. Brother Umbel was a minister in the Church of the Brethren for nearly fifty years. By trade he was a tanner, and worked in the same yard sixty years.

He preached more powerfully by his consistent, upright life than he did from the pulpit. He was very charitable, giving liberally to the church and the needy. He was opposed to taking interest on money loaned out. His son, S. C. Umbel, who was his executor, found that he had written across the back of the notes he held against people, "This note is without interest." He died December 30, 1887, aged 85 years, 5 months, and 21 days, and is buried in the Umbel cemetery on the home farm. His last words in this world were, "Praise the Lord."

Michael M. Thomas

Michael Thomas was born in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, January 18, 1804. He was ordained to the ministry at the same time that Andrew Umbel was. He was one of a family of fifteen children, twelve of whom attained to manhood. He married twice and was the father of sixteen children. He had a total of 311 descendants.

He was a minister of the Church of the Brethren for many years. His energy and labor were confined to his local church. He died and was buried on the farm on which he had lived many years, in Fayette County, Pa., July 28, 1898, in his ninety-fifth year.

Samuel C. Umbel

Samuel C. Umbel, the son of Andrew and Anne (Thomas) Umbel, was born May 20, 1835. The Umbels were of English descent. His mother was of Welsh and Irish ancestry.

On December 22, 1854, he was united in marriage to Miss Martha L. Brown, daughter of Robert S. Brown, who was a minister in the Church of God. June 12, 1855, both united with the Church of the Brethren, in the Sandy Creek Congregation being baptized by Christian Harader. He was elected to the ministry March 14, 1856. In 1860 he was advanced to the second degree ministry and 1906 was ordained to the eldership. He started

preaching the Word before he was twenty-one years of age and has preached more than fifty-nine years.

Elder and Sister Umbel were the parents of three children—two sons and one daughter. Elder Umbel reared his family on the farm, but gave them a liberal education, and his sons began teaching at the ages of sixteen and fifteen, respectively. His eldest son, Demaerid, died in Denver, Colorado, about 1908. Their daughter, Emma Arnett, lives in Uniontown. The youngest son, Robert Emery, was elected judge of Fayette County in 1900.

When Elder Umbel was young the school facilities were poor. Three months a year was the length of the terms. Thirty-five years he worked at the tanner's trade. Elder Umbel had a large territory to cover. When Markleysburg became a congregation he remained in that territory.

Fleming C. Barnes

Fleming C. Barnes was born in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, March 9, 1839. When about six years old he was brought to Preston County and lived two or three years with his aunt, Sarah A. Barnes and was then taken into the family of Samuel A. Boger, where he remained until of age, receiving in the meantime a common school education and the advantages of an excellent home.

He began teaching school when 21 years of age. He was a successful teacher and taught eight successive terms. He was also highly successful at selling books. He was reared a farmer, however, and his attentions were naturally directed to that line of work and he was known as one of the successful farmers of the county. The farm on which he and his family resided was bought of William Glover in 1880. The farm now belongs to one of his sons, James M. Barnes. It is located two miles from Salem Church.

Brother Barnes was married to Alcinda Guthrie, April 20, 1862. The following year he was elected to the ministry in Sandy Creek Congregation. They were much interested in the work of the church and did much to help the sick and needy in the community.

To them were born five daughters and two sons, Lovina C., Barbara Ella, Rosa May, Dora, and Pearlie Grace, and James M., and Harrison F. Lovina, Barbara Ella and Pearlie Grace are deceased. All the children were and are faithful members of the

Church of the Brethren and have worked in Sandy Creek Congregation the most part of their lives.

Brother Barnes died in 1927 at the age of 88 years after having lived a very useful life in his community.

Jacob Beeghly

Elder Jacob Beeghly was born July 18, 1808. At the age of 22 he was married to Justina Horner. Soon after this union they, by mutual consent, were united with the church in holy baptism. There were born unto them seven children—one son and six daughters. Elder Jeremiah Beeghly was one of his sons. He was elected to the ministry about 1841 and moved from Bear Creek Congregation, Maryland to Sandy Creek Congregation about 1855, where he lived for a time.

He used to travel with Jacob M. Thomas over several counties in West Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, preaching to isolated members and establishing churches.

On January 27, 1857, Justina, wife of Bro. Beeghly, departed this life, in full hope of a blest immortality.

Elder Beeghly was twice married, the second time to Nancy Umbel, Aug. 11, 1857. She preceded him to eternity, November 17, 1885.

Elder Beeghly was truly a good man and respected by all who knew him, both in and out of the church.

The later years of his life were rendered somewhat gloomy on account of the loss of his sight. He was sick only a few days previous to his death, and peacefully passed away Jan. 9, 1892, at the age of 83 years, in the Markleysburg Congregation, Pennsylvania.

Solomon Bucklew

Solomon Bucklew was the son of Philip and Catherine Miller Bucklew. They were of German descent, and lived on a farm in Preston County, W. Va.

Elder Bucklew was born August 24, 1840, being the ninth child of a family of thirteen children. He received but little education as the school advantages, at that time, were not very good, and the need of his labor, to help support the family, kept him from some of the school advantages he might otherwise have enjoyed. But having a thirst for knowledge, he, during his spare time, read and

studied thereby gaining most of what education he had. He also learned the blacksmith trade, which he followed for several years.

There was no Brethren church close to the Bucklew home, but Bro. S. A. Fike preached for them. A deep impression was made on the mind of Solomon, and before Bro. Fike left, Solomon and his aged uncle were baptized. He was twenty years old at that time.

There were no ministering brethren living nearer than eighteen or twenty miles from here. Brethren Fike and Benjamin Beeghly were the closest and occasionally they would preach for the people at that place. In the meantime a few more accepted the Gospel, and a church was organized known as the Cheat River Church. At this place was Solomon's first opportunity to take part in church work. He united with the church in 1860.

He was united in marriage to Elizabeth Strawser January 16, 1862. To this union three children were born. The same year he was called to the office of deacon, and in the fall of 1864 was elected to the first degree of the ministry. In 1865 he was advanced to the second degree, and later, the same year, was ordained to the eldership.

He became widely known as a preacher, his excellent voice for public speaking proving of great value. He made use of his natural endowments to good advantage.

By this time the calls for his services were many. He had to labor very hard to obtain a living for his family, but was always ready to deliver the message of salvation. Within a few years he was called by the Sandy Creek Congregation as their pastor. He moved there from the Cheat River Congregation, Preston County, West Virginia, in 1876. This call he accepted and labored faithfully, though, at first confronted by considerable opposition. During his first year at this place 135 confessed Christ and were baptized. In a few years the church had become very strong, and as other ministers were elected to help with the work, Brother Bucklew was given some time for evangelistic work. He made, therefore, many trips to churches in other counties and states. Some of them are recorded in a letter he wrote to the Gospel Messenger.

The following was published in the February 19, 1884 issue of the Gospel Messenger.

My Trip to Illinois—Solomon Bucklew

I left home November 27th, and reached Franklin Grove, Lee Co., Ill., the 30th, at 7 o'clock. Bro. Raffensberger met me and took me to his home where we met his family for the first time. Here I entered upon my first labors in Illinois. I visited the brethren and sisters and preached a little over a week. The brethren at Franklin Grove, seem to be good workers in the Master's cause. From here I went to Pine Creek Cong., Ogle Co., Ill., and preached a little over one week. Had the most of the time pretty fair congregations, considering the stormy weather. Good interest manifested both by the members and outsiders. From there I went to the Silver Creek Cong. I met Bro. Quinter at the Chapel at Mt. Morris. Bro. Quinter preached on Sunday morning and in the evening. I then continued the meetings until the next Sunday evening. I preached one time in the Chapel. I had a large congregation, and the best of order and good interest. From here I went to West Branch Cong., and had some good meetings, but some of the time the weather was so cold that it was almost impossible to get to meeting. But notwithstanding the cold weather, we had some excellent meetings. One precious soul was received into the fold by baptism, and the church revived. From here I went to Waddam's Grove; preached a little over one week. We had large congregations and good order, and good interest manifested. The church seemed much revived. From here Bro. Titus and I went South, to Marshall Co., where we met Bro. C. S. Holsinger at the station. He took us to his home, where we met Bro. Holsinger's family; found all well except Sister Holsinger. The church here is in its infancy and needs much labor and watching both by the ministers and laity. There is a great deal of opposition between the United Brethren and Disciples who are opposing the Brethren strongly. I think a few good lessons of the Gospel in its primitive purity would be good for them. I preached here one week; had large congregations, good order and good interest manifested. I closed my labors in northern Illinois on the 22nd of Jan., and on the 23rd I started for home. I reached home on the evening of the 25th; found all well. I was eight weeks from home, preached every day except when I traveled. I feel that we are not thankful enough to the good Lord for His protecting care. Now, in traveling through the different parts of the country, and through different churches in our beloved Brotherhood, we see the need of faithful and fervent labor. I found the Brethren in Ill. in the order and faithful to duty. They labored to make brethren happy when they came to them. I must think of the many brethren and sisters, I formed acquaintance with, and with whom I stayed and shared so bountifully of their hospitality, and say, accept my grateful thanks for your kindness.

Clifton Mills, Preston Co., W. Va.

Jan. 27, 1885

At Home Again

Dear Brethren:

By the request of the brethren, I give an account of my trip to Washington Co., Md. I left home Dec. 1, and arrived at Hagerstown

the next day. I was taken to Bro. N. Martin's, about three fourths of a mile from town. Bro. Martin is one of the elders in the Welsh Run congregation and he and his family know how to make brethren feel at home. On the evening of the 2nd of Dec., in company with Bro. M., we went to the place of meeting, known as the Broad-ford-ing meeting house. Here I preached for two weeks to large and attentive congregations. The interest of the meetings increased until the close. The church was much revived, and ten precious souls were baptized into the fold. Returning home, I stopped with the brethren of Uniontown, Fayette Co., Pa., and preached for them in their new meeting house, morning and evening. The next day I continued my journey home, where I arrived in due time and found all well, and was glad, indeed, to meet with my dear family and others. And now, dear brethren and sisters, I thank you for the love and kindness shown to me at Broadfording. I feel that we all ought to take a deeper interest in the welfare of the church, and spare no time or pains in declaring the truths of the Gospel in their simplicity, so that the power thereof may have its effect.

I notice an article in the Messenger by Bro. I. J. Rosenberger, in regard to the great number attending our A. M. We agree with him, and can say, that we love the brethren, and would like to have the A. M. come to us, but we cannot provide for the vast amount of people who come. Would it not be well for Annual Meeting to take into consideration the matter of making a change, so as to lessen the labors of the brethren who are taking the meeting? I suggest the following plan for the consideration of the brethren, and if others have plans, let them be given. Inasmuch as the Delegate system has been adopted by A. M., let the brethren who make the arrangements for the meeting, provide for the Standing Com. and Delegates, and let all others who may attend the A. M. secure lodging and boarding to the best advantage they can.

Solomon Bucklew.

Clifton Mills, W. Va.

Oct. 13, 1885

Church News

As church news is desired and seems to be read with much interest, I will try and give a little from our church, Sandy Creek congregation. Our love-feast is in the past. We had a feast, indeed, one that will long be remembered by the most of us. We had a large audience and good order. A great many brethren and sisters communed, which made us feel glad for the great interest that was taken in the meeting. There have been three precious souls added to the church in this congregation since I last wrote. We have some opposition with the different elements at this time, but we try to treat all with kindness and with that courtesy that belongs to all Christian people.

I started from home on the 23rd of Sept., went to the Georges Creek congregation. Met the dear brethren and sisters in council on the 24th according to previous arrangements. The Council was not so pleasant as it might have been, but we still hope for a brighter season to come, and that all things will work together for good. I know it will to those who love the Lord.

From here I went to Meyersdale on the 25th. The Brethren of the Meyersdale cong. had been having meeting during the past week. On Saturday evening was their love-feast and a feast it was. I think there could be no better in this world. A large number of brethren and sisters communed. Everything seems to be in love and union. Bro. C. G. Lint is the elder at this place, and I think he is the right man in the right place. Solomon Bucklew.

On one trip to Bedford County, Pennsylvania, after being away for seven weeks he returned home after having had the pleasure of seeing eighty-four start on the new life by being baptized. Surely God was with him and crowned his labors with success.

The Gospel Messenger for April 7, 1885, gives under Gleanings from the Churches the following:

Bro. Solomon Bucklew, of Clifton Mills, W. Va., sends us a postal card, dated Mar. 19, containing the following good news: "We have just closed a series of meetings in the Sandy Creek Cong., with 16 additions to the church, and one more applicant. Our church is much revived and is working in harmony at this time. Hope the good Lord may be our helper that we may ever live in peace."

After living near the Sandy Creek Church for about twelve years, he moved to Markleysburg, Pennsylvania to operate a flour mill, but still had charge of the Sandy Creek congregation. He worked in the Sandy Creek congregation for a little over thirteen years.

During the week one could find Bro. Bucklew at work in the mill, but on Sundays he was busily engaged in preaching the Gospel. After three years' time he sold what little property was in his possession, and moved to Fulton County, Illinois, to serve as pastor of the Cole Creek Congregation. He had good success at this place though his labor was not confined to the one congregation. Being a good evangelist his service was in demand among the other congregations of the State. He served many times on the Standing Committee, and conducted several debates.

He remained in Illinois twenty-three years, moving from there to Iowa, because of his wife's health. Then, too, they wished to be near their married daughter, who lived there, and who desired to care for her mother.

Within a little less than two years, after going to Iowa, his dear companion was called home. Soon after Bro. Bucklew returned to West Virginia and Pennsylvania, to visit his relatives and to renew old friendships with the many whom he had seen converted while laboring here many years ago.

In 1914 he again located in Markleysburg, Pennsylvania, where for a year he did most of the preaching. On February 6, 1914, he was married to Mary C. Sterner of near Markleysburg, Pennsylvania, by Elder Jeremiah Beeghly. After living there for a year, he received a call from the Mount Union congregation, near Morgantown, Monongalia County, West Virginia, and located there in the spring of 1915. He worked in the congregation for about ten years. He died about 1926 after having preached the Gospel for sixty-one years.

Elder Bucklew kept no record of his work, so it is impossible to give the number he had baptized, during his sixty-one years as a minister. He preached many funerals and solemnized a large number of marriages. To build up the church for Christ, was his aim, and for this cause he faithfully labored.

Joseph Guthrie

Joseph Guthrie was the son of William and Mariah Guthrie. He was one of a family of twelve children and was of German descent. He was born in 1846 near Hazelton, Preston County, West Virginia, and was reared on the farm.

He spent his busy life of sixty-six years as a farmer and minister of the Gospel near the place of his birth.

Early in life Brother Guthrie became a member of the Church of the Brethren. He served as a deacon for many years. In 1880 he was elected to the ministry and later was elected to the eldership in Sandy Creek Congregation.

He was married to Hannah Ellen Kelly, daughter of Alfred and Christina (Smith) Kelly in 1870 and to this union were born six children—Charles Allen (deceased) married Emma Spiker (deceased) of Accident, Maryland. To this union were born two children, Harry and Grace. Charles was later married to Flossie Spoerlien. Two children were born to them, Eula and Wayne. Martha Ellen married Rev. George W. VanSickle. Martha died August 21, 1931. To this union were born six children, Asa, Cora and Quinter deceased and Rosa, Ruby and Walter who are living in Hazelton, W. Va. Samuel Floyd married Rosa Barnes and they have one son, Ward. Mary was married to Oren VanSickle and to this union were born three children—Evelyn, David and Ruth. Sarah married David VanSickle and they have one adopted child,

Marian. Frank married Millie Knox to whom two children were born, Helen and May.

Elder Guthrie died in 1912. Hannah Guthrie, his widow, is still living at the age of eighty-eight years.

Jeremiah Thomas

Jeremiah Thomas was born near Brandonville, West Virginia, just one year before West Virginia became a separate state, June 20, 1862. He was the son of Andrew Thomas and Barbara Boger Thomas, and the grandson of Jacob M. Thomas.

Oh Barbara, it's a boy!

It was one of those beautiful, peaceful, breezy days in June. All nature was turned toward heaven. Each bird in the tree seemed to sing a song of cheer and good will. Nature was not alone with its joys. In a snug corner in a humble home a sweet faced mother looked for the first time upon the form of her new born with its beaming blue eyes and coveted smile. Elizabeth was three years old. Now a boy made its appearance into this home and you may be sure he was a very welcome member. Barbara, the gentle mother said, "Well, I hope he will grow to be a useful person." One day a neighbor lady came to see this infant. In the course of their conversation the visitor suddenly snatched the baby and left the room. She was gone two or three minutes. When she returned she said, "Barbara, I just took the baby to the attic and held him as high as possible among the rafters. You know this will make him a great person some day." Barbara smiled and said, "Puh! I don't believe in such superstition." Within the next week the baby was named Jeremiah.

His childhood days were those of the average farm boy, the home being a comfortable one, without luxuries but surrounded by plenty. His devoted mother died when he was only sixteen years of age.

He attended the public schools of the county and also West Virginia University. His schooling ended in 1881. It was not unusual for parents to discourage their sons and daughters in higher education in those days. The ambitious young man in order to attend the University hired help for the farm in his place and paid this amount to his father when he began teaching school.

He began teaching at the age of nineteen. His work was in the same school where he had learned his first lessons, and he taught

that school altogether for 15 years. His ability as a teacher benefitted other schools and his career as an educator came to a close after he had taught for twenty-seven years, besides teaching several summer normals. Here the youth learned more than the rules of arithmetic and grammar. Here they learned to know the great Teacher of Galilee had sent a disciple into their midst.

At the age of twenty years he was united in marriage with Susanna Seese, daughter of John and Mary Ann Umbel Seese. She was a native of Fayette County, Pennsylvania, born December 19, 1861. In their courtship days they traveled on horseback. On their wedding day he took two nice, fat, sleek horses, rode to a block, the bride-to-be sprang on one horse and they were off to the minister Samuel Umbel at Markleysburg, Pennsylvania, uncle of the bride, where the ceremony was performed. Before marriage this young man was known to give his intended wife one gift—a candy apple. Every penny owned he earned through labor. They went to housekeeping in the home with his father. Here the first child, Walter, was born.

His first business venture was with a Company Store in Hazelton, which later he and his brother Noah purchased. This was an enjoyable occupation but there were too many outstanding accounts to make any financial gain. While in the home here the good wife sewed carpet which had truly been earned. In Hazelton, Chester, the second child was born.

He left the mercantile business in the course of four years and moved in the milk-house loft on the home place. Here he farmed for his father. Following this he bought a farm, near the Salem Church, from his brother-in-law Ervin Wilson on which he resided until 1908. Here the youngest child and only daughter, Ethel, was born. For about twenty years he surveyed lands in many counties of West Virginia and other states.

One day while working on the farm L. E. Friend of Friendsville, Maryland, President of the Bruceton Bank, drove to his house to have an interview with Mr. Thomas. He explained the state of affairs at the Bruceton Bank and urged him to go help them in the Bank—stating that the people of the entire community had confidence in him and they needed that type of person for their help. After several hours conference Mr. Friend left the matter for his consideration. He hesitated stating he would never accept the bank

position unless he could continue his work in the ministry. Within a short time he moved from the farm into the village of Bruceton Mills where he became active in the banking business. The Bruceton Bank was organized in 1903 at which time he was a charter member and director. The following year he became Vice-president. In 1908 while L. E. Friend was president Bro. Thomas was elected cashier. In 1913 he was unanimously elected president and served as active president until 1931. At the time of his death he was Vice-president of the Bank.

He helped to organize and was president of the Bruceton Milling Company, was also one of the charter members of the Farmers Union Association and Fire Insurance Company, an institute started in 1901. At the time of his passing he was Secretary of the Company. He was president of the Kingwood and Bruceton Telephone Company, Inc., and a member of the Town Council of Bruceton Mills. He spent hours of thought and travel in helping to found the Grant District High School located at Bruceton Mills. While he was teaching school he was urged to permit his name to be used in connection with the nomination for county superintendent of schools but he declined the honor. His competence as a surveyor also led friends to induce him to become candidate for county surveyor, but this too he declined having no ambition for political honors. He made trips to Charleston, sent in petitions, wrote letters and did all in his power to get the good road, over which the people in Grant District now travel—Route 26. Only a few weeks before his death he became an honorary member of the W. C. T. U.

In January, 1877, at the age of fourteen, he was converted and baptized by Solomon Bucklew into the Church of the Brethren. On January 14, 1882, he was elected to the ministry, when he was nineteen years of age and a year later began preaching as a helper to Elder Solomon Bucklew. On July 4, 1885 he was promoted to the second degree of the ministry and on March 23, 1889 at the age of twenty-six was ordained to the eldership to take charge of the congregation. Rev. Thomas followed in the footsteps of his grandfather, Elder Jacob M. Thomas, who lived a useful life in the ministry of the Lord.

He preached his first sermon at the Valley Schoolhouse near Wymp's Gap from the text, "How shall we escape if we neglect so great a salvation."

At the time he took charge of Sandy Creek Congregation there was only one church house, Salem, with a small membership. Today there are four commodious places of worship, namely Salem, Shady Grove, Mountain Dale and Mountain Grove, with part interest in two Union churches, Clifton Mills and Glade Union, all known as Sandy Creek Congregation. Regular services are held in all of them. The congregation grew to more than five hundred during his life time. He did practically all his work among the churches on horseback until recent years. It was not unusual for him to ride horseback some fifty miles to preach a funeral. He repeatedly emphasized the fact that Sunday was the hardest day of the week. The territory over which he labored was large, with rough and hilly roads. Often before daybreak the faithful horse was fed and the pioneer was off for a long ride to two and sometimes three preaching places. The return trip was made many times after dark. He preached without price or compensation most of his life. He always attended the District, Ministerial, Welfare, etc., meetings. When at all possible he attended annual Conference and served on the Standing Committee many different years.

The road was never too long nor the night too dark for this pioneer of faith to go where duty called him. One day a message came to him from a sick child who called for a minister to come at once. He was weary from plowing that day in the busy month of May. The Tempter said, "Tomorrow" but a still small voice said, "Today." The journey was completed at midnight. The doctor had told the young girl that she could live only a few weeks. She was not a Christian and a blind sister of the sick girl waited to hear the message about Jesus. Bro. Thomas opened the Blessed Book and read its comforting message then told the story of God's love, while three listening souls yearned for a new life. The fervent prayer touched these hearts and brought peace. It was a humble home. The people were too poor to keep the minister or to care for his horse. Lodging was found at the home of a neighbor and after a few hours sleep the faithful Elder again called on the sick. Joy had come into the home. The sick girl, the blind sister and a sister-in-law requested baptism. A buggy was borrowed to take the helpless to a stream of water. The once sick girl is still living. When Rev. Thomas returned home the day was done.

One night while holding a series of meetings at Clifton Mills, in 1917, Bro. Thomas had an accident which might have cost his life. In leaving the church after services, this being a very dark and rainy night, the horse, in crossing a bridge having no hand railing, walked so close to the edge that the wheels of the buggy on one side missed the end of the planks, upsetting the buggy into the water, the weight of the buggy jerking the horse in also. Bro. Thomas was hurled into the water which was six to eight feet deep, and barely escaped being drowned. Loving and willing hands hearing his call for help, came to his rescue, and assisted in saving him from a watery grave.

The work that always lay nearest his heart was that of the ministry. He kept a record of his church affairs. During his ministry he preached 1,083 funerals, baptized 1,313 persons, married 557 couples, anointed 245 persons, and preached 4,325 sermons besides assisting in scores of others.

He was not unappreciated. His home town, community and county looked to him and leaned upon him in civic, religious, home and business life. Men, old, young and middle aged came to him for advice. His advice was given freely, fully and carefully. He was urged by his friends at different times to run for the Legislature but without gaining his assent. His love for his home and family was outstanding. He was most hospitable and a guest never left his home, but what he hoped he might return again, for he found this home more enjoyable than the most luxurious mansions. Bro. Thomas often expressed how his good wife had sacrificed and endured hardships at home while he was away preaching the Gospel.

The first failing moment in his useful life was on Sunday, January 6, 1929. On that day he filled his regular appointments. In the morning and afternoon he preached a sermon and also held a funeral that day. In the evening he went to the church in his home town to deliver another sermon. After opening the service he became very ill. Another minister finished the service. Mr. Thomas was carried home and was given medical attention. This was his first attack of leakage of the heart. He was in failing health for the five years following and was able to preach only on special occasions. He often said, "It is like a thorn in the flesh not to be permitted to go forth and labor as I did for forty-seven years."

In the evening of July 12, 1934, Rev. Thomas was found lying on the floor in his home. The end had come suddenly being caused by a heart attack.

Funeral services were held Sunday afternoon July 15 at the Salem Church. Bro. William Earl Fike of Petersburg had charge of the services at the church and was assisted by Bro. Sollenberger, of Uniontown, Pennsylvania. Eighteen ministers were present at the services and were given a place on the platform. A crowd of two thousand attended the funeral of one of Preston County's most beloved sons. Thus has fallen a noble man of service in the home, church, community, county, state and nation. His life lives on in the hearts of many. One poem he loved to quote was:

"When I fall like some old tree
And subtle mold makes change of me,
May I show a fertile line
Where purple wild flowers bloom and shine."

George W. VanSickle

George W. VanSickle was the son of Zechariah and Mary (Burgess) VanSickle. He was born October 24, 1869 about three miles east of Glade Farms, West Virginia in an old log house that was on the state line between Maryland and West Virginia. He slept on the Maryland side and ate on the West Virginia side. His parents were both German. He had five living brothers and one sister. His father had been married before and had at least five children who died in twelve days.

The first year he went to school he attended twenty-seven days. The second year he got frozen feet and was able to attend only two days. The next three years he was permitted to attend fairly regularly. About five years of attendance at school comprised his education.

After finishing school Bro. VanSickle went to live with and work for George Deberry on a farm.

His father died in November, 1875 and his mother married Jacob Deberry. She died December 28, 1892.

Some time after the election of Jeremiah Thomas to the ministry and before 1898 Bro. VanSickle was elected at council meeting. A couple of days after that he found out the decision of the council which was quite a surprise to him. He was elected to the eldership in 1917.

On April 7, 1892 he was married to Martha Guthrie, the daughter of Rev. Joseph Guthrie. To this union were born six children, Cora, Asa, and Quinter deceased and Rosa, Ruby, and Walter. Mrs. VanSickle died Aug. 21, 1931.

Bro. VanSickle lived most of his life on his home place until 1927 when he moved to Hazelton, W. Va. He has always been a farmer, and has faithfully fulfilled his duty as a minister. He has held funerals in forty different church buildings and in schoolhouses and homes. There is no record of the number of sermons he has preached.

Calvin R. Wolfe

Calvin R. Wolfe was born near Clifton Mills, W. Va., November 18, 1881. His parents were John E. and Lydia Wolfe. He was educated in the schools of West Virginia and Pennsylvania and has followed the teaching profession for thirty-five years having taught twenty-one terms in the schools of West Virginia and fourteen terms in the state of Pennsylvania.

He was elected to the ministry in Sandy Creek Congregation, April 5, 1905. This is the congregation founded by his great-grandfather, Jacob M. Thomas.

He married Cora Wilson and to them were born three children, Noah, Ruth, and Clarence.

Bro. Wolfe labored in the Sandy Creek Congregation, First District, W. Va., for fifteen years and the Markleysburg Congregation for fifteen years where he served as elder and pastor for a number of years. At the present time he lives at Gibbon Glade, Pa., and is teaching school and preaching the Word of God in Pennsylvania.

Chester A. Thomas

Elder Chester A. Thomas was the son of Jeremiah Thomas and Susanna (Seese) Thomas. He was born March 25, 1886 in the little village of Hazelton, Preston County, West Virginia.

He was reared on a farm. He attended the public schools of West Virginia, Fairmont State Teachers College, Fairmont, West Virginia, and some Normal select schools. He began teaching school in 1905 and is now teaching his thirty-second term of school.

At the age of fourteen years he united with the Church of the Brethren and has always been a member in Sandy Creek Congregation.

He was married May 19, 1908 to Grace Wolfe, daughter of John E. and Lydia Wolfe of Clifton Mills. To this union were born two daughters, Pauline Edna, in 1910 and Alma Grace in 1916.

Brother Thomas was elected to the deaconship in 1910, first degree of the ministry in 1913 and second degree of the ministry September 18, 1915. In 1935 after the death of his father, Jeremiah Thomas, he was elected presiding elder in Sandy Creek Congregation.

Bro. Thomas is a farmer, teacher, and minister of the Gospel, and has much influence in his community.

Lloyd Liston

Rev. Lloyd Liston was born near Bruceton Mills, Preston County, Grant District, W. Va., in 1888. He is the son of Abraham Liston and Eliza C. (Wolfe) Liston. His father died in August, 1900. His mother is still living. He has always lived near the place of his birth.

Bro. Liston was educated in the public schools of Grant District. He began teaching in the public schools of West Virginia in 1912 and taught eighteen terms. He is now teaching a private school.

At the age of sixteen he united with the Church of the Brethren. April 6, 1918 he was called to the ministry and has served in that capacity ever since.

His home church is the Mountain Grove Church. He has held a number of revival meetings in Sandy Creek Congregation.

Walter VanSickle

Rev. Walter VanSickle was born in 1895. He is the son of Rev. George VanSickle and Sister Martha (Guthrie) VanSickle.

He was elected to the ministry in Sandy Creek Congregation, April 6, 1918 and duly installed into the ministry April 6, 1919.

In 1922 he was united in marriage to Miss Grace Hewitt. In 1917 he began teaching in the public schools of West Virginia and taught until 1930, except for two years.

Bro. VanSickle attended Bethany Bible School the summer term of 1923 and the winter term of 1924-25.

He lives at Hazelton near the Glade Union Church. He is a postmaster and merchant and preaches the Gospel.

Deacons Who Have Served in Sandy Creek Congregation*

Samuel Boger
Joseph Thomas
John M. Thomas
Joseph Zimmerman
Henry Turney
Solomon Workman
John H. Nieman
John Wilhelm
Christian M. Thomas
Peter Strawser
Harrison H. Glover
Samuel Thomas
John Seese
Emanuel Beeghly
Sylvanius Thomas
John B. Nicola
Jeremiah Guthrie
John H. Baker
Joseph Guthrie
Charles H. Thomas
Irvin Wilson
Jonas Spiker
John A. Reckart
Ezra Glover
Joshua Knox
Noah Thomas
Czar Herring
Hosea Rodeheaver
Charles Guthrie
Newton DeBerry
Scott Thomas
Harry Hinebaugh
S. F. Guthrie
E. F. Sisler
Orval Friend
Victor Wilson
William Kelley
J. C. Everly
Harold D. Moyers
H. R. Guthrie
Emra Sisler
Hosea Wolfe
John Maust

*This list is not complete but includes all the names known to the writer.

BOOK REVIEWS

"The Evolution of Physics" by Albert Einstein and Leopold Infeld. Simon and Schuster—New York—1938. $2.50.

This book carries a sub-title "The Growth of Ideas from Early Concepts to Relativity and Quanta." The sub-title is accurate and descriptive.

This review is intended to be an enthusiastic sales talk. Here is a book written by scientists which preachers ought to read. Let me hasten to add that I do not think preachers ought to make scientific pronouncements of any sort, nor preach sermons on scientific theories.

However, this is the Period of a Scientific Revolution. The preacher out of college a few years needs to read a book on scientific progress occasionally lest he succumb to brain rust. A preacher should also read occasionally on scientific lines lest he preach science and not know it. (We once heard a good gospel sermon which endorsed "measuring for short-growth.")

This book makes the promise that "as we are concerned only with fundamental physical ideas we may avoid the language of mathematics." (p. 29.) The promise is kept. It is distinctly and successfully written for the layman who wants to know.

Certainly the supposed warfare between science and religion is past. One of the world's greatest physicists can write, "Science is not and will never be a closed book. Every important advance brings new questions." (p. 308) It would be certainly a queer religionist who would insist upon suspecting scientific knowledge.

When I study this book and remember the ideas which I absorbed, negligently and half-fearfully, just two decades ago I am staggered. Much that the book states was known then, but it was the possession of the experts.

When one encounters such a crystal statement as "But thought and ideas, not formulae, are the beginning of every physical theory" (p. 291) he feels impressed. And when one reads that there came "a complete breakdown of the belief, that all phenomena can be explained mechanically." (p. 87) "Science did not succeed in carrying out the mechanical program convincingly, and today no physicist believes in the possibility of its fulfillment." (p. 125) he is impressed profoundly. For these are the words of a man who can speak with authority in this field.

Those of us who came through the last hour of the night of conflict between Christianity and mechanistic philosophy are grateful for the dawn of The Scientific Revolution. It is a distinct reassurance to be told by such an authority as Albert Einstein that mechanistic theories of the world are impossible.

Yet this book is not here proposed for canonization. One reads the following statement with growing interest and bewilderment.

"The results of scientific research very often force a change in the philosophical view of problems which extend far beyond the restricted domain of science itself . . . . Philosophical generalizations must be

founded on scientific results. Once formed and widely accepted, however, they very often influence the further development of scientific thought by indicating one of the many possible lines of procedure." (p. 55)

Is this just unfamiliar vocabulary or is the writer muddled or has the planet changed direction recently? Isn't there a confusion here between "philosophy" and "hypothesis"? From one aspect this paragraph would seem to say that the priests and elders help determine scientific development. If that be true the Elders' Meeting has several neglected items on its agenda. But I doubt the suitability of such reference to the Elders. Although?? Well, the author said science was not a closed book.

To one lay, second-rate, sensitive mind this is the clearest exposition yet encountered of the meaning of Relativity. The following is not meant to be complete but are meant to whet the mental appetite.

"The new concepts originated in connection with the phenomena of electricity." (p. 129) "The attribution of energy to the field concept was stressed more and more, and the concepts of substances, so essential to the mechanical point of view, were more and more suppressed." (p. 148)

"The influence of the theory of relativity goes far beyond the problem from which it arose. It removes the difficulties and contradictions of the field theory; it formulates more general mechanical laws; it replaces two conservation laws by one; it changes our classical concept of absolute time. Its validity is not restricted to one domain of physics; it forms a general framework embracing all phenomena of nature." (p. 210)

"According to the theory of relativity, there is no essential distinction between mass and energy. Energy has mass and mass represents energy." (p. 208)

"We have two realities: matter and field. There is no doubt that we cannot at present imagine the whole of physics built upon the concept of matter as the physicists of the early nineteenth century did." (p. 256)

Another direction which scientists of the future may develop further is indicated by such a statement.

"This result closely connecting the problem of the structure of matter with that of electricity follows, beyond any doubt, from very many independent experimental facts." (p. 270)

There is another development which is the outgrowth of quantum physics.

"We have had to forsake the description of individual cases as objective happenings in space and time; we have had to introduce laws of a statistical nature. These are the chief characteristics of modern quantum physics." (p. 302)

We are here running parallel to a problem which is a philosophical problem, and hence a religious problem. A certain Great Teacher propounded a view of the universe which takes account of the individual item.

While rejoicing in the death of a mechanistic philosophy allegedly based on the bed-rock of Eternal Science—are we to be delivered over to a horrible Pantheistic conception, which will empty the universe of any individual personal significance?

Nay, verily. Just here the Christian mysticism of another great scientist and popular expounder of the Scientific Revolution is a great comfort.

It was the prestige of the name Einstein and the desire to compare his views with those of Eddington, that caused me to read this book. I

feel grateful for Eddington. I shall quote Einstein and Infeld, for they have instructed me.

Again, this book is most heartily recommended to all who have heard of the Scientific Revolution and to those who have not.

It is really interesting and at least as thrilling as the news from Europe. Maybe more important.

F. E. Mallott.

"Pacifist Handbook" 48 pp. $.10.

Board of Christian Education, Church of the Brethren, Elgin, Ill.

The times make this booklet one of the most opportune of the year. It is to be hoped that a large number of them will be distributed over the country—in haste, emphasis upon the need for haste.

The method of writing is the question and answer method. Far from being uninteresting, it is easily read and an astonishing amount of information is packed into the pamphlet.

"Among pacifist organizations, the Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1939 had 8,500 members; the War Resisters' League had enrolled 16,296 by the beginning of 1939; and the Methodist Episcopal Church has enrolled more than 6,000 conscientious objectors. Even these respectable numbers appear small beside the membership of the historic peace churches —116,000 Mennonites, 105,000 Quakers, 192,000 in the Church of the Brethren—and there are a number of smaller church groups which take the pacifist position. The total is over 1,000,000."

Not in any sense a summary, the following paragraph strikes one as noteworthy. "While the nation is at war most of the work of war resisters will be done in the local church or peace group. The local group should make every effort to follow the movements of its members, keeping their names as a roll of honor. Letters should be sent them frequently, material and moral support afforded them and their families, prayers raised constantly for them and intercession be made with civil and military authorities to protect them from brutality."

The title page of the Handbook announces that it is issued by Peace Section, American Friends Service Committee, Board of Christian Education of the Brethren, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Friends Book Committee, General Conference Commission on World Peace, Methodist Church, The Mennonite Peace Society, and Women's International League For Peace and Freedom.

Ministers and young people ought especially to have copies of this book. In dozen lots it is one dollar. Its circulation is urgent.

F. E. Mallott.

S. O. S. — CALLING SOWER BIBLES

The name Sower (spelled Saur frequently) is a name known to everyone with only the most superficial acquaintance with Brethren history. The name of the famous family who gave the Germans of Colonial America their Bibles deserves to be known.

The purpose of this notice is not to tell again the story of their worthy achievement. But we have been asked to call attention to the fact that a fresh census of surviving Sower Bibles has been begun. An Eastern dealer in early Americana, who specializes in Bibles and religious books, has undertaken such a survey. He has enlisted Eld. Reuel B. Pritchett, White Pine, Tenn. in the search.

A Sower Bible may be one of three editions. The first edition bears the date 1743. This royal quarto Bible was the first Bible to be printed in a European tongue in America. In size it was $7\frac{1}{2}$ x 10 inches, and contained 1248 pages. The immensity of such an undertaking in the wilderness of America can hardly be overstated today. Sower had to make his own paper, then his own ink. He had to set the forms for only four pages at a time, print the entire edition and redistribute his type. But he soon found he could not do this much because of type shortage. So he experimented and cast type. Then he taught himself to bind the Bibles. The total edition was 1200 copies.

The usual price of a Bible shipped from Germany was four pound ten shillings. Christopher Sower Sr. sold his Bibles for eighteen shillings. In appearance and workmanship they have been declared equal to most European Bibles of that period—a wonderful tribute to the craftsman. A shilling in that period of Colonial America has been computed to be equal in purchasing power to a present-day dollar. Hence it was as if Sower reduced the price of Bibles from ninety dollars to eighteen dollars. This was still enough for the poverty stricken colonists to pay for a Bible.

The number printed was sufficient to supply the demand for twenty years. Many who were too poor were given Bibles by Christopher Sower himself.

There was need for a second edition by 1763. In that year Christopher Sower Jr. issued the second Sower Bible, very similar to the first one. A change had come over colonial America. Money was

more abundant and the publisher soon found himself with unexpected profits on hand from the sale of the edition. He used these profits in the publication of the first religious magazine ever published in North America. Fifty numbers of the Geistliche Magazin were issued at irregular intervals over a period of seven years. It was distributed free to German households thruout the colonies to afford them edifying reading.

In 1776 Sower Jr. was issuing a third edition of the Bible. It was printed and the unbound pages were kept in the loft of the Germantown Meeting House. They were there when the Battle of Germantown was fought. The cavalrymen used these sheets for bedding for their horses. Hence a large part of this edition was lost.

On uncertain authority it is stated that ninety copies of the Sower Bible survive to this day.

The ownership of these Bibles is known. But ownership changes and must sometimes be traced. Occasionally a new copy is discovered. It is probable that in the old trunks, in attics, and in storerooms of Brethren homes are lying undiscovered copies of the Sower Bible.

Eld. Pritchett has undertaken responsibility to help in this survey since the membership of the Church is a particularly important group to survey.

It is believed the readers of this journal will have a natural interest in such a search. Many of them will be advantageously located to assist in the search. Every old German Bible in a home or among the stored rubbish of a meetinghouse is to be suspected. If the Bible has lost title-page and preface it can still be identified by one who has studied the Bibles.

This call is a broadcast invitation to every reader. Please communicate results and also suspected findings to Eld. Reuel Pritchett, White Pine, Tenn. It is desired to know the name and address of every owner of a Sower Bible, and if known the date of the copy.

SCHWARZENAU

Volume I JANUARY, 1940 Number Three

CONTENTS

WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

Morley J. Mays, graduate of Juniata College and faculty member for six years. A.M. from University of Pittsburgh. At present a fellow in the University of Chicago, doing post-graduate work in English. One of that increasing company of the sons of the Fraternity who find no necessary conflict between academic interests and concern for spiritual values.

Loren Bowman, minister of the Church of the Brethren. Has already qualified as experienced pastor. Graduate of Bridgewater College. At present resident student of Bethany Biblical Seminary.

Mary Elizabeth Wertz Wieand is a graduate of Juniata College. In addition to being a minister's wife and a resident of Bethany Biblical Seminary, where her husband is teacher-student, she is a musician in her own right.

William Beery, is the dean of all the church musicians of the Church of the Brethren. He is author of hymns, music composer, teacher, and singer. Makes his home with his daughter at Elgin, Illinois, when he is not traveling.

Mrs. M. A. Whisler is the wife of the pastor of Oak Grove Church, Southern Illinois. She is an illustration of a person who can appreciate historical values in the local scene.

Chester I. Harley, minister and pastor of the Church of the Brethren. Graduate of Bridgewater College and Bethany Biblical Seminary. Pastor of the Mt. Carmel Congregation in Virginia.

EDITORIAL

This third number of our first volume is, we believe, not one iota inferior to its predecessors.

In this number we present a sample of the bibliographical work that needs to be done in the field of Dunker history. With Chester I. Harley's index of the Yearbook, the files of the Yearbook will become usable to students. Someone has defined research as the search for information in obscure places and its transfer to some other obscure place. It is one object of this journal to make that definition less true in our special field of history.

Ephrata is of perennial interest to our people and in fact to all those interested in colonial Pennsylvania. We are very glad to present the article on Ephrata as a Musical Center. In all the literature of Ephrata one will not find a more interesting and relevant presentation.

We are urging a careful reading of the study of Peter Nead. We are getting far enough away from the nineteenth century that our perspective is improving. The Brethren, in the eighteenth century, a company of quiet mystics, tinged with views of religious communism and various other radicalisms, became in the nineteenth century imbued with Evangelicalism. They adopted Evangelical viewpoints and the characteristic machinery of Evangelicalism—mission boards and revival meetings. How did it transpire?

The answer is we believe—leadership. Is leadership about to bring another major shift in emphasis and technique in the twentieth century?

The past two decades have seen the religious educational emphasis give us the camps. Peace emphasis has given the Work Camp and made the relief worker a familiar figure.

At Christmas we received our first subscription to Volume II. A young lady, who is in college, subscribed for her ministerial father's Christmas gift. She made the acquaintance of "Schwarzenau" on the college library magazine rack. Not knowing that her father was already a subscriber, she concluded that here was one magazine a minister in the Church ought to have. Her judgment was excellent.

In parenthesis we want to explain that we are still selling Volume I. We have some back numbers and are anxious to dispose of them —believing that the contents are of more than transient interest. It will be a crisis in the life of this youthful journal when the end of Volume I is reached. (There will be a Volume II, D. V.)

But the college student of this editorial has pointed a way by which the crisis could be alleviated. If all our subscribers, admirers, and supporters were to develop the habit of sending Gift Subscriptions (there are birthdays and Christmas is always coming) to potentially interested friends it would alleviate said crisis. And it would be—WONDERFUL.

IN THIS WORLD

Morley J. Mays

It is sometimes difficult to see how out of the present world crisis any good can come. Surely the wanton cruelty inflicted on helpless people under government sanction in great areas of the world is bad in its conception and in all its consequences. Surely the insistence upon individual devotion to a political deity to the utter self-effacement of the individual is a barbaric philosophy in its origin and in every aspect of its manifestation. Surely the mass practice of force is an eruption of an uncivilized impulse which should be committed to oblivion. The stifling of religion must surely be a work of the evil one himself. To anyone who holds to human ideals as they are offered by the Christian religion, the world picture seems irretrievably to be one of disenchantment and despair, and yet by no false interpretation of the facts the Christian can find in that picture some seeds of potential good.

It is a commonplace of life that one does not appreciate his possessions fully until he is in danger of losing them. That is only an easy way of saying that it is perfectly natural for us to let the values of both spiritual and material goods become dimmed by a constant, unchallenged familiarity with them and that only when we are brought to realize that we might lose them do we find them glowing with a fresh radiance. This seems to be especially true of our Christian heritage. Have we not been letting it become a bit pallid because we were sure that it was indisputably ours, that it was beyond the grasp of an iconoclast? In much of the world at least there has been no physical barrier to the promotion and practice of our religion, and we have come to assume that we could go on in our peaceful way being Christians and propagating our faith just as much as we could finance it and lend it spiritual aid. But we can no longer be complacent, no longer quietly presumptive. The opposition now stands at our door, and we are in danger of having Christianity perforce taken from us. There are unleashed in the world forces actively committed to the destruction of Christianity, forces which are taking an increasing toll in spiritual allegiance. There is scorn for Christ and the church in our midst. It is precisely at this point that

we can locate one of the goods which can issue from a world situation like the one in which we unfortunately find ourselves, for it is in persecution, whether intellectual or physical, that the church finds new resources of growth.

We have been taught to believe that our religion was not just another system of dogma but the only true religion the world can find, Christ's church being the holy vessel of salvation to all peoples without regard to race or sign, station or training. To be accepted, it need only be seen, we apparently believed. But now we must be prepared to offer the world ample reason for asking it to place its faith in Christian living, and that is a task prompting us to an expression of faith that will command the respect of every intelligent man and woman who hears it. The initial, and perhaps most important, step to that end is the realization that each of the destructive forces—Marxism, Fascism, or personal *laissez-faire*—is simply a manifestation of an underlying, actuating philosophy. It is not enough for us to pull our hats down over our eyes and plunge against these forces in our old, unexamined ways of thinking. We cannot refute them merely by saying that we are against them. Our fervent preaching against them must be preceded by a knowledge of their underlying frames of reference and their usual methods of argument. Happily we have learned that the way to meet the claims of nineteenth and twentieth century science is not to bombard it with accusations of heresy, but to make an attempt to understand it. Can we not exercise the same patient inquiry in meeting the new social forces? It is a terrific task that we as ministers of the cross must face, but it is a wholesome and salutary one, because it brings into focus an important responsibility of the church in our time.

If, therefore, we are to represent our faith adequately in this day and generation, we must have an understanding of the ideas which men have at one time or another evolved and in turn been ruled by. Perhaps the best place to begin, since systems of thought are closely related by the processes of action and reaction, is with ancient philosophy. There we may find the world of thought into which Christianity was born and against which it had to struggle at the beginning of our era. We need to know the long span of medieval Christian and pagan systems of thought against which the idealism of Huss and Wyclif, Luther and Calvin rebelled. We need to know the rationalism of the eighteenth century. Then we may be in

position for further inquiry into the intellectual milieu of our day and for dealing with the problems which are immediately ours. And, of course, we cannot successfully represent the Christian teachings to the world unless we have a command of the auxiliary techniques. We should know the patterns of logical thinking and the elementary principles of argument. Our command of the English language should be polished and convincing. I hope I am not proposing that we should, like Francis Bacon, take all knowledge for our province. But I am proposing that all of us, minister and layman alike, must represent our religion more adequately than we have many times in the past. It is because I feel more and more keenly the shafts of criticism and scorn which we all must suffer that I want Christianity presented compellingly.

The resistance to such a point of view is likely to be very great. The old ways die hard; new, disturbing ideas are uncomfortable. Once I spoke with a young man, a prospective minister of another denomination, about going to college. The biggest obstacle to his wanting to go was not money or lack of ability, but simply, as he said, that he was afraid he would learn some things that would weaken his faith. And he was not thinking about any one college, but college in general. He simply had not learned that under the impact of modern world trends of thought his own parishioners might one day ask him embarrassing questions about the nature of reality or the Christian message about social security or the claims of another way of life. I think it cannot be denied that people in general are becoming more sophisticated—I use that word in its basic sense—about the world of thought about them. The old distinctions between urban and rural life are rapidly becoming obliterated. When the modern parishioner turns to his spiritual adviser for help he expects intelligent direction.

But obviously we must not think of Christianity only as a system of thought; it is also a way of life. Despite all that I have said, I think there is a very real danger that in considering the counter claims of other systems of thought one may make Christianity only something to philosophize about and not also something to live. Too much abstract theorizing may result on the one hand in mysticism which conquers the world by running away from it, or on the other in a kind of pseudo-theological speculation about those details of faith for which there seems to be no available answer. I recall,

for example, having heard preachers in my early youth attempt to date the second coming, to describe its manner in amazing detail; or to interpret all the symbols in the Revelation with uncanny self-assurance; or to speculate at length on what the unpardonable sin is. Such speculation generally results in what seems to me to be a false separation between what might be called theoretical Christianity and practical Christianity. It has taken modern psychology to re-emphasize for us the fact that one never really knows anything until that thing has found some kind of overt expression. Any school boy knows that he cannot remember history just by reading a book. He begins to learn only when he closes his book and says, "Now just what have I been reading? How does it compare with what I read yesterday?" Similarly, I do not think we can be Christians until we have translated the word of God into the work of God. If you really want to know that the pure in heart or the peacemakers or the poor in spirit are blessed, merely memorizing a statement of words will not suffice; you must have an experience of life. All through His life Jesus was commanding His disciples, at times with impatience, to try His teachings, to put them into practice in life in order to know their eternal significance. He never spoke more amazing words, it seems to me, than when He said, "Do the will and ye shall know the doctrine." He startled His hearers by asking them to learn in a new way. Many of them thought they knew the doctrine because they knew all the laws and precepts of the old order, but here they were suddenly asked to know in the only true way one can know. One must know the abstract truth, but one must also know the concrete experience, and it is precisely in the tension between those two poles that the Christian must live his life.

I am appealing for an intelligent penetration of the ideas which are commanding attention the world over today, and secondly for a new endeavor to interpret our own ideals in terms of human action. In short, I am asking for a critical appreciation of the life about us and a living refutation of it.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF PETER NEAD

LOREN BOWMAN

This paper attempts, in a brief way, to give a proper place to Peter Nead in the developing church. It aims to evaluate his work, and to give some hints as to the direction which his energies gave to the church. It will be a limited story. Early information about his life, prior to his becoming a Dunker, is scarce. We have to build on observations and upon circumstantial evidence as revealed in his character when he appears on the scene. As to his influence upon the church, we must rely upon his ministry and upon his writings. For none of his contemporaries were keen enough to analyze or appraise Nead's work. Upon such a foundation, one may easily draw false or incomplete conclusions. Yet I shall dare to put into words a few conclusions which follow an inexhaustive but challenging study.

The paper will fall into three general sections:

The Background and Family Life of Peter Nead.
His Call and His Work as a Minister.
His Place as a Brethren Writer.

In the last two sections, frequent mention will be made concerning the impact of this "foreigner" upon the life of the church. The use of and the result of his special gifts appear in due prominence throughout these sections.

It is the privilege of only a few men to direct the actual course of any great movement. Only a limited number may determine the direction of a given institution. This is true for two reasons. First, the very nature of organizational units limits the number of actual directors. Secondly, only a few men are able and willing to accept the responsibility for controlling the destinies of their fellows.

Peter Nead was a man who made himself felt in the developing church of the early 19th century. He had convictions; he was able to persuade others to accept them. He had vision; he was able to translate it for his generation. He wanted to serve, and he had the time and means to do so. He was sincere, and others were aware of his deep concern. In order to see these facts as they relate to the person, it is necessary to look into his background and into his family life. Here we find the seed bed for the qualities and the temper of the man's life as we see him in action within the church.

The family background is laid in Germany. The parents of the early Brethren theologian were of a sturdy Lutheran type. They were above the level of the farmer-peasant of Germany, but not wealthy. Nead's father was a strong man, a good manager, and a stern parent. The new land appealed to Mr. Nead, and he brought his family to America just before the Revolutionary War. They

came direct from Germany. The talents which had lifted the Neads above their natural group in Germany began to serve them in this country. Peter's father became a successful tanner. His business developed rapidly, and the Neads by careful management soon became a prosperous family. This had a definite influence upon the family standing in the new land.

The Nead home, in Germany and in America, was dominated by a distinct religious atmosphere. In the home land, the Lutheran Faith had been accepted. In the new land, the profession of the elders continued in harmony with their original confession. One cannot doubt their sincerity, for all the children had a profound respect for religion. At least three out of the four sons became ministers. Even though the parents were devoutly religious, they must have been exceptionally broad in their denominational views and deeply sympathetic in their understanding. They did not force their opinions upon their children. Only one of four sons ever joined the Lutheran church. Two sons, Daniel and John, died in the state of Tennessee in active service. They were ministers in the Church of the Brethren.

Peter Nead was born at Hagerstown, Maryland on January 7, 1796. As far as we know he lived a normal life during childhood. He played, he went to the village school, he shared the responsibility of the chores around the tannery, and he went to church with his parents. The family status was already high enough that Peter could be given more than average opportunities for attending school. He was an apt pupil. Therefore, he was given a good education. His grandfather saw the possibilities of the lad, and offered to finance his way thru school if he would prepare for the Lutheran ministry. We do not know why, but the young man refused. He continued to study in his home community, and spent his time clerking in a store. He had ambition, and he depended upon his own abilities to get himself ahead.

Some time about 1820, the family moved South into Virginia. It may have been a little earlier. At least, Peter Nead was a young man. He was a citizen in his own right. And he asked no one to be responsible for him, although he moved with his parents and remained with them for several years so far as we know. It is too bad that we have such little information regarding his parents, and the type of home they maintained.

In their new home in Frederick County, Virginia, the young lad began to learn his father's trade. He had immediate success. He held an enviable record as a tanner. In addition to his work, Peter taught school in the winter time. The school season was short. Thus he was able to carry on his work without serious handicap. In this dual role, this young man had more than his share of influence in the life of the community. He was a successful business man, and he was the teacher of the people's children.

The time came to establish his own home. On December 20, 1825 Peter Nead was united in marriage with Elizabeth Yount. The bride was from Rockingham County. The union was a happy one. Prosperity and peace continued to be the Nead lot. In 1840 they moved to Rockingham County. Then, in 1842 they went on south to Botetourt County. They lived here for six years. At the end of this period, they were caught in the Westward movement. They moved to the Stillwater congregation near Dayton, Ohio. They bought a farm just nine miles northwest of Dayton. Here the Nead family remained until Peter's death in 1877. Again, they were successful. The children did much of the work, leaving their father free for his other interests. They lived well, and there is no doubt that Peter Nead could have succeeded splendidly as a business man.

So far, the chronology of our story has been consistent only in family matters. And even in this, the story is all too short. One wishes that much more definite data were available regarding the family of Nead himself, as well as that of his parents. Such information would help a great deal in understanding the nature and the gifts of the man. It would reveal the factors conditioning his religious life, also. We are thankful for what we have, however. And, all that we have is on the favorable side. Thus helping us understand his greatness, and appraise his general temper.

Another line of inquiry about Nead proves more fascinating than the family life. It is his religious development, and his work as a minister in the church. No doubt a part of the strength of this story rests upon the good family life. But here we are especially concerned about the impact of this man upon a DEVELOPING CHURCH in a transitional period. Or, at least, we want to see the direction in which he turns his energies for the Kingdom of God.

We do not know exactly when he became definitely interested in religion. However, it would seem that it was rather early. Sometime after Peter declined the offer of his grandfather, probably in his late teens or early twenties, he joined the Methodist Church. He was leader material. Soon he became a class leader. His good education, and his experience as a public school teacher gave him a distinct advantage in this new work. He was appreciated, and his talents recognized. Thus he was given the privilege of preaching whenever the opportunity presented itself in the Methodist Church. Evidently his efforts were successful. More and more opportunities came; he became more and more interested in the work. Hence he did not wait for opportunities, but began making appointments. He visited out-of-the-way places, and preached his sermons to all who would listen. He worked hard in sharing what he believed to be the vital message needed by man.

From circumstantial evidence, one would say that his work among the Methodists as class leader and lay preacher was highly satisfactory. But somehow it could not satisfy Peter Nead very long. He now takes the role of an independent preacher—still in non-official terms. In searching for the reasons for this action, one finds only a blank so far as the literature is concerned. Several reasons may be adduced as one reads the records carefully. Some may have thought that Peter was assuming too much authority as a lay preacher. This could have been the case. Out of this situation criticisms may have arisen which determined that he would go the road of an independent. On the other hand, he may have been dissatisfied with the creed and the discipline of the Methodist Church. Some writers, such as Winger, assume this to be the case. It may be true. But it is a very easy thing for a member of the fraternity which he later joined to advocate such a reason. There must have been a reason, because Peter Nead was not the type of man to make decisions on the basis of a mere sentiment. I should rather think that both of the above factors played into the situation. And, it was by slow, reasoned steps that he moved from the Methodist circle to the independent role and on into the Church of the Brethren.

While in the throes of indecision, a pamphlet by Rev. Benjamin Bowman fell into his hands. He studied it carefully. He compared it with his New Testament. He was struck immediately by the force of the New Testament doctrines as interpreted by the Brethren.

He made inquiries concerning the way the Brethren practiced these principles in their respective communities. He longed to see the doctrines in operation. He located a company of Brethren and found out when they were going to have a Communion Service. With a sincere mind and with honest questions racing thru his mind, Peter Nead attended a Brethren Love Feast. He observed the entire service with great care; he went to his home deeply impressed. He was still not decided. Thus he continued his independent work. As he worked, he studied. After much meditation and searching of Scripture, we do not know how much, Peter Nead offered himself as a candidate for membership in the Church of the Brethren. He was cordially received into the fellowship of the church. The Brethren were glad to welcome such an upright young man into their group. They showed him the deepest respect in every way, even allowing him to fill the preaching engagements which he had upon the docket. This was an unusually liberal thing for that day.

Nead's community record, his varied abilities, and his deep interest in religion were not denied long by the Brethren. They called him to the Christian Ministry at an early date. They realized that Nead was not entirely adjusted in his new faith, but they felt he should be using his talents in the service of the church. It may be that they thought it necessary to hold him since he had been so active before coming to them. Most important, it seems that there was a friendly feeling on the part of the membership, as well as the recognition that time was required in making such adjustments wisely. And, Nead seemed anxious to make any shifts necessary to become more useful in his ministry. Both of these viewpoints are represented in the incident related concerning conformity in dress. One Sunday after dinner Benjamin Bowman took Nead to the barn with him. He explained carefully how the effectiveness of Nead's preaching could be improved if he would cease wearing his high white hat. Peter heard him gladly, and Bowman reached down into the fanning mill and pulled out a new low-crowned, broad-rimmed black hat. He presented it to the young preacher; he accepted it. Always afterward the black hat was a part of Nead's wardrobe.

This young Methodist-independent preacher came to the Brethren at a very crucial time in their development. The German-American people were just beginning to use English in common speech and in worship. The Brethren were almost wholly German, and

had held their church services in the mother tongue (or in local modifications of German) up to this period. The time to change was upon them, and most of their preachers were among the older folk. Therefore, the shifting of the worship language was a most difficult problem. Nead was well educated, he was vigorous, he had had experience in preaching in English—he was the man of the HOUR. There is no doubt but that this speeded up his rise to prominence tremendously. Yet it was no false gain, because he had the qualities necessary to succeed without this decided advantage. At any rate, he soon became known as the "English Preacher" in the society of these German-speaking Dunkers. This factor increased the demand for his preaching. And, once he was heard—he was wanted again, not only because he preached in English but because he preached with skill and with power. And, it did not take him long to preach his sermon.

While living in Virginia, his reputation spread throughout the State. He was active in the work of the church wherever he happened to be. He could not be indifferent; he was too much in demand. He must, as in the days when he was a class leader, be busy.

The greatest period of service in the work of the ministry lies within the years spent in Ohio. He was twenty-seven years in the Stillwater Congregation of Southern Ohio. His headquarters were centered on the old homestead nine miles northwest of Dayton. He was a resident farmer and minister. His sons were able to do much of the work. He was able to care for other things by his favorable financial status. Thus he was free for much travel among the churches. And it required much travel to meet the demands which were placed upon him. He was a much sought after man. He was wanted for Council Meetings. His judgment was sound, his emotions were controlled, he respected every person, and he longed for justice in a positive way. Such qualities were needed in the men who would do business in the Kingdom in a TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. Nead possessed them in a marked degree. This made him popular as a moderator of Councils within the churches. And when an adjoining elder was needed, Peter Nead was called.

His advice and counsel were desired just as greatly at District Meetings. He was always welcome, and was often sent for. He was not only an asset in stabilizing the work of such a meeting, but he had a vision of the urgency of preaching the gospel which in-

spired leaders of local churches to action. He felt that the Gospel was all-important in the life of man. Therefore, it should be presented to all people. Not with the hope that all would accept, but with the desire that all would have a chance to accept. In this role, then, Nead became the source of inspiration for an expanded program within the Districts. He was in demand; he was a prophet.

The District was not large enough to contain this enthusiastic preacher of the Word. He was in the Denominational Program. Twelve times he served on Standing Committee. He was interested in the whole work of the church. And, he was interested to see this work carried on in closest harmony with Gospel principles. Thus it was essential for him to be at Annual Meeting to assist in setting the direction of the "big ship." He was concerned that the Church remain pure from the center out to every local church in the brotherhood. Hence it was his duty to be at Annual Meeting, and help guide the church aright.

As a minister, Peter Nead was well endowed. He had an enquiring mind. He was a keen thinker, an able analyzer, and a careful composer. He was favored with good health. He had a strong body. He took care of it, and lived happily until near the end of a long, useful life. His habits were well fixed; he was temperate in all things. He possessed a good speaking voice. It was clear and strong. He could be heard easily throughout almost any auditorium that he was called to speak in. He spoke with clear accent, and with force. Not least by any means, Nead had a large command of the Bible. He could quote freely and widely from the Scriptures upon any occasion. He knew how to enlist the scripture in bringing his messages home to his hearers. And as we hinted earlier, this preacher was always on time. He believed and practiced punctuality. His appointments were filled on time and ended on time. He did not believe in lengthy services as many of the Brethren did.

One of the abiding convictions of Peter Nead was that there should be no departure from the early practices of the Church. He wanted, above everything else, a pure church. And, the more nearly like the Primitive Church the better. While he was more of a scholar than most of the men of his day, Nead was largely a literalist. Thus he conceived that the church was ministering in an unfriendly world, and that things would become increasingly fruitful for the devil. Therefore, he was opposed to bringing any major innovations into

the BODY of CHRIST. As such, he was set for a defense of the gospel. The intrusion of worldly things meant the work of Satan.

It would be fair to suppose that such an active minister would have his hands full. One would also suppose that the measure of success which Nead attained would be sufficient satisfaction for any man. And, one certainly could not accuse him of shirking his duty or of being a lazy Christian. Yet he was not content with what he was able to accomplish for the Kingdom of God. He wanted to do more. He felt he ought to do more. He understood that the forces of evil were always active; he thought that the agents of righteousness should be just as active. He longed for some other field of service beside that of the preaching of the Word. He thought of writing. The Brethren had not been doing much in this field. Nead thought it presented a great opportunity. He felt that people needed to read and study. He felt that Christians needed help in formulating a satisfactory basis for their Christian living. He would help this by writing concerning the Christian hope. His efforts were successful; he was the most prolific writer of the early Brethren. He dared to write large books on strictly religious matters. And he sold his productions. His writings represent one of the most powerful elements in his career. They contain the seed of much of his influence in directing a developing church toward fixed goals. They demonstrate the force of his impact upon a given group of people.

These writings should be examined from two standpoints. First, one should get a glimpse of the volume of his writing. Secondly, one should examine the subjects with which he deals—pointing out the high peaks of development and of exposition.

Turning to this first task, one is rather surprised at the amount of writing for his day. Yet when one remembers the severe straits of discipline thru which Nead put himself, it is not such a marvel. He arose almost regularly at three o'clock in the morning. He ate a dry crust of bread and studied or wrote until six o'clock. He published his first book, "Primitive Christianity", in 1833. It was a 138 page book, published in Staunton, Virginia. He was quite gratified at the wide circulation which this book gained. In 1845, a pamphlet of 131 pages was published. It discussed Baptism, Faith, Prayer, the World, the Corrupt Church, and the Church of Christ. Five years after this second publication, Nead's "Theological Writings" was published. This book was more comprehensive. It con-

tained the first two books, plus additional material. It was a 472 page book—quite imposing for a Brethren writer in the middle of the nineteenth century. Then, his next effort was in the form of articles for a periodical. He was instrumental in promoting and constant in contributing to the "Vindicator" which was started in 1870. From the start of this paper until his death, Nead was deeply interested in its mission. He supported it in every way possible. Articles appeared from his pen in almost every issue from 1870-76. He wrote many short articles defending some position or explaining some phase of the work of the church. He also wrote continued articles under such heads as: The School of Christ; The Land of Promise; The Restoration of Primitive Christianity. The last production of any size was "The Wisdom and Power of God as Displayed in Creation and Redemption," published in 1866. It is a 352 page book, and is quite a polemic for the Christian gospel. One cannot help being struck with the amount of writing for his day. And, it was done when the Brethren were not writing books. This makes it all the more significant.

One cannot read these works of Nead without being moved by the strength of his convictions and of his mind. He understood what he was attempting to do, and he went about it with a whole heart. In a limited paper like this, one cannot begin to analyze all his works. Rather one must be content with pointing out certain high points, certain recurring emphases, and certain general qualities of all his productions.

There are certain fields of interest which represent the high points of Nead's writing, as well as the highest form of his writing art. On these subjects his writing becomes more powerful and more skillful. Some of these more important fields, although there is over-lapping, are common interests in the early history of the church. A great deal of his time is spent in defining and defending the peculiar New Testament Practices of the Church. These doctrines are set up as the conditions upon which the Church becomes the true bride of Christ. Closely related to this field of interest, is Nead's emphasis upon Primitive Christianity. Two things are involved in this concept that made it one of his high points. First, he has in mind the restoration of Christianity to its original elements. He would, as far as possible, go back to the days of Apostolic Christianity. He wrote on this phase at great length in the Vindi-

cator. Secondly, he is concerned about keeping the Church of the Brethren in line with the concepts of the founders. He would insist upon being historically true to the original position of the Church. Especially, would this be true in matters of doctrine and discipline. There is still another thread woven into this same web—the corrupt condition of Christendom. This concern received much attention in his writing. He was concerned about the churches which showed no special interest in organizing themselves according to the New Testament principles. Without this center for organization, Nead held that there could be nothing but confusion. Worse than this, however, was the fact that such organization meant the erasing of the line of demarcation between the church and the world. This gave Nead cause for much alarm. Yet he held that nothing else could be expected. The Devil was at work; times were getting worse; the end of the age was coming. Thus it became more important that his church should remain loyal to her task, and save all those who would be saved. Yet in direct contrast, one discovers another high light in his concern for the true church. He said very plainly that the divisions of Christendom presented a real scandal in our religious living. The TRUE CHURCH should have a common profession and a common character. The profession should consist of loyalty to one Head, Christ, and leadership of one Book, the New Testament. Her character should be expressed thru the New Testament Doctrines as interpreted by the Brethren. And the members must remember that they are pilgrims so far as this world is concerned, and they must keep themselves from becoming entangled within it. Associated with these former concepts, Nead develops a lengthy theory regarding the Second Advent of Christ. His interpretations smack of strong literalism in this field. And, they are closely related to and dependent upon his concept of the corrupted church. He expects Christ to come before too long and set things right. In His coming, the church will reach its rightful place of triumph. Those who have not been loyal will receive their just dues. Nead does insist upon a rather consistent type of justice throughout his discussions of Final Things. He thinks that there will be degrees in the rewards of the righteous, as well as in the punishment of the wicked.

In discussing these great fields of Christian interest, Peter Nead was influenced by the times a great deal. The church was facing a

hard struggle in the transition of America into an urban civilization. The issues which he saw had the marks of reality for him. And the thinking of many of his contemporaries made the subjects more surely alive for him. In spite of these influences, which no man can entirely escape, Nead was a thinker in his own right. He read widely; he studied much. He knew what he believed and was able to bring data and argument to the support of his convictions in a most striking manner. He was not simply putting into print things that any minister could say, but he was crusading intelligently for a cause. And he had the experience and the research necessary to give him a note of authority which had real significance in the direction of church. One cannot pass over his work lightly. It was read by the people of his time. It made the Brethren conscious of the significance and the seriousness of religious values. The church was to be reckoned with. This stands out in all of Nead's works, and shows up in every major field of interest.

One might pull out a few of the often recurring themes in these major fields of interest. For one cannot read the works without being aware of certain MAJOR ARTICLES in Nead's FAITH and CREED. These items can only be mentioned. Over and over he emphasizes the essential need of BAPTISM, FAITH, and REPENTANCE. These are the necessary foundations for beginning the New Testament way of life. Much is made of baptism in his work; he is sure that the Brethren MODE is THE way. Closely associated with these elements of conversion, stands the ATONEMENT of Christ. In his first publication, "Primitive Christianity", he says "that the atonement upon Calvary secures the redemption of the whole Christian family."[1] He would not make this magic, it is based upon the freedom of man. Yet the ransom theory of atonement is involved—tying up closely with the depravity of the human soul. This sinful nature, traced from our first human parents, is made rather arbitrary in Nead's concepts. He seems to believe that inherent depravity is real. Yet he does not carry it to serious extremes, because he allows that children who die before reaching the age of reason are not condemned. And he does place the seat of the soul in the mind. This, with his emphasis upon the freedom of choice, is very wholesome. One idea that comes out in his development of the Second Advent is the salvation of the Jews. This will

1. Page 26.

give them another opportunity to accept the once rejected Messiah. He gives special emphasis, also, to the non-conforming aspects of the Dunker faith. Finally, Nead gives much encouragement for an active campaign of Christian propaganda. People are to be saved by hearing the Word of God. It possesses converting power; it must be preached. And it is the duty of the Christian minister to expound the Word soundly and forcefully. It was with such a passion that Nead wrote. And, according to all reports that was the way he preached. This would lead one to think that our character played a great part in the swing of the church toward mass evangelism. This was an acute problem in the latter part of Nead's life. With the available material carefully covered, I should say that he did have a very definite influence in swinging opinion toward the use of mass evangelism. Yet it was an indirect impact mingled with some definite contradictions. That is, it appears that his influence was largely by his example. He believed in preaching. He encouraged an expanded preaching program. He insisted on short, ordered services. He imbued other ministers with the greatness and seriousness of their calling. He preached and he wrote with vigor and with force. Here lies the line of his influence in the revival method. For, in words, he sets himself in opposition to the rapidly rising technique of modern evangelism in the mass meeting. He criticizes the churches that do not have definite gospel statements as their guiding principles. He says they are concerned about numbers more than they are about being loyal to Christ. "And during their protracted meetings, they enlist great numbers in their ranks. But it is not done by gospel means—but by means of their own appointments. I will not dispute but that those strange maneuvers (here he refers to singing, praying, altar calls, and emotional preaching) are calculated to create a great anxiety, and produce a partial change; but I contend, that in as much as they have not been appointed by Jesus Christ, or the Apostles, that they have never been blessed, so as to produce a genuine change in man—though we frequently hear the advocates for these modern means say, that they know that God has and does bless those means. I should like to know in what way? Do they mean, that by the use of those means, so many have joined their society? If this be the blessing they allude to, I am inclined to believe that it is a great curse instead of a blessing. The reader may take it for granted, that the doctrines and commandments of

men are always in the room of the gospel, and when received, are sure to produce a false impression: and if such deluded souls are not apprised of it in this life, they will be, when their case cannot be remedied. I have no doubt, but that thousands believe that such revivals are occasioned by the outpourings of the Spirit of God, and will view me as a great enemy to the spread of Christianity. But I cannot help it; I believe that it is my duty to protest against such corrupt proceedings. I say corrupt, because they are in lieu of the Word of God, and calculated to blind, not only the present, but the rising generation. The preacher's sole aim is, the feelings of his audience. If he can only succeed in alarming them, he is sure to gain his point: whereas, it is the duty of all preachers to labor to illuminate the understanding in man, by preaching the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ, and if a sense of the gospel does not cause them to yield obedience to Christ, then their salvation cannot be effected; for the Word of God is the seed of the new birth, and not the invention of man. If you be converted by the Word and Spirit of God, your conversion is from Heaven: but if you have been converted by such means as are of man's appointment, your conversion is from the earth; you cannot claim Jesus Christ as your Savior—but poor sinful man. He is the head of your church, and not Jesus Christ."[2] This rather lengthy quotation appears to be in harmony with his thinking. It is repeated and enlarged in his book of Systematic Theology—Theological Writings. It would appear that the early Dunker teaching and example rose above his own temperament and background. This is not so difficult to square when one is familiar with the strength and logical quality of his mind. One would be tempted to say that this was an earlier position of Nead's. But he writes somewhat in the same strain in the Vindicator in the last decade of his life. He criticizes the methods of the churches severely. "Singing is not for the conversion of the sinner,"[3] is an adequate sample of his feeling. And yet the testimony is not unmixed. In the same volume of the Vindicator, he says, "How natural it is for us, ministers of the gospel in our day, to make a great show of our profession of religion, and to publish the many sermons we preach, and the many converts made under our ministration."[4] This would appear to lend some support for active campaigns of preaching for

2. Primitive Christianity, pp. 49, 50.
3. Vindicator, Vol. 1-2, 1870-71, p. 106.
4. Vindicator, Vol. 1-2, 1870-71, p. 43.

the purpose of reaching sinners. Yet it may be irony. From his writing, I should say that Peter Nead leaves a favorable balance of evidence in opposition to the evangelistic efforts of his day. By example and by exhortation, he favored an active preaching program that should reach to the widest possible regions. This preaching should be dynamic and powerful—dealing wisely with the Word of God and leaving it to do its work in the heart.

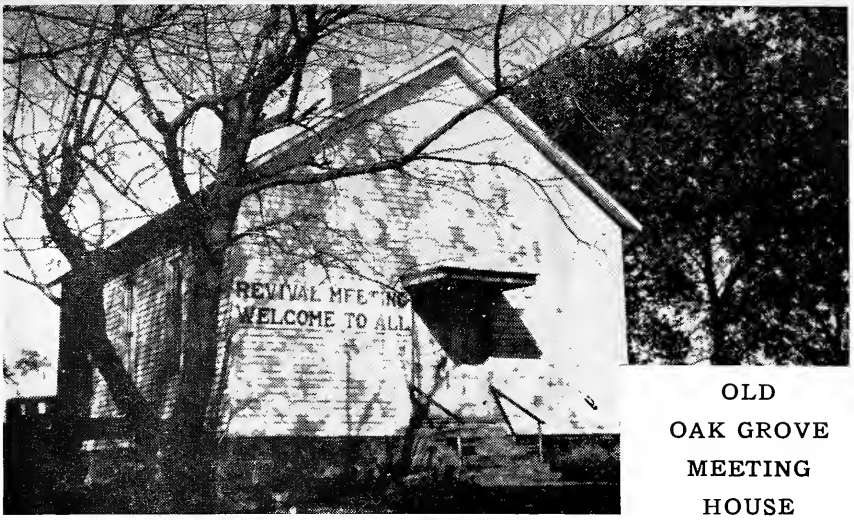
The Pulpit could not satisfy this Methodist-Brethren preacher. Thus he gave us these written productions. They are all characterized by good style, vivid pictures, strong, clear argument, and lifelike interest. Nead was a man of power and of influence. If he had lived thru the days of the church division, we should have been able to see more of his real strength. For he was active until the end. He died March 16, 1877.

HISTORY OF THE OAK GROVE CHURCH OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

Mrs. M. A. Whisler

The Oak Grove church is located twenty-five miles northeast of Peoria, Ill., in the northwestern part of Woodford County, in the vicinity known as Bricktown. Here had been a brick kiln and tile shed, established in 1835, giving employment to a number of early settlers who built their log houses in this vicinity. The first schoolhouse in Cazenovia Township was built in 1838, of unhewn logs and had a wooden chimney. It was in the Bricktown vicinity for a time. Then it was moved, and a new frame building was erected to take its place, the first frame building in the township.

It was in this schoolhouse that Bro. James R. Gish, of Roanoke, (and others) came in the 70's and preached the gospel as understood by the Brethren, at that time known as "The German Baptist Brethren." The people crowded the schoolhouse, glad to hear the gospel. By the year 1881 an organization was effected with thirteen charter members, as follows: (if we have been correctly informed, the old records are missing) Bro. and Sister Henry Long, Bro. and Sister Samuel Holman, Bro. and Sister Bernhardt Braun, Bro. and Sister



OLD
OAK GROVE
MEETING
HOUSE

The Picture of the Old Oak Grove Meetinghouse Recently Destroyed by Fire. This House Had a Number of Historic Associations, Among Them Being Its Connection with the Gish Family.

The New Oak Grove Meetinghouse dedicated December 17, 1939. Cost of building alone $3,484.

John Ivins, Bro. and Sister Carmichael, Bro. and Sister John Lewis, and Sister Maria Calvert.

In the summer of 1883 an acre of land was secured from the Michael Wagner farm for a building site on which to erect a church building. The records at the courthouse show a consideration of $40.00 for this land, but Mr. Wagner donated this to the church.

By fall the building was completed, and a large crowd assembled for the dedication, at which time a vote of the members was taken and the name Oak Grove was selected. This name is still used, but locally it is better known as the Bricktown Church.

Quoting from one who was then a small boy, C. S. Holman, says: "Everybody was so happy in the thought that we could have preaching and Sunday School every Sunday. . . . Some of us had a lumber wagon in which to ride and many of the folks would walk to church. . . . "Uncle" Rufus Gish was a dear old man and he was the moving spirit and the principal financial support in the building."

James R. Gish was the first elder, and some years later he gave the lumber to have another room built to the church, which was used as a kitchen and later used also as a Sunday School room. It was in this room that three little girls were playing on the evening of June 6, 1939, and accidentally set the church afire. The building and contents were soon consumed. There was some insurance on the building, which was paid in full, and so, with the help of many contributors, a nice new building has been erected which was dedicated Dec. 17, 1939, with Bro. Otho Winger of North Manchester, Indiana, giving the dedicatory address.

Former pastors are: C. S. Holsinger, Samuel Henry, Solomon Bucklew, D. E. Eshelman, J. W. Switzer, Irvin Weaver, Jesse Cook, and Daniel Funderburg. The present pastor and elder of the church came here in the spring of 1926 and has seen the membership grow from 35 to 78 at present. There had been a period of inactivity, which had caused the membership to become smaller. Then the Mission Board of the southern district of Illinois helped keep the work going until the year 1932, when the board felt no more help could be given. It is now giving some financial assistance in rebuilding.

EPHRATA A MUSICAL CENTER OF COLONIAL AMERICA

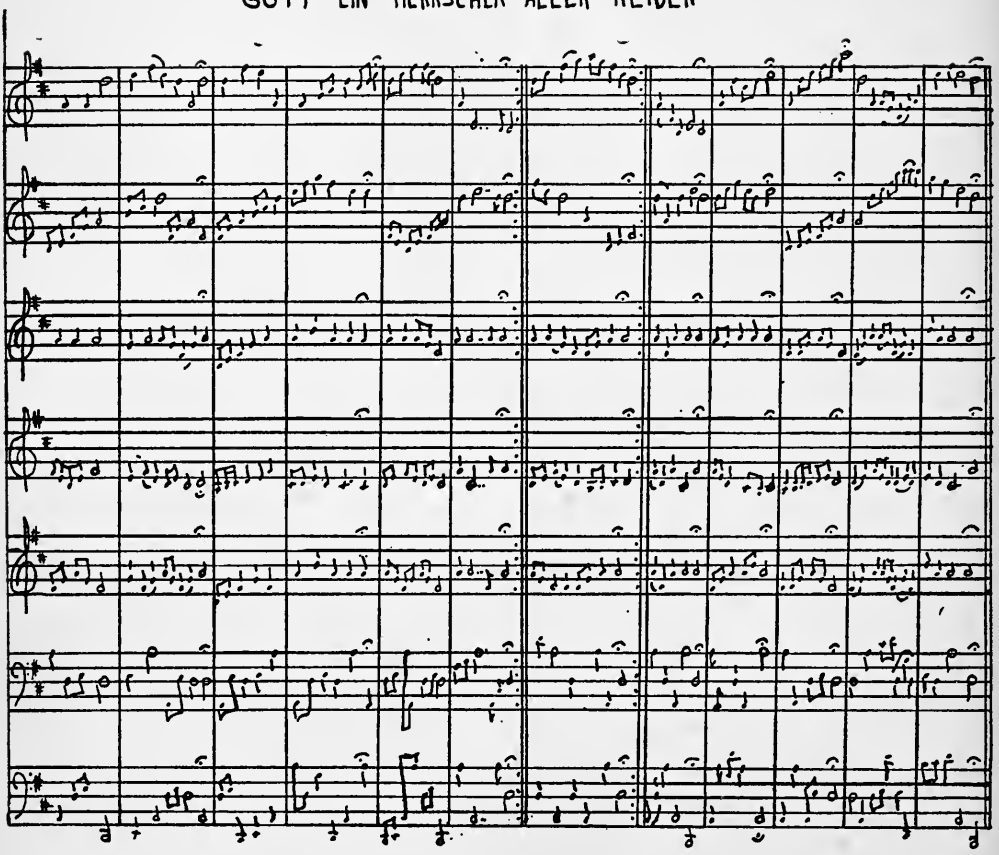
MARY ELIZABETH WERTZ WIEAND

About fifteen years ago, several cousins and I climbed to the top of Berkebile Hill, a high peak overlooking the entire city of Johnstown, Pennsylvania. Though we had often hiked gleefully and without care to this same spot, this time we had come neither for a sled ride down the steep embankment nor for a picnic on the inviting plateau at the foot of the bank. On this crisp Friday night as we stealthily gained a topmost rock, silence reigned among us. Only the boldest dared shift position or whisper. Suddenly even breathing stopped. In the distance appeared the first white shadow, followed by a long line of identical figures, swaying rhythmically as they wound along the hillside path. On came the procession. Through the moonlight we discerned the eyes, nose, and mouth cut in each white head and face covering, which fell into the folds of the long white robes. At last we were to witness the solemn ceremony about which we had heard so much but knew so little. The locally organized Ku Klux Klan was about to burn their lighted cross.

As I read of the Ephrata Cloister musicians, I picture them best by imagining a similar scene in Ephrata exactly two hundred years ago. On each night when singing classes met, the attending brethren would walk in solemn procession from the Zion convent, their home on the hill, down to the sister house in the meadow. "Being dressed in white, they presented a spectral scene as they slowly wended their way down the hillside."[1] Any little Pennsylvania Dutch *knaben* or *madchen* who happened to awake in one of the neighboring Domestic Households of the Ephrata group would have seen the monastic brethren returning homeward in the same manner, arriving at their convent just in time for the midnight mass.

Ephrata, now a town of 4,988[2] inhabitants, owes its beginnings to its famous leader, John Conrad Beissel. Born in 1690, at Eberbach, on the Neckar, in the Palatinate, Beissel experienced much in his early life which was bound to encourage his developing into a very

1. J. F. Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania,* 1742-1800, p. 138.
2. *Matthews Northrup New International Atlas,* p. 218.



A Beissel 7-Part Chorale in Modern Notation

unusual character. His drunken, dissolute father died a few months before Conrad was born. Eight years later, his godly mother died, leaving her children destitute. During the next seventeen years, he served successively as apprentice to a jovial baker, as chief musician (violinist) at weddings and parties, as journeyman baker under the husband of a termagant woman (Beissel called her a Jezebel, and left), and as prison inmate resulting in banishment because of his connections with the Pietists. Having fled to the vicinities of Marienborn, Schwarzenau, and Creyfelt where he met many of the Brethren, he and two of his intimate friends, Stiefel and Stuntz, sailed to America and went directly to Germantown, arriving just a year after Peter Becker's group settled there in 1719. Here for one year Beissel lived with Becker learning the weaver's trade, during which time he absorbed a number of the Dunker doctrines. After going off to live as a hermit for a time, Beissel returned to the Dunkers, was baptized, and became one of their ministers. However, before long the new minister began to set forth strange doctrines, such as defending seventh day observance, denouncing the married state, and leaning toward the Mosaic law. In 1728 he and his followers were rebaptized in the Conestoga Creek, and the group thus completely separated from the German Baptist society. At this point arose the three groups in the spiritual household: namely, the Household members, or those who were married; the Solitary brethren who lived a single, chaste life; and the Spiritual Virgins, who from time to time fled to Beissel and placed themselves under his guidance and vowed to live a pure, virgin life. Finally, in 1732 Beissel gave the elders of the congregation charge over the group and left, to live again as a hermit. When he refused his followers' request that he return to them, some of them moved to him. The date 1732 marks the real beginning of Ephrata, according to M. G. Brumbaugh[3] and from that time on numerous discontented souls came from all parts of eastern Pennsylvania, making Ephrata a growing colony with Beissel as supreme leader. "In 1740 there were in the Ephrata cloisters thirty-six single brethren and thirty-five sisters; and, in later years, when the society was at the height of its prosperity, the whole congregation, including those living outside the principal buildings but in the immediate neighborhood, numbered about three hundred."[4]

3. M. G. Brumbaugh, History of the German Baptist Brethren, p. 446.
4. *Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the XVIII Century*, p. 27.

Julius Friedrich Sachse, the Pennsylvania historian, has in his THE GERMAN SECTARIANS OF PENNSYLVANIA paid worthy tribute to the ingenious ability and the tireless industry of this religious folk. The Ephrata group of two centuries ago, like the Amana Society of today, excelled in the things they made and in the quality of their undertakings.

"One of the most unique features of the Ephrata Cloister was the peculiar music which originated with the Community on the Cocalico."[5] Apparently Conrad Beissel's early training on the violin and his love of singing were his only educational resources for the musical work which he undertook as Capellmeister. Early in the life of the Cloister, he started choirs and singing schools on certain evenings each week, the sessions usually lasting four hours, from eight o'clock until midnight. The explanation of the white garments mentioned earlier in this paper is a clue to a noble spirit. When Capellmeister Beissel and the Solitary Brethren met with the Spiritual Virgins in the latters' house, Beissel insisted on all, even himself, appearing in pure white in order to impress upon all the necessity for absolute purity of heart.

According to the CHRONICON EPHRATENSE, however, Beissel was not the first teacher of the singing school. A certain house-father, Ludwig Blum, was both a singer and one informed somewhat in composition. By bringing some of his work to Beissel, he induced the superintendent, as he was called, to make use of him in the Cloister singing school. The work prospered for awhile, until certain of the Sisters complained to the superintendent that they wished to dismiss their singing teacher and have Beissel teach them. Accordingly, Blum was continued as teacher until the Sisters felt that they had learned enough from him to teach Beissel the necessary harmony and methods; then he was dismissed. The superintendent capellmeister conducted the school with great sternness, says the Chronicle, so that whoever did not know him, might have thought him to be a man of unchecked passion. Sometimes he scolded for an hour or two in succession. In time this grew so hard for the sensitive maidens to bear that they sent one of their number to Beissel to tell him that they intended to break off entire connection with the school. Later, however, the sisters sent another message to Beissel saying that they wished to resubmit to his guardianship, and the school

5. Sachse, op. cit., p. 128.

opened again. "Soon after a choir of sisters appeared in the meeting, and sang the hymn, 'God, we come to meet Thee,' with five voices, which was so well received in the settlement, that everyone had his name entered for the choir, so that one did not know who should perform the outside work."[6] To make plain the organized plan of the choir, after Beissel laboriously taught his pupils the first principles of singing, we quote the following paragraph from CHURCH MUSIC AND MUSICAL LIFE IN PENNSYLVANIA IN THE XVIII CENTURY.

"The celibates, male and female, were divided into five choirs, with five persons to each choir, namely, one soprano, one tenor, one alto and two bass singers. The sisters were divided into three choirs, the upper, middle and lower; and in the choruses a sign was made for each choir when to join or alternate in the singing. These three choirs had their respective places at the table of the sisters during love feasts, the upper choir at the upper end, the middle at the centre and the lower at the lower end. In singing antiphonally, therefore, the singing went alternately up and down the table. Not only had each choir to observe its place to join, but, because there were solos in each chorale, every voice knew when silence was to be observed by it. Apparently, it is to be understood that all parts, save the high and low bass, were sung chiefly by female voices."[7]

Not only was Beissel a stern teacher, but he was also a stern disciplinarian in the rules he laid down for his singers. In his preface to the TURTEL-TAUBE, the Ephrata hymnal, Beissel states his principles and rules for mastering the art of choral singing. Briefly, these are as follows:[8]

1. Divine virtue must be observed upon the pinnacle of perfection.
2. Upon every occasion both scholar and master must seek to make themselves agreeable and acceptable to the Spirit of this high and divine virtue.
3. The wants of the body are to be restrained, so that the voice may become angelic, heavenly, pure, and clear, and not harsh screeching and croaking, caused by a coarseness of the food.
4. It is necessary to know what foods quicken the spirit and make the voice subtile and thin, as well as those which cause it to be coarse, sluggish, lazy, and heavy. For example, of those foods which we, with great injustice, take from the animals:
   a. Milk causes heaviness and uneasiness.
   b. Cheese makes one fiery and hot brained, and causes a longing after forbidden things.
   c. Butter makes one lazy and stolid, and at the same time satiates so much that one desires neither to sing nor to pray.

6. Lamech and Agrippa, *Chronicon Ephratense,* p. 164.
7. Op. cit., p. 36.
8. Sachse, op. cit., (paraphrase), pp. 152-153.

d. Eggs awaken various and extraordinary desires.
e. Honey causes light eyes and a cheerful spirit, but no clear voice.

5. For quickening of the spirit and natural cheerfulness, nothing is better than wheat and then buckwheat, both of which have the same virtues, either in bread or in cooked dishes.
6. Nothing is more useful than the potato, beet, and similar roots.
7. Beans carry a weight with them and satiate too much, and create an unclean desire.
8. At the same time, above all things it is to be remembered, that the spirit of this royal art, as it is a clean, pure and virgin spirit, suffers no unclean polluted or sinful love for woman, which in young hearts inflames the carnal spirit and agitates it to such a degree as to make them entirely unfit and useless in mind, heart, voice, and spirit.
9. The best drink for treading the straight path, and the one that has greatest righteousness is innocent, clear water, either as it comes from the well, or made into soup with a little bread added. Changing water into a sort of delicacy, by cooking it with other foods is sinful, vain, and an abuse.
10. We have nought to do with any unmannerly paunch stuffing.

With our scientific knowledge of foods, we cannot help smiling at Beissel's diet, and feeling sorry for those who were conscientiously deprived of our stable dairy products. However, the author of the CHRONICON continues with a paragraph which shows even more the deeply spiritual motive of Beissel in his choir work. Anyone who has had the least experience with any of our present day choirs, some of which have been truly and sadly called the "war department of the church", can appreciate the truth of Beissel's principle which follows, and will wish that more of our singers today were thus motivated.

"But he also added to the things necessary to be observed in united song, that godly virtue must be at the source of our whole walk, because by it you obtain favor with the spirit of singing, which is the Holy Spirit. It has been observed that the least dissension of spirit in a choir of singers has brought confusion into the whole concert."[9]

Beissel's purpose in his singing school was to make manifest the wonderful harmony of eternity, in a country which but lately wild savages had inhabited; the CHRONICON continues, "for God owed this to North America as an initiation into the Christian church, therefore these choirs belong to the firstlings of America."[10] Because of his desire to bring out the meaning of the words of the hymns, in every case he attempted to let the accent of the word rule, rather

9. *Chronicon Ephratense,* p. 162.
10. Ibid., p. 165.

than the accent of the bar, thus making the music subservient to the words. Thus the music, though barred, was free. It made no use of a meter signature. Rather, the bars, some of which contained three, four, five, six, or even seven counts in the same hymn, served mainly to divide motives and phrases.

Another peculiarity in the mechanical structure of Beissel's compositions lay in his use of the clef signs. Whereas our modern hymnals use the G or treble clef for all the treble voices, Beissel used the C clef for all the treble voices. His motive in doing this, and a very reasonable one it was, corresponds exactly to the modern orchestral arranger's motive in using the C clef for the viola; namely, to avoid the use of leger lines.

The harmonic arrangement of the Ephrata hymns and chorales varied in two, four, five, and seven parts. When both Orders were present (Solitary Brethren and Spiritual Virgins), the brethren sang only the two lowest parts, both in the bass clef. At the services of the Brotherhood four-part music was used—tenor, descant, and bass. J. F. Sachse had in his possession a specimen of Ephrata music set in two parts, first and second, "for social praise of two together."[11] The same hymn was set in four parts and also arranged in five parts, which latter was the arrangement generally used in public worship. The writers of the CHRONICON tell of a service connected with a dramatic event in the development of the Cloister music, when a choir of sisters appeared in the meeting and sang a hymn in five voices.

Before he attempted the group choral singing, Capellmeister Conrad Beissel with much trouble broke the ice (as Brother Agrippa states in the CHRONICON) and taught the first principles of singing to the scholars. His dissertation on harmony is published as a preface about the art of singing (Vorrede von der Sing arbeit) in the famous TURTEL-TAUBE. In this treatise, Beissel sets forth the importance of the tonic, mediant, and dominant (do, mi, so in our scale), calling these notes the "rulers" and the super tonic, subdominant, and submediant (re, fa, la in our scale), the "servants." He seems not to mention the seventh note of our scale, *ti,* although on the modern notation arrangements of his chorales, that note is used. After this discussion comes an explanation of the use of the various notes in the chords, relative to proper doubling and inversions.

11. Sachse, op. cit., p. 134.

To describe the effect of this music upon the listener, one who has never heard it had best quote from one who has heard the strains. Hence, I quote a paragraph which Sachse has copied from a manuscript in his possession:

"Beissel took his style from the music of nature, and the whole of it, comprising several large volumes, is founded on the tones of the Æolian harp; the singing, in a word, is the Æolian harp harmonized. It is very peculiar in its style and concords, and in its execution. The tones issuing from the choir imitate very soft instrumental music, carrying a softness and devotion almost superhuman to the auditor. Their music is set in two, four, five and seven parts. All the parts save the bass, which is set in two parts, are led and sung exclusively by the females, the men being confined to the high and low bass. The latter resembling the deep tones of the organ, and the former, in combination with one of the female parts, the contrast produces an excellent imitation of the concert horn (hautboy). The whole is sung in the falsetto voice, which throws the sound up to the ceiling, and the melody which seems to be more than human, appears to be descending from above and hovering over the heads of the assembly."[12]

The Committee on Historical Research quotes from Daniel Rupp's History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, part of a letter from a visitor to the cloister to Governor John Penn, as follows:

"The counter trebles, tenor and bass, were all sung by women, with sweet, shrill and small voices, but with a truth and exactness in time and intonation that was admirable. It is impossible to describe to your Lordship my feelings upon this occasion. The performers sat with their heads reclined, their countenances solemn and dejected, their faces pale and emaciated from their manner of living, the clothing exceedingly white and quite picturesque and their music such as thrilled to the very soul; I almost began to think myself in the world of spirits, and that the objects before me were ethereal. In short the impression this scene made upon my mind, continued strong for many days, and I believe will never be wholly obliterated."[13]

Again, the same writers repeat a first hand account of a visit to a cloister service by the Swedish Provost, Magister Israel Acrelius, in August, 1753. An excerpt of this reads:

"We went and knocked at the Convent door. Their Prioress came out, and when she heard our request, she bade us remain in the church until the sisters came in the proper order to sing. We received an invitation, and went up a still narrower set of stairs than any that we had before seen, and came into a large room; in that there were long tables, with seats upon both sides of them. Here there were some of the sisters sitting, and writing their notebooks for the hymns—a work wonderful for its ornaments. Six of them sat together and sang a very lovely tune. . . .

12. Sachse, op. cit., p. 134.
13. *Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the XVIII Century,* p. 38.

"The church was not large, and could be filled by some hundred persons. . . . When they were all assembled they sat for some moments perfectly still. . . . Father Friedsam . . . finally sang in a low and fine tone. Thereupon the sisters in the gallery began to sing, the Cloister brothers joined in with them, and all those who were together in the high choir united in a delightful hymn which lasted for about a quarter of an hour.

"It is to be observed that to every psalm there are three different melodies, according to which the note-books are written by the sisters of the convent. Different brothers, as well as the sisters, understood vocal music, as does also Father Friedsam. When they sing, each holds a note-book as well as a psalm-book, both of which are of quarto size, looking into each alternately, which custom would be more difficult if the singing were not performed so regularly every day."[14]

Morgan Edwards, writing in 1770, said of the Cloister people and their music:

"A smiling innocence and meekness grace their countenances, and a softness of tone and accent adorn their conversation, and make their deportment gentle and obliging. Their singing is charming; partly owing to the pleasantness of their voices, the varieties of parts they carry on together, and the devout manner of performance."[15]

The Chronicler, too, comments upon the fame of the Ephrata singers and composers:

"This wonderful harmony resounded over the country; whoever heard of it, wished to see it, and whoever saw it, acknowledged that God truly lived among these people."[16]

There are striking similarities of thought in the above quotations.

Although I have not been privileged to hear any of the Ephrata chorales performed, I have examined a few of the manuscripts in modern notation. They are written in wide vocal range and there is much crossing of parts (second part beginning lower than first, and then going higher, etc.). Our harmony teachers would say that Beissel's four part writing is very bad, according to present standards. Particularly peculiar are his inversions and voice doublings. Nevertheless, even when the parts are merely played upon the piano, the effect is singular and ethereal, and if one imagines the white robed falsetto singers, it becomes pleasingly uncanny.

"The music of the Ephrata Cloister was entirely unlike the ancient church music. It had none of the rhythm and swing of either the religious or the secular folksong of the Reformation. With the

14. *Ch. Mus. and Mus. Life in Pa. in XVIII Cent.*, p. 40.
15. Ibid, p. 41.
16. *Chronicon Ephratense,* p. 165.

decline of the monastic or celibate feature of the Community, its music fell into disuse and gradually became a lost art."[17] However, as the propositus of a new system of music, Father Friedsam Gottrecht (Conrad Beissel) stands as a picturesque personality in the annals of Colonial Pennsylvania Music. As a consequence of the monastic simple and severe type of life he upheld, his group gained for itself an honorable reputation. When the study and practice of music became an established feature of the Ephrata institution, the poetic abilities of the Solitary Brethren and the Spiritual Virgins awoke, resulting in their writing both words and music for a great number of hymns. In Mr. Sachse's manuscript[18] there is record of over one thousand pieces of original music by members of the Cloister.

The climax of the work of the Ephrata musicians was the publishing of the famous TURTEL-TAUBE (Turtle-Dove), a hymnal designed to replace the Saur and Franklin books then in use, distinctive for the use of the solitary and secular organizations, all hymns to be the product of the Cloister inmates and set to music of their own composition. Apparently the first hymn-book printed at Ephrata, it was printed in 1747 by the Brotherhood. Sixteen brothers and twenty-three sisters contributed ninety-six hymns, the remaining one hundred thirty-one of the first edition being contributed by Beissel. The foreword and preface were Beissel's own treatise on harmony, his instructions on care of the voice through proper diet and mode of life, and other principles in the Ephrata system of music. The English translation of the title page of the TURTEL-TAUBE reads:

"The Song of the Solitary and Deserted Turtle-Dove, namely the Christian Church; or spiritual and experienceful-songs of Sorrow and Love, as therein both, a foretaste of the new world as well as the intervening ways of the cross and sorrow are presented according to their dignity in spiritual rhymes.

"By one who is peaceful and a pilgrim striving toward the Silent Eternity; and now gathered together and brought to light for the use of the Solitary and Deserted in Zion."[19]

Other editions of the TURTEL-TAUBE followed in 1755 and 1762, with variations of text.

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17. *Ch. Mus. and Mus. Life in Pa. in XVIII Cent.*, p. 42.
18. Sachse, op. cit., p. 134.
19. Sachse, op. cit., p. 144. Also *Ch. Mus.*, p. 48.

Beissel's crowning works, though, were his choral songs which were brought to light in 1752 and entitled PARADISISCHES WUNDER-SPIEL (Paradisiacal Wonder Music). The complete translated title is as follows:

"Paradisiacal Wonder Music, which in these latter times and days became prominent in the occidental parts of the world as a prevision of the New World, consisting of an entirely new and uncommon manner of singing, arranged in accord with the angelic and heavenly choirs. Herein the song of Moses and the Lamb, also the Song of Solomon, and other witnesses out of the Bible and from other saints, are brought into sweet harmony. Everything arranged with much labor and great trouble, after the manner of singing of the angelic choirs, by a Peaceful one, who desires no other name or title in this world."[20]

Because with the abandoning of monastic life at Ephrata, the Cloister music fell into disuse, one might minimize the importance of this colonial movement. In fairness to the writers and singers of the TURTEL-TAUBE, let us examine the extent of their influence. Of course, no one can judge just how far they did influence Pennsylvania's musical development indirectly, but it is possible to trace a few direct descendant groups. During the last two or three decades of the eighteenth century the Snow Hill nunnery was built up and organized in Franklin County, on one of the branches of the Antietam. This is a direct outcome of the efforts to spread the Ephrata group spirit. W. M. Fahnestock commenting on this branch about 1854 said,

"Their singing, which is weak in comparison with the old Ephrata choir is so peculiar and affecting that when once heard it can never be forgotten."[21]

He related his weekly visits at Snow Hill, where each Friday evening found him irresistibly driven back to Snow Hill to hear the music. He continued,

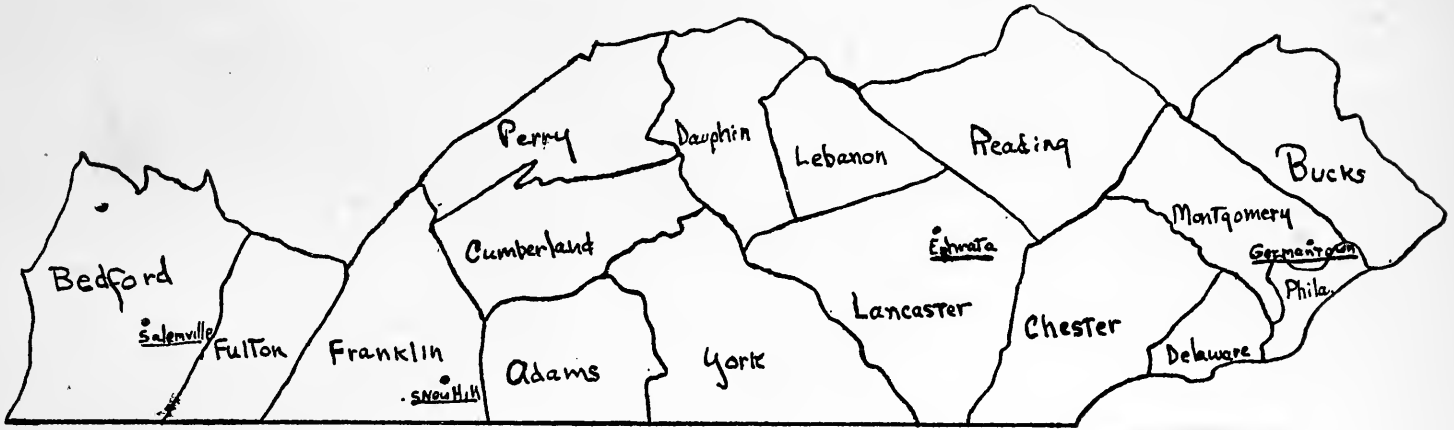
"As often as I ventured, I became ashamed of myself, for scarcely had these strains of celestial harmony touched my ear, than I was bathed in tears. Unable to suppress them, they continued to cover my face during the service, nor in spite of my mortification could I keep them away. They were not tears of penitence, for my heart was not subdued to the Lord, but tears of ecstatic rapture, giving a foretaste of the joys of heaven."[22]

Later a number of the Snow Hill people pushed on to Morrison's Cove, where a German Seventh Day Baptist church was organized early in the nineteenth century. By 1939, several generations have

20. Sachse, op. cit., p. 150.
21. H. R. Holsinger, *History of the Tunkers,* p. 145.
22. Holsinger, op. cit., p. 145.

lived and gone on since the time of the fathers of the Morrison's Cove congregation, at present located in Salemville, Bedford County. During the school years '35-'36, '36-'37, and '38-'39, I taught music in the consolidated high school at New Enterprise, Pennsylvania, about two miles from Salemville. All of the Salemville Seventh Day Baptist children attended our school. In my work there, I found the Salemville children phenomenally enthusiastic in their music. Although Salemville consists of one tiny store, a Dunkard and a Seventh Day Baptist church, and a few dozen homes, mostly of farmers, it has a substantial little building known as The Salemville Band Hall, which is the property of the Salemville Band. The band members are very cordial in welcoming folk from the neighboring little Cove towns into their midst, and it was at the repeated request of several of my pupils that I, too, joined the band. The experience was one which I would not have missed for a great deal, as it has never been duplicated for me. At the first practice I arrived a bit early, just as the director was building the fire in the stove which stands in the middle of the one room practice hall. (The director is superintendent of the Dunkard Sunday School, but of German Seventh Day Baptist ancestry.) While several of us warmed our hands at the stove, the bandmen arrived. First came a ruddy farmer, clean shaven in neat blue overalls and carrying a trumpet. Then followed a tall man in overalls and high top boots, barely able to lug his huge Sousaphone through the narrow doorway. Then young high school students and gray haired men and even one or two middle aged mothers appeared. Soon after we had started to practice, the minister of the Seven Day church strolled in with his mellophone. The Salemville Band, with a membership of thirty or more, is constantly called upon by the surrounding towns for thirty and more miles around. Another even more popular community organization whose nucleus is largely Dunkards and "Sieben Tagers" is the Morrison's Cove Male Chorus. The past directors of this group have also been Seventh Day Baptists and Dunkards.

The musical little Salemville settlement may or may not have derived its musical interests from the Ephrata and Snow Hill influences. Certainly their music is of a vastly different type. However, the fact remains that Salemville, one community settled by Beissel's spiritual children, stands at the very top in natural musical talent and interest. The interest here seems to be directly traceable to Beissel because of the presence of one of the few German Seventh



Map of So. Eastern Pennsylvania Showing Places Mentioned in This Paper

Day Baptist churches in existence. No doubt, Pennsylvania as well as other states, may never know how many other little communities are bursting anew with the musical seeds planted by Beissel.

In recent years, a wave of interest has revived some of the Ephrata Cloister music, transcribed into modern notation. The work of Julius Friedrich Sachse and of the Committee on Historical Research of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America has been largely responsible for what we do know of the music of the Ephrata Cloister. At the Church of the Brethren Annual Conference of 1935, Professor A. F. Brightbill directed the Conference Choir in several of the old Ephrata Chorales. The next year the Juniata College choir, under the direction of Professor C. L. Rowland, had a few of the chorales in their reportoire. Research and interest continues in the two-century old Ephrata music.

We who feel a close kinship with the German Seventh Day Baptist Brethren would be very happy to say with M. G. Brumbaugh, one time Governor of Pennsylvania and President of Juniata College, that "Ephrata was the musical center of colonial America."[23] Surely we can agree with Hazel Gertrude Kinscella, that the German settlers at Ephrata have left a worthy legacy.[24] However, before we honor Ephrata with the title THE Musical Center of Colonial America, we must pause a moment out of respect to the other musical groups in colonial America. Particularly, we must mention the music of the Moravians at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where they founded a college of music before 1750, an orchestra was introduced, oratorios were given before 1800, and to this day there are annual Bach celebrations. Therefore it does not seem proper to call either of these two eastern Pennsylvania towns THE musical center. Nevertheless, Ephrata stands superlative in her specialty, the development of seven-part harmonies, which has no counterpart in American musical activity in her century and that which followed. Beissel's musical system is likely the earliest musical system evolved during the eighteenth century, and a native Pennsylvania product. The singing at Ephrata was such as "had never been equaled in the Christian church from the days of Ignatius on, to whom was first made known by revelation the antiphonal mode of singing practised by the Holy Angels."[25]

23. Brumbaugh, op. cit., p. 463.
24. Hazel Gertrude Kinscella, *Music on the Air,* p. 145.
25. John Joseph Stoudt, *Consider the Lilies How They Grow,* p. 143.

HYMNODY OF THE BRETHREN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

William Beery

An attempt to write the history of the Christian church in her activities and ministries, true and adequate, without saying anything about its hymnody, would be comparable to an effort to explain the performances of an airplane and forgetting to mention the motors and wings and their functions. Just as the airplane can be of no practical use without motor power to give it life and wings to lift and carry, so the church without the use of hymns and music is vitally handicapped in her efforts to carry on. The hymns provide spiritual power, and the tunes lift and carry.

The Church of the Brethren has not been without hymnody during the more than two centuries of her life. The Brethren, from the beginning, have regarded hymn singing in the church services and all religious meetings as in a high degree essential and helpful in the carrying on of the work; as is evidenced by the fact that their history abounds in references to the use of it. Not only so, but in the early days of their church life in America a considerable number of hymn books were printed on a press established and owned by them. It is also noteworthy that there were among them some who wrote hymns, and those who possessed more than ordinary musical ability and talent to lead in the singing of hymns.

At the time of the organization of the Church of the Brethren in Germany, music, vocal and instrumental, had already reached a high degree of development in Europe. Congregational singing had become prevalent, largely as a result of the impetus given it by Martin Luther at the time of the Reformation. The charter members of the new denomination had previously belonged to other communions then in existence—Lutherans, Presbyterians, Reformed, etc. In these churches they of course profited by the musical advantages thus afforded, which stood them well in hand in their new relations.

As to the manner in which the Brethren conducted their song services in those early days of their religious activities no definite information is available. Nor do we know what hymns they sang, but the probability is that they used some of the hymns they learned to

sing in the churches to which they belonged previously. Surely it may be assumed that their song worship was simple, sincere, and void of any exhibition of voice or manner, and that their singing was with the spirit and with the understanding also. At the time when the Church of the Brethren was organized a number of collections of hymns had already been published in Germany and America, some of which it is known they used in their services. A number of editions of some of these collections were subsequently printed on the press above mentioned, established, owned and operated by Christopher Sower. (For information concerning the setting up of the Sower press see A History of the Brethren by Dr. M. G. Brumbaugh and The Literary Activities of the Brethren in the Eighteenth Century by Dr. John S. Flory.)

The first book printed on the Sower press was a hymn book, entitled Zionitische Weyrauchs-Hugel, for the Ephrata congregation. After much delay, due to difficulties attending the efforts to obtain and equip this subsequently famous press, to Sower's great delight, it was ready for work. Sower had made his own ink, and with a small supply of paper on hand, the work on this first book was begun. When the proprietor began to look for more paper he found, to his dismay, that there was none on the market in Germantown, and soon learned that Benjamin Franklin, of Philadelphia, at that time controlled the whole stock of printing paper, and that his terms were cash; nor would he give credit to the "Dutch." Neither Sower nor Beissel, head of the Ephrata Society, had the ready cash.

Fortunately, one of the members of the Ephrata Brotherhood, Conrad Weiser, who was financially able, came to the rescue by going to Philadelphia and making satisfactory arrangements with Franklin and procuring the paper of which they were so much in need. So the work on the book was resumed. Some of the cloisterites had had some experience in the art of printing; the Rev. Peter Miller being an experienced printer was made supervisor; Samuel Eckerlin and Michael Wohlfare set most of the type and acted as advisory board. Among the 692 hymns furnished for this book there were a number of compositions by Conrad Beissel and his associates. While in the process of printing Sower noticed some hymns that did not appeal to his sense of propriety or taste. One of Beissel's own pieces was especially obnoxious to Sower because it seemed

to him to be a fulsome and almost idolatrous glorification of Conrad Beissel. Hoping to obtain permission from Beissel to leave this out and substitute another Sower wrote him a letter which evidently lacked the discretion or tact necessary to get what he desired.

The following excerpts from letters which passed between the two men indicate the spirit of the correspondence. It is gratifying to know, however, that a reconciliation followed some time later.

LETTER

From Sower to Beissel

I have been in the last few days in hopes that the work which I did and caused to be done upon the hymn book should redound to the honor of God, to whom I am under greatest obligations for all that He has done for me, and I remain bound to Him even if I shall see no good day more. It is His way that if we dismiss all which is not from Him He fills with that which more concerns Him. The result is that we love all that is from Him, and have a hatred and horror of all that does not please Him. In the beginning much remains concealed, while we are in the shoes of children as the saying is, which in youth and manhood becomes as clear as day. I have therefore with patience overlooked some hymns, which I had rather sacrificed to Vulcan by throwing them in the fire. I thought something might be given to the first alphabet scholars as it were according to their ability, and which they could grasp and that it would not be wise to break down the first rongs of the ladder. I have willingly let go what the amateur poet through vanity and sentiment has brought together, especially since Brother Peter Miller said to me: "The worst soldiers are always put to the first rank." Taking this view of it I had nothing more to say. Afterwards so much wood, straw, stubble and trash came that it went pretty hard with me. It was very deeply impressed upon me that each work should be a birth to appear in eternity, not in the lightness of mercurial pictures drawn by men but to stand in the clean way. However I remained in hope that something better would come in the future. A still greater mercy befell me, to wit: In the beginning of the 16th rubric or division there was placed a silly hymn which, on first reading through it, I considered to be among the stupid amateur poetry and I wished that something better could be put in its place. In the 29th verse it runs:

"Der döch traged deine Last
Und dabei hat wenig Rast."

There I stopped and read the remainder over again, but while I was attending to some other business it was printed. I was not at ease about it. I thought that if it should come, either here or in Germany or anywhere else, before the eyes of an enlightened spirit who has found and delights in God and his Saviour as the true rest, he might be deceived by such miserable stuff after such a magnificently brilliant title-page and I should be ashamed because of my negligence.

I might perhaps be able to find excuses that would answer before men, but in my breast would burn a fire that would be quenched by no excuses. I thereupon asked Brother Samuel whether he did not think a great mistake had been made in writing, since unskilled poets are often compelled for the sake of their rhyme to use words which destroy the sense. He said to me, "No, I shall let it stand as it is." I consented to do it then because it suddenly occurred to me that in the pine forests the industrious ants gather together straw, wood, earth, shells and resin from the pines which they carry underneath into the hill, and that this is called "Weyrauch." This pacified me to some extent because it accorded with the title. Still I could not reconcile the word "Zionitsche" with it, because upon Mt. Zion no such collection can be found as I have described.

But you said in the meeting when I was there that every word was suitable for Mt. Zion. That is easily said if a man has a well smoothed tongue. You will find out otherwise however. . . . I read the whole hymn over again once more and saw the man who was intended and it gave me great sorrow. But I remembered how far the human race depart from God and that man is inclined to idolatry and easily moved to make images to honor himself while the tendency to depart from the true way is born in him.

I determined then to write to you and ask you whether you had not seen or read this piece or had not considered what a dreadful production it is; to say that without serious difficulty it can still be taken out and in its place something to the honor of God, or for the good of weak souls can be put in; . . . and to ask you whether on the other hand it was done according to your wish and inclination. . . . The angel struck not the unwitting people because they were inclined to idolatry but him who accepted the godly honor. Already you suffer yourself to be called "Father." . . . You are the greatest God in the community. . . . And did you not the other day in the meeting significantly and at great length speak of this idolatry? . . . And now will they with full throats sing:

"Sehet, sehet, sehet an!
Sehet, sehet an den mann!
Der von Gott erhöhet ist
Der ist unser Herr und Christ."

(Translation)

"Look, look, look!
Look, look upon the man!
He is exalted by God,
He is our Lord and Christ."

. . . There is nothing more to say except that, with the permission of Brother Micheal, I should like, if I might, to take out this one hymn and put another in its place because it concerns the honor of God. It is easy to see that I have no earthly concern in it and that the influence of no man's interest has anything to do with it. . . . I am sure that a thousand pounds would not persuade me to print such a one, for the reason that it leads the easy way to idolatry. If it were my paper it would have been already burned. With such disposition of the matter for my own part I can be at peace. God will find a way to protect His honor. As to the rest, I love thee still.

LETTER

From Beissel to Sower

In some respects the subject is entirely too bad for me to have anything to do with it, since it has been written: "Answer not a fool according to his folly, least thou also be like him." "Answer a fool according to his folly, least he be wise in his own conceit." This is the reason that I have been moved and thou needest not think that thou hast made a point. But that I should be like unto thee from having to do with thee will not happen, since we already before made the mistake of having too much to do with thee. Thou wast not fit for our community. Therein also was fulfilled what has been written: "As he that taketh away a garment in cold weather, and as vinegar upon niter, so is he that singeth songs to an heavy heart."

If thou hadst not always acted in this way it might perhaps have been thought that there was some reason for it, but since thy whole heart is always ready to blame what is above thy conceited sophist-Heaven, it is no wonder that thou comest now puffed up with such foolish and desperate conceit; through which thou layest thyself so bare that any one who has only ordinary eyes can see that thou art indeed a miserable sophist. If thou hadst only learned natural morality thou wouldst not have been so puffed up. A wise man does not strive to master or to describe a cause of which he has neither comprehension or experience, but it is otherwise with a fool. Thou ought first to go to school and learn the lowly and despised way of the cross of Jesus before thou imaginest thyself to be a master. Enough for thee. This may inform thee that henceforth I will have nothing to do with thy two-sided, double-hearted, odious and half-hypocritical pretensions of godliness, since thy heart is not clean before God, otherwise thou wouldst walk upright in the way and go not to the crooked way thou dost.

One almost springs aloft when he sees how shamefully the name of God is misused. The world sings its little song and dances straight and without hesitation to hell, and covers it over with the name of God so that the deception and wickedness may not be seen. Believe me, thy way is sure to come before God, thy juggling tricks and spiritual slight of hand which thou, from the natural stars and not in the true fear of God, hast learned will come to judgment. And I say unto thee as the word of truth that if thou dost not make atonement and change thy heart thou mayest expect a wrathful and terrible God, since the Lord is hostile to all that is double-faced and false. Indeed, the paths that lead from thee run through one another so wonderfully that the wonder is that God does not punish it at once as He did the rebellious pack,—Korah, Dathan and Abiram.

Thou hast also in thy letter to me said that a fire burned in thy breast over this or that. It would be a good thing if that fire, if there is one, should consume thee until there should nothing remain but a soft and sweet spring of water in which thy heart might be mollified to true repentance. Then indeed couldst thou for the first time learn to know rightly what is from God and what is from nature, what from God and what from the stars in the heavens. . . .

As concerning those other things in which one man has to do with another it has also come to an end. Further and lastly it is my determination to remain as I have said above. I am so tired of the untruth of men that if I were not under the greatest necessity, if God did not plainly intend

and it were not His will that I must be needed for the cause of conscience I would rather be dismissed into the still everlasting. On that account I would have prayed that I might henceforth be spared from such defamation, but should it give pleasure to load me with more of it I shall bear myself as one who knows not that there are such things in the world. I will at the last be separated from all and will no further participate pro or con. Still will I in some measure continue my writing and do it again if circumstances require it.

What I have still further to say is this: that henceforth all right over my person shall be taken entirely out of thy hands, since thou for many years hast gone to work so wonderfully about it as if thou hast bought it for a sum of money in order to do with it according to thy pleasure. Thou must not think that one is blind and foolish and dost not see what thou hast in mind. It does not even please me that I could write German to thee, since thy envy and falsehood are so great that it is not easy to measure them. Therefore I consider thee entirely unfit to be a judge in Godly affairs, and for this reason I have little or nothing more to answer to thy letter. Thou hast no experience in the way of God, for thou all the time walkest thine own way.

Sower's Comment

We have now heard a voice, whether it came from Mt. Zion or Mount Sinai may those judge who know the difference. I am inclined to make a comment upon each word but every one may make his own as he chooses. I wish him only the soft sweet spring of water which he needs instead of the fiery zeal of Sinai. Otherwise when he goes forth soon will he make fire fall from heaven, which we always hear crackle in his letter, and do signs and wonders. If I had thought he would take the trouble to describe my propensities and his, I should have sent him a great register of the old Adam in me which I could describe much better than he. Since I for a long time have besought God to enable me thoroughly to discern their enormity, and since I have found so much to do with myself I am ready to say the simple truth so that man need not to be disturbed about me. And this is the reason for my long silence, and also for my seldom thinking of his person, not that it is too bad for me, but it can neither aid nor hinder me. If I were in such a position as he, to give my natural possession I should need only the princes and powerful who still to a considerable degree have rule over the conceited Sophist-heaven, since they desire so much to rule upon earth and to fasten their throne there. I could also have given him certain information that I have been beloved by spiritual persons who truly were more beautiful and purer than those whom he holds above Christ.

God has also willed it that I for the same time cannot otherwise believe than that all is good to which the same spirit impelled me. I blame not the spirit which impelled him. He is God's creature. I only say: he is not clean, and is still far from the spirit of Christ. I rejoice that he praises God the Lord as all good spirits do, and in that respect I love him. I hate only the untruth which he brings to light and wishes to lay in the hearts of men. . . .

When one approaches him he shows first the complaisance of Jove; when one bends, rises, heeds well he finds his sweetness and lovingness from Venus, his solar understanding and mercurial readiness. If one fails a little he shows the gravity and earnestness of Saturn. If one attacks

only a little his spiritual pride he shows the severity of Mars with thunder and lightning, popely ban, the sword of vengeance and fiery magic. . . .

Therefore I have said, I would counsel no one without higher strength to oppose this Spirit. It is very powerful. He has intruded upon my ethereal past, which has taught me how it goes with others, and now I have need of the support of my Saviour, and to press into the center of love or heart of Jesus where this aqua fortis cannot reach.

It has happened because of his beautiful and well-proportioned nature that he would like to be something great. He looked upon the dumb creatures in their deformity and wanted to bring them to the right. For this purpose he takes to means, method and way which pleased him. So that now all must dance according to his will, and do what through the power of his magic he compels. But I also want to say that I by no means overlook what he has in him which is good, and I freely recognize that he has much that a true Christian cannot be without, and this many innocent people see and they are drawn to him by it. But for myself I can never be attached to him for the reason that I know that his teaching hitherto has been a compound of Moses, Christ, Gichtel and Conrad Beissel. And no one of them complete.

If he had not for the future taken entirely out of my hands all right to his holy person, I could and would have opened up to him the inner ground of his heart a little between him and me alone, but I must now be entirely silent for I am bound hand and foot. It seems to me that during the two weeks which he took to write to me he did not remember Him who suffered an entirely different proposition from sinners who, although it was in the godly image, held it not for a wrong to be like God but lowered Himself and became a man. But this one must be regarded as God, and therefore the little calf should and must remain upon its place. When my Saviour had done a little deed He desired it should be unknown. But to this god we must sing to his folly.

If I had ten hymns in the book and had been requested I would have taken them out, but Conrad is not accustomed to having his will broken. I could have overlooked it in silence out of natural morality and as a printer, but it concerned the love of God that I should not be silent. The spiritual harlotry and idolatry would have been increased and confirmed my support. I would rather die of hunger than earn my bread in such a way. I have, without baptizing myself and letting myself be baptized four times (like him), still not had the freedom to ask of him that he make an officer of me; but I gave myself to Him, as He best knows, as poor clay to be formed in His hand as by a potter, or to be thrown into a corner as clay which is worthless. He has nevertheless appointed me as the least beneath His standard as a sentry to watch my post, a watchword has been given to me which reads "love and humility." . . . I must then fire my piece so that each upon his post may be warned. But since the Commander is not far away He will Himself have a care. To Him only the honor. For me willingly the shame.

LIST OF TITLES

The following list of titles of the hymn books printed on the Sower press, with annotations, will give some idea of the spiritual nature of their contents, as well as of the sincere, conscientious Christian minds and hearts of those who wrote and compiled them.

The first, Zionitische Weyrauchs-Hugel, was begun in the early part of June, 1738, and completed in about one month's time. Exodus 30:34-36 is given as a partial explanation of the peculiar wording of the title.

On the title page are these words: Zionitic Incense Hill or Mountain of Myrrh Wherein there is to be found all sorts of lovely and sweet-scented incense, prepared according to the apothecary art. Consisting of divers workings of effectual love in God-awakened souls, which has developed in many and various lovely hymns. Also herein the last call to the supper of the great God, in various ways is most admirably set forth, for services of those who, in this benighted part of the world, at the setting of the sun, Awakened Church of God, and is given to the light for their encouragement, upon the midnight advent of the bridegroom.

The book proper has a preface of ten pages. To the complete book there is an appendix of 45 pages, containing 38 hymns. The title of the appendix reads: The once withered but now requickened and fruit-bearing rod of Aaron, consisting of an appendix of weighty hymns, fraught with experience; Wherein the steps of God within His sanctuary are circumstantially presented, for the encouragement of the orphans and forsaken in Zion.

Upon the reverse of the title is a quotation from the Song of Solomon, VIII: 6, 7. The majority of the hymns were original with Beissel and his followers; but a number of popular German hymns were included evidently on account of the familiarity of the tunes, if not the associations of the Fatherland.

The mystic cult Weyrauch is but a synonym of gebet, prayer. It was taught that when lighted during supplication the prayer became corporeal and was wafted in fragrant clouds toward heaven. Upon this account the gun was kept exclusively for religious uses. A Hugel, or hillock, also denoted an object held in special veneration by the mystics, as the rising sun first gilded the hill tops when it rose in the east. Thus from time immemorial hills have always been designated as holy ground and became the chosen place for offering sacrifice.

To the adepts the chief line meant more than a mere hill of incense. It typified the volume as a book of prayer, which, if properly used, like the visible fumes of burning incense, go direct to the throne of grace.

Ausbund.—Of this collection at least four editions were printed on the Sower press—1742, 1751, 1752 and 1767. This book was especially popular with the Mennonites, and was extensively used by most of the orthodox Christians for more than two hundred years. It was a large, cumbersome volume. Most of the hymns were long, consisting of biographical details of the martyred Christians. It was first printed in Switzerland, in 1583. It is altogether likely that the Brethren used this book in America.

Das Kleine Dividische Psalterspiel.—This was printed in Germany in 1718. It was also a large and heavy book, containing more than a thousand hymns, many of them also long, but perhaps less personal, and most of them of better quality than those in the Ausbund. This, it seems, was the hymn book used by most of the Brethren congregations when they came to America.

The Psalter.—In many of the European countries the Psalter was the hymn book used for centuries, and we are told that the Brethren used it in their worship. Sower printed a number of editions of this book.

Das Wonderspiel.—This was used for many years by the Dunkers, until they issued one for themselves in 1791.

Bekanthusz Sines Christen.—This was a supplement added to the Ausbund in 1752.

Die Turtel Taube.—1753.

Das Kleine Geistliche Harfe.—A Mennonite hymn book; also *Das Mennonisten Liederbuch.*—1753.

Bekantnusz Sines Christen.—This was a supplement added to the Ausbund in 1752.

Marburger Gesang buch, the first Lutheran hymn book printed in America.—1757, 1759, 1762.

Neu-Eingerichteted Gesang-Buch. This was a hymn book for the Schwenkfelders.—1762.

Neu-Vermenhrt und Vollstandges Gesang-Buch.—1763, 1772.

Vollstandges Marburger Gesang-Buch.—1770, 1774, 1777.

Der Psalter Davids.—1773.

The following were printed on the same press (reconstructed). (See Brumbaugh and Flory histories.)

Vollstandges Marburger Gesang-Buch.—1784.

Erbauliche Lieder Samlung,—a Lutheran hymn book.—1786.

Liebliche und Erbauliche Lieder.—1788.

The Christian's Duty, Exhibited in a Series of Hymns. This was the first really Dunker Hymn Book printed in America. The first edition was printed in 1791, and another in 1825. On the title page of the 1825 edition are these words: Collected from various authors, designed for THE WORSHIP OF GOD, and for the edification of Christians recommended to the serious of all denominations, by the Fraternity of Baptists.

Fourth Edition, Improved
Germantown
Published by John Leibert
Billmeyer, printer
1825

The other two editions were issued at intervals between 1791 and 1825.

Die Kleine Harfe, an appendix to *Das kleine Davidische Psalterspiel,* which ran through the eighth edition before the end of the eighteenth century.

(To be continued)

A STUDY OF THE YEARBOOK OF THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

Chester I. Harley

(Continued from October Number)

CHAPTER VII

An Index of the Yearbook

This chapter is intended to be the most useful part of this study. When J. E. Miller suggested a study of the Yearbook as a possible thesis subject he gave this as one of the primary purposes of such a study. On a card of November 1, 1938, from J. E. Miller he wrote this:

"We have an index of some of the Yearbooks. That should be completed and thus make the Yearbook doubly valuable to future generations."

When I first started indexing the Yearbook I began to include every article of every Yearbook. I soon began to realize this would be a tremendous task. But more than that, there would be much "chaff among the wheat". Many of these articles had titles which suggested history, doctrine, or some subject of special interest when in reality it was only a joke, or something akin to it, or it would be only a few lines long if it were really on the subject. Other articles, such as "Household Hints", "Wife-Poisoning", "Give the Baby a Drink", or "Coach Varnish" would hardly be enough to send a person to his attic to dig out the old "Brethren's Almanac". Realizing these facts, I wrote to J. E. Miller, asking his advice. His reply in part in a letter of March 28, 1939 was as follows:

> "Your good judgment will tell you what to put in and what to leave out. And remember good cooks are good not only because of what they put into their food, but also what they leave out."

I have tried to follow this advice in forming the index. There have been no articles containing doctrine, biography, history, items about the Bible, articles concerning the Church, etc., intentionally omitted. Exceptions may be cited as the Ministerial List, which appeared every year; the almanac, which appeared every year through 1928; and other such bits of information as appear in nearly every recent issue. The member who is interested enough to make inquiry through this index will know enough about the Yearbook to know that these regular features appear anyway. In some cases I have given the first year for the appearance of certain articles, stating that they will be found in certain years which follow.

Before choosing or rejecting any article, I read at least enough of it to know whether or not, in my judgment, it were worth including.

The pages of the Almanacs, beginning with the Pilgrim Almanac in 1873 and continuing through 1890, were not numbered. Therefore I penciled in the numbers at the tops of the pages of the Almanacs here in the Bethany Seminary Library. I began the numbering with the first page after the cover page, just as the other Yearbooks did. Thus by following from page one it will be easy to locate articles in this period.

With these explanations, the following index is listed with the hope that it may enable searchers to easily find valuable articles

which have appeared in the Yearbook from its beginning in 1871 through the year 1939:

BOOK REVIEWS

"Union Now" by Clarence K. Streit. Harper & Bros., 1939, $3.00.

In these times any man who believes he knows the way out of chaos is entitled to a respectful hearing. Clarence K. Streit is an American journalist, a comparatively young man but of unusual experience in European capitals and of long residence at Geneva.

From a most unusual life experience Clarence Streit has reached the conviction that a world union (not a league of nations) is the solution to our world's anarchic condition. And as the book's title indicates the union must be—now.

"Union has been an unexampled success wherever democracies have tried it, regardless of conditions—But history is studded with the failure of leagues, alliances, the balance of power, and isolationism."

The author proposes that ten democracies—the American Union, British Commonwealth of Nations, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland (!!!) unite to form a common government for their people.

"Union and league I use as opposite terms. I divide all organization of inter-state relations into two types, according to whether man or the state is the unit and the equality of the state is, 'the principle it lives by and keeps alive.' I restrict the term union to the former, and the term league to the latter." (p. 5)

"This book holds that the major ills of the world today originate in the assumption among the democrats that their own freedom requires them to organize the relations among the democracies with their state instead of themselves for unit, on the absolutist principle of nationalism instead of the democratic principle of individualism." (p. 171)

"Man's freedom began with men uniting. Both love of kin and love of country have served our species as a means of freeing man by uniting men." (p. 225)

The Union of democracies will start with as many democracies as will join. It is the ultimate goal to include the world. Whenever a national community accepts the basic philosophy that government is to be "of the people, for the people, and by the people" it is ready to join the Nuclear State. Regions which are culturally and politically immature are to be held in a state analogous to the American process of territorial organization until they have matured.

The Union is to have five main rights:—

1. The right to grant citizenship.
2. The right to make peace and war, to negotiate treaties and otherwise deal with the outside world, to raise and maintain a defense force.
3. The right to regulate interstate and foreign trade.
4. The right to coin and issue money, and fix other measures.
5. The right to govern communications.

Outside of these spheres each hitherto independent national state is to continue as before its entrance to the Union.

This great federal republic bears a striking resemblance to the American Republic. Streit sees the world of today in the situation of the American States in the period of the Articles of Confederation. The League of Nations corresponds to the Confederation. The next step is Union—World Union.

Utopian? Yes, but—there is greater solemnity now than there was after Munich when Streit wrote "Only by dying together can we escape this problem of living together, of organizing world government." (p. 169)

It is significant that the British Labor Party has recently declared for a modified national sovereignty—at least in Europe.

As a literary composition the book is uneven in interest. An unusual number of interesting quotations adorn its pages. One is surprised to read from President Grant as of 1873:

"Transport, education, and rapid development of both spiritual and material relationships by means of steam power and the telegraph, all this will make great changes. I am convinced that the Great Framer of the World will so develop it that it becomes one nation, so that armies and navies are no longer necessary."

It has passages of rare insight and genuine eloquence. The chapter on "My Own Road to Union" may well become one of the great narratives of Twentieth Century literature. At other times the style seems to become prosaic and repetitious.

With all its faults the book ought to be required reading for every lover of peace in every land. Here is a man with an idea—a democrat and humanitarian—a man whose basis of reckoning is Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution. It is amazing to think these ancient documents may be something more than clubs to brandish against the Russians.

Perhaps after all we of the generation of the World War have lost our bearings and apostatized. Here is one who calls democrats to repentance and renewed faith.

An organization has grown up in the wake of the book, since it was first published in the U. S. in March, 1939. An association called Interdemocracy Federal Unionists has been launched. Those interested are invited to write to

Union House: 445 West 23rd St., New York, N. Y., from which a monthly bulletin is issued.

Rites and Ordinances and Ground Searching Questions. Being the Writings of Alexander Mack, Sr. Prof. M. A. Stuckey, Ashland, Ohio, 1939, $.40.

Every student of Brethren history is indebted to Prof. Stuckey for bringing out this handy and neat-looking reprint of the Writings of Alexander Mack, Sr.

The text follows the edition of Henry Kurtz and James Quinter issued in 1860. That was a bi-lingual edition and the German has been omitted from Prof. Stuckey's reprinting.

There has been no issue of Mack's writings since 1860, save that as a chapter in Holsinger's History of the Tunkers, the writings were printed.

This then is an opportunity for each student of Brethren history to equip his book shelves with a copy of Mack's Writings at the nominal price of forty cents. Libraries especially ought to be interested, as it is obvious that Mack's Writings are historical source material of prime importance.

Publication was obviously a non-profit affair to Prof. Stuckey and the association which he represents.

The original valuable prefaces of Mack Sr. and Mack Jr. are included as well as the prefaces of 1860. Prof. Stuckey has added a very modest foreword of his own.

The 100-page work is of the size of the present popular pocket-magazine style and is bound in tough art paper in imitation of a handsome leather.

To offer adverse criticisms would be wholly gratuitous and a mere picking of fly specks. Prof. Stuckey deserves unqualified commendation.

There is need in our generation for the Writings of Alexander Mack to be issued with a commentary thereon. But that would be another enterprise. In the meantime, we are glad for this successfully executed project.

—F. E. Mallott.

SCHWARZENAU

Volume I APRIL, 1940 Number Four

CONTENTS

WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

Merlin Estes Garber, A.B. and A.M. of the University of Illinois. A native of Virginia he has attended Bridgewater College. A minister of the Church of the Brethren and a pastor, he serves the Church at Champaign, Ill. He continues his studies at Bethany Biblical Seminary. We anticipate other contributions from his pen in this chosen field of his study.

William Kinsey is well known in circles of the Church of the Brethren. Minister, pastor, college teacher, lecturer, and writer, he lives quietly at New Windsor, Md. It is anticipated that a book, from which the poem in this issue is taken. will appear soon.

William Beery made his initial appearance in the pages of Schwarzenau, in the last issue.

Mr. Gerhard Friedrich is a young German librarian who has been cataloging and annotating German manuscripts and books in the Juniata College Library on a grant from the Carl Schurz Foundation of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

ANNOUNCING

PRIZE ESSAY CONTEST

We have had many enthusiastic words of endorsement. Among our supporters and well-wishers we are especially appreciative of the interest of Mr. Will Judy, President of the Judy Publishing Company of Chicago, Ill. Mr. Judy is President of the Juniata College Alumni Association. Due to Mr. Judy's interest in Dunker history and to his liberal and enthusiastic endorsement of this venture of an historical magazine, we are able to sponsor a writing contest.

We believe this will meet a response among our readers and will interest many beyond the circle of our subscribers. The following will make clear the conditions of this, the first prize essay contest, sponsored by SCHWARZENAU.

I. Essays for publication are solicited on the following subjects:

1. The Dunker Church in Somerset County, Pennsylvania.
2. Dunkers as Publishers.
3. The Contribution of the Brumbaugh Family to the Dunker Church.

II. The essays may vary in length. Ten thousand words is a maximum length.

III. Essays are to be submitted to the Editor of SCHWARZENAU, 3435 W. Van Buren St., Chicago by April 30, 1941.

IV. The merits of all contributions are to be judged by a committee of three. The committee is E. S. Moyer, Assistant Editor, Homer Sanger, a member of the Educational Board of the Church, and Dr. D. W. Kurtz, Pastor of the Church of the Brethren, La-Verne, California.

V. For the best essay submitted on each of the three subjects and published in SCHWARZENAU, Mr. Judy will award a prize of ($25.00) twenty-five dollars.

VI. The directing of the contest and the answering of inquiries is the duty of the Editor of SCHWARZENAU.

EDITORIAL

We are very glad to devote the major part of this number of SCHWARZENAU to the study, "Culture Adaptations in the Church of the Brethren". Prepared and presented to a University faculty, it is not an academic essay merely to fill requirements for a post-graduate degree.

It represents the living interest of the writer in the creation of a brotherhood. We are glad to say that further contributions of the same writer are at hand. We are sure the reading of such a production ought to evoke further contributions on the general subject of creating brotherhood.

Our times call for sustained, critical, and creative thought.

WE SHALL HAVE PEACE

Wm. Kinsey

In boyhood days of yester-age,
My peace was marred betimes;
A heavy hand,—the meted wage,
For my aggressor crimes.
The lightning-flash, the thunder-roll;
The mystery of death,—
Gave me a bayoneted soul
With scars that lingereth.

Both work and play were fettered, too,
With tortures more or less.
The strains, the straits; the ruse, the stew,—
Alike to curse and bless.
The green's expanse, and wooded "proms"
Too oft forbade a pass;
There were, to blight, the bees-nest-bombs,
And skunks with poison gas.

Today, a man am I, with grief,—
With curses still pursued.
The Hell of War, with no relief;—
How long, O Lord, The Rude?
They pale the earth, and cloud the skies,
And shower death with glee:
I dreamed for earth a paradise,—
She's still a Calvary!

How long,—to whom,—and when, and where,—
That "Peace, Good-will to men"?—
When Mine have **Love**, and **dare to dare,**—
To **trust**, and **die**, why then
'Twill come, **That Peace**; and brotherhood
Shall reign from sea to sea,
And midst an Everlasting Good,
No more a Calvary.

THE BRETHREN AND THE BERLEBURG BIBLE

GERHARD FRIEDRICH

The value and success of a religious group are not at all determined by a large membership, but rather by the spiritual influence which those who are members exercise upon their fellow men, and by the reforms they promote and achieve. That the Church of the Brethren has played an important part in the development of printing and book-making in this country, is sufficiently manifested by such names as Christoph Saur and Peter Leibert, famous printers of Germantown during the eighteenth century. We know that in the territory which is now the United States of America, the first Bible in any European language, the first religious periodical, and the first essay on education were published in close connection with the Church of the German Baptist Brethren. But it is still an open question whether, or to what extent, the "Taufers" had been active in this same direction prior to their emigration from Germany. As long as they were living in the Province of Wittgenstein, under the protection of pious and tolerant rulers, there was at least a possibility for them to use the printed word, first as a means to educate themselves, and then also in an effort to reach the hearts and minds of other people.

In the "High-German American Almanac" for the year 1746, when the first edition of Saur's Luther Bible had already made its appearance, Christoph Saur inserted a notice that "Berleburg Bibles, with beautiful interpretations, the 8 parts bound in 4 volumes, are sold by the printer of this almanac for 4 pounds 15 shillings." As if to defend the Berleburg edition, he adds: "Up to the present Satan's companions have been trying to cast suspicion and blame upon it, because it testifies and teaches of Christ and his kingdom." The large folio Bible that Saur refers to in this advertisement is one of the most remarkable editions of all times. Consisting of eight separate parts, it was published successively in 1726, 1728, 1730, 1732, 1735, 1737, 1739, and 1742. The text is a revision of Luther's translation, with comparison of the English and French versions, and with an appendix containing the Apocrypha of both the

Old and New Testaments, the Pseudepigrapha, and the post-apostolic writings. The running exposition, which occupies about four times as much space as the Biblical text, gives the literal, spiritual, and mystical interpretations. Among the religious authors quoted most frequently are Origen (about 186—253 A.D.) and Madame Guyon (1603—1669).

As usual with old books, this voluminous work was issued under an interesting descriptive title. The well-balanced title-page of the first part reads as follows: "The Holy Writ, containing the Old and New Testaments, newly revised and translated after the original tongues: With some explanation of the literal meaning as well as of the most notable parables and prophecies of Christ and his kingdom, and also with some advice as to the state of the churches in these latter days; To which is added an interpretation which sets forth the inner condition of the spiritual life, or the ways and works of God in the soul of man, for its purification, enlightenment, and unification with him. Printed at Berleburg, in the year of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, who is the foundation of the Holy Writ, 1726." In the preface, dated Berleburg, January 19, 1726, the hope is expressed that "the truths which the divine spirit has revealed to so many souls that were fearing the Lord and longing for his light, might be accepted also by others, and lead them to find our Philadelphian Community an open door, through which to get an insight into many mysteries." What the open door and the many mysteries are supposed to look like, is shown by an elaborate frontispiece, inscribed "Die Philadelphische Gemeinde" or "The Philadelphian Community."

Berleburg is a small town in Westphalia, about 25 miles northwest of Marburg-on-the-Lahn, famous German university city. Two centuries ago, Berleburg belonged to the principality of Wittgenstein, which included also the nearby village of Schwarzenau where Alexander Mack and seven others were baptized in the river Eder. In close proximity to these centers of extraordinary religious activity, in the town of Laasphe, Christoph Saur senior was born in 1693. If we consider the fact that the foundation of the Brethren church was a result mainly of careful Bible study, it seems very likely that the new denomination was deeply interested in the preparation and printing of the Berleburg Bible, and perhaps participated in it. Yet only thorough investigation could determine whether or not the

Brethren were responsible for this great enterprise, as Abraham H. Cassel has suggested. Alexander Mack himself is said to have contributed liberally to the funds that were collected for its publication.

Both the editor and the printer of the Berleburg Bible preferred to withhold their names. Only the so-called "Philadelphian Community" is mentioned, and even this term is used in such a way that it is hard to believe it was applied to any distinct church organization. However, it should be remembered that at the close of the seventeenth century a circle of mystics in some parts of England, Holland, and Germany called themselves "The Philadelphian Society for the Advancement of Piety and Divine Philosophy." Their English leaders were a certain Jane Lead (1623—1704) and her adopted son, Francis Lee (1661—1719). We should note also that Philadelphia means Brotherly Love. The Philadelphian Community may have been a group of seekers after truth, more or less pietistic in spirit, undogmatic, and based only on the principle of Christian brotherhood. "Philadelphian Community" and "Church of the Brethren" are somewhat similar designations.

Strange enough, an old German novel throws more light on the history of the Berleburg Bible than our best encyclopedias. Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling (1740—1817), who in his early years felt attracted and inspired by the Philadelphian Community at Berleburg, wrote what he calls "a true history" of the religious separatists of the eighteenth century. It first appeared in 1784—1785, under the title "Theobald oder die Schwaermer." The first translation into English was published at Philadelphia, in 1845, as "Theobald, or the Fanatic". From the rather undistinguished translation by Samuel Schaeffer, I quote a paragraph beginning on page 75:

"The different literary characters who dwelt at Berleburg," Jung-Stilling reports, "were in the frequent habit of holding conferences in the presence of Count Casimir. Haug in one of these conferences brought forward his great plan for their consideration. It was nothing less than to write an entirely new interpretation of the Bible, for the successful completion of which he desired to supply himself with all the mystical dictionaries, and mystical comments extant, and to this great labour he intended to devote his whole life. Every one present professed to feel the value of such a work, since all the commentators of the day were formed according to the language of the schools, and therefore were considered ill-adapted

to the heart; but the great question to be decided was who should defray the expense of printing? None of these men were possessed of the means, and the Count was sagacious enough to see that if he undertook it on his own responsibility it would require his whole income and that of his family, besides involving all his landed property. Still the plan was too important to be altogether abandoned; it was at length resolved that the Berleburg church should assume the responsibility of printing it, that in case the enterprise succeeded, the avails might be in good hands, and in case of failure, the whole church collectively could better sustain the loss than a single individual. The church accordingly took up the plan, and Haug set himself to work. He and his coadjutors had many distinguished acquaintances in various parts of Europe, especially in England and Denmark. Among these were a number of intelligent and excellent men who, as soon as they were apprised of the nature of the plan, cheerfully gave it their approbation and encouragement. He now began to translate and to comment, and as soon as a portion was ready it was sent to his various correspondents for examination and criticism. He afterwards consulted the views of the most eminent mystics upon the various passages, and then proceeded to write all anew. In this manner he laboured unweariedly for upwards of twenty years, and the Berleburg Bible consisting of eight folio volumes was completed, a work, bating all the paradoxical sentiments it contains, unquestionably worthy of a high place in the library of the theologian."

There we have some evidence that it was chiefly Johann Heinrich Haug who projected and undertook the revision of the Bible. He had received a master's degree at Strassburg, and had been expelled from that city by the church authorities for holding a meeting of Philadelphians and other religious separatists. Then he found refuge in the castle of Count Casimir at Berleburg, where he remained until his death in 1753. Haug was much admired by Ernst Christoph Hochmann (1670—1721), who in turn had a great influence upon Alexander Mack, his intimate friend and companion on missionary tours along the Rhine. Jung-Stilling tells that "Hochmann paid Haug a visit, almost immediately after his arrival. When he became acquainted with the vast extent of his learning, he felt so deep a reverence for his person, that he soon began to fancy him to be some great and extraordinary personage. In a short time all his

followers were of the same opinion. Indeed, nearly all the pietists at the commencement of that century firmly believed that the millennial reign of Christ upon earth was even at the door; accordingly every man of talents who espoused their doctrines was regarded as a remarkable character. They therefore supposed that if Haug himself was not a religious reformer, or the Saviour himself, he must at least be his forerunner."

"Haug had a brother by the name of Johann Jakob," Jung-Stilling continues on page 76, "a printer by trade, whom he sent for to establish a printing office at Berleburg. Here books of all sorts which no publisher would ever think of issuing, were printed and scattered broad cast among the people." It is known that at the fair held at Leipzig in the year 1731, Johann Jakob Haug, the Berleburg printer, was represented by several publications. In Ludwig C. Schaefer's Hebrew dictionary, which was issued at Berleburg in 1720, the printer's name is spelled Hauich, and many other Berleburg publications appeared without indicating by whom the presswork was done. One of the fragments now in the Library of Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, contains a detailed account of a lovefeast observed by fifty "inspired" persons. It was held on October 20, probably in the year 1715, and included feet-washing and the Communion.

Alexander Mack's "A Plain View of the Rites and Ordinances of the House of God," and his reply to Eberhard Ludwig Gruber's "Ground-Searching Questions" are alleged to have first been published at Schwarzenau, in 1713. The question arises whether the Schwarzenau press was identical with the press of Johann Jakob Haug at Berleburg, or whether perhaps the early Brethren conducted a printing-office of their own. Whatever the answer may be, one is anxious to learn which books were edited by—or with the help of—the mother congregation in Germany, and what became of the printing establishment when the "New Baptists of Wittgenstein" set out for America. Surprisingly little is known about these aspects in the early history of the Brethren church. When free communication will again be possible with Germany and Holland, a special study ought to be made of the everyday life of Mack and his first followers, of their contact with various individuals and religious bodies, and of their endeavors to influence and inspire their fellow

men by the same media that were used so successfully later in Pennsylvania, namely broadside* and book.

Of the three Berleburg Bibles in the Library of Juniata College, one has frequently been referred to as Christoph Saur's own copy. Suffice it here to point out the enthusiasm, the courage and the diligence with which a group of God-loving men undertook the difficult task of a comprehensive Bible revision and interpretation. After eleven years of indefatigable work, when some subscribers began to express impatience and discontent, the editors published an apology that is well worth quoting: "Yes, some of us have died, but the Bible has remained, and others have come and have taken up the unfinished work in order to complete it. Men are passing away continuously. Does any one think that is reason enough to cut short an important enterprise?"

*A broadside is a sheet of paper printed on one side only.

HYMNODY OF THE BRETHREN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

William Beery

(Continued from the January Number)

HYMN WRITERS OF THE CENTURY

Among the leaders of the Church of the Brethren in the 18th century were a number of gifted writers of both prose and poetry. Only those who wrote hymns will be mentioned here.

Peter Becker,—the first to organize a group of Brethren families to sail for America, was born in 1687. He was baptized in the Creyfelt congregation in 1714. Not long after he was elected to the ministry. In 1719 he organized a group of twenty families who were the first contingent of Brethren to cross the briny deep and take up their abode in the wilds of Pennsylvania. As the records have it, he was skilled as a musician, and generally led the singing at the Germantown meetings. He was not a literary man, but wrote letters, and occasionally a hymn.

One of his hymns was printed in the second edition of Das Kleine Dividsche Psalterspiel. The following three stanzas will give some idea of its content:

Thou, poor pilgrim, wander'st here
In this vale of gloom,
Seeking, longing evermore
For that joyous home;
Yet many friends oppose thee here
So that now thou weepest more,—
Patience.

10.

Patient was the love of Christ
Throughout His blessed life;
This in sincerity He showed
In every hostile strife.
As patient as a lamb was He
That died upon the sacred tree.
Patience.

Ah, precious soul, take courage new,
All this will have an end;
The cross's load will grace renew;
Soon blissful rest shalt find.
The sorrow of this fleeting time
Is worthy of a joy divine.
Patience.

John Naas came from North Germany. He was physically strong and intellectually brilliant, and became a strong leader in the church in Germany. Soon after joining the church he was put in the ministry.

In 1715 Creyfelt, where Naas held membership, was under the control of the king of Prussia. The country was being canvassed by recruiting officers for the army. The king was especially anxious to secure tall, strong men for his body guard. Naas was a head taller than any other man in the community. He was seized and urged to enlist, but he refused on the ground of conscientious scruples. The horrible tortures that followed did not cause him to consent. They had him hanging in the air with a rope attached to his left thumb and his right great toe, until they feared they might kill him, when they finally cut him down.

To the question by the king why he refused to enlist he answered: "Because I cannot as I have long ago enlisted in the noblest and best army; and I cannot become a traitor to my King." "And who is your captain?" asked the king. "My Captain is the great Prince Emmanuel, our Lord Jesus Christ. I have espoused His cause, and cannot and will not forsake Him." "Neither then will I

ask you to do so," answered the king, the noble ruler, handing him a gold coin as a reward for his fidelity. The king then released him.

In 1723 Naas came to America and was warmly welcomed by Alexander Mack upon his arrival at Germantown. Following are three stanzas out of the seventeen of one of his poems, which will give an insight into his mind and heart:

Saviour of my soul,
Grant that I may choose
Thee and Thy cross in this life,
And surrender myself wholly to Thee.
Grant that I may choose this
Saviour of my soul.

O Jesus, look within,
That Thy Spirit alone
May now rule my entire life,
Glad to go with Thee into death,
Because the time is passing
And nothing shall endure.

Lord Thou hast the power,
Vindicate Thy honor.
Most precious, Jesus Christ,
It has indeed cost Thy blood,
Lord, it lies in Thee.

Christopher Sower, Jr., was three years old when the family came to America. When he was ten his father sent him to a school conducted by Christopher Dock, a rather whimsical pedagogue, but a thorough scholar and a good teacher. Here young Sower laid the foundation of his English scholarship. Later, when his father needed some one to take charge of the English department of his publishing interests he put the young man at the head of it. At the age of fifteen he was baptized into the Church of the Brethren. In 1745 he was elected to the ministry, and in 1753, ordained to the eldership. He and Alexander Mack, Jr., were elected to the ministry at the same time, and these two young men were given charge of the Germantown congregation.

After his father's death Christopher, Jr., became the owner and controler of the parental possessions and business, which, under his wise directions, grew and developed. But there was trouble ahead. Under an ordinance passed by the Pennsylvania government June 13, 1777, all citizens were required to revoke their allegiance to the king of England and transfer it by oath to the government of

Pennsylvania. This he could not conscientiously do. Upon his refusal he was arrested and outrageously treated until discharged by General Washington. But soon all his belongings were confiscated and sold.

Young Sower was a prolific writer of prose, and once in a while a poem came from his loving heart. In 1788 Peter Leibert, who purchased the Sower press, published a booklet of verse in which one of Sower's poems was included. The first and last stanzas of this poem follow:

Christians here themselves must plant
In the cross's narrow way;
They must suffer, toil, lament,
Rising to the heavenly day;
Who with Jesus hopes to be
Must gain Him through the bloody tree;
Those who win the laurels there
Here a crown of thorns must wear.

Glory to my soul and praise!
Hail to God, His patience see,
Which in many wondrous ways
Has shown to me His clemency.
Let His goodness lead me on,
Trusting in His love divine
Let His grace not from me wend
Until I reach my destined end.

Alexander Mack, Jr.,—the youngest son of the founder of the Church of the Brethren, was born at Schwarzenau in 1712. He was the most prolific writer of poetry of them all. He was twelve years old when the family came to America. The death of his father in 1735 cast a gloom over the young man. Surrounded by mystical influences he began to yield to strange doctrines promulgated by Conrad Beissel and others. For some time he was associated with Beissel, the Eckerlings and others, sharing with them some very unpleasant experiences. In 1748 he returned to Germantown. The members there had not lost confidence in him, and on June 7th of that year he was elected to the ministry, and in 1753 ordained to the eldership.

In 1912 the Brethren Publishing House issued a volume of his poems, entitled "The Religious Poetry of Alexander Mack, Jr." This was edited and compiled by Samuel P. Heckman, of New York City. It contains 268 pages, consisting of upwards of thirty poems,

a number of them quite lengthy. Two of the shorter poems are here given; the first is a hymn written by Mack as a tribute to the worth of his fellow worker, Christopher Sower, Jr., which was sung at the funeral. This hymn is found in the Psalterspeil:

1. Now breaks the earthly house entwain,
Now can this mortal frame decay;
The pilgrimage is brought to end
Now can the spirit fly away,
Through Jesus was the victory won.

2. Now unto Jesus will I go,
Who died for me as mortals die;
And found for me, through pain and woe,
A place of refuge in the sky,
He has for me a better house,
In store prepared above the sky.

Speak not of others' worthiness,
But only of what Christ has done;
The world, with all its vanities,
Can never save a single one.
Redemption has appeared to men
Through Jesus' grief and dying pain.

In a small book of what the publisher, Peter Leibert, calls "Beautiful and edifying songs," entitled, "Ethliche Liebliche und Erhaulichen Lieder," the first is the following:

Jesus Christ the Son of God,
May praise and honor be given to Thee.
Who sittest upon the throne
Round which thousands of angels hover.
The number of which holy watchers
Is counted into ten thousands.

O Lord, bless Thou the church
Which Thou hast bought with Thy blood.
Let Thy blessings come to us, O Lord,
Thou who hast died for us,
For Thou hast made us Thy choice
And numbered us with Thy people.

O Lord, guard the conditions and standing
Of Thy flock, Thine own members,
Reveal Thyself to them aright,
And collect them soon again.
In the name of Thy might
Give to them the strength of knights.

Lord lift up Thy holy face!
Give to us Thy divine peace
And let the light of Thine eyes
Shine always in their midst,
Lead Thy lambs in and out
Faithful in person.
Amen.

The accompanying paraphrase of the above hymn in regular rhythm and rhyme, is by William Beery, also set to music by him, of which a plate was secured by the Brethren Publishing House.

Jesus Christ, Thou Son of Love,
Honor, praise to Thee belong;
Sitting on Thy throne above,
'Round Thee hov'ring angels throng.
Numbering ten thousand, yes,
A winged legion numberless.

Bless Thy church, O dearest Lord,
Purchased by Thy precious blood;
Bless us with Thy gracious Word,
Thou who died for us as God;
For us Thou hast made a choice,
With Thy people to rejoice.

Guard and keep Thy flock as Thine,
Thine own members of Thy fold;
Show Thyself to them benign;
Gather soon again and hold
Thy dear children in Thy might;
Give to them the strength of knight.

Lord, lift up Thy holy face.
Give to us Thy peace divine;
Be Thy light in ev'ry place,
Always in our midst to shine.
Keep Thy lambs from all alarms;
Lead them, hold them in Thine arms.

These poems, by Alexander Mack, Jr., were originally printed in the German language, of which Dr. Heckman made a free translation, and says: "No attempt was made to preserve the meter or the thyme in the translation."

TUNES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Concerning the tunes the Brethren used in their services in the eighteenth century very little can be said with certainty. It is said that the first melodies used by the Dunker Brethren and the Sabbatarians consisted chiefly of the severe German chorals. These peculiar psalm tunes which came into use after the Reformation were not set in harmony, but were sung in unison, and were originally adopted by the Genevan authorities so as to get away as far as possible from Rome.

Up to the thirteenth century the music of the church was homophomous (in unison). The psalms were chanted. The origin of chorus music, it may be assumed, appeared in the ritualistic worship of the Hebrews. We can readily understand that these psalm chants of the Hebrews were carried into the Christian church. Also, the Hebrew songs were nonmetrical, as also are the hymns in the early hymn books printed by Christopher Sower.

As to the manner in which the Brethren at Germantown and the newly organized congregations roundabout conducted their song service no explanation seems to be available. Let us hope that their singing was not, at least, as bad as that of the New England Puritans at about the same time; of which the Rev. Thomas Walter says: "In some churches the tunes are tortured and twisted and quavered into a medley of horrid and discordant noises, until the singing often sounds like five hundred different tunes roared out at the same time."

We do not know that in the Germantown congregation there were leaders of ability; but the probability is that in the outlying churches they were not all so fortunate. Being located in the wilds of the country the opportunity to get help in that line was certainly not favorable. In the first place there was a lack of means of transportation, and good roads there were none, so that it was next to impossible for them to secure help from musicians in Germantown or Philadelphia, or for any of them to go where they might get instruction and training. It would be interesting to know the tunes they used; whether they chanted, sang in unison or polyphonically. It would perhaps be a safe guess that they did not sing in parts, though long before that time tunes were harmonized.

(To be continued)

CULTURE ADAPTATIONS IN THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

MERLIN E. GARBER

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study attempts to give an analysis and interpretation of a rather unique culture group, commonly known as the "Brethren." The term "Brethren" is relatively recent in the history of this sect, inasmuch as the label has evolved along with other aspects of the social organization, and reflects an internal adjustment in its scheme of life to the impersonal, environing societal system. In the early years of its organization the group was referred to by various appellations. Because some of the persons concerned had practiced Pietism before affiliating with this body, the new group likewise was called Pietist. Also because of the opposition to infant baptism, they were known as Anabaptist. However neither of these terms was correctly applied to this group. Its members were neither Pietist nor Anabaptist. They left the Pietist movement just as the Pietist before them had withdrawn from the state religions. They were not Anabaptist, for Mack and his followers could not accept what they regarded as "excesses" of this religious body. Nevertheless these general terms were applied to them until some specific and characteristic name had been devised. Such a descriptive symbolic label grew out of their distinctive interpretation of baptism. Baptism by immersion was common, but trine baptism (that is immersion three times forward, "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost"[1]), was unusual. Because of this ritual they came to be called *Taufers,* a word which was derived from the German "toufen," meaning to baptize, or to christen. Although such a descriptive name would seem to apply to all who baptize, this characterization came to be applied only to this particular group so far as the writer has been able to ascertain. These people were also called *Domphelaers,* a term meaning "dippers." Later they came to be known as *Tunkers,* from the German "tunken" meaning to dip. *Tunkers* evolved into Dunkers, a name that was most commonly ap-

1. Matthew 28:19.

plied to this group in America. The name Dunkers became vulgarized into Dunkards. This vulgarized form existed even after the term has lost its disparaging connotation. However the semi-official name, which they originally chose for themselves was "German Baptist Brethren," and such it remained until 1908 when the name officially adopted was the "Church of the Brethren." In this manuscript the official name "Church of the Brethren" is used to refer to the denomination and the term "Brethren" is used in reference to the members. Wherever any of the other appellations are used they will occur in contexts which make clear the reasons for the variations.

The social setting in which the Church of the Brethren arose was typical of the inception of many, if not most, socio-religious or sectarian groups. Like all other sects, it shared in the unrest and realignments of the great movement of thought and social relations following the reformation and its accompanying conflicts. Thus the setting for its origin is to be sought in the upheavals of European mental and social life occasioned by a clash of values and the forming of new values and social structures as a result of these very upheavals. The reformation in Germany came about primarily because of the position held by men such as Peter Abelard, pupil of William of Champeaux, Erasmus, and Martin Luther. It was their conviction that the foundation of a true religion should be reason instead of religious dogma. This principle that religion must be an appeal to the individual's reason eventually led to the establishment of competing sectarian systems; which at first were approximately represented by the labels Lutheran, Reformed, and Catholic. In time these three enjoyed the protection of the state. Germany of the post-reformed period was made up of provinces, each ruled over by a lord. It was within the discretion of the lord to choose which of these three churches should be recognized within his province. Once a particular church was established, an active program of persecution was aimed at all dissenters and those who did not conform found themselves the victims of intolerance. It has been pointed out by writers of particular denominations that their founders were enlightened men. But this distinction was claimed similarly by all of the new or dissenting groups; and, indeed, those who rebelled may have been those intelligent enough to perceive the fallacies and shams of any state-dictated system of dogmas.

There were, happily for the persecuted, a few princes who dared

to rebuff the established churches and give protection to religious and political refugees. Such a prince was Count Heinrich von Wittgenstein. Although his province was somewhat poor and isolated, it did offer temporary freedom for the oppressed. To this province came, among others, Alexander Mack, a man of wealth and with leanings toward the Reformed Church. Unable to accept the views and practices of the established church, he became a Separatist, for which cause he was forced to seek refuge by flight from his native province. He came to the town of Schwarzenau, where he met others who had undergone similar persecutions. Mack became particularly interested in Christopher Hochmann, a Pietist, and student of the University of Halle, with whom he had many things in common, among which was a belief that the ordinances of the church should be derived from the New Testament and that this book, with no other additions or formalized creeds, should be the one basis for church organizations and policy. The contribution of Hochmann to the church was his "Confession of Faith" which served as a guide in the foundation period of the sect. Hochmann, remembering the evils of the other established sects, refrained from all attempts to create a new group. Mack, however, believed that any great concept, to have power, must be embodied in an institution. For this reason, he gathered those of like beliefs around him, and in the year 1708, formally organized what later came to be known as the Church of the Brethren. The tenets of faith adopted were few and simple. They were briefly as follows: (1) Acceptance of the Bible as the only creed; (2) trine immersion in running water as the only form of baptism; and (3) absolute nonresistance or the abstinence from all use of coercive force.[2] Eight pious people, after much prayer and discussion went down to the river Eder and were baptized,—one of the group first baptizing Alexander Mack, and he, in turn baptizing the others. The group therefore began earnestly to propagate its beliefs; and the church at Schwarzenau grew rapidly, until within seven years it had gathered a considerable congregation. Eventually missions were started at such places as Crefeld, Marienborn, and Epstein.

The death of the tolerant prince in 1719 changed conditions in Wittgenstein. On assumption of rule by another prince, the policy

2. Dove, F. D. *Cultural Changes in the Church of the Brethren.* Brethren Publishing House, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 44-45.

of religious freedom was nullified. Persecution drove about two hundred of the members to Crefeld and then on to West Friesland. It was impossible for the Brethren to carry on their organization under such persecution as followed them wherever they moved. As a result, one of two things was bound to occur: either they would be driven out of their native land or else the principles to which they had held so tenaciously would be discarded. They chose the first alternative, and emigrated to America, the land promising freedom and opportunity. In a comparatively few years no Brethren remained in Europe.

Before turning to the development of this sect in America we shall find it worthwhile to note a few cultural conflicts that occurred within the group. The structure of the organization was, of course, not very stable in its early years. Formal control within the group was of necessity rather weak, and some of the internal dissensions that developed within some of the congregations in Europe did as much, if not more to weaken the cohesion of the group than the persecution meted out by their enemies. One illustration is found in the conflict occasioned by the fact that a young minister (Haecker) married a girl who was not of the Brethren faith. For this action he was expelled from the sect. The membership being divided on the issue, severe dissension grew up over the incident. Even the leaders disagreed. It has been estimated that as many as one hundred people withdrew from the sect as a result of the dispute. The incident remained a bone of contention even after emigration to America began. Later, Christian Libe, the leader in the protest against Haecker, became a wine merchant, and, in direct violation of his own principles, married a woman who was not a member of this sect.

Although the groundwork of the organization of the Brethren was laid in Europe, the greater part of its life has been in America. In the year 1683 a colony of thirteen German immigrants settled in Pennsylvania and founded the village of Germantown. They were not of the Brethren faith, but were for the most part Mennonites. Of these thirteen people, eleven were from Crefeld; they sent back to the townspeople, and to their friends, reports of this land of opportunity. There is no doubt that the information sent back was overdrawn; and in this propaganda, they were ably assisted by the agents of William Penn. Stirred by these reports and the tension

following the disorganization at Crefeld, a group of some twenty families, one hundred and twenty persons, led by Peter Becker, left Crefeld in 1719 for the voyage to the new and fertile land about which they had heard such glowing reports. They landed at Philadelphia and went to Germantown where the original group of colonists from Crefeld had settled.

It is reported that on the voyage, agitation over the Haecker case arose. This lack of accord is also reflected in the fact that these emigres did not settle compactly, as one would assume; nor did they have collective worship. It was not until 1723, when Peter Becker made a personal tour among these people, that interest in group worship was expressed. There was no real social organization among the Brethren prior to this time. They thought of themselves as members of the home Church at Crefeld, but on Christmas Day, 1723, they set up their organization. They elected Peter Becker as their Elder. Completing their elections in the morning, they devoted the afternoon to religious observances and the baptism of six applicants for membership. These were the first converts to the Church in America. After the baptismal service, the members held their first communion or, as the Brethren term it, their love feast. There is probably no ordinance in the Church of the Brethren that makes so much for social unity and harmony within the group as this service. The "foot washing" ceremony, the "holy kiss of Charity" and "the right hand of fellowship," were symbols of identification and non-rivalrous relations, and it may be inferred that these observances inculcated and established effective primary relations and rapport that otherwise could not have been developed.

Once established, the mother church at Germantown manifested great missionary zeal among those who were of like culture origin. On November 7, 1724, a new congregation was organized at Coventry. In November of the same year a third church was organized at Conestoga in Lancaster County. This last named church had as its minister Conrad Beissel, around whom much legendary history has grown. He was a mystic, and was unable to bring his own views into compatibility with those of the Brethren. As a result he broke away from the group and the first internal dissension among the Brethren in America developed. Conrad Beissel built up a strange monastic type of settlement about which various legends developed.

The community thrived as long as its leader lived; after his death some of his followers returned to the Church of the Brethren.

This schism might have been as disastrous to the church in America as had been the one in Europe, had it not been for the arrival of Alexander Mack in 1729 with the majority of the Brethren from Europe. (Those who did not come to America were assimilated into other cultural streams so that this sect lost its identity in Europe.) The movement to America by Mack and his group strengthened the fraternity already established here and supplied the leadership that was necessary to carry on the organization. After the death of Mack there emerged other capable leaders, who led the church during its period of growth in colonial America, among whom were Christopher Sower and his son, Christopher Sower, Jr.

The growth and spatial distribution by half century periods shows the following growth. By the end of 1770 there were twenty congregations and eight hundred members living in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland. By 1825 the membership had doubled despite war and massacre, and the congregations extended to Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky. During the third half century the Brethren pushed on to the Pacific Coast, and by 1882 the members numbered about 58,000.[3] At the turn of the century the communicants numbered something over one hundred thousand members and on September 30, 1935, the statistical report of the church gave the total number of members to be 160,335.[4]

The interpretation of events in the history of the group has been undertaken from various points of view and the application of sociological principles to a study of this denomination is not new. However the approach here attempted has not hitherto been undertaken, as far as the writer is aware. In 1906, John L. Gillin published his doctor's dissertation on *A Sociological Interpretation of the Dunkers*. A case study of the Brethren at South English, Iowa, was made by Ellis L. Kirkpatrick in 1920, in fulfillment of the requirement for a degree of Master of Arts in Sociology, at the University of Kansas. In 1932 F. D. Dove made a study in cultural sociology called *Cultural Changes in the Church of the Brethren,* for his doctor's dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania. These works have supplied valuable help in an understanding of this group from

3. Dove, F. D., *op. cit.*, p. 57.
4. *Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren,* 1936, p. 40.

a cultural point of view; for they portray the life of this socio-religious fraternity from within, the writers being qualified by participation with the group to disclose its characteristic form of organization, values, and spirit. Works other than the above-named, which also deserve to be mentioned in this setting, are M. G. Brumbaugh, *A History of the Brethren,* 1899; H. R. Holsinger, *History of the Dunkers,* 1901; *Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren:* Bi-centennial addresses, 1908; Otho Winger, *History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren,* 1919; *The Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses,* Volume 10, 1899, Part VIII, "The German Baptist Brethren or Dunkers," by George N. Falkenstein.

In addition to these rather general works, there are books dealing with specific phases of the denomination, such as missions, education, and literary activity. These materials serve as a useful secondary source in the preparation of this manuscript. However chief reliance has been placed upon the following primary sources: Minutes of the District Meetings of the Southern District of Illinois, various Yearbooks of the Church of the Brethren, the United States Census Bureau Report of Religious Bodies, 1926, and the Fifteenth Agricultural Census of the United States, 1930. (See Appendix D.) In addition to these published sources, firsthand information was secured through interviews and correspondence with various officials of this denomination.

From a sifting of the available body of materials reporting the changes in the institutional organization during more than two hundred years, these general facts became apparent; namely, the culture of the Brethren is expressed in two ways, first, in its social organization; and, secondly, in the manner of adjustment by the group to the competitive social situation. These two conclusions evolved after a preliminary but detailed investigation of the data at hand, and served as points of departure after they became discernible through the process of deduction.

The techniques of investigation necessarily differed in the analysis of each of the two named facets of the subject. The method of procedure in analysis of the first cultural fact, namely, that the culture of the Brethren group is expressed in its social organization, is as follows: First, the structure of the original group was defined by determining its generic elements. While this particular group

possessed the general characteristics belonging to all socio-religious structures it also contained those elements which differentiated it in name and organization from the so-called denomination life-form. That is, it possessed distinctive characteristics which we shall designate by the term "Brotherhood." Secondly, the structure of this brotherhood was tested by various methods to determine the effect of the environing culture upon it, and the modifications that were made in an attempt to adjust to the impact of this environing culture. The changes in this structure were reflected in several ways such as the discussions concerning social rituals and rules of conduct between the Brethren.

Information on these points was derived from the minutes of church meetings, and descriptions of the management of the Brotherhood. The minutes of the church meetings reflect attempts to resist the encroachment of the larger culture, in as much as these attempts were recorded in queries sent to the governing bodies. Accordingly the Minutes of the District Meetings of Southern Illinois covering a period of forty-one years (1866-1907) were analyzed. All queries relating to social relations were assembled on separate cards. There were 132 queries thus recorded. These queries were then sorted into groups that dealt with the generic elements or aspects of this phase of the problem. These assorted inquiries were then studied, in order to determine the changes occurring within the respective phases of the Brotherhood. The queries that were representative were selected to be embodied in the manuscript, as will be noted in Chapters II and III. In brief, the data indicate that the social structure of the group was undergoing a transformation to the extent that the larger culture was intruding upon it. The characteristics that distinguished this brotherhood became less perceptible and its life organization tended to conform to that of the culture at large. These facts led to the deduction that the Church of the Brethren was no longer a brotherhood but a denomination.

This change in structure was further noted and substantiated in a detailed analysis of the changing forms of mutual aid employed by the Brethren. A study of sixteen institutions of the Church for the care of the dependent was made in a further test of the proposition that the distinctive original qualities of the Church of the Brethren are undergoing such a transformation. Information regarding these homes for dependents was secured from schedules

circulated by correspondence. The questionnaire (See Appendix A) was sent through the offices of the General Boards of the Church of the Brethren, thereby securing authoritative, and, no doubt, accurate information. The replies to the questions were compiled by means of master work-sheets, and subsequently reduced to smaller tables, suitable for use in manuscript. (See Chapter III.)

The second proposition, that the culture of this group is a factor in its adaptation to the competitive environment, is subjected to a detailed test with reference to the adjustment to the land base. This phase of the analysis was prompted by the popular belief that the Brethren live on the richer soil. The method used in testing this hypothesis entailed the following procedure: first, by way of limiting the problem to a manageable volume of detailed work, the project was restricted to include two sample states, namely, Pennsylvania and Illinois. The place of abode of the Brethren by districts, counties, and townships was determined. Each of these areas was subjected to distinctive analyses.

A list of the counties was obtained from the *United States Census Report of Religious Bodies for* 1926. These counties were aggregated and, by use of the items reported in the *Fifteenth Agricultural Census of the United States for* 1930 as a basis, a comparison was made between the vicinal counties and the counties in which the Brethren reside. The data comprised in this comparison pertain to the value per acre of the land and buildings, as well as the size of the farms, respectively of the two classes of counties.

No record of the townships in which the Brethren lived was available from published census reports. However this information was obtained in the following manner. First, a letter was sent to the secretaries of the seven church districts of Pennsylvania and Illinois, requesting information as to the name, location by county, township, and position within the townships, of the churches in their districts. These secretaries responded readily, but the fact that many of the churches were located in the open country made it difficult for them, in some instances, to give the exact locations. Letters were then written to all the local churches whose locations had not been definitely determined by the district secretaries. Finally, the writer, by means of information supplied by the Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren, determined the location of the remaining churches whose township location had not been defined through the other two

methods. The Yearbook records the location of churches by direction and distance (in miles) from designated postal stations by means of which (and the use of a rule and a scaled map showing the minor civil divisions) the desired location was established within an adequate degree of accuracy. The information by townships thus secured, the size and valuations of farm properties were compared on a township basis in the same manner as already described for the county areas.

In order to ascertain the variabilities of these data among the Brethren groups themselves, a breakdown of the data into district units was undertaken. This gave a basis for comparing the Brethren groups with each other, and with the vicinal non-Brethren in the respective districts.

The order of presentation of the material in this manuscript is as follows: Chapter II deals with the Brotherhood as an organization of a value system and personal relations. The modification of this organization as a result of the interaction with the environment is noted. Chapter III discusses mutual aid, charity, and the secularization of Brotherhood relations. Chapter IV is concerned with the question of the adaptation by this culture group to the competitive processes, so far as this may be judged by deviations in the adjustments to the land. Chapter V offers an interpretative summary.

CHAPTER II

The Brotherhood: An Organization of a Value System and Personal Relations

In order to indicate somewhat the outcome of the direction of cultural change in the Church of the Brethren, we may introduce the first phase of our analysis by the hypothesis that this church is no longer a brotherhood. Although the members still use this term when referring to their group, the generic elements which characterize a brotherhood as a system of personal, as over against formal, relationships are in most instances, either barely perceptible or nonexistent. And it is significant that while the members continue to address, and to speak of, one another as brothers, this term has lost its original meaning.

The Church of the Brethren had its origin in the European religious and political conflict during the seventeenth and early part of

the eighteenth centuries. This conflict gave rise to various social movements, out of which arose characteristic institutions, each seeking to formulate a philosophy of life and a method of social organization. Such institutions are formed because conflict fails to dissolve the difficulties over which it arises, thereby giving occasion for a social movement, which, when once it has assumed a formal structure, may be delegated to a secretariat or some other permanent functionary. This explains the large number of groups that grew out of the Reformation and Pietistic era. These groups were regarded as radical, not because they attempted to create a new political order, but because they were seeking to formulate a new life policy. This new "way of life" as it is usually called, was in keeping with a religious view of values, rather than with the generally prevailing competitive and pecuniary valuations that existed simultaneously. In order for these groups to effect and maintain a distinctive "way of life," a degree of voluntary or enforced isolation from contradictory patterns is essential. Indeed it seems that sectarian groups ultimately depend for survival upon isolation devices, whereby contacts are regulated and ingroup values are emphasized. Only in this way can a distinctive system of values be maintained in the midst of alluring competing schematizations of life. Among such isolation devices employed by the Brethren are the mode of settlement on the land, distinctive attire, and especially, creeds and rituals that set the adherents apart from the "world" in an effort to emphasize the chosen values.

The isolation so produced has unintended, as well as intended, effects. An example of the first is a degree of individual retardation. The emphasis upon the distinctive values and the regulation of personal contacts also foster the developments of distinctive social types, even though this is not foreseen. The intended effects are its affirmation of a new or distinctive value or system of values and their internalization at least in the members. This becomes apparent when we analyze the characteristics of sects in general. In order to actualize their scheme of life, they separate themselves from the generally prevailing political and social order. When later, competing forces from the "world" begin to operate upon the ingroup, the individuals respond in a way that is consistent with their philosophy of life. Thus in time of war they express their conscientious objection to military conscription and become the objects of sus-

picion and reproach. The pacifist view is characteristic of many of the religious brotherhoods such as the Mennonite, Amish, and Molokan groups. The values that are integrated in the groupal pattern of life are derived from various sources and are not necessarily developed de novo. Some of these are found in cultural inheritance; and the self-induced isolation thus becomes an important instrument in retaining ancient heritages and culture continuity. Other sources of such values are culture borrowing, the most important source to sectarian groups being the Bible. Frequently, if not usually, these groups are literal in their acceptance of Biblical interpretation and application. While the sectarian groups necessarily involve certain distinctive social relations either within or outside the groups they always contain a religious element. This is due to the fact that in formulating a way of life they project their ideals beyond the realms of human experience. Thus in integrating their highest values such groups develop what we shall call a socio-religious *brotherhood,* in contrast to a denomination which, though it is a socio-religious group, is not a brotherhood, but an accommodation group.

The ideal of such a religious brotherhood is unity; and this is the cohesive force that cements or solidifies the group and allays rivalrous and invidious comparisons between the members. "There is social unity wherever there are common, correlated, mutually conditioned activities, ideas, and sentiments, and of course there may be more or less unity in any given organization."[1] The characteristic that distinguishes the brotherhood from other types of social life-forms is that in the attempt to create an intense social unity it tries to prevent disrupting contrasts and personal rivalries. To this end it prescribes for its members what they should do and should not do; in intimate and personal affairs for example, how they may wear their clothes, shave their beards, practice rituals of greeting and adjust their actual or fancied grievances. The following queries sent by the local churches to the District Meeting of the Southern District of Illinois are illustrative of this point:

Query number 4 (1866)

"Do the Brethren understand the word mustaches in article 37 of the last Annual Meeting to mean the beard on the upper lip and above the mouth, and if not, should it not be amended so as to forbid that practice?" Answer:—"In as much as wearing the beard on

1. Lumley, *Principles of Sociology.* McGraw-Hill Book Co. N. Y. C. 1935, p. 132.

the lip is offensive to some members, we recommend to those brethren who claim to be conscientious in this matter that they look well to what their consciences are founded upon, and if they cannot find strict word to base their consciences on, we advise them to cut off the beard for the sake of their brethren according to I Cor. 10:32, 33, and 12:13."

Query number 5 (1880)

"In the minutes of the Annual Meeting of 1866, Article 27, sisters' overcoats are classed with jewelry and other vain things. Shall, therefore, sisters who wear plain cloaks or overcoats, for this act be dealt with according to Math. 18?" Answer:—"No."—Query Sent to annual Meeting as a higher authority.

Query number 12 (1887)

"We the Sugar Creek Church ask the District Meeting to decide that it is not consistent for the brethren to allow other people to decorate with flowers the dead of our members and their children." Answer:—"We entirely disapprove of the vain and useless custom of decorating the dead."

These examples serve to illustrate not only the attempt to create unity, but also the dilemma involved in trying to maintain it through conformity to external duties. For when the point is laid down that such external conformity is necessary for unity, the attempt to enforce a rule leads to practical difficulties, if not to logical absurdities. Individual desires (and at times even the demands of an entire local congregation) are subordinated in order to maintain uniformity of belief and practice.

The foregoing passages imply a distinction in types of groups. This becomes clear when we compare associations known as religious brotherhoods, with those known as denominations. Whereas both of these types of groups have characteristics of associations, they differ essentially in that a religious brotherhood concerns itself, theoretically at least, with all of the elements that constitute the sphere of normal living, subordinating them to the religious scale of values. A denomination, however, concerns itself primarily with the existing culture and prevalent scale of values.

The generic elements that form a religious brotherhood are manifestations of the central idea of its unity. These elements may be briefly characterized under the following four topics. First of all there is *social self-sufficiency*. This is true not only with reference

to self-government, insofar as no external system is imposed upon it, but also with reference to mutual aid. The brotherhood considers it a disgrace to have any of its members provided for by an outside agency, such as in public relief. *Homogeneity* is another evidence of unity. The behavior of the members displays a high degree of uniformity. There is also *equality* and *solidarity*. Thus there is no ranking difference based on personal rivalry, although there is an order based on the central values of the group, such as sanctity or functional efficiency in promoting the objectives of the group, interpreting its past and pointing out its course of endeavor. *Social control,* in which the personal feelings and group opinion, rather than a system of fixed rules and regulations, are guides in arbitration, may be mentioned as the fourth characteristic of the brotherhood.

The unity of the brotherhood is generally maintained by a constant reaffirmation and direction of attention upon this ideal. Still other elements contributing to group unity should be mentioned. These are not dissimilar to the isolation devices but are additional forces that make for persistence of the social unity in spite of shifting population. The first is continued residence in the proximity of the culture group. This rural abode and settlement within the cultural community—within the group's land base—alone does not guarantee unity, but is an element in that it is an essential point of attachment to a stable group life. A second element is physiological coherence of members through successive generations. Because this is so important the brotherhood excludes those who enter into exogamous marriages in order to maintain its ideal. A third means of maintaining unity is the objectification of the coherence of the group by means of utilitarian and symbolic culture traits. These three elements, relation to the land base, blood unity and objectified culture traits, are suggestive of the means whereby unity of the group is effected and maintained.

In order to determine whether any life form is of the brotherhood type it is necessary to analyze the group with reference to the generic elements that characterize this relationship. Four aspects of the Church of the Brethren will be analyzed briefly in this chapter, namely: leadership, membership, social control, and the focus of church attention.

That the Church of the Brethren is no longer a brotherhood will become apparent from the ensuing contrasts of these four phases

of the structure as found in a brotherhood and in other types of socio-religious associations. This comparison does not imply that the Brethren do not, in the abstract, hold to the original values, but rather that the erstwhile brotherhood has acquired characteristics of organization of a denomination.

The generic element of equality in a brotherhood was expressed in many ways. Among these was opposition to elevated pulpits in order that every member might be on the same level symbolically. When a change in these attitudes began the incipient encroachments were reflected in queries directed to the church counsellors. This query, number 5 of the District Meeting of 1873, was in reference to this hierarchization of the membership. "Would it not be better, and nearer the gospel and our profession, to have no stand or platform elevated at the place of holding our Annual Meeting for the committee brethren and others of the meeting to sit and stand upon during the time of council?" Answer: "It is best to have no stand or platform in the Annual Council." Referred to the Annual Meeting for confirmation.

1. In the *leadership* of a brotherhood as in other groups, the dominant individuals personify the chief values of the group. The leader incorporates group values in his own life; he is not chosen because of his ability, as such, but because he more nearly than others has embodied the things for which the group stands. Accordingly status was formerly accorded the leaders to the degree to which they conformed to the rules of the brotherhood. But today the pastor no longer derives prestige from simply being a conformist to group values; instead prestige is granted in accordance with his ability in adjusting to, or competing with, the values currently accepted as the objects of endeavor by other denominations.

The pastor is granted consideration because of his ability to make friends, or to mix with people, or because of his educational achievements and his ability to administrate the affairs of the church in a changing world efficiently. Not only has this been true of the pastor but also the Elder who is the highest official in the Church of the Brethren. This is expressed in a query to the conference asking that only those who conform to the rules be granted the privilege of being on the Standing Committee (the highest honor accorded an Elder). This query reflects the awareness among the Brethren that leadership is losing its symbolic affirmation of the tenets of the

founders. Comparable changes are also occurring in the functions and criteria of status of the deacon and deaconess as attested by the recent opposition to the deacon's life tenure of office.

The earlier leaderships among the brotherhood were not salaried. Their functions were performed along with other vocational activities. Whatever honorarium was given was simply in the form of kind. As the larger culture made its encroachment upon the brotherhood and specialization in economic fields took place, part of the ministry began to be salaried.

This change is reflected in query number 16 of the District Meeting of 1889. "Whereas, our brotherhood has always been opposed to local salaried ministry, what should be done with such brethren, who against all advices are preaching for a stipulated sum?" The answer was deferred by being sent to the Annual Meeting, the highest authority in the Church of the Brethren. The fact that decision upon the question was deferred, might indicate two things: either the question may have been considered of such importance that it was handed to a higher authority, or, the practice of accepting salaries may have been so prevalent that public opinion on the issue was not sufficient to warrant a negative answer. While the Church of the Brethren has been slow to accept the principle of a paid ministry, the increasing number of part-time and full-time salaried ministers attests this change.

2. The changed basis of *membership* of the church of the Brethren is also indicative of the transition from a brotherhood to a denomination. In the brotherhood type of association, an individual was not admitted to the group until he had assimilated the values and symbols of unity relatively well. This involved not only maturation of the young but also inculcation by the young and adult recruits alike. As to the age factor, the individual was not incorporated into the brotherhood until young adulthood. The writer knows of some instances where the individuals were not admitted until they were close to thirty years of age. Such preliminary probation may be supposed to have been favorable to the development of solidarity to the extent, at least, that the delay implied deliberate commitment to the principles involved and resistance to social disorganization. Today the age factor has come to assume less importance, and admittance is made at the indeterminate age of "ac-

countability." There are many evangelists who work primarily with the children and stress church membership at a very early age.

As to the second point, inculcation by process of evangelizing outside adults, a corresponding tread toward denominationalism has taken place. Admittance to the group is not now dependent upon assimilation of the distinctive doctrines and incorporation into a well-knit structure but upon a profession of faith. The absolutistic rules of conduct have broken down and the intrusion of modern dress and customs mark this change in the type of the peculiar association.

The importance of this question of assimilation (acceptance and internalization) of a point of conduct is illustrated by the problems arising over the rules regarding dress. Indeed the question of dress has been a source of cultural conflicts among the Brethren. Owing to the intrusion of modern dress, schisms developed, the church became intolerant and many individuals withdrew altogether. Query number 21 of the Meeting of 1897 reflects this conflict and change from the brotherhood type of society. "Whereas, the established order in the Brethren Church has always been to exact from the applicants for membership, an obligation of promise to transform from the world and to conform to the rules of the church as prescribed in Minute Book page 26, article 8, and page 150, article 63 and 12, also page 155, article 3, and inasmuch as there is prevailing in some localities a strong sentiment that this is a matter of advice, thus declaring that no obligation of promise is to be made or taken with applicants, to conform to the order in dress, we therefore ask Annual Meeting through District Meeting to define said articles and say if it is possible for one applying for membership to declare his agreement with the church as specified, without an obligation of promise? Also whether article 3, page 259, referring to Bro. H— is corroborating those above mentioned." "Answer: Sent to Annual Meeting."

The brotherhood was also non-competitive. There was no rivalry among the Brethren in any aspect that was not open to the entire group. Whatever competition there was between the members was only in those achievements that were open to the whole membership. This meant that hierarchization as to wealth, education, personal achievement, and family repute was lacking in the determination of the status of the members. Probably for like reasons they also

banned secret societies, lodges, and fraternal orders in which membership was restricted and selective. The same principle was made to apply in regard to the holding of public office. Query number 17 of the 1889 conference asks this question: "Is it wrong for a brother to serve in the office of Supervisor?" Answer by the conference—"Yes!" This non-rivalrous trait of the brotherhood is also a thing of the past. Brethren colleges now confer honorary degrees. Members now join fraternal orders as well as clubs; they hold electoral offices and bid for the support of their Brethren. A state governor and several members to congress, as well as more minor officers, have come from this group. Ministers become leaders in civic organizations, and laymen display their wealth. In fact the various methods of gaining status and the devices of participation that characterize the general order of American life are generally accepted among the Brethren.

3. A religious brotherhood claims the unconditional loyalty of the individual. This implies effective *social control,* which is apparent in the arbitration of disputes. Formerly the church of the Brotherhood was not only a house of worship, it was a court of justice. Members were forbidden to go to law, and instead of civil litigation their grievances could be and, indeed would be, aired before the congregation. The decisions handed down in this way were likely to be more effective than those given by the impersonal courts at law. For since unanimity of opinion was characteristic of the brotherhood, public opinion was relatively effective. One dared not rebuff the church for fear of excommunication and a loss of security supplied by the group.

But this form of social control has gone with the passing of the religious sanctions regulating the intra-group relations. This fact is disclosed by an observation of the minutes of Annual Conferences, District Councils, and Local Church Meetings. The following query shows such a breakdown of social control within the group. Although the article refers to the loss of control over the ministry it is indicative of the breakdown of group opinion in other respects as well. "The District Meeting of the Southern District of Illinois to the Standing Committee and Annual Meeting of 1880, greetings: Whereas the General Brotherhood at last Annual Meeting assembled was much aggrieved at the past written articles, as also the then present conduct and appearance of certain ministers in the Brother-

hood, apparently by their action bidding defiance to former decisions of Annual Meeting, (See Minutes, page 357, article 21, and page 416, article 8) thus refusing to hear the Church, we therefore earnestly petition Annual Meeting to appoint a Committee of five orderly and experienced brethren to investigate such matters and deal with such offending ministers at Annual Meeting if present, and if they will not comply with the council of the General Brotherhood, relieve them of the ministry; and if they still continue self-willed and rebellious deal with them according to the 18th chapter of Matthew. If such offenders be not present at Annual Meeting, said committee to be empowered by Annual Meeting to go where such offenders reside and deal with them according to their transgressions; said committee to report their proceedings to the present or following Annual Meeting for confirmation or rejection, a respectable majority of the members present to decide these special cases as in Common Council Meetings; we being confident if these and other important matters must be decided by unanimous consent and that including the transgressors, our Annual Meeting will be of but little use in the future. Therefore we earnestly request the Standing Committee of 1880, to give this matter early attention that the mind of the General Brotherhood may be relieved from its present sad dilemma. The above sent by District Meeting to Standing Committee to be at their disposal."

The queries sent to conference no longer apply to rules of conduct but to church methods and policies. The question of administration techniques has supplanted that of morality and conduct expressive alike of personal relations between the members and of personal preferences in "private questions."

Another form of social control characteristic of the religious brotherhood is visitation by the Elders (or leaders) to the members of the church. This afforded opportunities to the members for reaffirmation of faith and the discussion of love and harmony among the Brethren. These visits thus were a means of social control inasmuch as suggestions and criticisms were in order. However, with the coming of denominationalism the visitations and the ensuing discussions of these topics are rapidly disappearing. Local churches that still maintain the custom of visitations find it ineffective for control, as shown by the fact that today the Brethren often resort to the due processes of law in order to protect their interests. Thus

the brotherhood sanctions have been replaced by the secularized sanctions of legislation.

4. *The focus of attention* of the Church of the Brethren also indicates the direction and character of the changes it is undergoing. Individuation that has come through social change and disorganization has broken down bonds of interest, and secondary relations have been substituted for the personal and primary relations. (Chapter III will analyze the change in mutual aid that has occurred with the change in type of institution.) Whereas the brotherhood was previously concerned with the understanding and relationship between members, today the group sends representatives to Spain to distribute relief to the victims of war. Thousands of dollars are sent to relieve the suffering in China. Missionaries are established in Sweden, Africa, India, and China, and charity and evangelism are directed to those whom the members do not know personally. In other words the focus of church attention has shifted from the individual members to impersonal and casual relations of extraneous peoples.

Changes such as those summed up under the four preceding topics indicate that the brotherhood has broken down under the impact of the larger environing culture. The change from the earlier to the later type of society did not come wilfully. It came in spite of all the techniques of resistance that were accessible; and the Brethren have used most of these. In these tensions and adjustments of the group, can be seen the encroachment of, and conflict with, the dominant culture patterns and value systems and the gradual but decisive breakdown of the brotherhood.

CHAPTER III

Secularization of Mutual Aid

A genuine brotherhood maintains a relatively simple system of co-operation based on personal relationships. Whenever aid becomes complex in its procedures and impersonal in its application, it is evident that the social relations of the group are no longer of the brotherhood type. This is observable in the society of the Brethren, where the denominational form of fraternity has supplanted that of the original sect and certain pronounced changes have taken place in the reciprocities that were customarily rendered. Two facts are apparent in tracing the system of relief that discloses the break-

down of the brotherhood: first, the changes in the form of reciprocities tend to conform to the established social relations of the larger culture; and, second, there is depersonalization of mutual aid, as expressed in the building of old people's homes and the problems arising in the maintenance of these homes under conditions of impersonality.

Among the members in a typical brotherhood aid is usually direct and immediate, even when it is standardized and pre-arranged. Each church or local community cares for its own needy members in ways suited to the circumstances. In some instances the money is given to the poor in their own homes, in other cases the poor make their home with the more well-to-do. Most churches attempted to meet emergencies by establishing a poor fund. The first record of such giving of aid to the poor by this fraternity is supplied by the Germantown (Pa.) congregation poor book. This is the official record of money received and paid out from 1747 to 1807. The following are a few excerpts:

"May 10, 1747. Today the box was emptied and there was in it of contributions 14 shillings. On June 5th Brother Henry Schlingluff, a deacon, was made custodian of the poor fund, and he was charged with 4£, 9s, 3d.

On June 28, the box was emptied.
It had in it 12s.
On July 24, the box was emptied.
It had in it 6s.
On Aug. 23, the box was emptied.
It had in it 6s, 6d.
On Oct. 4, the box was emptied.
It had in it 17s.
Brother Peter Wentz paid 1£, 14s, 6d.
On Nov. 5, the box was emptied.
It had in it 10s.
On Nov. 22, the box was emptied.
On Dec. 25, the box was emptied.
It had in it 10s.
Total receipts for the year 11£, 16s, 3d."[1]

From this it will be seen that the congregation had a box, later two

1. Brumbaugh, M. G., *History of the Brethren.* Brethren Publishing House, p. 171.

boxes, somewhere in the meetinghouse which at this time was the second story of the dwelling of Christopher Saur, an early leader. Into this box the members voluntarily dropped whatever sum they felt free to give to the poor fund. Other Brethren contributed directly to the fund.

It is interesting to note also some of the expenditures taken at random:

"Jan. 12, 1752, To a poor woman whose child burnt itself—7s, 6d.
Nov. 18, 1752, To widows for meal (rye flour)—17s, 6d.
Aug. 29, 1758, For the coffin of Sister Charitas—17s.
Jan. 1, 1759, To Sister Cundis for month of January—12s.
Dec. 2, 1762, For wood for the meeting rooms—13s.
Dec. 7, 1762, To Sister Sophie for 1 cord of wood—1 £, 8s.
July 15, 1763, Paid for the fare of Sister Sophie from Lancaster—16s.
Aug. 6, 1763, Paid for taking Sister Sophie back—15s.
April 17, 1776, To Sister Feith, 5s, in money and some sugar and coffee—7s, 8d."[2]

It may be observed from the above quotation that there was directness and immediacy of relief due to the personal relations between the members. A simple system of co-operation typical of closely knit social groups is essential to a brotherhood. Thus the breakdown of the brotherhood structure is first apparent when private homes were no longer voluntarily made available for the needy. When the members no longer had that personal interest and devotion to each other, the effect of individuation had begun its disintegrative effects.

The expressions of mutual aid based on personal relations in the brotherhood were based on inner identification, backed by religious sanctions. When Alexander Mack and his followers refused to subscribe to a formalized creed and decided to use the Bible as their only guide and standard of life they fell heir to the great number of commands and exhortations to care for the widows, the fatherless, and the aged. Such verses as are found in Deuteronomy 15:7, 8 have been used again and again as a religious sanction to encourage alms-giving in the brotherhood. This Biblical injunction pertains to the assistance of the "brethren within any of thy gates," and it ad-

2. Brumbaugh, M. G., *op. cit.*, p. 171.

vises not only assistance by gifts, but also by lending. However, while assistance was meant especially for those who were solidary with the group, especially needy neighbors of whatever faith were apparently also given help, as the quotations of the preceding paragraphs suggest. Nevertheless, the conclusion that relief was especially of the brotherhood type is disclosed in answers to entries quoted, as well as the language of the Biblical sanctions. This has continued to be the main emphasis throughout the history of the group, for indeed, this is the nature of a brotherhood and, in fact, is the elementary and most effective and suitable method of "charity." However, this primordial expression of identification changed when the Brotherhood as a sectarian group evolved into a denominational type of organization.

Inasmuch as the change was evolutionary, the structural breakdown was gradual rather than immediate, and ways of adjusting ideas and methods were developed by the group to prevent disorganization and a complete loss of solidarity. Accordingly the writer has made an inquiry into this aspect of the Brethren's cultural adaptation. One of these methods of readjustment in mutual aid was to provide custodial or so-called institutional care (in what the Brethren commonly called homes) for the dependent, both young and aged. The plan of building special homes for the dependent seems to have originated in the Germantown congregation. On the eleventh day of August, 1760, a deed of the Pettikoffer house, (property of a deceased member) was issued to four principal men of the Brethren congregation, Alexander Mack, Christopher Sower, Peter Libert, and George Schriber. These four men as trustees on the following day issued a "Declaration of Trust"; in which we find the beginning of the plan of caring for dependents that was later to develop into considerable proportions. The following is a part of the deed that establishes the charitable use to which this dwelling was to be devoted:

"To the use and intents hereinafter mentioned and under conditions and restrictions hereinafter limited and restricted and to no other use or purpose whatsoever, that is to say, one room in the said home to be made use of for a meeting place of the said people living at or near Germantown aforesaid and for such others as the said community may think proper to admit thereto, the which room may be improved or enlarged for the better convenience of the said meet-

ing at the discretion of the said community in such manner as they may think meet. And one room and kitchen of the said messuage to be made use of for a dwelling place for some widow woman of the said society or community to live in rent free and that the said society or community shall and do keep the said Messuage or Tenement and pieces or parcels of land or ground in repair from time to time."[3]

For ten years the conditions of the Declaration were met, one room being used as the place of worship while one room and a kitchen were retained for some widow belonging to the society. Evidence indicates that the congregation grew until the entire home was needed for the services, but rather than waive the second part of the Declaration of trust a new meeting place was built and later dedicated on July 8, 1770. The Pettikoffer house was then set apart as a home for widows. As such, it remained until 1861. It has been asserted, although the contention has never been established, that this was the earliest institutional provision for dependents made by any denomination in America.

Although this first dependents' home was established in 1770, it was not until 1883 that the idea was sufficiently acceptable for a district to establish such an institution as a substitute for the traditional mode of helping the needy. In 1883 at Honey Creek, Indiana, the Southern District of Indiana organized their "Old Folks' Home." Now, in 1938, there are eighteen such institutions. It is interesting to note that eight of these homes were established in the first decade of the twentieth century, five were established prior to 1900, and only three have been established since 1910—the last two being in 1921. This suggests that there is a trend away from the establishing of such homes or that there is no need for more.

Of these eighteen homes listed in the "Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren," information was secured from seventeen. One of these seventeen had ceased to function as an institution, the home and farm having been sold; the care of the needy in that particular district is carried on by other means. Accordingly the analysis which follows pertains to sixteen homes operated by the Brethren, and deals with their nature, location, size and valuation, functioning, and trends.

All but four of the institutions were established for the care of

3. *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society.* Part VIII, p. 123.

the aged. These four were Children's Homes. Thus there are two distinct types of institutions, although their functions at times overlap. This is due to the fact that in some of the homes temporary arrangements are made for the care of a dependent until there is room available in the institution to which the individual should go. For example, in case a district has no children's home a child might be placed in the old people's home until a private home is available or some other adjustment is made. One of the four children's homes had such provision for the temporary care of old folks in its charter. However in some states legislation forbids the housing of the two groups in the same quarters. At present (middle of 1938) these sixteen homes have a total of 413 inmates. Some of these homes are filled to capacity. Several reported thus, "We need more room; we are not able to receive all the applicants." One home, however, reported that the need that was most pressing was for more inmates. This particular home was in a state with a rather small Brethren constituency and served only one district of the state, the other district also maintaining a home. An attempt was made to determine the trend of custodial care of dependents by ascertaining the maximum and minimum number of inmates during the past years. A full report could be gotten from only seven of the homes on this question. Poor record keeping made it impossible to get the complete data. For those reporting, however, the years of the maximum number of inmates are found during 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938. The years of lowest enrollment occurred in the earlier part of the history of the institution. A few showed a slight decrease in inmates during the depression years of 1929 to 1933. However, the sampling here is not adequate to justify any general conclusions.

The sixteen custodial homes are located in the various church districts of the Brethren in the United States. In some instances, one church district maintains a separate home, in other cases two or even three states have combined to maintain a home for their dependent. In keeping with the rural tradition of the Brethren, eight of these homes are strictly rural, while of the remaining number, three are listed as suburban to small cities or towns. Of those listed as urban several stated that a farm was maintained in conjunction with the home.

The properties, as one would expect, vary in size and value. In number of rooms they range from twelve to eighty-two, with an

average of thirty-five rooms for the sixteen homes. In value, they range from as low as $12,000 to as high as $100,000. The total valuation of the fifteen homes that replied to this question was $553,000. It should be noted here that the values given are not truly accurate. For one thing, the properties were not assessed by the same boards. Since they were church properties, and exempt from taxation, many states did not trouble to assess them at all. In some cases the value stated is simply the best judgment of the officers in charge. However the suggested valuations are indicative of the fact that the per capita investment of the Brethren is comparatively large. These facts show the trait in the Brethren culture to care for their own dependents, but it also shows the encroachment of individuation and the imitation of the general culture patterns in the impersonal application of aid in institutions.

We turn now to the important question as to the way these homes are functioning, and the light this throws on the depersonalized relations which have developed in a structure which was once a vital brotherhood. The index used is the financial arrangements of these various institutions.

Financial records give the indication of being well kept and business like. All gave rather accurate accounts of incomes and expenditures. The operating costs, as well as the sources from which these resources were obtained, during 1936 and 1937 were available for all sixteen homes. Surprisingly enough, most of the cost of operation is met by the inmates themselves. Of the 413 inmates reported nearly the middle of 1938, 270 or 65 per cent of them were paying either part or all of their expenses. Also more than half of the actual operating cost was derived from these persons. The total reported cost was $101,586.67 for the year 1937; of this sum $57,116.26 or 56.2 per cent was paid by the inmates themselves. Thus in a sense, they are not charity patients. They do not think of themselves as such nor do the officials in charge regard them as paupers in any sense. In reply to the question, "What is the present number of inmates?", the secretary of one of these institutions replied: "We do not call our people nor think of them as inmates. We call them guests." As far as could be determined through interview with inmates, supervisors, and officials of these custodial homes, there was no distinction in treatment between the paying and the non-paying "guests."

Although all sixteen homes derived a part of the income from the "guests," there are differences in the manner of securing the remainder of the operating costs. The total amount received by the homes in 1937 was $126,137.45 or 19.5 per cent more than was needed for actual operation; of this total amount, $14,561.05 or 11.5 per cent was paid in through church apportionments. Income from the farms, in so far as it was reported, accounted for $16,463.96 or 13.0 per cent. In many instances there was no record of the amount or value of farm produce that was consumed by the homes. If this sum were included, both the income from the farm, and the operating cost would be increased. The income from endowments, amounting to $14,388.33 or 11.4 per cent of the total for 1937, gives us an insight into the amount of money invested in the homes other than in real estate. If we assume the rate of interest to average as much as four per cent, we find the total endowment fund to be approximately $360,000. Those who listed bequests as such, reported a total of $8,200. This constitutes 6.5 per cent of the total income for the year. Special "offerings," such as those collected by Sunday Schools, accounted for $395.73 or about one third of one per cent of the total income. Individual donations amounted to $1,031.65 or .81 per cent. Two homes specified amounts totaling $787.24 or .62 per cent as coming from group, in contrast to the individual donations. The balance of the income, amounting to $13,293.23 or 10.4 per cent, was listed simply as miscellaneous.

Owing to the fact that these homes enjoy the benefit of large endowment funds, and other sources of relatively dependable income, the financial standing seems at first glance to be very secure. Upon analysis, however, the opposite is apparent. Four of the homes listed the most serious problem facing them as financial. Depersonalization with the resulting loss of interest in these charities is quite evident in the support of the institution by the churches. One official of an institution relates, "Our problem is financial, caused by the failure of the district churches to pay their quota. Last year the churches paid in $753.19 on their quota of $5,928.00, or about one eighth of the full amount assessed by the district. An extra good wheat crop at a fair market saved us some embarrassment. But we don't get a crop like that every year. If churches would pay in one half of the assessed quota the home would get along very nicely." The secretary of the Board of Trustees of another institution re-

lates: "We have people who would like to come to the home, who would be charity inmates. When the home was started, that was the object for which it was built. Those who had nothing were accepted; other applicants, if they had some means, gave it to the home. The churches supported the institution through their contributions. The depression came, the churches failed to meet their apportionments, and some of our investments were lost . . . . Since the churches do not pay we can't take them in. Some of the churches are criticizing us because we cannot take them. We feel this is unfair. If the churches would support their home as they once did, then we could do differently. Our problem is to get the churches to see why we cannot take these destitute ones without funds when they think we should."

It is quite evident that in some of the cases, the home, in order to maintain itself, must reject the charity inmates, for whose care it was founded, and receive only those who can pay for part or all of their maintenance. This helps to explain the fact that 65.3 per cent of the inmates are either wholly or partially self-supporting. Thus the system begins to appear not so much a system of benevolence as some form of hotel arrangement for the paying guests, or at best co-operation in mutual aid, for those who contribute labor equivalent to some or all of the cost of their support. Such attempts to adjust to changing conditions supply illustrations of the process of evolution in the social structure, whereby a brotherhood is changed into a denomination; and a plan of fraternal support of dependent members of the group is transformed into a plan of commercialized co-operation or associative individualism.

These custodial homes face other problems than financial ones. Two supervisors expressed the need for hospital facilities; one, especially, cited the need for facilities to care for those who became mentally deficient. One problem facing the homes is that of securing competent directors or superintendents. While many are competent superintendents, others are not. One correspondent states, "A good superintendent and matron are almost indispensable and very hard to get. It's hard to get a man and wife who both have the needed qualifications, such as business judgment, tact, wisdom, patience, ability to co-operate, good health, economy and a brand of good religion, and a capacity for work." Others expressed the same view. All of the homes had a paid superintendent; none had the

renter-manager type of director that was formerly used by certain agencies such as county farms, and that at times resulted in various forms of exploitation.

Deduction concerning the trends of these forms of custodial care, leads to the belief that the children's homes of the Church of the Brethren will soon disappear. All the officers of the children's homes were cognizant of the need of child placement in homes rather than in institutions. Even if the deteriorating effects of institutional care upon the personality of the child were disregarded there is doubt that some of the homes could overcome the problems they face. Various states are enacting laws in regard to child care. Some states require as high as a $10,000 bond for each child; statutes concerning equipment make it almost impossible for the none-too-well financed home to exist. For example, some states require a bathroom for every eight children, and boys and girls cannot use the same facilities. All rooms must have a stand, chair, wardrobe, and dressers, and articles more luxurious than utilitarian. Some states will not permit children to be kept in the old people's institutions, so a separate home must be provided.

Some representative sentiments concerning these children's homes are expressed in the following comments selected from replies to the inquiries sent to the present district officers, leaders, and directors of these Children's Homes: "We are considering seriously doing orphanage work without the institution." "I should not advise any district to provide a children's home. Instead, I think an experienced, if not trained, executive secretary, should be intrusted with the investigation of homes and children's needs and be paid a salary sufficient to give all her time to the work."

From the fact that such ideas and practices in the management of facilities for both the old and young dependents are forming, breakdown of the brotherhood appears to be in process. The individuation characteristic of our present-day society is suggested by the failure of the churches to pay their apportionments. The adjustments made by the home in receiving only paying guests further illustrate the breakdown of the standards of mutual aid customary of the brotherhood structure. The fact that these homes are contemplating other adjustments implies that the reciprocities of relief carried on by the Brethren will probably be left to some impersonal system, such as the government. Many of the church members hold

the opinion that there is no necessity for maintaining a home and duplicating charity since they are legally compelled through taxation to care for the poor of the general population as well. This opinion is not recent. As early as 1893 the Macoupin Creek Church of Southern Illinois asked the district through query number 18 "Whether churches have a right to call on the county for financial aid to help support their poor members?" The religious sanctions to almsgivings have been displaced by legal compulsions as the function of relief has been transferred to the state. Therefore the adoption of the devices of the larger culture shows that the generic type of mutual aid based on personal relations is no longer prominent in the Brethren's scheme of life.

CHAPTER IV

Culture Adaptations and Competition: Relation to the Land Base

The preceding chapters dealt with the Brethren's expression of their distinctive cultural values in their social structure, and the modification of their culture and social structure as a result of the changes growing out of greater complexity, mobility, impersonality, increased interdependency, and decrease of local solidarity and self-sufficiency. This chapter will deal with the manner in which the culture of the Brethren made adjustment to the competitive environment, and specifically, with the way this culture found expression in the relation of this group to the land base.

The peasant experience of the members of the Church of the Brethren and their devotion to a simple life were factors in prompting these people to settle on the land, rather than in urban centers. Settlement in rural areas facilitated their co-operation and encouraged simplicity in their mode of living. Their "way of life" could not have been maintained so readily or so long if the Brethren had settled in urban areas where mobility, impersonality and competitive and complex relations are dominant. This preference for agriculture as a mode of livelihood supplies the occasion to test the hypothesis that the culture of the Brethren prompted them to select the more fertile lands in the areas where they settled. But irrespective as to the conclusions demanded by the data, their culture characteristics will be seen to affect their adjustments to the competitive environment in various other specific ways.

The manner of adjustment to the land base may be spoken of as an example of ecological organization. But this approach nevertheless involves the culture. Indeed, some elements of every culture have reference to the habitat in which the members of a group live. However, it does not follow that the various items of the culture are produced by the habitat nor that they even reflect the habitat; for they may, as in the instance at hand, have been transplanted. In various ways the extent to which the environment has conditioned culture has been misjudged. Indeed, some writers have gone so far as to say that the land entirely determines the culture of those who live upon it. However this is fallacious for two reasons: first, unlike cultures can and do exist in the same environment, and, secondly, like cultures can and do exist in unlike environments.

However, the physical features of the habitat may become involved in the organization and culture of a group in various ways, depending on the manner in which these natural features are instruments or obstacles to a plan of living or of values created by the group. This is the case before us. The habitat in which the Brethren sect arose may have served as a facilitating factor, for this district of Wittgenstein was somewhat isolated by mountains; it was a rough, stony and unfruitful area. These two facts served to make it a place of refuge because it was segregated by these topographical features from the other states that were not so hedged in. The fact that this sect arose in an area of infertile soil indicates that if the members do seek out the better soil this culture trait cannot be ascribed to a direct geographic cause, and the inference that the culture was "caused" by the habitat would lead to the untenable inference that the geographic environment produces logically opposite results. However, the topographical features may affect ease or difficulty of communication under simple conditions of technology and facilities for mobility, and thus through isolation facilitate homogeneity of the stock and of the culture. But the barren habitat cannot be considered the cause even of the emigration; for this was caused by persecution occasioned by a clash of cultures.

In an analyses of this nature it would be pertinent to know the value of the land at the time the Brethren immigrated to America. Thus it could be determined whether the members sought out the richer soil. However, there are no available data on the differences in land values for different areas or sections of Pennsylvania when

the Brethren began their immigration to America. Hence, there is no way of knowing whether they settled on the richer soil at that time. However, there are a few figures available on parcels of land in the area of the early settlement in Pennsylvania. These probably do not reflect prices for areas other than Eastern Pennsylvania, where the value of land was considered high; but they give some indication of price levels that prevailed during several decades.

"About 1717, in Eastern Pennsylvania where land was considered very high in price, the agent of George I quoted it at from 20 to 100 pounds sterling per 100 acres. William Penn offered land to all who would come, at the rate of 100 acres for 40 shillings, a sum which Fiske says was equivalent to between $40 and $50, subject only to the quit rent of one shilling per 100 acres per annum. In 1763, 147 acres of land near Ephrata, Lancaster County, were sold for 66 pounds, 3 shillings, subject to the usual allowance of 6 per cent for roads and highways. In 1732, 500 acres on which Lancaster is now situated, sold for 31 pounds, 10 shillings. In 1717, Penn's commissioners conveyed 400 acres of land in Springtown Manor, Chester County, for 40 pounds. In 1701, Logan sold for Penn 1000 acres in East Jersey for 300 pounds. In his prospectus to settlers and adventurers, Penn set his price at 100 pounds sterling for each 5,000 acres, subject to the quit rent of 1 shilling for each 100 acres per annum. He also offered to give to each master who brought over servants, 50 acres for every servant brought over, when the latter's time had expired with a quit rent of 2 shillings per annum. To those who could not afford to buy land, Penn offered to rent land at a rate of 200 acres, which was the maximum to be rented to any one man, for 1 pence per acre per annum."[1]

In keeping with our hypothesis then, we ask whether the Brethren live today on the richer or the poorer soil. Federal Census reports (See Tables 5, 6, 7, 8) supply information which can be used in making comparisons between this culture group and the general population. These data pertain to the size of farms, the value of land and buildings combined, and the value of each of these items separately. A comparison on each point is made between the counties, townships, and districts in which the congregations of the church of the Brethren are located and the adjacent areas in which none of these congregations are situated. Such a comparison should indicate whether tradi-

1. Gillin, p. 92-93.

tions of the Brethren have found distinctive expression relative to the type of land which they select, and if so, the degree to which this is true. However, if it is found that they live on the more valuable land, there may still be the theoretical possibility that they have improved the land correspondingly.

The first datum to be considered is the farm acreage. In no instance, either in county or township totals, do we find the average size of farms occupied by the Brethren to equal the average for the state or any county or township division with which they are compared. The average number of acres (See Table 1) per farm for the state of Pennsylvania is 89. However, the average size of the farms in those counties in which the Brethren have settled is 85 acres; whereas the average size of farms in the non-Brethren counties is, namely, 95 acres, or 10.1 acres above the average for the Brethren counties. In comparing the corresponding points involving the minor civil divisions (that is, townships) we find that the size of the farms in townships in which the Brethren's Churches are located is 76, as compared with 86 in the other townships in the same counties (namely the non-Brethren townships). In this latter figure we find the non-Brethren close to the state average, an average difference of 3 acres per farm (Table 1).

TABLE I

Farm Acreage and Values in Brethren and Non-Brethren Areas in Pennsylvania and Illinois as of 1930*

Geographic Divisions	Acres per Farm	Per Acre Farm Values: Land and Buildings	Buildings only	Land only	Percent of Land & Buildings Value: Buildings only	Land only
Pennsylvania						
State	89	$ 79	$ 44	$ 35	56%	44%
Counties						
Brethren	85	88	49	39	56	44
Non-Brethren	95	66	37	29	56	44
Townships						
Brethren	76	98	56	41	58	42
Non-Brethren	86	85	47	38	55	45
Illinois						
State	143	109	25	83	23	77
Counties						
Brethren	141	122	28	94	23	77
Non-Brethren	144	103	24	79	23	77
Townships						
Brethren	126	119	35	84	29	71
Non-Brethren	143	123	28	94	23	77

*Fifteenth Agricultural Census Report of the U. S. 1930.

In Illinois a comparable difference is found for here also we see that the Brethren are settled in counties and townships in which the smaller farms prevail, as compared to the remaining counties and townships.

The average number of acres per farm in Illinois is 143, while for the Brethren counties it is 141 and non-Brethren it is 144. It is in the minor civil division that the most marked difference is noticed. Brethren townships contain an average acreage of only 126, as compared to 143 in the non-Brethren townships. The data of both Pennsylvania and Illinois thus force us to conclude that the Brethren have smaller farms than the average in the same areas.

This definite and marked trend of the Brethren to live on the smaller farms gives rise to several important implications. In the agricultural districts of the United States a positive correlation has been found between the size of the farms and the per acre value of the farm lands. In other words, it has been established, as a general proposition, that if culture areas are ignored, in Illinois, the richer the land the larger, on the average, are the farms. (See Table 2).

Such a general, unqualified proposition would imply that the Brethren live on the poorer soil, because the size of their farms is smaller on the average, than that of the vicinal farms. Such an inference is not in keeping with the results of our analysis; for, as it will be shown later, the Brethren as a whole actually live on the richer, or at least the more valuable, land. Therefore, we must look to explanations other than those supplied by a naturalistic, or even a competitive approach such as that implied in the proposition concerning the positive association between the size of farms and the natural fertility of the land.

Among the possible explanations, three stand out as the more plausible. These are as follows: First, there is the possibility that the farms were originally larger but through the passing of the generations, and through the process of inheritance, were broken up into smaller plots. Second, as a hypothetical explanation, it may be that the Brethren, in keeping with an aversion against heavy indebtedness, may have acquired such acreage as they could pay for. Third, an explanation less valid than the foregoing, is intimated by a writer dealing with the early history of this church, to the effect that the early members of the church were not entirely agriculturalists, but had other occupations to supplement their incomes. While they

owned small farms they also were weavers, printers, etc., and this early practice continued for some time; when they turned exclusively to agriculture, they still maintained this practice of owning small farms.

The second of the foregoing explanations seems to be the most plausible in view of the known facts regarding the value of the farm land. These data indicate conclusively either that the Brethren selected the better land, notwithstanding their smaller holdings, or that they improved their land above the average of the vicinal townships and counties, for these units in which the Brethren live are listed at a higher value than the non-Brethren units. With one exception this is true of both the valuations of land and buildings and of each item taken separately.

a. As shown in Table 1, the average valuation of farm land and buildings combined for Pennsylvania is $79, as compared with $88 in the Brethren counties and $66 in the non-Brethren counties. The data of the minor civil divisions further substantiate the pattern. The Brethren townships are valued at $98 per acre as compared with $85 for the non-Brethren townships. In Illinois the state average per acre combined value of land and buildings is $109; while in the Brethren it is $122, and in the non-Brethren counties it is only $103. In the comparisons involving townships we find the first and only exception in the phase of analysis, for while the Brethren townships average $119, the non-Brethren townships average $123. However, this exception is seen to be only partly true; for when the township totals are broken down for the state into districts we find that this deviation obtains only for southern Illinois. (See Table 3). This variation will be commented upon in the discussion of the interregional differentiation. Whether or not we can adequately account for this apparent deviation, it is clear that at least with this exception, our data support the hypothesis that the Brethren live on land which is more valuable owing to natural conditions of the soil or to improvements produced by the owners.

b. In analyzing the ascribed valuations of buildings only, we find that the Pennsylvania value of buildings per acre is $44. In the Brethren counties it is $49, and in the non-Brethren counties it is $37. The comparative townships data also show significant patterns. In the Brethren township the average per acre valuation of buildings is $56 as compared to $47 for the non-Brethren townships. This

same trend is further borne out in an analysis of the same data for Illinois, although the per acre value ascribable to the buildings is relatively very low. Here the state average value of the buildings is $25 per acre as compared to $44 in Pennsylvania. The Brethren counties averaged $28 as compared to $24 for the non-Brethren, while the corresponding townships averages are, respectively $35 and $28. Thus, in both Pennsylvania and Illinois and in all types of tested areas the Brethren areas have a uniformly higher rating in the value of buildings.

TABLE II

Valuation of Farm Realty per Farm and per Acre by Size of Farms, In Illinois 1930 (Based on U. S. Census).*

Type of Farm Realty	Total	Number of Acres Under 20	20-49	50-99
Valuation per acre				
All-Farm Realty	108.68	601.05	150.54	90.00
Land Only	83.24	290.37	94.17	67.63
All Buildings	25.44	310.68	53.36	31.37
Valuation per farm				
All Farm Realty	15,553	5,299	5,125	7,489
Land Only	11,912	2,560	3,206	5,116
All Buildings	3,641	2,739	1,919	2,373
Type of Farm Realty	100-174	Number of Acres 175-499	500-999	1000
Valuation per acre				
All-Farm Realty	104.86	107.56	96.55	102.02
Land Only	78.62	87.14	80.20	86.23
All Buildings	26.24	20.41	95.35	15.82
Valuation per farm				
All-Farm Realty	14,393	27,347	58,537	149,426
Land Only	10,791	22,157	49,135	126,262
All Buildings	3,602	5,190	9,402	23,164

*Adapted from Charles L. Stewart, "The Place of Buildings in Appraising Illinois Farms," **Journal of the American Institute of Real Estate** Appraisers, April, 1935, Table II.

A scrutiny of Table 1 indicates that the relatively low per acre value of the buildings in Illinois is associated with a large average size of farms. Indeed, the same contrasts are found when data pertaining to one of these states are further averaged. In a breakdown of the Illinois data, Stewart finds that the smaller the farm, the greater the valuation for buildings (See Table 2). Thus the conclusion seems to be warranted that the high average per acre valuation of buildings in Pennsylvania, is explained by the smaller size of the farm. This

tendency is further accentuated by the tendency to have smaller average holdings than the vicinal population.[2]

c. The trend in valuations of the land only follows that of the land and buildings. In each instance, with but the one exception, already noted, the Brethren people are settled in areas containing the higher appraisals or valuations of land considered alone. In the Pennsylvania sample, the per acre value of the land alone was $35, whereas the Brethren counties was $39, as compared to $29 per non-Brethren counties. The townships were similar, although less pronounced. The Brethren townships averaged $41 as compared to $38 for the non-Brethren areas.

Illinois exhibits a similar pattern, although it should be noted that the per acre land valuation for Illinois is more than twice that of Pennsylvania. The average per acre value in Illinois is $83, while in the Brethren counties it is $94 and in the non-Brethren counties $79. However the same exception exists here that has already been described in connection with the value of land and buildings. Indeed, it now appears that the land valuation accounts for the exception observed in connection with the comparative value of land and buildings. Whereas the Brethren townships had a valuation of land of only $84 per acre (one dollar per acre over the state average) the non-Brethren townships were $10 per acre higher, or $94. This exception will be explained when divergencies within the group are discussed.

It should be noted that for Illinois there was no instance in either the counties or the minor civil division in which the land is not appraised at a higher figure than for the buildings, while in Pennsylvania the opposite is true. In Pennsylvania there is no instance where the value of the land is quoted at a figure as high as the buildings alone.

2. In this discussion of farm buildings it is worthwhile to refer to Kirkpatrick's comments regarding buildings on the farmsteads of the Brethren. In this study of a typical church, he analyzes 39 farmsteads. Concerning these he writes:

"In general, the farmsteads of the neighborhood were neat and well kept. Barns, and outbuildings showed evidence of upkeep, from the standpoint of both repair and painting. The houses and barns were large. Eight of the 31 farmsteads operated by owners and tenants had two barns, one large and the other medium in size. Barns were well supplemented by other buildings, including cribs, granaries, hog houses, machine sheds, garages, and occasionally a workshop. A number of the farmsteads showed a poor arrangement of buildings with regard to convenience in choring and protection from disagreeable weather. The four county homes occupied by retired farmers compared favorably with all others. Gardens and lawns in connection with these homes were especially well cared for. All of the 39 farmsteads had large lawns which gave evidence of care and attention."

TABLE III

Farm Acreage and Value of Land and Buildings Classified by Church Districts in Selected States

Geographic Divisions	Acres per Farm	Per Acre Farm Value		% of Land & Bldgs. Value	
		Land and Buildings	Buildings only	Land only	Buildings only	Land only
Pennsylvania						
State	89	$ 79	$ 44	$ 35	56%	44%
Districts						
Eastern						
Counties	67	109	68	40	63	37
Brethren Twps.	59	125	83	40	68	32
Non-Brethren	70	104	64	40	61	39
South-Eastern						
Counties	66	210	120	90	57	43
Brethren Twps.	53	178	113	65	63	37
Non-Brethren	68	213	121	93	56	44
Middle						
Counties	112	46	25	21	54	46
Brethren Twps.	106	53	29	24	54	46
Non-Brethren	117	41	22	19	53	47
Western						
Counties	94	69	37	32	59	41
Brethren Twps.	88	77	40	37	52	48
Non-Brethren	95	67	30	30	54	45
Southern						
Counties	82	69	42	28	60	40
Brethren Twps.	75	82	50	32	61	39
Non-Brethren	86	64	38	26	60	40
Illinois						
State	143	109	25	83	23	77
Districts						
Northern						
Counties	140	151	42	108	28	72
Less Cook	153	125	39	87	31	69
Brethren Twps.	133	149	48	101	32	68
Non-Brethren	157	122	37	65	30	70
Southern						
Counties	141	108	22	86	21	79
Brethren Twps.	121	100	26	73	27	73
Non-Brethren	143	109	22	87	20	80

In summing up this section of the chapter, we find then that the Brethren live on farms that are much smaller than the average for the non-Brethren, both in the state as a whole, the counties, and also the minor civil divisions. But while they live on farms that are smaller they also live on the richer land, with but one exception; also the value of their farm buildings is in excess of the buildings of the non-Brethren, in some instances as much as $12 per acre.

As far as the two states are concerned, Illinois has larger farms and higher appraisal valuations for the land, and consequently for the land and buildings, whereas Pennsylvania has smaller farms with smaller valuations per acre in land and thus in land plus buildings also but a greater valuation for buildings alone.

The preceding analysis has been concerned with the comparative data involving county and township units. We turn now to a comparison based upon a breakdown of the same data according to districts. These districts are the "conferences" of the Church of the Brethren. Pennsylvania is divided into five of these districts and Illinois, into two. Although these church districts are solely administrative, nevertheless, with the general exception referred to in the foregoing discussion, and another minor deviation yet to be noted, which was not discernible in the breakdown already reviewed, these districts have the same general pattern as to land value and farm size as those noted in the preceding paragraphs. These new data are set forth in Table 3.

As may be seen by an inspection of these tabulated data, the averages for the districts in each of the sample states show considerable variation as to the size of the land holdings and the per acre value among the Brethren townships. The same two items also vary among the non-Brethren townships in the several districts in a very similar manner.

The explanation of the variations in land holdings and land values may involve both natural and geographic factors. The variations in the average per acre land value in areas large enough to obscure any effects of localized cultural influences are due to the natural conditions of the soil; but the factors that prompt individuals or groups of like capital holdings to select the better land in a given locality are cultural. This is true in the selection of the land, and especially in the investment of wealth in buildings, insomuch as the cultural traits are almost, if not completely, accountable for producing these

variations. This will be seen from the fact that the Brethren areas have higher per acre building values than the neighboring areas under all of the reviewed soil conditions. The cultural factor is also observable in the size of the land holdings. Thus in every comparison by county, townships, and districts, the Brethren areas show a smaller average farm holding than the non-Brethren areas do. Accordingly this fact must be ascribed to variations in ideas pertaining to the adjustment of the mode of living to the land base. Thus when the Brethren exhibit a pattern that is not in keeping with the general schematization of adjustment to the competitive order in which the entire areas under review are involved, this peculiarity of pattern is to be attributed to the distinctive culture characteristics of this group. Such a distinctive pattern is exhibited in the data at hand; for in every district, with but two exceptions, they conform to the unusual plan of seeking out the better soil and living on land-holdings that are smaller than the average of the sampled districts.

The two exceptions to the otherwise general pattern are found in southeastern Pennsylvania and southern Illinois. The deviation in southeastern Pennsylvania is not apparent in the broader analysis which dealt with the state as a whole rather than with the districts. However, in this breakdown we see that the value of land and buildings in the Brethren townships of this district is lower than that of the vicinal minor civil divisions. We find a clue to the explanation of this divergence in the patterning by comparing the size of the farms in this district with the size in others. In so doing we see the farm acreage in the southeastern district to be smaller than elsewhere. This suggests that these land holdings may not be farms in the usual sense of this term, but rather they are truck or dairy or poultry farms that serve the great centers of ecological dominance, such as Philadelphia. Reference to the census bureau bears out this hunch and we find that whereas in the Eastern District 35.9 per cent of the farms are engaged in general farming, the type with which we assume the Brethren to be associated, in the district under review, only 16.8 per cent of the farms are engaged in general farming. The majority of the other farms are listed as crop specialty farms, dairying, poultry, and abnormal farms (established part time, institutionally, etc.). This unusual type of farming in an area containing few Brethren accounts for the above exception. For when we compare

values of land used for these special purposes, we see that the exception is only apparent. The price per acre for general farm land is only $65 per acre, while for crop specialty farms it is $96; truck, $287; fruit, $160; poultry, $109; and abnormal, $120. Thus the non-Brethren townships containing such specialties raise the average above the land value of the Brethren townships which lie at a greater distance from the great metropolitan areas.

The apparent exception observed in southern Illinois can apparently also be explained on historic grounds. Inasmuch as the manipulation of the data consistently indicated that southern Illinois offers an exception to the otherwise general rule regarding the selection of the better land, the writer made direct inquiries concerning this point. It is the consensus of opinion among the Elders who were interviewed that originally the culture trait was applied also in that area. Thus when the early Brethren moved into Illinois from the South and Southeast, they followed their tradition of settling on the better soil accessible at the time. However this soil was not the undrained swamp lands which later became the fields of luxuriant fertility, but the higher table lands and hill sections of the country. Once established, the Brethren improved their homes, built better buildings and in that way, tried to compensate for the poorer soil. Some of the Brethren, however, did break the sentimental attachments to the homestead and migrated to Ogle, Whiteside, Carroll, and other counties of the north, where land was richer.

The variations in the adjustment to the land led the writer to other research from which valid explanations for divergences could be drawn. This led to the effort to determine the number of local congregations and of their membership in these districts in question. The results are tabulated in Table 4. These figures, compiled from the 1936 Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren disclose the following; the total membership for the state of Pennsylvania was 42,390; of this number the eastern, southeastern, middle, western, and southern districts contain the following respective per cents, 23, 8, 25, 29, and 15. Of the 188 congregations, the same districts comprised the following respective per cents, 22, 10, 22, 30, and 16. Likewise in Illinois the reviewed districts have an unequal ratio of the Brethren. Of the 7,290 members in that state, the northern district contains 65 per cent and the southern district only 35 per cent.

A lesser ratio of the congregations (54 per cent) are located in the northern district.

TABLE IV

Number and Percentage of Congregations and of Members by Districts in Pennsylvania and Illinois, as of 1936*

State and District	Congregations		Membership	
	No.	%	No.	%
Pennsylvania	188	100.	42,390	100.
Eastern	41	22.	9,833	23.
South-Eastern	19	10.	3,552	8.
Middle	42	22.	10,478	25.
Western	57	30.	12,064	29.
Southern	29	16.	6,463	15.
Illinois	52	100.	7,290	100.
Northern	28	54.	4,742	65.
Southern	24	46.	2,548	35.

*Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren, 1936.

When one compares this distribution with the size of farms and land valuations of the preceding analysis, it is seen that in those districts where variations from the general pattern exhibited by the Brethren occur, the membership is small. In southeastern Pennsylvania where an exception to the general tendency for the Brethren to live on the richer soil was noted, we find only 10 per cent of the congregations and 8 per cent of the membership. Even these figures do not give a true picture; for the total number of congregations and membership include some congregations and members from other states which are within the administrative organizations of this district. The other divergent area, that of the southern district of Illinois, contains only 35 per cent of the members of that state.

In fine, inasmuch as the majority of the Brethren live on the better land of any described area, and all but two areas conform to this pattern, and also the exceptions in these two areas seem to be accounted for by historic incidents, we conclude that the proposition is substantiated: that, by culture-induced attitudes, persons of this group seek out the better soil on which to settle; that, on the average, their land holdings are smaller, and the relative value of their equipment is higher than is true of the general population living in the several areas of the two sampled states.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

This study has attempted to analyze two ways in which the culture of the members in the Church of the Brethren has found expression; namely, through their social organization, and their adjustment to the competitive process, as reflected especially in their selection of agricultural land. As to the first item, the social organization, we have seen that the Brethren no longer constitute a brotherhood; and we have traced the process of this transition. The brotherhood type of socio-religious society, originating in a conflict setting, has as its purpose the attainment of a way of life that is thought to be superior to the rivalrous relations typical of modern times. We have called the early Church of the Brethren a socio-religious brotherhood because the central idea of such a group is a way of life including unity, rapport, equality, mutual aid, and absence of invidious comparisons in regard to worldly values. In a brotherhood so defined, these values are the focus of attention and the basis of group regulation. When these values have been incorporated in a group which seeks sanctions for its way of life in religion, it may be designated a religious brotherhood, in contrast to the other main type of socio-religious group which we have called denominations; for in the latter the main focus of attention is adjustment to the existing culture and prevalent scale of values. The generic elements of the religious brotherhood comprise the following elements: homogeneity, unanimity, and mutual aid based on personal relations, with a resulting lack of individuation and rivalry in egoistic attainments, although there may be emulation in regard to those values which are considered to be corporate.

That these elements of a religious fraternity are no longer characteristic of the Brethren is shown in an analysis of the Minutes of the Southern Illinois District Conference covering a period of 41 years, 1866-1907. In these records are reflected the changes in social relations within the organization. An analysis of the leadership, membership, social control, and focus of church attention, conclusively demonstrates that the ideal of unity in the erstwhile brotherhood has broken down, and the group has developed into a denomination.

The impact of the larger culture and the changes occurring in contemporary society which are listed as growing complexity, impersonality, mobility, and the decrease of solidarity and of self-sufficiency are reflected in the history of the group. The change in the type of organization is traceable in any one of the above-named generic elements. Accordingly, mutual aid was submitted to a detailed analysis. Under the earlier brotherhood type of structure, the Brethren had a direct system of assistance for the needy. They gave directly and immediately to the dependents whenever the occasion demanded. The members took those who were incapable of caring for themselves into their own homes. The growing impersonality is reflected in the fact that soon no homes were available for the dependent and a more impersonal method of custodial care was introduced; namely, the placement of the dependent in institutions. These "homes," as the Brethren termed them, were supported by the contributions of members. The growth of impersonal relations was further exemplified by a decrease in giving relief, and a lack of support for these institutions. As a result of the decreasing contributions by the church members, these agencies are unable to supply free assistance to all of the applicants who would be strictly charity inmates; they mainly admit those applicants who can pay for some or all of the cost of their care. This has led to a trend toward commercialized management of the intended charitable institutions.

Such an evolution marks a change from the brotherhood type of organization to the denomination form, and a corresponding growth of individuation.

The second line of inquiry whereby we have attempted to test the manner in which the culture of the group has found expression pertains to the adjustment of the Brethren to the competitive process. The hypothesis with which this phase of the research began is the proposition that the Brethren settle on the richer agricultural land. The resulting manipulation of the data led to several subsidiary findings. Pursuant to this hypothesis a comparison was made between the Brethren and non-Brethren of Illinois and Pennsylvania on a county and township basis to determine the relative size of farms, value of land, value of buildings, and of the combined value of land and buildings. The data affirm the proposed hypothesis, with but one exception, namely, that in southern Illinois, as of the

year 1930, the members did not live on the better soil for reasons noted in Chapter IV.

The hypothesis was further tested by a breakdown of the areas of comparison into church districts. The comparative data of this breakdown in Pennsylvania, again with only one minor exception, confirmed the foregoing generalization. This minor exception is that in one district of Pennsylvania the Brethren townships have a lower per acre value than the non-Brethren townships do, owing to the fact that as farmers the Brethren do not live in the townships adjacent to the metropolitan areas, where land values are highest. Thus we find that the breakdown of the Pennsylvania data into districts adds a refinement and an apparent exception to our conclusion; but the explanation of this apparent exception strengthens our hypothesis inasmuch as the deviation is readily accounted for by the culturally given attitude of the Brethren to avoid settlement in the vicinity of the great cities. The breakdown of the Illinois data adds no new insight, although it does confirm the deviation already found by the earlier county and township organization of the data.

The testing of the foregoing hypothesis led to some subsidiary discoveries which in turn agree with, and support, the proposition that the culture of the group has been involved in the manner in which the members have met the competitive processes. These subsidiary findings are, namely, that the Brethren live on smaller farms than the average and that they hold the more valuable properties estimated on the per acre value of land and buildings combined, and that they especially excel in the ratio of the value of buildings to the total value of the farmsteads. An allocation of the congregations and their constituent members to the various areas classified by intervals of land value further confirms these conclusions by showing that the majority exhibit the described tendency in a marked way; and that only a small minority deviates from the established pattern. Such facts are instances of the interference of the cultural processes with the operation of the competitive forces characterisfic of the impersonal relations of the larger societal system.

BOOK REVIEW

Settlement of the Brethren on the Pacific Slope,—by Gladdys E. Muir, M.A., Professor of History in La Verne College. 469 pages + 24 of preliminaries + 28 plates of pictures. $2.00. Brethren Publishing House, Elgin. 1939.

When I saw this book, its title caught my fancy at once—surely a story that ought to be written up. Parts of it have been written here and there, but we have been looking for the comprehensive survey of the whole movement, which should be of firstrate interest to students of Brethren History.

I myself had been carried westward in the migration nearly forty years ago. I was just a boy then, and did not know what it was all about. Nor did I study the movement in the following years, with mind diverted by many other things; but there were plenty of memories. We took the Inglenook. Father knew personally some of the promoters, and two or three of his brothers had already gone west. So we moved to Idaho, and took our portion from the soil while we rendered our portion of service to the struggling Church, as hundreds of other families were doing. Why did we do it?

The book abundantly filled expectations, and I join in its praises. I had best quote a few words from Edward Frantz in his introduction; after relating the author's eminent qualifications he says: "It does not essay to tell everything that happened. It is a study in the principles and methods of Brethren colonization. Miss Muir's fine sense of proportion and strict fidelity to truth often stood her in good stead: the first, in deciding what must be left out, activities which living persons concerned would have been pleased to see included; the second, in allowing unpleasant facts to tell their own story, when missionary and mercenary motives got mixed and failed to yield a happy result. . . . This book will have a special interest . . . for all who like to see history, art and philosophy blended into one fascinating picture. It is well worthy of the high place it will make for itself in the literature of our church."

The Brethren have always furnished a goodly percent of migrators ready to brave frontier hardships. We remember the first line of frontiering is usually done with trade and operations which call for the use of trickery and arms and violence—of which there was no lack in the U. S. expansion. In such the Brethren have no part nor interest, and very few individuals even of our church are to be found in such areas. But in the second line, after the dirty work is done, the Brethren have proved themselves ready to do their share in repairing the damages, developing resources, and building up an ordered society; this share be not necessarily or directly in the realms of politics and administration, but in preaching and living the principles of godliness that are needed as foundations of society.

On the other hand it is one of the ironies of fate that the messengers of peace and goodwill among men in their very loyalty to principle (we hope) often fall to biting and devouring one another, thus undermining their own house. Both factors, constructive and destructive, are abundantly exemplified in the history of the western churches.

Congregations were barely on their feet in the middle region (the old "Northwest") when calls were heard for men to come farther west. An

individual or two went to California to pan gold in the grand rush; and a short time later families were trekking over the mountains and deserts to settle the good land. The first nucleus, of 23 members, was organized in Willamette Valley, Oregon, in 1855 or early '56; and the first Church of the Brethren in California was organized in 1858 near Monterey. One by one others were founded in these states and those adjoining, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Arizona, Western Canada, until the total comes to 118; of which 78 are functioning at present. The membership now is some over 11,000. The majority of these are immigrants or the children of immigrants.

From the early days the church publications gave prominence to correspondence from the west, describing facilities there, but replete with calls for ministers and laity to come out to Macedonia. Presently the railroads and real estate companies were advertising, and the colonization movement got into full swing. The railroads even sought out Brethren men as their immigration agents. Missionary and colonization theories were debated, again and again, and improvements in method were evolved. The stream of immigration was directed to one place and another; and there were great numbers of comers who did not rest with one migration. Organized churches sickened or died in the ebb. But there are very few instances in which a family migrated back to the east.

All 25 chapters of this book are filled with interesting material. It is well illustrated, documented, and indexed. It was authorized by the Churches of the District of Southern California. Miss Muir found access to great quantities of original and unpublished documents, as well as those in print. She has selected the data well and interpreted them well. Reviewers of books are expected to read with critical eye; but the possible slips of the pen I have looked for are so few as to be beneath mention. The historian must of course be impartial, which she is; and this attitude of courtesy toward both sides of a disputed point might be displeasing to the active partisans in the dispute. Apart from a possible dissatisfaction arising in this way, all Brethren in any way interested in our past must surely be delighted with this book.

—B. M. Mow.

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