

Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage



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THE COVER

In June and July of 1951 the tent revival meetings of the Mennonite Brunk brothers from Virginia - George II and Lawrence - came to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Attendance at these meetings, much higher than expected, helped convince the Brunks to expand their ministry. Tent revivals led by the Brunks and others in the 1950s had a major impact on Mennonite religious life and its expression. This scene was adjacent to the Manheim Pike north of Lancaster city and illustrates the large crowds, the tent (dark green with red trim), and the sign which read "Revival, All Welcome." The wooden crate (lower left) was used, according to an article in the *Gospel Herald* (Sept. 4, 1951, p. 853), "as a receptacle into which people threw pulp literature and other sinful articles."

Illustration credits: cover, P.L. Rohrer Papers, Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Lancaster, Pa.; pp. 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 15, 17, 20 top, 21, 23, Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society; p. 12, *Revival Fires* (p. 58); p. 13, *Hammer Tent Revival Echoes* (p. 9); p. 18, Conrad Grebel College Archives, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada; pp. 20 inset, 22, Melvin S. Glick; p. 29, John A. Hostetler; pp. 30, 32-35, author.

The christocentric theology of worship among the earlier Lancaster Mennonites is portrayed by three Mennonite interpreters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Through the Eyes of Benjamin Hershey and Benjamin Eby: Insights into Lancaster Mennonite History and Theology

by Leonard Gross

Many publications chart the earlier literary course of Lancaster Mennonitism. This written tradition must find interpretation in order to come to terms intellectually with the largest conference of the (Old) Mennonite Church.

Already in the eighteenth century, Lancaster Mennonites were publishing books with the intention of remembering and passing on a certain faith. Some of the more significant of these early volumes, most of which had multiple Lancaster reprintings, include, chronologically: *Ausbund*, 1742 (and following),¹ *Güldene Aepffel in Silbernen Schalen* (*Golden Apples in Silver Bowls*), 1745; *Die Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* (*Prayer Book for Earnest Christians*), 1745; *Der Blutige Schau-Platz oder Märtyrer-Spiegel* (*Martyrs Mirror*), 1748/49; Gerhard Roosen's *Christliches Gemüths-Gespräch* (*Christian Spiritual Conversation on Saving Faith*), 1769; Benjamin Hershey's *A Short and Sincere Declaration* (with original German and English editions), 1775; Menno Simons' *Ein Fundament und Klare Anweisung*, 1794; *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch*, 1804; Christian Burkholder's *Nützliche und Erbauliche Anrede an die Jugend* ("Address to Youth Regarding True Repentance"), 1804; *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch* with appendix of scriptural readings, 1820; Benjamin Eby's *Kurzgefaßte Kirchen-Geschichte und Glaubenslehre* (*Concise Church History and Faith-Teaching*), 1841.²

I want to scrutinize three intriguing and significant samples of Lancaster's written tradition, namely, parts of Benjamin Eby's 1841 opus, Benjamin Hershey's *Declaration* of 1775, and the 1820 *Unpartheyisches* appendix. These works influenced later Lancaster life and thought; they also provide glimpses into where certain Lancaster Mennonite writers stood, theologically and culturally, one hundred fifty years ago.

We cannot assume that these perspectives were the exact views of all Lancaster Mennonites. We know of individuals and groups that deviated from the theological approach common to these three authors. A few leaders of that era took a theologically progressive turn, such as Christian Newcomer (1744-1830); we know of still others who took a more culturally and theologically conservative turn, such as John Herr (1782-1850) of the Reformed Mennonites and Jacob Stauffer (1811-1855). On the other

hand, that many Lancaster Mennonites were of the general persuasion which lies central to all three of these documents, can be assumed by the very fact that their publication did take place.

Benjamin Eby, one of the three voices translated below, was attempting consciously to speak for his fellow Mennonite brothers and sisters – granted, out of a context broader than Lancaster alone. Textual evidence, however, suggests that Eby drew deeply from his own Lancaster heritage.³

From the vantage point of 1841 we may note not only how Eby interprets Christianity, but also how he deals with Lancaster and Franconia Mennonite history. Eby's original four-page portrayal of Pennsylvania Mennonitism in the 1840s, presented below in English translation, expresses both of these perspectives exceedingly well. Furthermore, that Benjamin Eby speaks favor-

¹ On May 19, 1784, Christian Burkholder, Benjamin Hershey and other Lancaster County Mennonite leaders initiated a contract with Peter Leibert and Michael Billmeyer for a new printing of 2,000 copies. Copy of this correspondence in the archives of the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Lancaster, Pa.

² For an overview of most of these volumes, interpreted contextually, see the *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955-59, I-IV, and 1990, V (s.v.); Richard K. MacMaster, *Land, Piety, Peoplehood: The Establishment of Mennonite Communities in America, 1683-1790*, Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1985, 254-56 (for Benjamin Hershey); and Theron F. Schlabach, *Peace, Faith, Nation: Mennonites and Amish in Nineteenth-Century America*, Scottdale, Pa., 175-76 (for Benjamin Eby); Herald Press, 1988. Eby was living in Berlin, Canada – what is today Kitchener, Ontario – at the time he published his history; the first edition was also first published there.

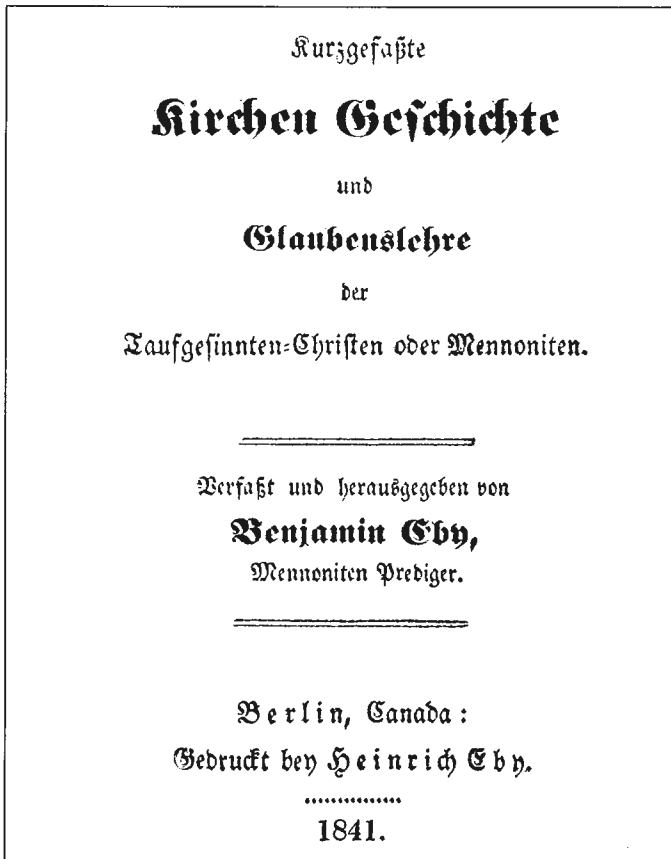
³ See, for example, where (pp. 150-52) Eby seems to know more about the Lancaster scene than he does about the Germantown Mennonites and what later would become known as the Franconia Mennonite Conference. He states a very general "around the year 1700" as the point of origin of Germantown and Franconia Mennonitism; in contrast he notes a very specific 1709 as the point of origin for Lancaster Mennonitism.

Benjamin Eby (1785-1853) "was born in the old homestead on Hammer Creek, Warwick Township, Lancaster County," spending his childhood and days of youth within this setting. In 1807 he married Mary Brubacher, and then moved to Ontario where he spent the rest of his life as a major Mennonite leader whose influence was felt throughout the Mennonite world of his day. See *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Eby, Benjamin," and Lorraine Roth, "The Years of Benjamin Eby, Pioneer Mennonite Leader in Ontario, Canada," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 9 (Apr. 1986): 18-41.

ably of the 1775 publication of Benjamin Hershey, also attests to a Lancaster Mennonite acceptance of this earlier published missive, addressed to the Pennsylvania Assembly during the early phases of the American Revolution. Significant pages, herewith translated into English from Eby's 1841 publication, will lead, I hope, to insights into the nature of Lancaster Mennonite spiritual and intellectual roots.

The appendix of 1820 to Lancaster's hymnal, *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch*, first published in 1804, contrasts with the historical aspects of faith as brought out in the pieces by Hershey and Eby. The appendix speaks to a Lancaster Mennonite hermeneutic, or approach to interpreting Scripture, as practiced among some Lancaster Mennonites in 1820. This appendix apparently is to be found in only one edition of the hymnal, and was certainly intended for use by song leaders. The introductory paragraph to the body of Scriptural texts, keyed to specific hymns, is part of a unique theological context underlying more recent Lancaster Mennonite history. Therefore, I also want to present parts of this appendix in English translation, with commentary.

We begin with Benjamin Eby's 1841 work, then go on to Benjamin Hershey's 1775 missive, and complete our triad of documents with the 1820 interpretation of Scripture and perspective on faith as it finds expression in Lancaster Mennonite corporate worship.



The title page of *Concise Church History and Faith-Teaching of the Anabaptist Christians or Mennonites* by Bishop Benjamin Eby (1785-1853) indicates that it was published in Berlin (now Kitchener, Ontario), Canada, in 1841 by Heinrich Eby, son of Benjamin. This book gave an Anabaptist understanding of the history of the Christian Church and particularly of Pennsylvania Mennonite history.

Benjamin Eby

*Concise Church History and Faith-Teaching
of the Anabaptist Christians or Mennonites*

by Benjamin Eby⁴ [1841]

Preface

Kind Reader: Since there are many views among Christians about the nature of the Christian faith – which has resulted in each religious frame of reference having its own distinctive teaching on faith, with each denomination attempting to promote the same so that each and every one may discern the truth, and test it in the light of Holy Scripture – therefore I, too, have found it expedient to make known through the printed word the teachings on faith of our fellowship, namely, the Mennonites, or *Taufgesinnten* (those who gather on the basis of [adult] baptism), combined with our church history.⁵ This [is to serve] as a witness of our origins, that we do not derive from the Münsterite hordes,⁶ but that the grounds of our teaching harmonize with the teaching of the Lord and his apostles; furthermore, that our teaching and fellowship has continued from the time of the apostles, through all the centuries, up to this age, to which many have borne witness, sealing [their faith] with their blood, of whom a few examples are also cited below. This teaching is herewith candidly presented so that each one who so desires may examine and test it, formulated here as concisely as possible so that the gracious reader may receive as clear an overview as possible about our total frame of reference and existence. Here in this country our religious frame of reference is not generally known, for I have already been asked this by many people – which motivated me, finally, to present a written account in line with the instructions of Peter: “Always be ready to make your defense to anyone who demands from you an accounting for the hope that is in you” (1 Peter 3:15 [NRSV]).

This history and teaching on faith also serves the youth of our own religious persuasion, not only as a historical account, but much more, serving the highest of needs, namely, as the true perception of the omnipotent God and his holy will, and as the way of salvation, through which the living faith of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ (in whom alone we are able to attain the forgiveness of our sins) is strengthened and established, and which leads to an untwisted obedience within his discipleship [*Nachfolge*]; to which end I wish from the bottom of my heart that the Savior who brings blessings might place his abiding blessing upon this book which has been written, solely to his honor, and unto the service of my fellow pilgrims on the way to blessed eternity.⁷

⁴ First published in 1841, *Kurzgefaßte Kirchen-Geschichte und Glaubenslehre der Taufgesinnten Christen oder Mennoniten* had later reprints. Eby based most of his historical synthesis upon documentation from the *Martyrs Mirror*. His *Vorrede*, or Preface, is a significant synthesis in itself, suggesting where the Pennsylvania Mennonites stood at that time in their attempts to conceptualize their faith.

⁵ Here is found the traditional Swiss Anabaptist and later Swiss Brethren approach to Christianity, where faith merges with history, granting the spirit and substance of what this group, through the centuries, saw as being the intention of Jesus.

⁶ The “Münsterite hordes” refers to certain revolutionary Anabaptists who in 1534-35 took control of the walled city of Münster (Germany), during which time polygamy, defensive warfare, and many unfortunate and inhumane incidents took place, caused in large part by the year-long military siege by combined Protestant and Catholic forces – who finally won in the conflict. Menno Simons spent the rest of his life restoring balance to the Low-Country Anabaptist movement.

⁷ Pp. 3-5.

In these two well-crafted paragraphs we note the concept of “our teaching and fellowship” which combines a discipleship tied to the historical Jesus (“in seiner Nachfolge”) fulfilled within the context of the faithful, gathered church (“die Taufgesinnten”), based upon the *Martyrs Mirror* tradition of an ongoing historical continuity of the faithful, peaceable church extending all the way back to Jesus and the apostles. Eby then goes on, in the next section, to spell out these very themes.

The intellectual context within which Eby chose to couch his ideas is not so much doctrinal (although teaching remains central), as it is historical, whereby Eby chooses to describe Christianity as faith and history and not as prescriptive belief. The idea of peace and non-vengeance, implicit within these paragraphs, emanates from the central realities of teaching and fellowship, and finds its substantial development – within a conscious historical framework – as follows:

“A Historical Presentation of the
Origins of the Anabaptist⁸ Christians, or Mennonites”

This is my Beloved Son, listen to him! (Luke 9:35)

When Jesus, the Savior of the world and founder of the Christian religion, wanted to begin his office of teaching among the Jews, he first submitted to baptism by John the Baptist. Then Jesus began to preach, saying, “Repent, the kingdom of heaven is at hand” (Matthew 3:13; Matthew 4:17). [He also said:] “I say to you that you shall not swear, neither by heaven, for it is God’s throne, nor by the earth, for it is his footstool, nor by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King. Neither shall you swear by your head, for you are unable to make even one strand of hair white or black. Your speech rather is to be ‘Yes, yes; no, no.’ Anything more than this stems from evil.”

“You have heard that it was said, ‘Eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth.’ I say to you, however, that you shall not resist evil, but rather if someone slaps you on the right cheek, that you offer the other one as well. And if someone wants to sue you and take your coat, give your cloak as well. Love your enemies, bless those who curse you; treat well those who hate you; pray for those who make fun of and persecute you, so that you may be children of your Father in heaven” (Matthew 5:34-45). [He also said:] “You are to love God your Lord with your whole heart, with your whole soul, and with your whole mind. The other [commandment] however is equal to [the first]: You are to love your neighbor as yourself” (Matthew 22:37, 39). [Jesus] also commanded, after his resurrection from the dead, that his disciples spread out (Matthew 28:19), teaching all peoples and baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

The above commands were immediately and faithfully observed by the apostles and other disciples of Christ. They held to the teaching and commands of Jesus; they taught against warfare and the swearing of oaths, and did not baptize an individual before such a person had been instructed in the teaching of Christ, and before [the person in question] had personally made known his or her faith in Jesus. First they taught; then they baptized.

Many Jews and Gentiles, through the preaching of the gospel, accepted the saving faith in Jesus Christ; and, for the first time as a unified congregation, such were called “Christians” at Antioch (Acts 11:26).

The gospel teaching of the Christians was spread far and wide in Asia, Africa and Europe. In spite of the fact that these nonresistant Christians were being persecuted ruthlessly even unto death by the Gentiles for the sake of

their faith, they still increased in great number, blooming like roses among thorns.

During the first two centuries one cannot find from any reputable author that anyone from among the Christians had departed from the foundation of the true teaching of Jesus.

However, in the third century some individuals are known to have begun the practice of infant baptism, but few individuals accepted the practice.

The incisive and renown Tertullian spoke out against baptizing too soon around the year 204, speaking out mightily in favor of the baptismal precept of Christ. In spite of this, however, the God-fearing and loyal teachers found it impossible to maintain among the Christians a unified expression of faith which accorded with the earnest counsel of Paul (1 Corinthians 1:10). For at the time of Cyprian, around A.D. 250, it was decided at a council at Carthage that infants should immediately be baptized. This decree however was not accepted everywhere, and many Christians, favoring a faith in Jesus, therefore baptized only persons who had come of age, and not infants. They also opposed the swearing of oaths and warfare. The hate of their opponents, however, increased furiously, so that it was decreed by a council in Rome in 470 to damn and ban them, and to treat them exactly as heretics! Although this was of course a terrifying command, they still could not bring themselves to deny Jesus, to forsake his teaching, and to seek friendship with the world; instead, they preferred to submit to the will of God and accept the consequences, dying a martyr’s death as nonresistant sheep, whereby many of them sealed their confession of faith with their own blood.

For more than 1600 years the nonresistant Anabaptist Christians were tormented with persecutions, imprisonment, along with the hideous rack and torture, many of them finally killed by fire, sword, starvation and drowning. Even so, throughout all the centuries, beginning at the time of the apostles, there were many Anabaptist Christians who, disregarding each and every time of bloody persecution, preached and lived out the pure teaching of Christ. . . .⁹

The command to listen to Jesus, given at the outset of this section, is of deep significance for understanding the christocentric thought of Benjamin Eby. We again note the idea of Christianity set descriptively as faith and history rather than being defined through doctrinal or systematic-theological categories. Eby then makes a second vital point, that repentance precedes teaching, since repentance is the existential context which permits the content of discipleship to find its fulfillment and rightful place within the life of the individual.

Eby then describes the teaching of Jesus (note its singular, rather than plural usage) as truthfulness and the non-swearing of oaths; as a love for God and neighbor, including one’s enemies, which includes non-retaliation; as an overt and conscious witnessing to others about the way of love and what makes this possible. In short, “teaching” for Benjamin Eby was Christ’s Sermon on the Mount.

Eby further notes that the true church entered into this spirit and substance, including the renouncing of

⁸ *Taufgesinnten*, literally, means “the baptist-minded ones.” This term is generally translated in these pages as “Anabaptist.”

⁹ Pp. 7-12. Eby’s documentation for the whole sweep of church history as he presents it is unknown, outside of his use of the German edition of the *Martyrs Mirror*.

warfare and oaths, and maintaining believers' baptism where teaching preceded baptism; that this led to persecution, at first by the non-Christian political powers, but later by the very "church" itself. Eby underscores the fact that persecution did not deter the faithful from continuing in truth as they understood it, as disciples of Jesus, even unto death if need be; and that the testimony of the persecuted church continued through sixteen and more centuries, all the way up to where "many Anabaptist Christians, . . . disregarding each and every time of bloody persecution, preached and lived out the pure teaching of Christ."

We continue with Benjamin Eby's report about Mennonites in the United States in 1841:

"Report about the Mennonites
in the United States in North America"

Around the year 1700 a few families from Holland migrated to America and established a congregation in the region of Germantown in Pennsylvania, with still more families thereafter joining the group from various regions of Germany, through which their number soon grew by leaps and bounds, spreading out into the adjoining counties where even today one may come upon these same numerous congregations in America. In the year 1709 a few families from the Palatinate, descending from those Swiss who had been expelled from their land, settled in Lancaster County, with many others joining them in 1717 and 1719, etc. But most of them were poor people who moved into a great wilderness, where they found themselves needing to eke out a tedious and burdensome beginning. But because God encouraged them mightily in fortitude and spirit, they soon cleared enough land to sustain themselves, and they praised God with thankful hearts that he had led them into a country where they could enjoy complete freedom of conscience, where they no longer needed to fear being robbed, tortured, and expelled from the land – in the manner their ancestors had earlier been treated in Switzerland – but that they now could dwell under a tolerant government that the unforgettable William Penn, the owner of Pennsylvania, had established, who himself was peaceably minded, who sought to further the welfare of all people, and whose heart-felt concern was to avoid every sort of oppression. [These Mennonites] led their simple life-walk in the fear of God. They dwelled together in love, one for another, and even as God was blessing their diligent efforts, they also were gladly meeting the needs of others in distress. They were intent upon reminding all their descendants about the ways of their ancestors, taking to heart their devout walk of life as a pattern for living. They themselves also sought to emulate the ways of their forebears, and strove to brighten their children with the Light through their own good example, so that the number might be great of those who in repentance and faith in Jesus would be preparing for eternal life.

The above-mentioned [Lancaster] congregation, as well as the one from Germantown, spread out into most of the counties of Pennsylvania, all the way to the states of Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana and New York.

At the time of the American Revolutionary War, however, the Mennonites were in danger of having their freedoms curtailed, even to the extent that they might lose their freedom of conscience. Up to that time they were under the reign of Great Britain. When the British provinces separated from England, at which time many from the warring party were intent on excluding all non-resistant people from their civil rights, the Mennonites turned on November 7, 1775, to the honorable House of

the General Assembly with a humble petition asking for protection. Their petition was graciously granted, and they were permitted the same freedom and civil rights accorded to all other citizens.

The Pennsylvania Mennonite congregations are divided into three districts where, twice yearly in each district, Conference or a preachers' meeting is held, in order to give and receive counsel about the concerns of their congregations. Also in the State of Ohio preachers' meetings are held. Many Mennonites live there who during the last thirty years have come, from time to time, from Switzerland. The congregation in Indiana is composed for the most part of Swiss, who are also said to be quite numerous.¹⁰

In this historical interpretation of the Pennsylvania Mennonites in 1841 we note Benjamin Eby's gratitude for being able to have freedom of conscience and civil toleration, without oppression from the outside, based upon the peaceable kingdom of William Penn. We note Eby's mentioning of mutuality (dwelling together in love, one for another, and helping others in need), and the need to witness to a new generation of believers (the desire to pass on to one's descendants the ways of our spiritual ancestors, "emulating the ways of [our] forebears"). Eby also returns to the theme of repentance and faith, strengthening his view of Christianity as a personal faith, rooted in history.

Benjamin Hershey

We now turn to the above mentioned 1775 "humble petition" of the Mennonites to the Pennsylvania Assembly, written by Benjamin Hershey, a Mennonite minister who lived "one mile west of Lancaster Town." A German and an English edition were published, the latter, reproduced below:¹¹

*A Short and Sincere Declaration, To Our
Honorable Assembly, and All Others in High or
Low Station of Administration, and to All¹²
Friends and Inhabitants of this Country to whose
Sight this May Come, Be They English or Germans*

In the first place we acknowledge us indebted to the most high God who created heaven and earth, the only good being, to thank him for all his great goodness and manifold mercies and love through our Saviour Jesus Christ who is come to save the souls of men,¹³ having all power in heaven and on earth.

Further we find ourselves indebted to be thankful to our late worthy Assembly for their giving so good an advice in these troublesome times to all ranks of people in Pennsylvania, particularly in allowing those, who by the doctrine of our Saviour Jesus Christ are persuaded in their

¹⁰ Pp. 149-53.

¹¹ Benjamin Hershey (1697-1789), an immigrant to the Lancaster area from the Palatinate about 1717, became the most prominent Mennonite leader within his conference for his generation. He signed the 1725 edition of the Dordrecht Confession for the Lancaster Mennonites, and was moderator of the Lancaster Conference during the Revolutionary, and Post-Revolutionary eras. See *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Hershey, Benjamin."

¹² The German edition adds "andere" at this point: All Other Friends.

¹³ The German has the phrase "die Seelen der Menschen zu erhalten" ("to preserve [receive] [maintain] [uphold in life] [keep from falling] [support] [save] the souls of men and women"). Salvation of course is also at the core here, but the German word, "erhalten," connotes a reality contrasting with "retten" ("to save [rescue] [deliver]"), the common German word for "to save."

consciences to love their enemies and not to resist Evil, to enjoy the liberty of their conscience for which, as also for all the good things we enjoyed under their care, we heartily thank that worthy body of Assembly and all high and low in office who have advised to such a peaceful measure, hoping and confiding that they and all others entrusted with power in this hitherto blessed province may be moved by the same spirit of grace which animated the first founder of this province, our late worthy Proprietor, William Penn, to grant liberty of conscience to all its inhabitants;

That they may in the great and memorable Day of Judgment be put on the right hand of the just Judge, who judgeth without respect of person, and hear of Him these blessed words, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you," &c.; "What ye have done unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done unto me," among which number (i.e., the least of Christ's brethren), we by His grace hope to be ranked;¹⁴ and every lenity and favor shown to such tender-conscienced, although weak followers of this our blessed Saviour, will not be forgotten by Him in that great day.

The advice to those who do not find freedom of conscience to take up arms, that they ought to be helpful to those who are in need and [in] distressed circumstances, we receive with cheerfulness towards all men of what station they may be — it being our principle to feed the hungry and give the thirsty drink. We have dedicated ourselves to serve all men in every thing that can be helpful to the preservation of men's lives, but we find no freedom in giving, or doing, or assisting in any thing by which men's lives are destroyed or hurt. We beg the patience of all those who believe we err in this point.

We are always ready, according to Christ's command to Peter, to pay the tribute, that we may offend no man; and so we are willing to pay taxes, "and to render unto Caesar those things that are Caesar's, and to God those things that are God's," although we think ourselves very weak to give God his due honor, He, being a Spirit and Life, and we, only dust and ashes.

We are also willing to be subject to the higher powers, and to give in the manner Paul directs us: "For he beareth the Sword not in vain, for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil."

This testimony we lay down before our worthy Assembly and all other persons in government, letting them know that we are thankful, as above mentioned, and that we are not at liberty in conscience to take up arms to conquer our enemies, but rather to pray to God, who has power in heaven and on earth, for us and them.

We also crave the patience of all the inhabitants of this country. What they think to see clearer in the doctrine of the blessed Jesus Christ we will leave to them and God, finding ourselves very poor. For faith is to proceed out of the Word of God, which is Life and Spirit,¹⁵ and a Power

Eine kurze und aufrichtige Erklärung,

In unsere wohlmeynende Assembly, und alle andere hohe und niedrige in der Regierung, und an alle andere Freunde und Einwohner dieses Landes, denen dieses zu Gesicht kommen mag, sowohl Englischen als Deutschen.

The first part of the title of the broadside in German by the Mennonite Bishop Benjamin Hershey (1697-1789) is translated as *A Short and Sincere Declaration . . .* It was signed by Mennonite and German Baptist (now Church of the Brethren) leaders and presented to the Pennsylvania legislature on November 7, 1775, as the response of nonresistant Christians to the Revolutionary War which had begun in April of that year.

of God, and our conscience is to be instructed by the same; therefore we beg for patience.

Our small gift which we have given, we gave to those who have power over us that we may not offend them, as Christ taught us by the tribute penny.

We heartily pray that God would govern all hearts of our rulers, be they high or low, to meditate on those good things which will pertain to our and their happiness.

The above declaration, [written by Benjamin Hershey, minister of the Mennonist Church, and]¹⁶ signed by a number of elders and teachers of the Society of Mennonists and some of the German Baptists, presented to the Honorable House of Assembly on the 7th day of November 1775, was most graciously received.

This English "original" statement could hardly have been written by any Mennonite in 1775. The German "original" must have been the work of Benjamin Hershey, who then turned to a translator whose mother tongue was English for reproducing these vital concerns in a suitable English idiom. And indeed, the English "translation," apart from one paragraph, is most carefully crafted, and transforms beautifully the German, in spirit and in substance, into an appropriate and adequate missive, worthy of being called a Petition. Benjamin Hershey's German style of writing is superb; the English translation, as sent to the Pennsylvania Assembly, also captures this same fine note of spiritual wisdom which the Mennonites were hoping to convey.

The German edition certainly must have been meant for a Mennonite readership, both for reporting to the constituency what was being said on behalf of all Mennonites, but also serving as a reminder that Mennonites, traditionally, "are persuaded in their consciences to love their enemies and not to resist Evil." Implicit if not indeed explicit throughout this document is a triad of ideas which together define the Anabaptist vision through the centuries: the idea of love and nonresistance, and the reality of the "we," as a gathered community of individual disciples. Here are three living realities — disciples, gathered as Christ's body,

¹⁴ Hershey's view of salvation, as alluded to here, suggests a certain humility which stops short of a self-proclaimed certitude about "being saved" — an attitude and stance which within the then-current Mennonite purview on faith would have appeared to contain a tinge of pride and even arrogance. On the other hand, Hershey held to a deep understanding of Christian hope: "hoping" to experience the inheritance of God's kingdom. Most Amish, and some Mennonites, today, continue in this tradition of Christian hope, as it pertains to an understanding of the outworking of faith and salvation.

¹⁵ This paragraph is most likely a (less-than-adequate) translation of the German. It is one of the few places where the translation misinterprets the original. Herewith, a fresh translation of the paragraph, up to this point: "We beseech all inhabitants of this country to be patient with us in those areas where they presume to comprehend more clearly [than we do] the teaching of our blessed Redeemer Jesus Christ: this we wish to leave to their, and God's discretion. We view ourselves as being very poor creatures; for faith ought to proceed from the Word of God, which is Spirit and Life, . . ." (The original German and English versions are reproduced in the *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* 35 [July, 1974], p. 1, 6-7.)

¹⁶ The phrase, "written by Benjamin Hershey, minister of the Mennonist Church" is missing in the German version, but is also missing in the earliest English version as well (only known original copy: Library of Congress — information, Amos B. Hoover. Copy, Muddy Creek Library, and Archives of the Mennonite Church). The second printing, after 1810, includes the author's name. The Petition, namely, had been intended to represent all Mennonites (and German Baptists), hence, the author would not have placed his own name to the missive. Someone else, after 1810, apparently thought Hershey as author deserved the honor of being named.

informed by divine love – realities, couched in terms of faith and history.

Furthermore, that Benjamin Eby noted this 1775 document in his *Kurzgefaßte Kirchen-Geschichte und Glaubenslehre* of 1841, demonstrates his desire for historical continuity with the past.

Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch Appendix

The final document to be discussed in this triptych is an appendix found in the 1820 edition of the Lancaster Conference *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch*, "Ein kurzer Vorbericht an alle diejenigen, welche diese Lieder-Anweisung lesen" ("A short Introduction to all Those who Read the [Scriptural] References to [certain] Hymns, as Presented Below," written by J. HSR (most likely J. or I. Hauser or Houser).¹⁷ The appendix author was a strictly biblical interpreter, who as such contrasts with the theological wisdom of Eby and Hershey. Here is a biblical interpreter for whom Christian teaching centers in the life and word of Jesus and his church. He also saw the need to pass on this faith and tradition to a new generation. In this regard the author stands in complete agreement with Benjamin Eby and Benjamin Hershey. The introduction reads, in English translation:

The following hymns, listed with each specific chapter of the Gospel writings, are very appropriate for singing with the given teaching of the particular chapter in question. Since the hymns and verses are only supporting witnesses to Jesus' teaching and to those parables which Jesus taught, therefore the following is only presented in the sense of suggested edification, and not in the sense of wanting to slight other experienced singers thereby. For I sincerely believe that there are many experienced singers to whom these listed hymns and verses are known for singing, namely, those hymns enumerated under the listed [biblical] chapters – and not only these which are noted, but also many others as well which are appropriate for singing in congregational worship. My intention is that this may induce many to learn diligently [other new] melodies or tunes – not only learning to sing the hymns or verses listed below, but also many other hymns which are appropriate for singing in congregational worship, thereby honoring our God with singing, teaching, and praying, which all of us are indebted to do. All honor be to God alone!

After this introduction there follows a seven-page listing, "Eine Anweisung, diejenigen Lieder zu suchen, die unter den angemerkten Capiteln stehen" ("Instructions for seeking out those hymns that accord with each specified biblical chapter, as listed below").

In short, here is a worship guide for the song leader, concerning which hymn to sing, and at which point, within the worship service. Biblical chapters are listed, with appropriate hymnal selections for each. The list begins with Matthew 2 or Luke 2 (commemorating the birth of Christ), and continues with Luke 2:21-40 (commemorating the new year). Then follows: Luke 2:41-51, Matthew 3, 4, 5, all the way through 28, one chapter per Sunday – although between Matthew 5 and 6 lies a special theme, without biblical references: *Fast- Buss- und Bet-Tag* (day of fasting, repentance and prayer). Between Matthew 6 and 7 is also a more specific reference: Matthew 6:24-34.¹⁸ Between Matthew 13 and 14 is also found such a specific reference: Matthew 13:24-54.

Ein kurzer Vorbericht

An alle diejenigen, welche diese Lieder-
Anweisung lesen.

Diejenigen Lieder, welche unter den angemerkten Capiteln des Evangeliums stehen, sind fast alle schicklich zu singen zu der Lehre des Capitels, das angemerk't ist. Weil die Lieder und Verslein nur Mitzeugen sind derer Lehre und Gleichnisse, die Jesus gelehret hat, so ist es nur in dem Sinn gegeben, zu einer Erbauung, nicht in dem Sinn andere erfahrene SÄnger dadurch zu verachten; denn das glaube ich, daß viele erfahrene SÄnger seynd, denen diese angemerkte Lieder und Verslein bekannt seynd zu singen, die unter den angemerkten Capiteln stehen, und nicht nur diese angemerkte, sondern auch noch viele andere, die sich schicken zum Gottesdienst zu singen. Meine Absichten sind nur dahin, daß es möchte eine Reizung seyn, um sich zu befeissen Melodien oder Weisen zu lernen, nicht nur diese angemerkte Lieder oder Verslein zu singen, sondern auch noch viele andere Lieder, die bey dem Gottesdienst können gesungen werden, um unsern Gott zu verehren mit Singen, Reden und Beten, welches wir alle schuldig seynd zu thnn. Gott allein die Ehre!

J. H S R.

This introduction to the appendix of the 1820 edition of the Lancaster Mennonite hymnal, *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch*, was written by "J. H S R," probably a person with the Houser or Hauser surname. The appendix provides the scriptural text references for particular hymns and illustrates a strong Christ-centered theology operating in the biblical context of Lancaster Mennonite worship of that period.

Matthew 19 (the whole chapter) is slated for a marriage sermon. Matthew 28 is a specific reference: Matthew 28:1-15. There follows a hymn suggestion to go with baptism, which is followed by Matthew 28:16-20.

The list then jumps to Luke 10, again going through Luke, chapter by chapter, through chapter 22, with chapter 15 followed by 15:11-32; 16 divided into 16:1-19 and

¹⁷ Amos B. Hoover, Denver, Pa., introduced me to this appendix in the early 1970s. Hoover states that the Old Order Mennonites yet today conduct their worship in a manner similiar to that of the early 19th century, using even the very same scriptural patterns, although the Weaverland and Groffdale conferences in the Lancaster, Pennsylvania area have gradually begun using the epistles more; the Stauffer Mennonites on the other hand still hold only to the gospels for formal scripture reading, recited by the deacon, and actually forbid the use of the epistles and the Old Testament for this purpose; in fact, current practice among the Stauffer Mennonites, extending back several decades, is to have all men chosen for the lot promise never to take a text from the epistles for this part of the service. (Interview, Amos B. Hoover, December 5, 1994). To be noted, furthermore, is that the more common 1820 edition of the hymnal did not include this appendix. Martin E. Ressler, "Ein Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 2 (Oct. 1979): 16-17, discusses this appendix.

¹⁸ For Matthew 8, one hymn is suggested, "Wacht auf, ihr Christen alle!" ("Wake up, all you Christians!"). In the published copy at hand, there is a hand-written notation accompanying this hymn, "v. 6, 7, 8," showing that at least one person was making use of this 1820 appendix.

16:19-31; and 18 followed by 18:9-31. Chapter 22 is suggested as a text for communion.

The Gospel of John follows: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6:26-70, 10, 15, followed by Ephesians 6 (with the suggested hymn, "Fromm seyn ist ein Schatz der Jugend" ("To be devout is a treasure for the youth"). Mark 16 follows (for Easter Sunday), with Acts 1, 2 and 3 concluding the listing.

How are we to interpret this? The whole of the Old Testament as well as the Pauline and general epistles are in fact absent. And although this appendix was not added to the other editions, here it stands. It was clearly added for the benefit of song leaders, and would have been in less demand for the average congregational participant; the supply of this edition may hence have been adequate for years to come.

In any case, the content of the introduction itself confirms the conclusion that here, from "a" to "z," is what the author intended to include, and nothing else, for he states: "Since the hymns and verses are only supporting witnesses to *Jesus'* teaching and to those parables which *Jesus* taught . . ."¹⁹ The author, indeed, intended to remain with the gospels, adding to this the history of the birth of the church. The story begins with the gospels and stops with Pentecost, adding Ephesians 6 – and here the hymn, "Fromm seyn ist ein Schatz der Jugend" ("To be devout is a treasure for the youth"), suggests that the author intends the passage, Ephesians 6, to add an element otherwise missing, namely, an emphasis on passing on the faith to a younger generation. Chapter six of Ephesians, significantly, also includes the idea of the "gospel of peace." Once again, in this document emerges a discipleship under Jesus, finding its fulfillment in the birth of the gathered church, imbued with the gospel of peace, all of which is to be passed on to a new generation.

We must remember, on the other hand, the nature of German preaching, still practiced by the Old Order Mennonites and Old Order Amish. One specific biblical passage became the main focal point of the whole sermon, yet with the freedom to range throughout all of scripture, including the Apocrypha, to exemplify and enlarge on the theme at hand. Here was a sort of "historical" preaching that generally included examples from the Old Testament, but also from Pauline sources, as well as examples from church history and the contemporary scene. Indeed, for the Anabaptists and later Mennonites,

the new testament (the new covenant) of the Christian era did not come to an end in A.D. 99, but continues, even to this day: and "we," the church, are the ones extending this new testament of Jesus within our generation and era of history.

Scriptural interpretation for the Lancaster Mennonites of 1820 began with the New Testament, and not the Old. Even more to the point, within Lancaster Mennonitism there was a carefully-honed christocentric principle being exemplified. The Jesus orientation was couched within a historical framework, rather than taking its most central cues from a Pauline, doctrinal orientation.²⁰ The idea of the *Nachfolge Jesu* (the following after Jesus) was the central plumb line, and not a *Nachfolge Pauli* (a following after Paul). Paul found his rightful place within Christian teaching, yet he and his teachings too, along with the Old Testament teachings, were subsumed within Lancaster Mennonitism under the primary christocentric principle.

Conclusion

Lancaster Mennonites, with their approach to scriptural interpretation, were simply continuing an old Swiss Brethren tradition, for in Switzerland, almost at this very same time, Nikolaus Wütrich was writing similar ideas. In 1807, Wütrich from the Swiss Emmenthal, with pen in hand, began to reflect upon those disquieting events a century earlier that had led up to the Great Swiss Brethren Schism of 1693 – the schism that had given birth to the Amish movement. Repercussions of that religious storm could still be felt in his own family and community. He first presented his own interpretation of Paul, Peter, and Christ, on the matter of shunning, expressing his conviction that Paul compromised himself when pressured by certain Jewish factions. Wütrich then joined in with Peter (2 Peter 3:16), agreeing that there are some things in Paul's writings hard to understand, and that we must "come to terms with Paul's doctrine."²¹

The point therefore still remains that the teaching of Jesus, via his Sermon on the Mount, but also via his parables, continued to be the central focus around which the Lancaster tradition was built, with a view to remaining faithful to Jesus as Lord, including the hope that this faith and history might also be handed down to a new generation of Mennonites. □

¹⁹ Emphasis added.

²⁰ Of significance, theologically, is that one finds none of the popular pietism in the thought patterns of Hershey, Eby, or Hauser.

²¹ *Informations-Blätter*, 1987, 62ff. In English translation, part of the passage in question reads as follows (here, applied to the question of shunning):

Christ . . . did not pursue the Jews, as did Paul. The same epistle (1 Corinthians 5) mentions eating the Passover lamb, where Paul (9[20-22]) states that to the Jews he became a Jew; and to those with a faith tied to the Law he became as one under the Law; and to those outside the Law he became as one outside; and that he became all things to all people in order to save a few. The phrase, "all things to all people," is of special import for a true understanding of the whole. Peter wrote, There are some things in Paul's writings hard to understand (2 Peter 3).

But what does that have to do with us, where Paul taught and lived Jewishly? And what about those who want to take off the gentle yoke of Christ, and instead want to put the Jewish yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which the apostles at Jerusalem had taken off? (Acts 15[10]). In Leviticus 10-20 there was much avoiding of food and people, but the twelve apostles did not place shunning upon Gentile believers (Acts 15),

and although Paul was a high apostle and a chosen vessel, he was still a human, possessing human weaknesses, about which he himself complains when he says: "I can will what is right, but I cannot do it. For I do not do the good I want, but the evil I do not want is what I do" (Rom. 7[18]); and that no one exists who does good yet who does not sin [Romans 3:12].

I believe that concerning the oath, Paul also remained more than sufficiently with the Jews (Hebrews 6[13-18]), and that he went from the Gentiles to the Jews in Jerusalem, and submitted to the ritual of cleansing, as if he had made himself impure among the Gentiles — [which,] I believe, [he] also [did] for the sake of the Jews: "They said to him, 'You see, brother, how many thousands there are among the Jews of those who have believed; they are all zealous for the Law, and they have been told about you that you teach all the Jews who are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children or observe the customs'" (Acts 21[:21-22]). So we see how the believing Jews remained under the Law. Consequently, this necessitates coming to terms with Paul's doctrine, and also resonating with Peter, that there are some things from Paul hard to understand [2 Peter 3:16].

The author describes and analyzes the impact of the tent revival phenomenon on Mennonites of the 1950s.

Responses of North American Mennonites to the Tent Revivals, 1951 to 1962

by Dale F. Dickey

The mass revivalism/evangelism tent movement from 1951 to 1962 was an unprecedented phenomenon in the history of the Mennonite church.¹ The campaigns of brothers George R. Brunk II and Lawrence Brunk and the Christian Laymen's Tent Evangelism (CLTE) organizations received considerable attention in the church as they moved across the United States and Canada attracting large crowds. The success of the tent movement confronted the church on two planes: (1) the acceptable means which the church could utilize to revitalize itself and attract new converts, and (2) the compatibility of mass revivalism/evangelism with the Mennonite theological understanding of the nature of the church.

What began as a revival within the Mennonite Church ended with Mennonite church evangelists conducting campaigns under the sponsorship of and for non-Mennonites. As that shift occurred, opposition diminished and the movement apparently was accepted by the church as an effort of evangelistic outreach.

The purpose of this article is to chart the evolution of the tent movement in the Mennonite church from 1951 through 1962. The research is the result of a rhetorical study which attempted to identify the critical periods in the chronology to determine the success or failure as a movement. The sources utilized were the church periodicals intended for general church membership which reflected the "public" perception and evaluation of the movement, rather than the "official" position or the scholarly interpretation. Therefore, scholarly works, or papers from conferences and seminars, or minutes and reports from official church boards or councils are not utilized except as reported in the publications directed to the broad church readership.

Revivalism had influenced North American Mennonites since the eighteenth century with responses ranging from rejection to acceptance. Some Mennonite churches held annual revivals, either in the church or in campmeetings with tents. All of the tent evangelists of the 1950s had been involved in such revival meetings prior to engaging in the mass movement.

Following World War II, the Mennonites found themselves in a rapidly changing society. The fifteen years following the end of the war unleashed a flood tide

of activity as the church struggled to define its witness and mission. The tent mass movement uniquely crystallized the tensions which Mennonites were experiencing in that pivotal period.

Origins of Brunk Revivals

Into this scene George R. Brunk II and Lawrence Brunk opened their revival tent meetings in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on June 3, 1951.² The meetings were likened to the "great revivals of Moody, Finney, Sunday, and others."³

The mass revival tent movement was launched when the Brunk brothers, under the sponsorship of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference, erected their tent on a vacant lot across the street from the East Chestnut Street Mennonite Church in Lancaster. George, the preacher for the campaign, was Professor of Bible at Eastern Mennonite College in Harrisonburg, Virginia. His brother acted as business manager of the organization and song leader.

Returning one evening in 1946 "from the last service of a tent campaign in Richmond, Virginia, one of which the Brunks had been asked to conclude," they spoke "of the great opportunities of witnessing for Christ and the importance of carrying the full Gospel to those who seldom hear it."⁴ Lawrence, a successful chicken farmer in Denbigh, Virginia, purchased the tents, trucks, trailers and equipment for the campaigns.⁵

The meetings at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, were a great success, as George Brunk stated, "beyond anything

¹ Mennonite church refers to all groups affiliated by the generic name; Mennonite Church, hereafter, refers to the (Old) Mennonite Church denomination.

² The date was reported as June 3, 1951 in the *Mennonite Weekly Review* 28 (June 29, 1951):1, and in the *Gospel Herald* 44 (Sept. 4, 1951): 852. In an addendum to *Revival in Our Day* by T. K. Hershey (Denbigh, Va.: Brunk Brothers Revivals, 1953) Ford Berg gave June 4, 1951, as the date. George R. Brunk's records showed June 8, 1951.

³ Maurice E. Lehman, "The Lancaster Revival," *Gospel Herald* 44 (Sept. 4, 1951): 853. *Gospel Herald* is the official publication of the (Old) Mennonite Church.

⁴ Katie Florence Shank, *Revival Fires* (Broadway, Va.: author, 1952), p. 10.

⁵ Shank, p. 10. Also Lawrence Brunk's audio tapes "Tent Report '51,' '52,' '53."

we imagined."⁶ A crowd estimated at 7,000 persons attended the first Sunday evening services in the tent chapel with many in an adjoining tent and about 400 in the church across the street.⁷ On July 15, 1951, the Sunday evening service was attended by "more than 15,000 persons."⁸ When the campaign ended after seven weeks, reports stated between 1,200 and 1,500 confessions and reconsecrations had occurred.⁹

George Brunk's premise was that the church needed to be revived before it could engage in evangelism. As he said later when invited to speak to the Mennonite Publication Board in early 1953, "The church must be more alive spiritually if it is to go forward in evangelism; otherwise it will be primarily occupied with doing chores."¹⁰

The first summer campaign of the Brunks started on June 3 and ended on November 25. In that period the Brunks set the stage for the tent revival movement of the Mennonite church. Many writers gave direct support in the periodicals of the church. The numbers attending and making confessions were utilized as evidence of the validity of this method in reaching and winning converts, confirming the plight of the church in need of a renewal.

The success of the tent revivals generated a lively discussion in the periodicals as the church attempted to

define the role of revivalism and evangelism in the witness and mission of the church. An article, "Desperation and Revival," which received a wide printing, stated: "We have confused evangelism with revival and added numbers to churches already loaded down with members that have been "starved and ironed, but not washed."¹¹ A response in a letter to the editor praised the article—it "describes very truly conditions in our church."¹²

One editorial in the *Mennonite Weekly Review* addressed the question of church evangelism and revivalism; it suggested that the concept of evangelism and revival was a "dual emphasis (which) must be a continuing process. There is no 'and/or option' in the matter."¹³ Significantly, an editorial reflecting the ease of membership in the Mennonite church appeared in the same issue of the *The Mennonite* as the article on "Desperation and Revival." The editor suggested "if the membership were more difficult and decisive it would mean more."¹⁴

The necessity and validity of evangelism in the church did not seem to be in question. Professor Paul R. Shelly of Bluffton College in Ohio, writing a Reformation article in *The Mennonite*, defined the difference between Mennonites and other Reformers: "The account of the early Anabaptist movement is filled with a record of a



During June and July of 1951 the Mennonite Brunk brothers—George II and Lawrence—brought their tent revival meetings to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Due to extremely high attendance, the meetings were moved in the first week of July 1951 from the site near the East Chestnut Street Mennonite Church in Lancaster city to north of the city on the Manheim Pike. This aerial view (city to the south in the background) of the Manheim Pike site, near the former site of the airport, shows the approximately 2,000 cars surrounding the tents. Newspaper estimates for the Sunday evening service of July 8 were between 12,000 and 15,000 persons, "...the largest in the religious history of the city and county." Among Brunk's topics that night were "Victory" and "False Eternal Security."



The Mennonite Brunk brothers, George II and Lawrence, brought their tent revival meetings to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania in June and July of 1951. Songleader Lawrence Brunk directed a group of children. The banners read "LOSE your SINS and FIND your SAVIOUR!" and "The Whole Gospel for the Whole World."

group of people who had a true zeal for the cause of Christ. This early period of Anabaptist history is known for its missionary activity.¹⁵ A. C. Brunk's article, "Evangelization the Chief Work of the Church" traced the missionary idea from the Old Testament through the Pentecost sermon of Peter and concluded that "The church must be committed to spreading the Gospel."¹⁶

The thrust of a number of articles in church publications by the end of 1951 focused on the responsibility of the individual church member in evangelism. In *The Mennonite*, a series of articles published under the general heading "Winning Men to Christ"¹⁷ stressed the laymen's involvement in the work of evangelism. Missions editor of the *Gospel Herald*, J. D. Graber, noted "there is a definite awakening among our lay members"¹⁸ with various groups being formed to do the work of mission. In a plea for lay evangelism an editorial observed "that the time is now ripe for Mennonite church to launch a dynamic program of lay evangelism." Since there were "about 1,300 ordained men in the church, compared to 65,000 members" there were "great talents" unused.¹⁹ Robert Detweiler argued that the "Christian laymen's duty"²⁰ meant involvement in personal evangelism. Responding to the interest in lay evangelism, the Eastern Mennonite Board of Mission and Charities was prompted to call a church-wide conference on Lay Evangelism to held in the spring of 1952.²¹

Some opposition to the mass approach of evangelism appeared by the end of the first year of the Brunk Revivals. J. Paul Sauder argued that "since there is no record of preaching to masses" in the New Testament, mass meetings with their questionable practices and results, such as the "post-meetings slump," were less

effective than personal evangelism and preaching by home pastors.²²

⁶ Personal interview with George R. Brunk, Dean Emeritus, Eastern Mennonite Seminary, Harrisonburg, Virginia, Sept. 15, 1977.

⁷ "Thousands Attend Evangelistic Service," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 28 (June 28, 1951):1. *Mennonite Weekly Review* is privately published with no specific denominational affiliation.

⁸ "Record 7-week Revival Closes At Lancaster," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 28 (Aug. 9, 1951): 1.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ L. C. Hartzler, "The Primacy of Evangelism," *Gospel Herald* 44 (Mar. 17, 1953): 257.

¹¹ "Desperation and Revival," *The Mennonite* 66 (Aug. 14, 1951): 506,514. This article was condensed from *The Watchman-Examiner* and printed in *The Christian Digest*, the *Gospel Herald* and finally *The Mennonite*. The *Mennonite* is the church publication for the General Conference Mennonite Church.

¹² C. H. Friesen, Letter to the Editor, *The Mennonite* 66 (Sept. 4, 1951): 550.

¹³ "Evangelism or Revival," [Editorial] *Mennonite Weekly Review* 28 (Oct. 4, 1951): 6.

¹⁴ "What Should be Required for Church Membership?" [Editorial] *The Mennonite* 66 (Aug. 14, 1951): 503.

¹⁵ Paul R. Shelly, "The Reformation and Our Day," [Guest Editorial] *The Mennonite* 66 (Oct. 23, 1951): 663.

¹⁶ A. C. Brunk, "Evangelization the Chief Work of the Church," *Gospel Herald* 44 (Oct. 23, 1951): 1017-18.

¹⁷ A. H. Schultz, "Winning Men to Christ," *The Mennonite* 66 (Feb. 27, 1951): 139.

¹⁸ J. D. Graber, "Men Work," [Missions Editorial] *Gospel Herald* 44 (Sept. 11, 1952): 890.

¹⁹ Lester W. Yoder, "Lay Evangelism," *Gospel Herald* 44 (Oct. 30, 1951): 1044-45.

²⁰ Robert Detweiler, "Personal Evangelism - a Christian Laymen's Duty," *Gospel Herald* 44 (Dec. 11, 1951): 1189-90.

²¹ Yoder, "Lay Evangelism," p. 1045.

²² J. Paul Sauder, "Evangelism and Preaching," *Gospel Herald* 44 (May 19, 1951): 801.



Beginning in 1951 George R. Brunk II (left) and brother Lawrence Brunk (right) led the initial phase of the tent revival movement among Mennonites. George was the evangelist while Lawrence served as campaign manager and song leader. By 1954 Lawrence Brunk had left that revival tent ministry due to his increased pentecostal emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit.

A similar criticism expressed in an editorial in the *Mennonite Weekly Review*, and later reprinted in the *Gospel Herald*, spoke to the trend in the large crowd syndrome which catered to the spectacular and was pervaded by strong emotional factors designed to elicit a "good feeling" after the meeting is over.²³ Citing Biblical evidence, the editorial concluded: "The great purposes of God were not always accomplished in this way. . . He worked mainly through small groups and individuals."²⁴

The tent revival movement in 1952 gained support from two quarters. First, a group of Mennonite church laymen in eastern Ohio formed a corporation for the purpose of tent evangelism. Second, Andrew Jantzi, an evangelist from the Conservative Amish Mennonite Church, secured a large tent and became involved in mass revivals within that branch of the Mennonite church. Jantzi limited his campaigning to his own church denomination and was not a factor in the tent evangelism movement within the larger Mennonite church.

The Brunk Revivals began the second year of summer campaigning at Johnstown, Pennsylvania, on April 27, 1952, through May 18 where the first report in the Mennonite publications appeared indicating attendance and response by non-Mennonites.

A conference-wide evangelistic campaign sponsored the Brunks in Waterloo, Ontario, began on July 5. This campaign in Canada represented a departure from the previous year's format. All the campaigns in 1951 were under the aegis of a local church, a number of churches,

or a conference affiliated with the Mennonite church. However, the Ontario campaign included non-Mennonite churches in the sponsorship.

Christian Laymen's Tent Evangelism

Following the successful Brunk campaign at Orrville, Ohio, in the summer of 1951, a group of laymen from several Mennonite churches in Wayne County began discussions which ultimately led to the formation of the Christian Laymen's Tent Evangelism, Inc. The purpose of the organization was "to sponsor and conduct tent evangelism . . . (and was) open to any member in good standing of the (Old) Mennonite Church or any related group."²⁵ Howard Hammer, a former minister in the United Brethren Church²⁶ before becoming an itinerant evangelist in the Mennonite Church, had been considering this type of ministry. When the group and the evangelist became aware of their common interest, he was chosen as evangelist for the CLTE.

²³ "The Auditorium Age," *Gospel Herald* 44 (Nov. 13, 1951): 1092.

²⁴ "Evangelism or Revival," [Editorial] *Mennonite Weekly Review* 28 (Oct. 4, 1951): 6.

²⁵ "Laymen Organize for Tent Evangelism," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 28 (Feb. 1952): 3.

²⁶ The United Brethren Church joined with the Evangelical Church to form the Evangelical United Brethren Church, which later merged with the United Methodist Church.

George R. Brunk, writing in the *Gospel Herald* in January 1952, defended revivalism in the Mennonite church. Speaking to the excesses and extremes of revivalism, Brunk recognized that "revivalism may minimize the place and importance of other agencies and offices in the church and revival may lead to an emotional stream without doctrinal mooring." But justifying his position as a revivalist within the Mennonite church, he continued: "It was been rightly said that revivals are dangerous. To deny this is an extreme position as also it is to refuse to recognize the good." Brunk admitted there had been divisiveness caused by revivalism in the past, but Brunk concluded that revival would counter all the dangers and "result in uniting the church."²⁷

Church Response

C. F. Yake's article, "The Brunk Meetings: An Evaluation of the Movement"²⁸ was a manifesto for the revival of the Brunks. Yake wrote: "The purpose of the Brunk campaigns is to bring about revival in the Mennonite church and to extend the kingdom of God by winning men to Christ." George Brunk was "called of God as the man of the hour for this purpose. . . (and) raised up of God to head this great revival movement going on in the Mennonite church."²⁹ Citing the complacency, materialism and lukewarmness in the church Yake likened the Brunks to the early Anabaptists of the Reformation era. Noting criticism had been received by the evangelists as "even some Mennonites"³⁰ opposed the revivals, Yake concluded.

. . . in spite of many opposing voices the revival campaigns have continued and are continuing with increasing effectiveness. Souls are being warned and the faithful are inspired and motivated to greater service for the Lord. It is a mighty movement of soul winning and of Christian reconsecration.³¹

Articles entitled "An appreciation of the Brunk Brothers' Tent Revivals" by D.D. Miller,³² and Ira Martin's "Satan Hates Revival"³³ defended the movement and affirming the need for revival in the church.

As the revival movement gathered momentum in the



In 1953 the Christian Laymen's Tent Evangelism organization was headquartered in Orrville, Ohio. The Board of Trustees was pictured in the booklet *Hammer Tent Revival Echoes*: Left to right: front row—Levi Oswald, Mose Martin, Edward Gerber; middle row—Roland Ross, Marvin Hostetler, Paul Ressler; back row—Leo Mast, Floyd Beyeler, Sylvester Lehman, John Hershberger.

second year, the church hierarchy did not react in opposition directly to the revivals. However, individuals writing in the church publications raised questions and concerns critical of revivalism while the church leadership placed an emphasis on evangelism.

The General Conference Mennonite Church was the first to respond. As early as October 1951, the Committee on Evangelism of the General Conference decided to shift the annual fall evangelistic emphasis through the Sunday school to the first quarter of the following year to coincide with a decision to make 1952 a year of evangelism. Sunday school superintendents and pastors were reminded that teachers, as well as Sunday school members, must be impressed with the urgent need of discussing the claims of Christ upon the lost and indifferent.

The Committee on Evangelism furnished material for *The Mennonite* at regular intervals intended to keep before the Church "the importance of evangelism and to point out various ways in which this work may be carried on."³⁴ Sunday school lessons, a regular feature of *The Mennonite*, emphasized the role of evangelism in the Church. Articles such as "Meeting the Challenge of Evangelism Through the Sunday School"³⁵ pointed out that the Sunday school provided the "best opportunity in working at this task [of evangelism] and especially in the winning of children."³⁶ The role of the teacher was vital in the process as both this article and an editorial noted. The teacher must be an evangelist "afire with the love of God and have Christ's concern for others."³⁷ Victor Sawatzky wrote: "The most important factor in winning souls to Christ, through the Sunday school, is the personality of the teacher."³⁸ The General Conference Mennonite Church emphasis focused on evangelism through education.

The Mennonite Church took a different approach by calling "A Laymen's Conference on Evangelism" in April 1952. In anticipating the conference, scheduled for April 5-7 to be held at Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, J. D. Graber cited Scripture and church history as evidence of laymen's involvement in evangelism and stated: "Everyone who was a disciple was busy winning others to discipleship."³⁹ Two weeks later, in an article promoting the conference, Graber indicated who should attend

²⁷ George R. Brunk, "Dangers in Revival," *Gospel Herald* 45 (Jan. 29, 1952): 102.

²⁸ C. F. Yake, "The Brunk Meetings: An Evaluation of the Movement," *Gospel Herald* 45 (June 16, 1952): 565-67.

²⁹ Yake, "The Brunk Meetings," p. 565.

³⁰ Paul M. Lederach, "Revival in Franconia," *Gospel Herald* 44 (Sept. 18, 1951): 903.

³¹ Yake, "The Brunk Meetings," p. 565.

³² D.D. Miller, "An Appreciation of the Brunk Brothers' Tent Revivals," *Gospel Herald* 45 (Feb. 2, 1952): 126-27.

³³ Ira Martin, "Satan Hates Revival," *Gospel Herald* 45 (June 17, 1952): 588.

³⁴ "Bringing Good News," [Editorial] *The Mennonite* 67 (July 8, 1952): 419.

³⁵ Elmer R. Friesen, "Meeting the Challenge of Evangelism Through the Sunday School," *The Mennonite* 67 (Mar. 12, 1952): 181-82.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

³⁷ "Evangelism in the Sunday School," [Editorial] *The Mennonite* 67 (Mar. 12, 1952): 179.

³⁸ Victor Sawatzky, "The Sunday School Teacher As An Evangelist," *The Mennonite* 67 (Jan. 8, 1952): 23.

³⁹ J. D. Graber, "A Laymen's Conference on Evangelism," *Gospel Herald* 45 (Jan. 8, 1952): 43.

the conference and the types of lay activities which were appropriate evangelism.

Whatever the church does must always be subject to the tests. "What relation does it have to evangelism? How does this contribute to the extension of the kingdom?" It may be education, nurture, social service, pastoral support, or nothing more spectacular than consistent, fruitful living, but it all has relation to church expansion.⁴⁰

The agenda dealt with the Biblical basis for evangelistic work, reports on practical work being carried out, and the fields available for evangelistic activity.⁴¹

There is no published record of boards or councils of the Mennonite church at this stage directly challenging the revival movement. The leaders of the church seemed to reserve judgment as they sought to understand and evaluate the movement.

Cautious Affirmation

Editorials in church papers reflected some ambivalence. The editor of the *Gospel Herald*, in "The Fire Spreads," recounted places where the "revival fires" had spread and reported "stirring revivals, with sinners and cold churchmembers being marvelously changed." Giving examples of people speaking about their faith, witnessing to others and paying their debts as evidence of the changed lives, he continued: "The Lord is using our tent evangelism campaigns to perform these miracles." He claimed positive results were occurring because of the wave of evangelism sweeping the church as the Mennonites were building new communities, asking for evangelistic literature, showing interest in missions, and developing new Bible schools. The dangers must not be minimized, the editor warned, as the revival can "get out of control" and can "run into unreasonable fanaticism and emotional off-balance." There can be a "self-righteousness" on the part of those involved in revival who may become "introspective" and "critical of those who do not feel and do just as he does" which results in a lack of "zeal and a disposition for service."⁴²

Reaction expressed in an editorial in the *Mennonite Weekly Review* seemed to strike a middle position as the church struggled to evaluate the "nation-wide sweep of revival." The article gave the Brunk Brothers praise for "maintaining a high plane" and a "business-like" organization of the campaigns. The writer concluded: ". . . all Spirit-directed revival should receive the Christian's whole-hearted, prayerful support. The unchurched and unsaved need to be brought into the Fold and the churches revived." But the editor warned:

There can, however, also be a danger that we rely too much on revival movements to the neglect of individual responsibility. So many of us have the tendency to feel that there is no revival unless it is MASS revival; evangelism isn't real unless it is MASS evangelism. It is important, therefore, that we remind ourselves that revival is also a personal matter. Mass meetings come and go, but what will finally count in the end is our day-to-day witnessing through work and life.⁴³

These articles seem to indicate indecision and uncertainty as the church wrestled with the role of revivalism and evangelism in relation to the mission of the church.

Some indirect criticism of the mass revivalistic approach to evangelism began to appear in the periodicals. S. F. Unruh, writing in *The Mennonite*, raised the question: "Why is it that with all the efforts that are being made to bring people to Jesus Christ, only so few, comparatively, accept Him." Calling the word-of-mouth evangelism "A Neglected Approach to Evangelism," Unruh asked: "As we think of our usual preaching of the Gospel must many of us not confess our chief emphasis had been on being saved from Hell?"⁴⁴

Esko Loewen wrote an editorial in which he emphasize study, service and fellowship as means of evangelism and suggested "crisis conversion"⁴⁵ was an inappropriate method of winning the youth to the church. An editorial in the *Gospel Herald* expressed the opinion that "our interest in the more spectacular forms of evangelism may cause us to neglect our prayerful support of our regular pastor."⁴⁶ The implication seemed to be that the church must concern itself with "the difference Christ makes in everyday life."⁴⁷ D. Edward Diener argued for a constant service in the mission of the church since "God never intended for us to take our evangelistic work in one dose."⁴⁸

The readers of the *Gospel Herald* were reminded by J. D. Graber that a "legitimate criticism of certain evangelistic movements is that although they have a commendable zeal for saving souls they have no sense of community."⁴⁹ Conversely, "a program which develops a sense of community but neglects the soul-reaching and soul-saving process"⁵⁰ is not enough. In the wave of the growing interest in evangelism, Paul N. Kraybill commented: "There is a tendency to over-look one of the most basic and essential elements of the church's testimony . . . the home church group."⁵¹

An editorial in *The Mennonite* maintained that while mission offerings, revival meetings and visitation evangelism have their place, the "greatest of all is 'mustard seed evangelism'-the everyday words of everyday Christians sown for Jesus Christ in the home, at the auction, or by the bedside."⁵² Ministers in the church were encouraged to use the "renewed interest"⁵³ of laymen in the work of evangelism of the church. J. W. Shank recalled the training

⁴⁰ J. D. Graber, "Lay Evangelism Conference," *Gospel Herald* 45 (Jan. 22, 1952): 86.

⁴¹ "Lay Evangelism Conference April 5-7," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 20 (Mar. 20, 1952): 3.

⁴² "The Fire Spreads," [Editorial] *Gospel Herald* 45 (July 29, 1952): 739.

⁴³ "Emphasis on Revival," [Editorial] *Mennonite Weekly Review* 29 (Aug. 14, 1952): 6.

⁴⁴ W. F. Unruh, "A Neglected Approach to Evangelism," *The Mennonite* 67 (June 3, 1952): 362.

⁴⁵ "Editorial," *The Mennonite* 67 (Feb. 26, 1952): 131.

⁴⁶ "Pray for Your Ministers," [Editorial] *Gospel Herald* 45 (June 17, 1952): 587.

⁴⁷ W. F. Unruh, p. 362.

⁴⁸ D. Edward Diener, "Revival That Continues," *Gospel Herald* 45 (Dec. 16, 1952): 1218.

⁴⁹ J. D. Graber, "Sense of Community is Not Enough," [Missions Editorial] *Gospel Herald* 45 (Aug. 5, 1952): 777.

⁵⁰ Graber, p. 777.

⁵¹ Paul N. Kraybill, "The Witness of a Spiritual Brotherhood," *Gospel Herald* 45 (Nov. 18, 1952): 1121.

⁵² J. Herbert Fretz, "Mustard Seed Evangelism," [Editorial] *The Mennonite* 67 (June 17, 1952): 387.

⁵³ "The Power of the Laymen," [Editorial] *The Mennonite* 67 (Apr. 8, 1952): 227.

You are invited to the

Hammer Tent Revivals

Lancaster, Pa., on Route 23

Sept. 26 to Oct. 17, 1954—7:45 P. M.

Evangelist, HOWARD HAMMER

Apple Creek, Ohio



If my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land.

II Chronicles 7:14



From September 26 to October 17, 1954, a tent revival was held by Howard Hammer on the farm of Karl and Dorothy Burkholder between Eden and Mechanicsburg, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. The Lancaster Mennonite Conference sponsored Hammer, then living in Apple Creek, Ohio. Special invitation cards were printed. The Revival News flyer of September 16 stated that the purpose of the revival was "to exalt Christ, to strengthen the saints, to save sinners."

and instruction of Jesus to His disciples to become evangelists in an effort to motivate the members of the church to fulfill the Great commission⁵⁴ (Matthew 28: 18-20).

Writers suggested various ways local churches and individuals could engage in evangelistic outreach. Maynard Shelly reported that since "the people we want to reach with an evangelistic message don't come to these public meetings,"⁵⁵ the evangelistic meeting should be utilized to inspire church members to participate in a Lay Visitation Evangelism program. Readers were told: "Newspaper evangelism (was) a method of evangelism . . . not . . . used very much by our church."⁵⁶ C. F. Fast encouraged the church to stress teaching because "if careful obedience of the entire (great) commission were followed, a tremendous change would result in the churches."⁵⁷

In the fall of 1952 *The Mennonite* again called on the General Conference Mennonite Church to make special efforts to reach the unchurched and the lost in communities through the Sunday schools⁵⁸ Mennonite churches were encouraged to support "the continent-wide simultaneous evangelistic campaign known as the CHRIST FOR

EVERYONE campaign"⁵⁹ during the month of October. W. F. Unruh had surveyed a number of pastors and ministers before writing an article on "The Purpose of Evangelistic Meetings."⁶⁰ The scope and variety of the articles seemed to indicate the church's indecision. By this stage in the movement the church appeared to be disorganized and confused in its reaction to the revival movement. The year moved to its close with two reports which seemed to symbolize the divergent positions.

⁵⁴ J. W. Shank, "The Disciple" Challenge to Evangelism," *Gospel Herald* 45 (Jan. 22, 1952): 73-4, 93.

⁵⁵ Maynard Shelly, "A Week of Evangelism," *The Mennonite* 67 (Apr. 1, 1952): 213.

⁵⁶ J. T. N., "Newspaper Evangelism," *The Mennonite* 67 (July 8, 1952): 427.

⁵⁷ C. E. Fast, "The Great Command to Teach," *The Mennonite* 67 (May 20, 1952): 324.

⁵⁸ W. F. Unruh, "The Sunday School in a Great Task," *The Mennonite* 67 (Sept. 9, 1952): 565.

⁵⁹ W. F. Unruh, "Christ For Everyone," *The Mennonite* 67 (Sept. 9, 1952): 565.

⁶⁰ W. F. Unruh, "The Purpose Of Evangelistic Meetings," *The Mennonite* 67 (Sept. 9, 1952): 565.

For the revival movement the second year of the Brunk Revivals and the first year of the CLTE was a marked success, if numbers attending the meetings and decisions were the criteria. The Brunks had received national press coverage in *Time*⁶¹ magazine and *The Mennonite*⁶² reported on the article. For opponents, the year ended with a report of an address to the Fifth Mennonite World Conference by John R. Mumaw entitled "How Evangelized?"⁶³

Evangelism continued as a major concern of the Mennonite church as the Brunk Revival movement entered the third year. The editor of *The Mennonite* observed: "One of the heartening things of our time is the way in which the work of evangelism is taken up seriously in all parts of the country."⁶⁴ The people of the church were being encouraged to be willing to speak out concerning their faith and not be silent about their beliefs.⁶⁵ Groups are being formed in evangelistic efforts such as The Ambassadors for Christ in South Bend, Indiana, for the purpose of contacting taverns and visiting skid rows.⁶⁶ The tract ministry was an approved evangelistic technique for the people to utilize as a "wonderful channel by which all can give out the Good News."⁶⁷

Mennonites perceived many activities as legitimate evangelism. An account of a night call and the opportunity which it presented was considered part of the evangelistic outreach of the church.⁶⁸ The use of summer camps as a means of evangelism was cited: "A survey of our summer camps reveal that they have been successful in leading young people to Christ."⁶⁹ In a sermon on "The Place of Youth in Evangelism"⁷⁰ Willard Wiebe encouraged the young people of the church to prepare personally and witness. Other methods of evangelism included the use of phonographs as demonstrated in Africa⁷¹ to spread the Gospel. The Mennonite Hour, a radio evangelism program started in March 1951, was praised as a means of evangelism.⁷²

Revivals Defended

The revival movement gathered momentum in 1953. The Brunks conducted a record ten campaigns in 1953, including a return to Sarasota, Florida for a second winter. The summer meetings ran from April 26 to November 9 and the CLTE held five meetings beginning June 9 and ending October 25. Supporters of revival contended the mass meetings were the primary means to bring the Gospel to the people, convinced the preaching

service in special meetings attracted audiences which resulted in public confessions of faith.

The Evangelism Committee of the General Conference Mennonite Church, affirming the importance of the preaching services, urged churches to "make special efforts to observe Holy Week as a 'week of witnessing'."⁷³ The editor reminded the readers that "this plan of an annual week of witness during Holy Week was accepted by the General Conference in 1947"⁷⁴ and continued to be supported by the church leaders. In a guest editorial in *The Mennonite*, Paul R. Shelly, added support for annual evangelistic services. A series of meetings, he wrote, gave the people of the local congregation an opportunity in the church to "think through their beliefs and functions." The church could extend "its witness into the community and broaden its outlook" and the minister could "supplement his ministry" through the Holy Week meetings.⁷⁵

The editor of the *Mennonite Weekly Review* adjudged mass meetings an "entirely appropriate . . . means . . . for preaching of the Word of Life. Let's give our whole-hearted support to mass evangelism and public revival."⁷⁶

The movement received support from the Mennonite Church leadership early in 1953 as the General Council of the General Conference, in session at Chicago, Illinois, April 9 and 10, adopted a "Statement of Concerns on Revival and Evangelism."⁷⁷ The document appealed to all bishops, ministers, deacons, teachers, leaders, conference boards, committees, institutions, congregations, and homes to "wholeheartedly and unanimously support revival and evangelistic efforts."⁷⁸ The statement appeared on the front page of the *Gospel Herald*, "reprinted by request,"⁷⁹ but without naming the source of the request.

These statements appeared to give an imprimatur to the "revival among us."⁸⁰ Other endorsement came from various writers who encouraged the church to "accept some revitalization of her time-tried methods of evangelism."⁸¹ The tent meetings of the Brunk brothers were defended by reminding the church of the need for revival and that "God is honoring the work . . . (and was) the drawing power within the tent."⁸²

Articles began appearing which attempted to define revivalism and evangelism within the context of Mennonite theology and tradition. Some viewed evangelism in the broadest terms, as "the promotion of the gospel and the person or church imbued with evangelism is evangelistic."⁸³ Others attempted to "delimit the use of the term," and defining it as "address[ing] the individual

61 "Trailer Evangelist," *Time* 60 (Aug. 25, 1952): 46, 48.

62 "Trailer Evangelists," *The Mennonite* 67 (Oct. 14, 1952): 645.

63 John R. Mumaw, "How Evangelize?" *Gospel Herald* 45 (Oct. 14, 1952): 1001-2, 1008-9.

64 "Evangelism at Work," [Editorial] *The Mennonite* 68 (Feb. 24, 1953): 115.

65 "Tongue-Tied Christian," [Editorial] *The Mennonite* 68 (Jan. 20, 1953): 35.

66 "Field Notes," *Gospel Herald* 46 (Jan. 27, 1953): 84.

67 A. H. Schulz, "Giving Out the Good News," *The Mennonite* 68 (Feb. 10, 1953): 85.

68 E. R. Anderson, "Night Call," *The Mennonite* 68 (Jan. 20, 1953): 37.

69 L. C. Hartzler, "Children's Camps, A Means of Evangelism," *Gospel Herald* 46 (Aug. 4, 1953): 746.

70 Willard Wiebe, "The Place of Youth in Evangelism," [Sermon] *The Mennonite* 68 (Sept. 15, 1953): 571-73.

71 "Phonograph Evangelism," [Editorial] *The Mennonite* 68 (Oct. 20, 1953): 643.

72 Daniel Suter, "The Mennonite Hour Comes of Age," *Gospel Herald* 46 (Sept. 22, 1953): 910-11.

73 "The Week of Witnessing," [Editorial] *The Mennonite* 68 (Mar. 17, 1953): 163.

74 *Ibid.*

75 Paul R. Shelly, "What Were the Results of Your Week of Meetings?" [Editorial, guest writer] *The Mennonite* 68 (Apr. 28, 1953): 259.

76 "After the Tent Leaves," Editorial, *Mennonite Weekly Review* 30 (Sept. 3, 1953): 6.

77 "A Statement of Concerns on Revival and Evangelism," *Gospel Herald* 46 (June 16, 1953): 565-66.

78 "A Statement of Concerns," p. 566.

79 "A Statement of Concerns on Revival and Evangelism," *Gospel Herald* 46 (Aug. 13, 1953): 1.

80 "A Statement of Concerns on Revival and Evangelism," *Gospel Herald* 46 (June 16, 1953): 565.

81 "Fluid Evangelism," Editorial reprinted from *The Sword and Trumpet* in *Gospel Herald* 46 (Feb. 3, 1953): 103.

82 S. H. Brunk, "Revive-All," *Gospel Herald* 46 (Mar. 10, 1953): 223.

83 D. H. Unruh, "Evangelism the Primary Responsibility of the Church," *The Mennonite* 68 (Mar. 31, 1953): 197.



"CRUSADE for CHRIST"
 CHRIST FOR THE WORLD THE WORLD FOR CHRIST

EVANGELISTIC TENT CAMPAIGN
 Lancaster, Penna.
 4 miles West of Lancaster on Route 230
JUNE 14 thru JULY 7
 Every Evening at 7:30 D.S.T.
 Song Leader: J. MARK STAUFFER, Harrisonburg, Va.
 Plenty of Parking—4500 Free Seats

- CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP
- INSPIRATIONAL SINGING
- GOOD GOSPEL MESSAGES

Evangelist
 MYRON S. AUGSBURGER
 Sarasota, Florida

Sponsored By The Mennonite Churches of the Manheim & Mt. Joy Districts

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO ATTEND AND ENJOY THESE SERVICES

From June 14 to July 7, 1957, Myron S. Augsburg led an "evangelistic tent campaign" at a site west of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on the Harrisburg Pike under the heading of "Crusade for Christ" and "Christ for the World/The World for Christ". On the faculty of Eastern Mennonite College in Harrisonburg, Virginia, Augsburg was the evangelist for the Christian Laymen's Tent Evangelism organization. As this invitation card states, these meetings were sponsored by the Lancaster Mennonite Conference churches of the Manheim and Mount Joy districts.

with the Gospel" rather than meaning the total work of the church.⁸⁴ Jacob T. Friesen stated that message and method should be separated because for the Mennonite church "message had become identified with a method."⁸⁵

Reaction of (Old) Mennonite Church Periodical

Early in 1953, the Mennonite Church struggled, not with validity of evangelism, or the necessity of deepening commitment of church members, or the positive results of the revivals, but with a definition of evangelism and the relationship between revivalism and evangelism. In particular the concern centered on the message and the method.

A study conference in May 1953 on evangelism at Goshen Biblical Seminary addressed these issues. The conference considered the role and impact of mass evangelism both within and outside the Mennonite church. Perhaps the most significant result of the conference was the section of the study dealing with "evangelism for full discipleship as contrasted with an evangelism which . . . (was aimed) . . . at a crisis commitment of faith in Christ."⁸⁶

Following the Goshen conference, the editor of the *Gospel Herald*, Paul Erb, wrote a long editorial entitled "Evangelism for Full Discipleship."⁸⁷ Citing the Old Testament prophets, Jesus, and the apostles as foundations of the principles of the Mennonite heritage, Erb wrote: "Full discipleship became one of the cardinal doctrines of the Anabaptist faith, and one of the chief requirements for membership in the "gathered church." Erb reminded his readers that the Mennonite church had always been evangelical and the forefathers were "active evangelists, but as they evangelized they included in their preaching the full implications of a demanding discipleship."⁸⁸ Erb's editorial outlined principles which claimed to conform to the Anabaptist tradition. He distinguished between evangelism for the full discipleship and the evangelism of "many popular evangelistic programs."⁸⁹ "True evangelism" was inviting people to

Christ "with all that that means," rather than, as sometimes occurred by "begging . . . (or) importuning the audience to do the evangelist a favor." Erb criticized the practice of determining the success of a campaign and the reputation of the evangelist by the number of responses attained.

Further, he argued that the cost of discipleship must be presented and the invitation to Christ must include the concept of him as Master and Lord, as well as Saviour. Critical of evangelism which stressed the easier, more welcome function of Saviorhood while leaving the less welcome reminder of the Lord's claim upon loyalty and obedience for another day, Erb stated: "But, so often that day does not come and the new believer falls into a facile and flabby pietism."⁹⁰

To conform to the Anabaptist principles evangelism must teach all the doctrines, not just the first principles of repentance and faith. Erb called it unfair for a visiting evangelist to "paint the sparkling generalities" of the Christian faith and leave the "hard specifics" to the pastor for later instruction.⁹¹ Since the "task is not done when the visiting evangelist takes the midnight train,"⁹² the local pastor must follow-up "by natural sequence, and not as a difficult opposite."⁹³ For the Mennonite church leaders evangelism meant an honest study of the Bible and the search for truth which "may be something very different from a revivalistic intoxication that sends the addict from one evangelistic meeting to another."⁹⁴

While admitting that emotion was part of evangelistic preaching and can serve good purposes, he warned that if emotion is not "related to truth it can be a very futile thing."⁹⁵ Evangelism must teach understanding for permanent results and this necessitates a broad definition of the term involving the whole church program. If mass evangelism techniques only arouse the feeling and fail to make the new convert a "Biblical Christian, their influence is shallow and in the long run harmful."⁹⁶

That Erb directed the major thrust of his editorial toward mass evangelism practices seems obvious. Repeated references to preaching, visiting evangelists and practices associated with mass revivalistic and evangelistic campaigns invited the reader to interpret the article as a critique of the inadequacies of both message and method. One cannot but conclude that for Erb evangelistic preachers who offered crisis commitment rather than a "full discipleship" message were violating "one of the cardinal doctrines of the Anabaptist faith."⁹⁷ He reserved his sharpest negative criticism of evangelism for the

⁸⁴ Jacob T. Friesen, "Rebirth and Renewal," *The Mennonite* 68 (Mar. 10, 1953): 151.

⁸⁵ Jacob T. Friesen, "Message or Method," *The Mennonite* 68 (Mar. 10, 1953): 151.

⁸⁶ "The Evangelism Conference," [Editorial] *Gospel Herald* 46 (May 1, 1953): 435.

⁸⁷ "Evangelism for Full Discipleship," [Editorial] *Gospel Herald* 46 (June 9, 1953): 539-40, 555.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 539.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 555.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 539-40.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 555.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 540.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 555.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 540.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 555.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*



In 1955 the tent revival meetings of George R. Brunk II first went to Mennonite communities in western Canada—to Swift Current and Rosthern, Saskatchewan. In the summer of 1957 Brunk led major revival thrusts in Manitoba, Canada, at Winkler, Altona, Steinbach, and Winnipeg. In 1958 the Fraser River Valley in British Columbia witnessed a series of Brunk campaigns, including one promoted by this billboard. In these tent revivals Brunk wore conventional clothing rather than a Mennonite plain coat, as pictured in the Winnipeg rally.



preaching and the practices related to mass meetings, and in particular the tent meetings.

The article by Erb did not attack directly the work of the Brunk and Hammer Revivals. However, it must be recognized that the Mennonite church was experiencing a mass tent revival by two organizations which were receiving wide publicity and meeting with success throughout the church. The declared purposes of the Brunk and CLTE organizations, along with the reports in the periodicals and newspapers, seem to verify the fact the revival groups were engaging in the kind of evangelistic messages and methods deplored by Erb.

If the Erb article was perceived as a demarcation of the "true evangelism" desired by the Mennonite church and the de facto evangelism as it was practiced in the Mennonite church, it is logical to conclude that this article constituted a direct challenge to the evangelistic and revivalistic mass meetings of the Brunk Revivals and the Christian Laymen's Tent Evangelism, Inc.

Erb seemed to identify both "message" and "method" as central in determining "full discipleship." The true message must include presentation of the "cost of discipleship"⁹⁸ which may mean a change in perspective and life-style. All messages of evangelism should present not only those dealing with repentance and faith, but "all doctrines of Christ."⁹⁹ For Erb, the methods of evangelism must be consistent with the theology and tradition of the church. The emotionalism connected with the mass meetings was detrimental and could result in conversion which was not permanent. Without a "follow-up" which brought the new believer into the church through "honest study of the Word," this evangelism was inadequate.¹⁰⁰

The type of evangelism which considered only the first part of the Great Commission as applicable to evangelism and the last part consigned to Christian education or nurture was criticized by W.F. Unruh. Writing in *The Mennonite* one week before the Erb article, Unruh charged: "The world is in this present day trouble because of a one-sided emphasis in evangelism" and he indicated evangelism was "basically a matter of teaching."¹⁰¹

The first editorial criticism of the movement in the *Mennonite Weekly Review* followed the first Brunk campaign in Kansas. The article expressed praise along with reservations. Menno Schrag urged the church to give "whole-hearted support to mass evangelism and public revival" but also cautioned that community campaigns were "transient and temporary" and in a week or two the tent must be packed up again and the evangelists move on.¹⁰²

Crisis Identified

The work of Erb, Unruh and Schrag appeared to support the concept that "full discipleship" could be achieved through messages and methods consistent with the historic principles of the Anabaptist faith. They charged that revival and evangelistic mass meetings focused on crisis commitment, but neglected the teaching which nurtured the convert. The type of evangelism which considered only the first part of the Great Commission as being applicable to evangelism and the last part consigned to Christian education or nurture was criticized. Too often evangelists presented a "one-sided emphasis" during which people were urged "to believe in Jesus and accept Him as Savior and leave it at that."¹⁰³

This challenge came at a critical moment for the movement as the Brunk organization experienced some internal difficulties. A fundamental difference developed between George and Lawrence over theological issues which apparently effected the emphases and strategies on the campaigns. Lawrence became "more pentecostal,"

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 539.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 540.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ W. F. Unruh, "The Great Commission as the Watchword of Evangelism," *The Mennonite* 68 (June 2, 1953): 340.

¹⁰² "After the Tent Leaves," [Editorial] *Mennonite Weekly Review* 30 (Sept. 3, 1953): 6.

¹⁰³ W. F. Unruh, p. 340.

¹⁰⁴ Personal interview with Grace Showalter, Librarian, Menno Simons Historical Library, Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Va., Sept. 14, 1977.

wanting to stress the Holy Spirit actively manifested in the converts, but this emotionalism and charismatic emphasis was unacceptable to George.¹⁰⁴ This tension between the brothers had apparently increased slowly over the past year and resulted in some private criticism of the Brunk revivals.¹⁰⁵ The conflict between the brothers was not resolved as I. Mark Ross replaced Lawrence as song leader the following year and the name of the organization was changed to The Brunk Revivals, dropping the reference to the brothers.

The CLTE also had leadership transition in 1953. Hammer decided to leave the CLTE at the end of the 1954 campaign to become a missionary in Brazil. By mid-1953 criticism of the tent revivals came from a variety of quarters. A doctoral study by John A. Hostetler¹⁰⁶ resulted in a statistical report in the *Gospel Herald*¹⁰⁷ on the gains and losses in membership in the Mennonite church. The research of Hostetler revealed reasons people united with the Mennonite church as well as their reasons for leaving. This statistical study challenged the claim that revival brought converts into the church. Although studying church membership from 1901 through 1950, Hostetler research concluded:

Attendance at Sunday school, friendship associations, and home visitation contracts are more effective in gaining converts than are contacts such as reading material, attendance at college, radio broadcasts, or institutional contacts.¹⁰⁸

In an article in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*¹⁰⁹ Hostetler listed the evangelistic service third in a survey of religious activity effective in converting others to the Mennonite church from 1942-51. Citing membership statistics in the General Conference Mennonite Church, a pastor reported that from 1950 through 1953 the church had "an average net gain of only 635 souls, or less than two and one-half members per church."¹¹⁰ The research indicated no quantifiable evidence that the number of converts reported by the revival groups resulted in increased membership.

During 1954 the Brunk Revivals held five campaigns during the year, down from the record high of ten the previous year. Howard Hammer's final campaign as evangelist of the CLTE began at Salem, Oregon, the organization's first series of meetings in the far west.

The *Mennonite Weekly Review* carried no major article during the year on either revival group. The *Gospel Herald* reported only two of the five Brunk meetings and one of the CLTE and no article contained audience size or number of responses. However, the mass revival approach received continued support from some writers.

CLTE Leadership Change

The leadership change in the CLTE produced a dramatic shift in the movement. To replace Howard Hammer the organization chose Myron Augsburger who had served as an assistant evangelist in previous Hammer campaigns.¹¹¹ With the appointment of Augsburger the campaign retained the motto "Christ for the World; the World for Christ," however, the name was changed from the Hammer Tent Revival to "Crusade for Christ" and all references to revival were dropped. Lettering on the trucks and trailers and advertising materials referred to

evangelistic campaign or tent campaign.¹¹²

The first year under Augsburger the CLTE scheduled six campaigns. With the stated purpose "to reach the unsaved and also to build up the church and instill new life in believers,"¹¹³ the meetings opened at Berlin, Holmes County, Ohio, then continued at Goshen, Indiana. The Brunk Revivals started the year with a disappointing campaign in Hannibal, Missouri, before moving to Saskatchewan for the beginning of an extended tour in Canada during the next four years.

For the U.S. Mennonites it appeared that the Brunk influence was lessening and the thrust of the Augsburger organization with its emphasis on evangelism rather than revival was moving the CLTE into a position of prominence. The fact that the second campaign by Augsburger was held in Goshen, Indiana, seemed significant. By taking the campaign to an influential center of the Mennonite Church and apparently gaining endorsement in a favorable article by J.C. Wenger, a leading and respected churchman, was important for the re-organized CLTE. The methods and message of Augsburger seemed to be more acceptable as his sermons emphasized "good solid Bible study" and refrained from depending on the "sensational type" for emotional appeal.¹¹⁴

While the CLTE in the first year under Augsburger still appealed to the Mennonite communities for sponsorship, the thrust of the campaign appeared to be directed toward evangelism as outreach rather than revival within the church. Only two articles defending revivalism appeared in the periodicals of the church during 1955 and the laymen's role in evangelism continued to receive emphasis in the publications during the year.

The year 1955 was a turning point for the movement. The apparent lack of success by Brunk in Missouri and his minimal publicity in the Henderson, Nebraska, meetings seemed to suggest that his kind of revivalism was losing its appeal in the U.S. The fact that Brunk moved to the western Canadian provinces and broadened his support by including non-Mennonite churches signified a change in his approach. The endorsement of Augsburger by various elements in the Mennonite church was based on their perception of his shift from the previous CLTE emphasis and the acceptability of his evangelistic message and methods.

¹⁰⁵ Personal interview with J. C. Wenger, Professor of Historical Theology, Goshen Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Ind., Oct. 3, 1977.

¹⁰⁶ John A. Hostetler, "The Sociology of Mennonite Evangelism," Diss. Pennsylvania State University, 1943.

¹⁰⁷ John A. Hostetler, "Sociological Aspects of Mennonite Evangelism," *Gospel Herald* 46 (Aug. 4, 1953): 729-30.

¹⁰⁸ Hostetler, "The Sociology of Mennonite Evangelism," p. 252.

¹⁰⁹ John A. Hostetler, "The Impact of Contemporary Mennonite Evangelistic Outreach on the Larger Society," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 27 (Oct. 1953): 316.

¹¹⁰ Homer Sperling, "The Urgency and Need for Evangelism," *The Mennonite* 69 (Sept. 7, 1954): 554.

¹¹¹ Norman and Grace Hockman and Paul Neuenschwander, comp., *Hammer Tent Revival Echoes* (Orrville, Ohio: Christian Laymen's Tent Evangelism Inc., 1953), p. 47.

¹¹² The Crusade Staff, comp., *Crusade for Christ*, (Orrville, Ohio: Christian Laymen's Tent Evangelism, Inc., 1955), pp. 15, 57.

¹¹³ "Evangelistic Meetings in Holmes County, Ohio," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 32 (May 26, 1955): 3.

¹¹⁴ J. C. Wenger, "Crusade for Christ in Goshen, Indiana," *Gospel Herald* 48 (Sept. 20, 1955): 895.



By 1971 when George R. Brunk II held a tent revival near Strasburg, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, the attendance numbers were suggested by the sea of cars. However, attendance was not as high as his first foray into Lancaster County twenty years before that year. Melvin S. Glick (inset) appears on top of the tent as it was being erected on the farm of Harold Book.

Two actions taken by Myron Augsburger gave credence to the change from revivalism to evangelism. Brunk occasionally broadcast, but made no systematic attempt to utilize the medium as an integral part of the campaign and to advertise the meetings. Augsburger purchased radio time to promote the meetings and "to gain an audience with many of the unsaved in the community which otherwise might be missed."¹¹⁵ The Augsburger Crusade for Christ conceived the radio ministry as an extension of the tent services and claimed that the Mennonite church "ought to use every ethical means"¹¹⁶ to witness for Christ.

Augsburger reinforced the shift from revivalism to evangelism in an article in the *Gospel Herald*.¹¹⁷ He stated that revival and evangelism was "under review" in the church. Since "congregational revivals" had not brought in "the lost" the church had hoped for, tent evangelism began "to fill a place." He wrote that tent evangelism began in "great popularity" and then leveled off, if not dropping back a bit, but appeared to have "found its place as another method of evangelism." Acknowledging

that "no method has all the answers to our problems" and "personal evangelism" would rate as "high as any, if practiced," he argued for a "co-ordination of methods." By publicly presenting an accounting, both numerical and financial, he apparently sought support for the type of evangelistic crusade represented by the CLTE.

The reference by Augsburger to tent evangelism being replaced with "another method of evangelism" seemingly was designed to draw a distinction between himself and both the Brunk and the former CLTE organizations. The inclusion of the non-Mennonite converts from "Methodist, Baptist, Catholic, Lutheran and Mormon backgrounds" appeared to be support for community-wide campaigns and validation of broader outreach not undertaken by previous Mennonite evangelists.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ J. Mark Stauffer, "Crusade for Christ - by Radio," in *Crusade for Christ*, comp. by The Crusade Staff, p. 27.

¹¹⁶ Myron Augsburger, "Mass Evangelism - Valid or Vain?" *Gospel Herald* 49 (Jan. 31, 1956): 100.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Culmination

The Brunk Revivals entered the sixth year by returning to Saskatchewan for June and July meetings. A campaign in Dolton, South Dakota, in August received no mention in any of the Mennonite publications. However, the Mountain Lake, Minnesota, campaign in September received a paragraph announcing the meetings; during the meetings a front page article included a picture. The article reported that the purpose of the meetings was "to strengthen and enrich the spiritual life of the community."¹¹⁹ Both the *Gospel Herald*¹²⁰ and the *Mennonite Weekly Review*¹²¹ carried without further explanation a one line announcement about a reorganization of the Brunk Revivals in December 1956.

The CLTE held four tent meetings during the summer of 1956.¹²² Reporting on the final campaign at Salem, Oregon, Allen H. Erb indicated that "the church was revived" and evangelism was "attained." The campaign did not produce a "mass response" because of the "unpopular position" of the church, but "thousands became conscious of the Gospel appeal of the Mennonite church" and a "dent (was) made in the shell separating us (the Mennonites) from approach to the outside world."¹²³ Erb referred to the meetings of Augsburg as a "bold thrust in contact with the world" as no "previous Mennonite witness" had occurred in Salem. Erb's discounting of the CLTE series two years previously could be construed as a comparison of the Augsburg and Hammer approaches, having the effect of a qualitative judgment in favor of the Augsburg strategy.

The movement gained further impetus in 1956 by the formation of the Mennonite Evangelistic Crusades, a group operating in conjunction with the mission board of the Virginia Conference of the (Old) Mennonite Church for the purpose of tent evangelism. Headquartered in Harrisonburg, Virginia, the group purchased a tent with a seating capacity for 1,000 people. The evangelist for the Mennonite Evangelistic Crusades was A. Don Augsburg, brother of Myron. Launching a summer campaign with three meetings in Pennsylvania and one in Wayne County, Ohio, the group sought local sponsorship from Mennonite churches.¹²⁴

During 1956 no article in the Mennonite publications supported revival directly, and only one article related to revival and evangelism was printed. While the shift from revivalism to evangelism as the means of the church's outreach appeared to receive general support, reservations continued toward the mass approach to evangelism.

In December 1956, although neither the reason for nor the substance of the changes were announced, the Brunk group notified the Mennonite constituency of an internal reorganization.¹²⁵ The decision to campaign in

¹¹⁹ "Tent Meetings Open at Mountain Lake," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 33 (Sept. 13, 1956): 1.

¹²⁰ "Field Notes," *Gospel Herald* 50 (May 14, 1957): 476.

¹²¹ "Plan Tent Meetings in Manitoba," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 34 (May 23, 1957): 7.

¹²² Markham, Ontario; Clarence, New York; Berne, Indiana; and Salem, Oregon. An announcement of the CLTE meetings for 1956 in the "Field Notes" in *Gospel Herald* 49 (May 22, 1956): 500, indicated a fifth meetings at Mountain Home, Arkansas scheduled for Sept. 26 through Oct. 14. There was no report the campaign was held.

¹²³ Allen H. Erb, "Crusade for Christ, Salem, Oregon," *Gospel Herald* 49 (Oct. 23, 1956): 1013.



Don't leave
the Dutch Country
without visiting a
Mennonite gathering
in the Big Tent.
7:30pm July 4-18, 1971
Free admission

The 1971 Brunk tent revivals in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, attempted to reach out to the tourist influx which had dramatically increased since the early 1950s. This brochure refers to "Dutch Country" and for "free admission" promises "a chance to meet Mennonites and to learn what they believe." The reverse side of this brochure assures tourists that they "are guests at these meetings and will not feel any pressure to give" during the free will offerings. Also: "If you've never been to a Mennonite tent meeting, you've missed one of the interesting experiences in life. Hear beautiful singing with thousands of voices. Hear biblical preaching that is spirit lifting and mind expanding. Meet people that [sic] are friendly. Here you will meet Mennonite beliefs in their true reformation quality—preaching of the gospel, the simple life of trust, the fellowship of love and peace. You will feel a warm welcome."

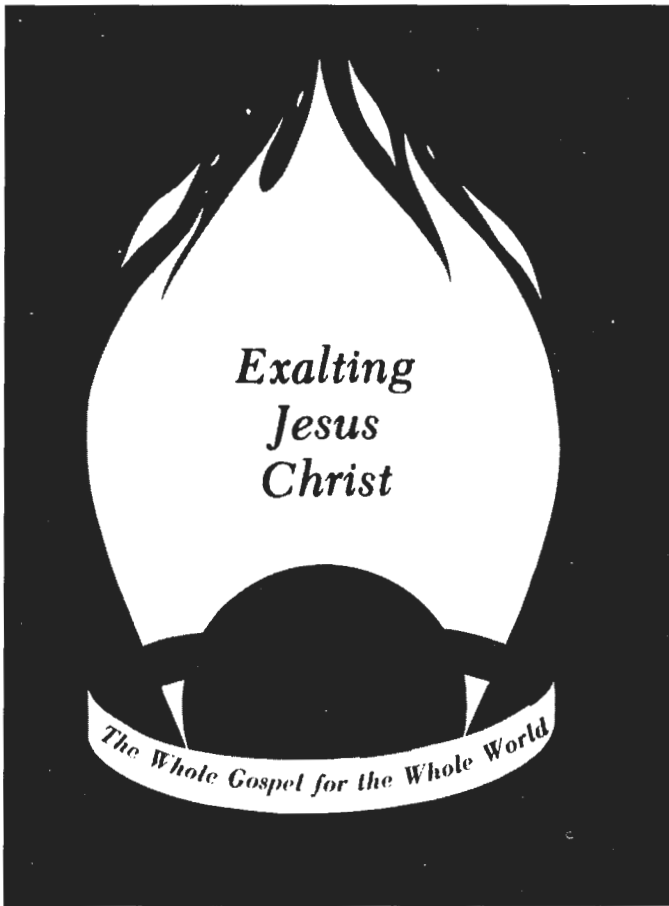
Manitoba and the following summer in British Columbia, in conjunction with the "new revised organization," suggested a modification in the strategy of the Brunk organization.¹²⁶ Without any presence of the (Old) Mennonite Church in either Manitoba or British Columbia, sponsorship for the Manitoba campaigns came from six other Mennonite denominations and two non-Mennonite groups.¹²⁷ The General Conference

¹²⁴ Norman E. Yutzy, "Mennonite Evangelistic Crusades," *Gospel Herald* 49 (Dec. 4, 1956): 1122.

¹²⁵ "Field Notes," *Gospel Herald* 50 (May 14, 1957): 476.

¹²⁶ "Plan Tent Meetings in Manitoba," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 34 (May 23, 1957): 7.

¹²⁷ The churches listed in Frank H. Epp, ed., *Revival Fires in Manitoba* (Denbigh, Va.: Brunk Revivals, Inc., 1957) were Mennonite Brethren, Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, Evangelical Mennonite, General Conference Mennonite, Bergthaler Mennonite, Rudnerweider Mennonite, and two non-Mennonite churches—Evangelical Free and Emmanuel. A report in the *Mennonite Weekly Review* included also Blumenorter Mennonite in sponsorship of the Altona campaign: "Brunk Revival Tent Moved to Altona," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 34 (Aug. 8, 1957): 3.



The *Revival Fires Newsletter* of 1974 was produced by Brunk Revivals, Inc. and had this logo with the motto "The Whole Gospel for the Whole World." It contained testimonials of past revivals, announcements of future ones, and "The Evangelist's Column" by George R. Brunk.

Mennonite Church sponsored the British Columbia campaign.¹²⁸ Further, the meetings were called "tent evangelism campaigns"¹²⁹ rather than "revival" meetings.

The two full summers in the Canadian campaigns removed Brunk from the U.S. scene and Augsburger assumed the dominant role in the Mennonite tent evangelism. The newly created Mennonite Evangelistic Crusades with Don Augsburger, which had four tent meetings the previous summer, had only one reported during 1957.¹³⁰

Beginning in 1957 Myron Augsburger actively attempted to change the direction of the CLTE. In April of that year he announced the introduction of the "Voice for Truth," a monthly paper published by the staff of the Crusade for Christ in the "interest of evangelism."¹³¹ The action by Augsburger supplanted the CLTE yearbook, which ceased publication with the 1956 issue. Another variation occurred during the summer campaign. The Crusade for Christ had continued the pattern of holding meetings in Mennonite communities with sponsorship from the local Mennonite churches. However, for the final series of meetings at Pandora, Ohio, the Tri-county Evangelistic Association sponsored the meetings.¹³² While area Mennonites did support these meetings, the aegis for the campaign came from

non-Mennonite church sources.

The Crusade for Christ began 1958 with a city-wide campaign in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and "witnessed a higher percentage of first time conversions than in any previous campaign."¹³³ With converts from "every walk of life," including "some Catholics," Myron Augsburger and his staff were "challenged with the great possibilities of city-wide campaigns of this nature."¹³⁴ A series of meetings was announced for the City Auditorium in Fort Wayne, Indiana, for August,¹³⁵ but there was no report on the campaign. Later in the year an announcement was made that the Augsburger group would hold a city-wide campaign in the Convention Hall at Hutchinson, Kansas, the following March and the sponsorship would come from seventy churches in the city,¹³⁶ along with the Christian Business Men, the Youth for Christ and the Gideons.¹³⁷

The year 1958 campaign marked the end for the CLTE as an organization. Since the organization sponsored "crusades in city auditoriums as well as in the large tent," at the annual meeting of the CLTE held on January 9-11, 1959 the organization's name was changed to Christian Laymen's Evangelistic Association, Inc.¹³⁸ The name Crusade for Christ was changed to "Augsburger Crusades" because of "conflict with local organizations using the name 'Crusade for Christ.'"¹³⁹ The headquarters of the organization was moved from Orrville, Ohio, where it had been since the organization's inception, to Atglen, Pennsylvania.¹⁴⁰ On January 1, 1963, the Christian Laymen's Evangelistic Association, Inc. became Inter-Church Evangelism, Inc.¹⁴¹ The tent owned by the former CLTE was sold, all monies distributed to mission work in the Mennonite churches and the organization was dissolved.¹⁴²

Returning to the eastern areas of the Mennonite church for campaigns in Ohio, Pennsylvania and Ontario during 1959, Brunk apparently adopted the format utilized by Augsburger. He actively sought wider sponsorship and appeared to direct his campaigns toward evangelism by participating in city-wide meetings.

¹²⁸ A. J. Klassen, ed., *Revival Fires in British Columbia* (Denbigh, Va.: Brunk Revivals, Inc., 1958), p. 4.

¹²⁹ Epp, *Revival Fires*, Frontispiece.

¹³⁰ "Field Notes," *Gospel Herald* 50 (July 16, 1957): 656.

¹³¹ "Crusade for Christ Publication," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 34 (Apr. 11, 1957): 5. No Mennonite laymen were involved in the Tri-county Evangelistic Association, but it was not related specifically to the Mennonite church as was the CLTE. Membership in the CLTE was limited to members of Mennonite churches.

¹³² "Hold Tent Services at Pandora, Ohio," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 34 (Sept. 5, 1957): 5.

¹³³ "Field Notes," p. 336.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ "Field Notes," *Gospel Herald* 51 (May 27, 1958): 504.

¹³⁶ "Field Notes," *Gospel Herald* 52 (Mar. 24, 1959): 284.

¹³⁷ "Prepare for Evangelistic Crusade at Hutchinson," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 36 (Mar. 19, 1959): 7.

¹³⁸ "Laymen's Evangelistic Meeting at Orrville," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 36 (Jan. 22, 1959): 6.

¹³⁹ "Laymen's Evangelistic Meeting at Orrville," p. 6.


¹⁴⁰ "Prepare for Evangelistic Crusade at Hutchinson," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 36 (Mar. 19, 1959): 7.

¹⁴¹ "Inter-Church Evangelism, INC.," *Crusade Witness* 7 (Jan. Feb. Mar. 1963), back cover.

¹⁴² Personal interview with Paul Neuenschwander, Oct. 10, 1976.

REVIVAL BRUNK TENT

In 1972 Paul Hoover of New Holland, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, served as treasurer of the Brunk Revivals Committee, an organization with its own checkbook (below) set up to administer the finances of the tent revival meetings led by George R. Brunk II. Publicity materials were produced in conjunction with these revival meetings, including the bright orange automobile bumper sticker (above).

BRUNK REVIVALS COMMITTEE		126
		60-1015 313
DAY TO THE ORDER OF	19	\$
		DOLLARS
 NEW HOLLAND FARMERS NATIONAL BANK NEW HOLLAND, PA. 17087		
MEMO		
⑈0313⑈ 1015⑈ 10⑈7627⑈ 20⑈		

Conclusion

The tent revival movement, originating with the Brunk brothers in 1952, reached its zenith in 1956¹⁴³ when three Mennonite organizations conducted tent campaigns across the United States and Canada. By 1960 Don Augsburger had folded his tent and his brother, Myron, followed in 1962, leaving George Brunk the only remaining tent evangelist. As the momentum in tent revival ebbed, fewer articles appeared in the church publications relating to mass revival and evangelistic meetings. Revival leaders had modified their approaches and the church, accommodating the revised emphasis on evangelism as an acceptable mission and witness, moved on to other issues.

A residuum of the movement remained as both Augsburger and Brunk continued to hold mass evangelistic meetings. Augsburger, after abandoning the tent for other facilities, became more ecumenical and carried his campaigning beyond the Mennonite communities, including a series of meetings at Salt Lake City, Utah.

Brunk continued tent meetings in Mennonite communities as well as non-Mennonite areas. He held campaigns into the 1970s for such ventures as Jesus 76 and Jesus 77. In the summer of 1980 Brunk returned for a series of meetings at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the site of his first tent revival, to celebrate his thirty years in the tent ministry.¹⁴⁴

Brunk held his "final campaign," in Landisville, Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1982, a week-long revival, climaxed with the auction of the tent, fixtures, and supplies of Brunk Revivals, Inc.¹⁴⁵ After thirty-two years tent revivalism/evangelism within the Mennonite church came to a close.□

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ "Brunk Revivals to Mark 30 Years With Lancaster Crusade," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 57 (June 26, 1980): 3.

¹⁴⁵ "Final Campaign' Ends in Auction of Tent, Supplies," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 59 (Oct. 7, 1982): 7.

A portion of a 1952 sermon by the Mennonite tent revival preacher demonstrates his theology, vocabulary, and method of invitation in this genre.

The Message of Three Worlds*

by George R. Brunk II

*The text is a verbatim transcription from an audio tape of the final portion of a sermon preached by George R. Brunk II on October 11, 1952, in Harrisonburg, Virginia. Paragraphing and other minor editorial changes have been added, including ellipses where the transcriber could not understand the words, and bracketed material which is editorial comment. The editor wishes to thank Martha Myer of Lititz, Pennsylvania, for the transcription.

Now we go on through the Word of God. We go over to Titus. We find this expression of divine love is for all men. While speaking to Titus [2:11-12a] ... "For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men, teaching us..." a number of things. I'm glad I can say to you, my dear hearers tonight, that Jesus Christ has taken the place of your redemption. Jesus Christ has made settlement for your sins. Here, I think, is an awful tragedy that men, knowing this, will carry their sins with them to the judgment, when Jesus Christ has set them free. Jesus Christ has paid the price of your redemption, and it is settled with God and it remains for you to accept Him. That's it! The faithful God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, to all men.

It's just as if the governor of the state of Virginia would come down to the penitentiary and with the keys in his hand would turn the lock in the cell wherein the criminal lay waiting the day of execution. He would put the key in the lock, waiting for the iron door to open and say, "Man, come along, come out, you're free." If he, the man, would just lie there in the corner and moan and groan. Why? He would say "I thank you for that, but I guess I will stick it out. I guess I'll go on with the message. Your message is good ... but I guess I'll stick it out and go on through with it."

No, never! A man would gratefully receive it. Thanks be to God for the great deliverance that was made possible for him. Now Jesus Christ has appeared. The grace of God has been expressed in his appearing, the love of God for us all. The provision has been made for the deliverance for every man, woman, boy, and girl whoever did live, who lives now, and whoever will be born. That great sacrifice upon Calvary's tree was adequate for the sins of the whole world. The grace of our God is manifested and expressed through our Lord Jesus Christ, that sinful man might be saved.

This, my dear people tonight, is the message of three worlds. It's a message of mystery. Men cannot understand it. But it is the message, nevertheless, and one which we preach as God gives to us grace. Now, these three worlds. I believe tonight that the message of redemption has been broadcast through hell. That's the world I want to talk to you about just for a moment. You go back to the book of Peter and there is a passage there that is rather a difficult one to unravel. I want you to get this much from this passage in I Peter 3 beginning with verse 18. "For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit."

Now, listen. [I Peter 3:19-22] "By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison; which sometimes were disobedient, when once the long suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved by water. The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God,) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ: Who is gone into heaven and is on the right hand of God; angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him."

Now, my dear people, I believe this passage teaches that there was a time when Jesus Christ invaded and penetrated the realm of the damned and made a great proclamation of his victory over death and sin. Some folks want to put Jesus Christ in hell because of sin in our place. We don't believe that Jesus Christ ever did go to hell for punishment for sin. No, that cannot be possible, that Jesus would have been rejected of the Father and sent to hell for punishment. But I believe this, that if Jesus Christ ever did penetrate the regions of the damned, it was in a glorious proclamation of victory when he was resurrected from the dead. So even those poor benighted souls who rejected the message of the prophets and who rejected the message of the Lord Jesus when he was here upon the earth, and those who turned a deaf ear, I believe that there was a time when all hell was called to silence when...

But the Lord Jesus Christ himself caught the attention of the spirits in hell in a great message of deliverance. But what good did it do? No good as far

as saving many was concerned. Yet ... that they might be saved. No, but that even the spirits and the devils in hell must know that Jesus Christ died for those in sin. This is the message, tonight, that I believe has penetrated the regions of the damned—Jesus Christ in his great sacrifice for sins.

You ask why did God ever do a thing like this? I don't know. I don't know why. You've got it there in the book. Why did he preach to the spirits in prison? Doubtless, there are those in hell and there may be those of you sitting in the audience listening to me tonight, Lord have mercy upon you, you don't quite believe. You haven't been convinced of it. Doubtless, there are literally thousands of them who are resting in the place of perdition because of unbelief. They say, "I don't believe in God. I don't believe in the atonement." They say, "I don't believe in the blood. I don't believe in the sacrifice for sins, I don't believe this. I don't believe God's Word."

But the time came when God sent Jesus Christ into hell with the great proclamation of victory. I say to you, my dear people, you won't find any unbelievers in hell now. No! Not in the sense of what we think of unbelief. No! Even the devils believe and tremble. It's enough for the modernist and the unbeliever to doubt the Word of God. It's enough for human beings today to believe enough ..., but it's no belief at all. Why, the devils are even closer to God, it would seem, than a lot of people.

Some folks say, it's so Godly, it's so holy, and go on their way without such little consideration and such little ... and such little concern for themselves and for others. What kind of a life.... The devils believe and tremble, the Bible says. But we ... would suggest that their hair stands straight up. The devils believe and their hair stands straight up. Why? because they know and remember when Jesus Christ was in their presence. They said, "Have you come to destroy us before the time?" They know and they tremble. They know and sit still and I say to you tonight there are no unbelievers in hell. There were before they went there. But tonight the damned spirits, the doomed spirits in hell, they know that Jesus Christ made final settlement for sin. They know the grace of God. They know what they could have had, had they believed God. This, then, is the proclamation of one world and it's the world of the damned.

Now, in this world, here we are—pleading, crying, and praying, week in and week out, that we with God, that man might believe the gospel. Here we are when men can be saved, when they can be snatched out of the awful clutches of unbelief and disobedience to God. Yes, it's the proclamation in this world, too. Praise God! Tonight, if you believe him in this world, it will change your eternal destiny. Those poor souls in hell are there forever.

I still say that if we could go back into the regions of the lost tonight and cry out for attention, you would have to cry for a long time to get it, no doubt, with all the weeping and wailing that is going on there, according to the scriptures, and then maybe you wouldn't get it. But if you could go into the

regions of the damned tonight, and get them just to stop their wailing for a moment, and cry out and tell them you have been authorized by God to declare that 1,000 years hence that the gates of hell are going to be unlocked and they can go free, I tell you, I believe that there would rise in the regions of hell a great cheer. Just to think of it. Those poor benighted souls would say to each other, "In a thousand years we will get out of this dreadful place." But nobody will make any proclamation like that.

No siree. No, the message was preached there that they might know the certainty of the gospel. It was too late for them to be benefited by it. Today it's preached in this world. "The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men." [Titus 2:11] Here it is. We preach it. We cry aloud! We plead with men everywhere to come to the Lord Jesus. In this world the gospel is preached. The grace of God is the great message. The Bible says, [Ephesians 2:8] "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God." Beloved, I'd like to shake you tonight. I'd like to get you to think and have you know ... that the grace of God is good and can deliver you from your sins. That's what I want you to know.

Here is the message of the three worlds. It's a message that is echoed through hell; it's the message that is echoing across America, and around the world today. It is—so that men and women can be saved if they will. The message is echoing across Rockingham County, not just from this pulpit alone, but there are many places where the Word of God is preached and will be preached tomorrow morning, and all who will can be saved. Just think of it. By accepting the Christ that is from God—through Jesus Christ men and women can be saved forever. Isn't that wonderful? Really, not only the grace of the message of that world underneath, but the message to this world in which we now live when men can determine their eternal destiny.

Now, finally it's the message of the next world. Yes, it is. People wonder, "What are we going to talk about in glory." Some are afraid they will not have enough to occupy themselves. Some of you women folk will want to take your knitting along. You are afraid you'll run out of work or something. You wonder what you will talk about. The Bible tells us what the theme of glory is going to be—you know what it is?—the theme in the glory world is going to be the theme of Christ. That's it! That's why I love to preach on it here. Because I like to give a little thought, give a little "umph," give a little push. It's going good here because the angels and the Lord God himself will take it up in glory, and for that I know that I'm in the will of God when I preach on the grace of God.

It's fairly clear when you go back to the book of Ephesians. See for yourself. In the second chapter of Ephesians verses 6 and 7, "And hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus: That in the ages to come that he might shew the exceeding riches of his grace in his kindness toward us through Jesus Christ." Do you

know what the marvels of grace are? It will even take the Lord God himself in the ages that are coming to adequately unfold his mystery. That's it.

This then is the message of three worlds. It is the message that has echoed through hell. It is the message that is echoing around the world today. It is the message that will be carried forth in the world of glory forever. Because Paul says that in the ages to come, in the coming age, he might show, or reveal, or proclaim what is the exceeding riches of his grace in his kindness toward us through Jesus Christ. The poet has said:

Could we with ink the ocean fill,
And were the skies of parchment made,
Were every stalk on earth a quill,
And every man a scribe by trade,
To write the love of God above
Would drain the ocean dry,
Nor could the scroll contain the whole,
Though stretched from sky to sky.

[The third verse of the hymn "The Love of God" at no. 39 in Lawrence B. Brunk, *Singing Revival* (Denbigh, Va.: Brunk Brothers Evangelistic Campaign, 1953); for more on this verse, see *Exploring the Mennonite Hymnal: Handbook* (Newton, Kans.: Faith and Life Press, and Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1983) pp. 286-287.]

Oh, reservoir of divine grace! That is, my friends tonight, the message of the three worlds. And it will echo throughout eternity and glory. This is the theme about which we proclaim. This will be the subject of our conversation. This will be that which is unfolded to us by God in glory. The great and exceeding riches of his grace in his kindness toward us through Jesus Christ.

I ask you, my friend, tonight, this question. What is your response to divine love? What has it been? God wouldn't accept your affection without a response, nor would a cat. A beast will respond. You farmers have among your cattle some calves that come across the field when they see you. They come close to the fence. They want you to pat them on the head. They want you to tickle them around the ears. They are fond of you. They found out you did nice things for them. They will return it. They'll return it. I tell you a beast will respond! A beast will respond to affection.

But only man says "no." Only man rebels. Only man stiffens his neck—only man, the highest of God's creation on earth, only man says "no." Only man can look up into the face of God who has loved him and given his son for him and sacrificed the riches of glory and became poor. Only man would say, "I am not moved by it." God says, though, "I love you, I'd die for you that ye might be saved from hell and ..." but man will not confess to know God. A dog wouldn't do it. A beast wouldn't do it, but a man does it. A man created by God does it.

Some of you parents out there in the audience tonight, God help you, you know what it means to have a rebellious child. You know what it means, some of you mothers, to go down and take a look into death's door when you gave birth to that child.

You know what it means to lavish your love on that child. You know what it means to watch over the crib ... through sickness and health. You know what it means to spare nothing. You know what it means to look into the face of that child in full confidence and longing desire. You know what it means to spend and be spent for your child.

You know, some of you fathers, you know. You know that there is nothing in the world to crush your heart as when that child came into the period of adolescence and uncertainty, and turns around and as good as curses you to your face. You never had a dagger thrust through your heart quite like that. No, you didn't! No, you didn't have that love without response, that love without appreciation, great heart of man. There is more than one person who sobbed and sighed in the night and whose pillow was wet with tears because of a rebellious boy or a rebellious and disobedient daughter who has not responded to love.

There are some young people who live that way who may well expect that by chance, fifteen years hence, there will be another invitation. There will be another time. Somebody else will have a child. Somebody else will know what it means to love. Somebody else will know what it means to spend and be spent. Somebody else will know what it means to lavish your love and get a dagger in your heart, and repent. It will come back. But my point tonight is this one. What do you think about the great loving heart of God who gave you everything you have, prayed for you, drained heaven's reservoir dry in a demonstration of love which a man or a woman, a boy or a girl rejects and never looks up into the face of God and says, "Thank you"?

There may be some of you out there in the audience tonight listening to my voice. You never did thank God for his love through Jesus Christ. You never did look up into the sky and say, "Lord, my heart is filled with love for you, which comes back for the love that you gave to me." We love him because because he—what? [audience response]—"first loved us." That's the response. That's the response of the dog. That's the response that a beast will give. Only man, knowing God's love, says "no." You know, I've often wondered what it does to the heart of God. I have often wondered. You say, "Oh, but he's God, he's God, he doesn't mind. He doesn't pay any attention if we don't accept his provision. He's God. He doesn't grieve." Are you sure? The Word of God says he was grieved in the things of the flesh because we sinned. The Bible says that God was grieved in his heart. That God is enough like man that he grieves tonight. His heart bleeds for sinners who have turned away from the offer of grace.

What's Jesus saying tonight? Turn from sin. And man has said no. No, and will listen to the voice of the devil who will damn him in hell forever. I want to tell you my friends, tonight, if you don't listen to the message of grace now when you can be saved, you will hear it somewhere else. If you don't believe it tonight when you can accept it and be delivered forever, you will hear it somewhere else, and then

you'll believe. You will find yourself in the regions of the damned where it has been preached and you'll be cursed. I believe this.

You'll be cursed like a doomed spirit in hell. Maybe you're all.... Maybe somebody who preceded you and was lost said "No, I don't believe it," and he went down there where the rest of them said, "We know it's so. It was preached down here. Was it preached to you up there?" The poor benighted soul says, "Yes, but I didn't believe it." And then they'll curse ... you and they'll damn you because you came into that awful place and you said no to the grace of God when it could have saved you. Then you went to hell where they knew it. You'll hear it, and there you'll believe it, but it will be too late.

This is the message of the three worlds. It is the message that has penetrated the regions of hell. It's the message that has penetrated the world today, and it's the message that will echo unendingly throughout eternity. Oh, that you might be saved ... [Titus 2:11] "For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men" ... [2 Corinthians 8:9] For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich."

Tonight the gospel saves. Tonight grace is still good. Tonight men and women can believe it and be saved forever, and find out about the rest of it in the presence of his glory what we fail to make plain here. What we cannot understand here will be understood over there by those who have accepted it. Tonight we cast the gospel net. Again as fishers of men, I ask you to be obedient to the spirit of God. Tonight don't turn him away. I pray that not a single mother, son or daughter will die and go to hell that is in the audience tonight, that you won't have to remember in hell what you heard. But you can review it in glory.

The invitation therefore is extended to all men and women, boys and girls everywhere to the age of accountability. The invitation goes out tonight that whosoever will, may come. Whosoever will, regardless where you are from. If you have no church at all, you haven't accepted the Saviour, I invite you do it quickly tonight. If you are here and you don't have peace with God, I plead with you to settle it tonight. If you don't have assurance of salvation, you need spiritual help. I plead with you to settle it tonight and without any delay. We give this invitation with the audience standing, please. Let's bow our heads and close our eyes. I want those of you tonight to make a decision in your heart right now for God.

If the spirit of God is speaking to you, it makes no difference now who you are, what church you come from. Now listen, don't keep yourself away from God. Don't tell me I'm preaching to Mennonites. I'm preaching to everybody. Don't tell me you are a church member. I didn't ask you that. I asked you to

get right with God. If you have peace in your heart, and you are ready to meet him, that's what I'm asking. I'm not asking if you are a church member. I'm saying if you need spiritual help tonight, or whatever it is, maybe you need to accept Jesus.

You may be a church member who never was regenerated and born again. That's ... tonight. If that's the case in your life, if you joined the church and never did join anything else, I plead with you tonight to make your peace with God. I ask you to be obedient and do it now. In your heart you'll say, "Yes, tonight, I'll do it, Lord." Will you? Make up your mind in your own heart. Say yes to God and no to the devil. Will you do it? Right now, in your heart? "This is my life, yes, Lord, I yield to you tonight." Will you? I ask those of you who have done it to slip up that hand long enough that I see it. God bless you. Those of you there, God help you.

Some of you didn't understand my invitation I've asked you. To those of you whom God's spirit spoke to tonight and you need spiritual help, I ask you to put that hand up. Make that decision in your heart now. Tonight you need help and you made the decision in your heart. I want you to put your hand up. God bless you. Who else? Back there, way back. Who else? Slip it up quickly if you made that decision tonight. Some of you didn't understand me. You made it before. You settled it with Jesus, but I'm talking to those who haven't had it settled. Those who have made up their minds tonight in this meeting. I'll settle it tonight.

I'm asking for you to lift that hand up along with those others. Will you do it quickly? "I'm going to settle it tonight at all costs." My friend back there. Who else? Down here. God bless you. Now you can put 'em down. Now for those who have accepted the Lord, and glad you did, and you have peace with God, bow your heads now. This is not for public gain. I want you to put your hand straight up, then we'll sing an invitation. Sing it right out. I'd like to see a landslide for God here tonight ... the Gospel of Jesus to save you from sin.

I'm asking of you who will, to come on down here. We want to pray with you in the prayer room. Not going to hurt you. Not going to do a thing you don't want to do. If you haven't peace with God, let us help you to get it tonight. That's all we want to do, put you in touch with Jesus Christ and get your sin solved. That's what we want to do for you. We promise we won't do a thing you don't want to do tonight. We just want you to settle it with God. I ask you to slip right out there and come on down here with the rest of them that are going to come while we sing. Sing it out. You need to come quickly. Don't wait. Sing it, "I was sinking deep in sin... [The hymn "Love Lifted Me" is no. 24 in Lawrence B. Brunk, *Singing Revival* (Denbigh: Va.: Brunk Brothers Evangelistic Campaign, 1953)] □

A photograph and her grandmother's diary inspire three poems by the author who reflects on the ancestor she never met.

Rachel on the Threshing Floor

by Julia Spicher Kasdorf

In 1993 I met John A. Hostetler at a conference on Amish studies at Elizabethtown College. Recognizing that I have deep roots in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, he immediately asked, "Who are your grandparents?" Then he offered some surprising information: he had a photograph taken at my paternal grandmother's funeral. This especially intrigued me because my grandmother Rachel (Yoder) Spicher—killed in a horse and buggy accident in 1948—has always been hidden from my view.¹ Since she belonged to the Zook Amish Church (now Beachy Amish Mennonite), she appears in no photographs, and aside from some diaries and a pair of spectacles broken in the accident, little tangible evidence of her life remains.

Although the tragedy of a young mother killed in the presence of her five children is known by many in Big Valley, my father and his siblings remember little of the event or even their mother, perhaps as a result of trauma. One aunt, who was eight years old at the time, is haunted by the fact that she cannot summon a mental image of her mother's face.

After the conference, Hostetler sent me a slide of the funeral scene, and a few months later I learned about some of Rachel's dairies² which were written in English—though my father recalls being forbidden to speak that language at home. The 1948 diary chronicles the last eight months of her life. That year she was in bed recovering from a bout of tuberculosis while her sister Mary managed the house work. The barn had burned the previous November, and all winter long her husband and sons dragged logs from the mountain to rebuild. As spring approached and construction was completed, cows that had survived the fire and wintered with neighbors were returned. Meanwhile Rachel gained enough strength to leave her bed. Her diary entries then become sporadic and finally stop in July; on August 30 she died in the Lewistown Hospital.

In recent years, my father, John L. Spicher, and some of his siblings have struggled to recover a remembrance of their mother—perhaps in order to gain some perspective on their loss. This piece parallels their emotional journey, enacting the dual processes of gathering up and letting go, both essential to mourning. Unlike other of my poems, it was written as a deliberate effort to reconstruct history, drawing on written, oral, and photograph-

ic sources with attention to factual details. It was composed for "Quietly Landed," a performance piece of narratives about women from Anabaptist traditions compiled by Carol Ann Weaver, Carol Penner, and Cheryl Nafziger-Leis, which premiered at the "Quiet in the Land?" conference at Millersville University, in Millersville, Pennsylvania, in 1995.

I. The Picture

Grandmother Spicher, shall I say
all that is left of you
for me to love:
 one long, gray apron,
 two diaries,
 your name, Rachel, embroidered on a quilt patch,
 and this photograph from 1948.

See, the mountain's still green
though the corn's past tassel,
and Grossdaddy's haystack is as high
as the barn's eave. Everyone's inside
gathered on the threshing floor
swatting flies during preaching
except Johnny Hostetler who slipped out
and walked down the lane to take this slide
for lectures showing Big Valley Amish
and Mennonites can agree on nothing—
salvation to screen doors—
but they'll gather in black buggies,
white top buggies,
spring wagons and cars
to mourn.

I see only that you were so beloved
the stables were full,
and horses had to be tied to fence posts
the length of the lane.
If I could follow those buggy ruts
and dung piles, if I could enter that barn,
I'd find your body and children
too stunned to know that you're gone.
Where the lane forks open
in the photograph, my thumbs cannot feel
all that was lost
before I was born.



During a late summer day of 1948 in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, a funeral was being held on an Amish farm. Rachel (Yoder) Spicher, paternal grandmother of the author of this article, had been killed in a tragic horse and buggy accident. The cars and horses waited as the funeral service continued.

II. The Diary

January 1, 1948

Rained all day & turned to snow at night.
Have been in bed since September 1, 1947 with T.B.
Barn burned November 16, —47
Men are getting logs out for lumber to build again.
Sister Mary is working here since November 1st.

January 13

Yonie Kate and Lydia were here this P. M.
Rachel went along home with them to stay all night.
Noah & Amanda stopped in on the way home from
Dodys.
Thomas is two years old today.

February 7

Cloudy and snowed a little.
Jonas made a potato bin & a fruit cupboard.
Have gained another pound.
Weigh 122 lbs.

February 10

Clear and Cold.
Mary made some things for quilting tomorrow.
Put quilt in frame.
I helped a little.
Threaded 25 needles this eve.
Jonas made a shelf in cellar.

February 11

Cloudy.
Some friends made a friendship quilt for us.
Today we had the quilting: Mother Yoder &
Mother Spicher, Kate, Emma, Mary, Annie,
Annie Renno, Sisters Annie & Fronie, Aunt Katie &
Turie Renno, Miriam R., Mary King, Mary Hostetler,
Annie Peachey, Sylvia King, Nan Yoder, Lydia
Sharp, Linda Spicher, Hannah, Amanda Yoder,
Lydia Yoder, Susie Peachey. Done some other
sewing too.

February 16

A Nice Day. Mary washed & ironed.
Jonas & John were to the mountain cutting wood.
Snowed a little. Mary churned.
Dr. was here today.

February 25

Cloudy & warmer.

¹ Rachel Ann Yoder (1910-1948), daughter of Abraham S. Yoder (1878-1968) and Saloma P. Yoder (1887-1971), married Jonas P. Spicher (1909-1977) in 1932. Their children are David R. (b. 1933), John L. (b. 1935), Korie (1938-1940), Salome (b. 1940), Rachel (b. 1943), and Thomas (b. 1946).

² Original diary in possession of author and typed transcript at the Mifflin County Historical Society, Belleville, Pa. Section two of this piece comprises verbatim entries from this diary which are the entire text for each day cited.

Jonas & I were to Devitts Camp for an X-Ray.
Shows some improvement.
Amanda was here with Mary this P.M.
Was 4 o'clock when we came home.

February 27

A nice day.
Men were to the mountain cutting logs.
Mary done some cleaning & baking.
I sewed a little and walked out to the barn.

March 10

A beautiful spring like day
Heard a robin this morning.
Mary and I patched and rugged.
Jesse Yoders were here this eve.

March 15

A nice day.
Snow about all gone.
Road men are taking down snow fence.
Men are digging out for foundation for barn.
Louie Yoder and Sam Yoder are here helping.
Mary washed & ironed & rugged a little.
Stuffed bologna this eve.

March 20

A beautiful day.
Mary cleaned up, made ice cream & cake & washed carriage.
Men were piling lumber. Louie was down.
Mother Spicher & Annie were here.
Annie brought 3 hooked rugs for me.
I am 38 years old today.

March 21

Changeable Weather. Thunder showers.
All but I were to church at Brother Abes.
Yonie Glicks were here this eve.
Unusually warm for this time of year.
Bees were out today & yesterday.

April 7

Cloudy & cool.
A group of 26 women met here today to sew for relief.
Made a comfort and quilt besides other things

April 10

A beautiful Day.
Mary dug some garden.
Men plowed & hauled manure.
Peas are coming through.

May 10

A nice day.
Mary dug garden.
I sowed some celery and cabbage.
Mary planted cucumbers & lima beans.
Carpenters were here.
Finished sowing oats.

May 16

Rained. Church at Yonie Peacheys.
Sermon by Dan King & Enos Kurtz.
We were all to church today,
the first time since last August.
Were down at Harveys this eve.

THURSDAY

1

JANUARY

1st
Day

Happy New Year

365 Days
to come

*Rained all day & turned
to snow at night.
Have been in bed since
Sept 1 1947 with T.B.*

The diary of Rachel (Yoder) Spicher (1920-1948) of Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, has an entry for the first day of 1948. As in many other entries, she first describes the weather. In this entry she also notes that she had been "in bed" for four months with tuberculosis. In July she stopped writing in her diary, and in August she died.

May 19

Clear & cool.
Mother & I were to Devitts Camp for an X Ray.
Dr. Packard thinks it shows some improvement.
Ada Glick was our driver.
Carpenters here today.
Mary white washed.
Boys harrowed this P.M.

May 25

Warmer.
Mary churned twice.
Started selling milk again this morning.

June 8

A nice day.
Put paper on kitchen ceiling.
Annie Sharp was here helping.

July 6

Cooler
Started cutting wheat
about 41 acres to cut

July 20

Cloudy
Finished thrashing wheat, 1009 bushels.
Wheat not so good this year.
Mother was down helping cook.
Mrs. Menno Yoder got some celery plants.

July 21

Showers
Baled balance of straw this A.M.
I was to Belleville
Mary cleaned up cellar & washhouses & picked cucumbers.
Raymond was here for cucumbers this evening, paid \$1.00 per hundred. Helen was here for celery plants.

III. *All Things Work Together for Them that Love the Lord*

Great Aunt Mary says the huckleberries were good in '48, and Rachel was glad to be out of bed.

Coming home from the mountain, they stopped by a stream to let the boys off,
and something scared the horse.

Rachel steered toward a pasture fence,
away from her sons, but the horse tore through,
turned, kicked back into the carriage,
breaking Mary's arm, cutting the girls
on her lap, then bolted, dragging
Rachel tangled in the reins,
dumping the children onto the grass.

Rachel never came conscious,
but for two days, lay in a hospital ward,
her children on cots outside her room.

All her life, Mary'd heard:
why can't you be more gentle,
more cheerful, more like your sister
Rachel? Then Rachel was dead,
and Mary was left to raise
Rachel's children.

Forty years later, Mary tells me
if she hadn't asked to go back to Daadi's,
none of it would have happened.

And Dad says if he and Dave
hadn't gotten out at Union Mills,
sunlight would't have glanced off a pail
or the handle wouldn't have jiggled,
or whatever it was,
wouldn't have happened,
and he wouldn't have stood there,
already beginning to forget
all he had to see.

Rachel's brothers still remember her
young and blond as an angel,
and secretly wish Jonas hadn't loved
wild horses so much.

And Poor Jonas, his two-year old drowned
in a watering trough,
his barn burned at milking time,
the bawling cows tethered to stalls.

Poor Grandpa, damned by weakness
for spirited trotters,
could only grow silent
before a silent God
who could take the mother of five,
leaving him to refuse each time
a neighbor man offered to take the baby away.

That God could take the only woman
who could husk corn faster than he could,
who grew flushed and lovely
when they danced big four, courting
on the threshing floor.

IV. *Floating on the Lobsang*

Rachel, how can I fill the blank
lines beneath weather and work

in your diary? I read books
by men you knew: Grossdaadi,

John Andrew Hostetler, Singer Joe Yoder
who wrote that only a few

in each generation can learn
by heart to lead the Lobsang,

though it's sung at every service
but funerals. Against all tradition,

I taped that hymn of praise,
Rachel, as if its long tones

could shoulder me home, float
me to you, my hair spreading out

on its flat tune, my toes
barely dragging, breathless.

No one can carry this heavy hymn
alone; there is no space

between notes to catch a breath.
Unless a grain of wheat fall

*to the ground and die, it is only
a single seed.* Great Aunt Mary tells me

I'll find your face on Aunt Lomie,
your spirit in Rachel. Dad showed me

where you lie quietly in the land
that once bloomed blue flax,

buried between your drowned toddler
and your daughter's leg. There

Rachel, I place a plain bouquet
of grief on your grave. □

Readers' Ancestry

Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage issues feature a member of the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society who has traced his or her ancestry at least six generations.

Jonathan P. Weaver-Kreider is Library Receptionist and Book Auction Cataloger at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He received the B.A. degree in International Agriculture Development from Eastern Mennonite University, Harrisonburg, Virginia. He grew up in the Palmyra Brethren in Christ Church, Palmyra, Pennsylvania and currently is a member of Charlotte Street Mennonite Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He holds membership in the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, the Lebanon County Historical Society, and the Van Buren Regional Genealogical Society, Decatur, Michigan. His interest in genealogy began in his early teenage years when he discovered family records that his grandfather, Ethan Kreider, had compiled. His other interests include reading, gardening, enjoying nature, and spending time with members of the intentional community of which he and his wife are a part. His address until May 1996 is 255 S. Ann Street, Lancaster, PA 17602. After that time correspondence may be addressed to P.O. Box 72, Campbelltown, PA 17010.



Jonathan P. Weaver-Kreider

1. **KREIDER**, Jonathan Pearse, b. Feb. 27, 1968, Hershey, Dauphin Co., Pa.; m. Sept. 29, 1990, Elizabeth Ann Weaver, dau. of (Aaron) Richard Weaver and Ruth Slabaugh.
2. **KREIDER**, (Henry) Ellis, b. Oct. 18, 1924, Campbelltown, Lebanon Co., Pa.; m. Oct. 19, 1963, Patsy Ann Hollenbeck.
3. **HOLLENBECK**, Patsy Ann, b. May 12, 1937, Dowagiac, Cass Co., Mich.

4. **KREIDER**, Ethan Allen, b. Apr. 22, 1900, Campbelltown, Lebanon Co.; d. Nov. 25, 1976; bu. United Christian Cem., Campbelltown, Lebanon Co.; m. Aug. 30, 1921, Esther Musser Books.



Ellis Kreider (no. 2) and Patsy A. Hollenbeck (no. 3)



Ethan A. Kreider (no. 4) and Esther M. Books (no. 5)

5. **BOOKS**, Esther Musser, b. Dec. 19, 1899, Cleona, Lebanon Co.; d. Nov. 14, 1990; bu. United Christian Cem.
 6. **HOLLENBECK**, Pearse, b. Jan. 20, 1909, Wayne Twp., Cass Co., Mich.; d. Nov. 29, 1993; bu. Wayne Cem., Wayne Twp., Cass Co.; m. Mar. 7, 1935, Ina Keesler.
 7. **KEESLER**, Ina, b. Apr. 4, 1909, Volinia Twp., Cass Co., Mich.
- ***
8. **KREIDER**, Henry Kreider, b. Jan. 10, 1873, Campbelltown, Lebanon Co.; d. Apr. 22, 1947; bu. United Christian Cem.; m.(1) 1895, Alice B. Johnson (Sept. 13, 1875-Aug. 10, 1896); m.(2) June 15, 1899, Katie Rice Hoffman.
 9. **HOFFMAN**, Katie Rice, b. Sept. 6, 1878, Middletown, Dauphin Co., Pa.; d. March 7, 1962; bu. United Christian Cem.
 10. **BOOKS**, Jacob Dissinger, b. Jan. 12, 1860, Heidelberg Twp., Lebanon Co.; d. June 1, 1926; bu. Fairland Brethren in Christ Cem., North Lebanon Twp., Lebanon Co.; m. June 10, 1884, Leah Lehman Musser.
 11. **MUSSER**, Leah Lehman, b. Feb. 12, 1861, E. Donegal Twp., Lancaster Co., Pa.; d. Apr. 5, 1945; bu. Fairland Brethren in Christ Cem.
 12. **HOLLENBECK**, Edwin Albert "Ted", b. Mar. 21, 1883, Wayne Twp., Cass Co., Mich.; d. Dec. 6, 1969; bu. Crane Cem., Volinia Twp., Cass Co.; m. Aug. 26, 1903, Nellie Rice Bray.
 13. **BRAY**, Nellie Rice, b. May 12, 1879, Sparta Twp., Noble Co., Ind.; d. Aug. 2, 1958; bu. Crane Cem.
 14. **KEESLER**, Hallie G., b. Dec. 17, 1877, Scipio Twp., Allen Co., Ind.; d. Nov. 17, 1969; bu. Prospect Hill Cem., Cassopolis, Cass Co.; m.(1) Feb. 10, 1901, Bessie Isadore Kembery; m.(2) May 5, 1946, Josephine (Caryl) McIntosh (Sept. 3, 1877-Aug. 19, 1954).
 15. **KEMBERY**, Bessie Isadore, b. Mar. 13, 1881, Washington Twp., Adair Co., Iowa; d. July 15, 1942; bu. Prospect Hill Cem.

16. **KREIDER**, John Funk, b. Oct. 1, 1838, Fairland, Lebanon Co.; d. June 26, 1880; bu. United Christian Cem.; m. Nov. 8, 1860, Mary Brubaker Kreider.
17. **KREIDER**, Mary Brubaker, b. Oct. 30, 1840, Campbelltown, Lebanon Co.; d. July 2, 1912; bu. United Christian Cem.
18. **HOFFMAN**, John Wolgemuth, b. Mar. 6, 1846, Falmouth, Lancaster Co., Pa.; d. Oct. 7, 1904; bu. Hummelstown Cem., Hummelstown, Dauphin Co., Pa.; m. 1876, Katie Rice.
19. **RICE**, Katie, b. Jan. 14, 1853, Mt. Nebo, East Hanover Twp., Lebanon Co.; d. Mar. 13, 1943; bu. Hummelstown Cem.; m.(2) Joseph Frank Nissley (Sept. 15, 1830-Apr. 9, 1921).
20. **BOOKS**, Samuel, b. Apr. 30, 1823, Schaefferstown, Lebanon Co.; d. Apr. 4, 1884; bu. Fairland Brethren in Christ Cem.; m. Lydia Dissinger.
21. **DISSINGER**, Lydia, b. Oct. 21, 1822, Schaefferstown, Lebanon Co.; d. Feb. 12, 1897; bu. Fairland Brethren in Christ Cem.
22. **MUSSER**, Benjamin Brenner, b. Aug. 28, 1838, W. Donegal Twp., Lancaster Co.; d. Dec. 16, 1905; bu. Mt. Rock Brethren in Christ Cem., Southampton Twp., Franklin Co., Pa.; m. Nov. 3, 1860, Elizabeth Seitz Lehman.
23. **LEHMAN**, Elizabeth Seitz, b. Oct. 21, 1840, Franklin Co., Pa.; d. Nov. 6, 1926; bu. Mt. Rock Brethren in Christ Cem.
24. **HOLLENBECK**, William Booth, b. July 21, 1858, Wayne Twp., Cass Co., Mich.; d. June 23, 1919; bu. Wayne Cem.; m.(1) Mar. 12, 1879, Mary L. Pearse; m.(2) Mar. 21, 1897, Mattie L. Pollock (b. ca. 1868).
25. **PEARSE**, Mary L., b. Nov. 21, 1858, Wayne Twp., Cass Co.; d. Jan. 13, 1886; bu. Wayne Cem.
26. **BRAY**, Samuel, b. Oct. 9, 1841, Sparta Twp., Noble Co., Ind.; d. Aug. 12, 1918; bu. Crane Cem., Volinia Twp., Cass Co.; m. June 14, 1871, Nancy A. Rice.
27. **RICE**, Nancy A., b. Jan. 7, 1853, Ohio; d. Sept. 16, 1916; bu. Crane Cem.
28. **KEESLER**, William F., b. Sept. 17, 1849, Allen Co., Ind.; d. Jan. 21, 1925; bu. Wayne Cem.; m. Sept. 9, 1871, Eliza Jane Snyder.
29. **SNYDER**, Eliza Jane, b. 1852, Springfield Twp., Allen Co., Ind. d. Feb. 22, 1926; bu. Wayne Cem.



Pearse Hollenbeck (no. 6) and Ina Keesler (no. 7).

30. **KEMBERY**, Thomas, b. May 1835, Somersetshire, England; d. 1905; bu. Garner Cem., Adair Co., Iowa; June 1853 immigrant from England; m. Sept. 13, 1866, Sarah Ann Campbell.
31. **CAMPBELL**, Sarah Ann, b. July 1849, Iowa; d. 1917; bu. Garner Cem.

32. **KREIDER**, Daniel, b. Jan. 21, 1810, Fairland, Lebanon Co.; d. Apr. 23, 1877; bu. United Brethren Cem., Annville, Lebanon Co.; m. Mary Funk. Daniel Kreider; Christian Kreider (Apr. 20, 1780-Jan. 18, 1855) and Magdalene Stover (Nov. 19, 1785-Apr. 23,



Elizabeth S. Lehman (no. 23, seated); left to right, Jesse Myers, Emma (Musser) Myers, Jacob D. Books (no. 10), Leah L. Musser (no. 11), Benjamin Musser (face obscured), John Musser, Anna (Leshner) Musser, Katie (Wenger) Musser, Joseph Musser, Amos Musser.

- 1836); Michael Kreider (Nov. 27, 1745-Aug. 18, 1817) and Anna Long (Jan. 25, 1750-Sept. 12, 1805); John Kreider (ca. 1704-ca. 1779) and Barbara Yordy?; Hans Greider (ca. 1673- ca. 1725) and Anna _____, ca. 1717 immigrants from Germany.
33. **FUNK**, Mary, b. Dec. 15, 1811, Lebanon Twp., Dauphin Co.; d. Aug. 17, 1865; bu. United Brethren Cem. Mary Funk; Martin Funk (Dec. 22, 1766-Feb. 17, 1838) and Barbara Longenecker (Dec. 10, 1773-Jan. 15, 1853); Martin Funk (Jan. 30, 1732-Dec. 19, 1796), Nov. 3, 1750 immigrant from Germany, and Judith Wenger (Jan. 19, 1732-Mar. 4, 1812), Sept. 16, 1748 immigrant from Germany; Hans Funk (ca. 1688-1752); Hans Funk (ca. 1661-Sept. 5, 1734).
34. **KREIDER**, Henry Widemoyer, b. June 22, 1815, Lebanon Twp., Lebanon Co.; d. Oct. 11, 1910; bu. Fairland Brethren in Christ Cem.; m. Jan. 9, 1840, Susanna Brubaker. Henry Widemoyer Kreider; Henry B. Kreider (Sept. 12, 1774-Apr. 9, 1835) and Christina Widemoyer (July 11, 1777-Aug. 3, 1864); Jacob Kreider (Aug. 5, 1742-Jan. 12, 1822) and Susannah Long; John Kreider (ca. 1704-ca. 1779) and Barbara Yordy?; Hans Greider (ca. 1673-ca. 1725) and Anna _____, ca. 1717 immigrants from Germany.
35. **BRUBAKER**, Susanna, b. Mar. 22, 1822, Lebanon Twp., Lebanon Co.; d. Aug. 10, 1867; bu. Heidelberg Church of the Brethren Cem., Heidelberg Twp., Lebanon Co. Susanna Brubaker; Christian Brubaker (Mar. 30, 1787-July 4, 1863) and Elizabeth Eberly (Feb. 17, 1786-Jan. 19, 1863); Daniel Brubaker (Apr. 15, 1762-Aug. 29, 1821) and Elizabeth Stauffer (Oct. 1, 1765-Mar. 7, 1828); Daniel Brubaker (ca. 1735-Apr. 21, 1762) and Veronica Dohner (b. 1731); Hans Brubaker (1685-Apr. 18, 1748) and Anna (d. ca. 1759), ca. 1717 immigrants from Germany; Hans Bruppacher (b. by 1661).
36. **HOFFMAN**, John Keizer, b. June 29, 1823, Rapho Twp., Lancaster Co.; d. March 6, 1898; bu. Mt. Tunnel Cem., Elizabethtown, Lancaster Co.; m.



Mary B. Kreider (no. 17)

- Elizabeth M. Wolgemuth. John Keizer Hoffman; Jacob Hoffman (Mar. 27, 1801-Apr. 22, 1889) and Catherine Keizer (Feb. 21, 1806-Jan. 19, 1885); Jacob Hoffman and Sophia Dunkle; Christian Hoffman (1730-1824); John Hoffman, 1717 immigrant.
37. **WOLGEMUTH**, Elizabeth, b. Feb. 26, 1825, Mount Joy Twp., Lancaster Co.; d. Dec. 18, 1909; bu. Mt. Tunnel Cem. Elizabeth Wolgemuth; Christian Wolgemuth (Mar. 18, 1799-Mar. 17, 1888) and Anna Metzler (Sept. 2, 1805-Nov. 18, 1895); Christian Wolgemuth (b. 1768) and Christina Eshleman (b. Oct. 16, 1773); Christian Wolgemuth (1748-1813) and Ann; Abraham Wolgemuth (1714-1786), Sept. 1, 1736 immigrant, and Elizabeth Miller (d. Mar. 7, 1794).
38. **RICE**, Jacob F., b. Germany; d. 1864; bu. N.J.?; m. Catharine Reese.
39. **REESE**, Catharine, b. Apr. 6, 1819, Pa.; d. Sept. 14, 1894; bu. Heckton Cem., Middle Paxton Twp., Dauphin Co., Pa.
40. **BOOKS/BUCKS**, Jacob, b. Pa.; bu. Lutheran Cem., Schaefferstown, Lebanon Co.?; m. Magdalena Albright.



Edwin "Ted" Hollenbeck (no. 12) and Nellie R. Bray (no. 13)

41. **ALBRIGHT**, Magdalena, b. July 22, 1787; d. June 18, 1837; bu. Lutheran Cem., Schaefferstown, Lebanon Co.
42. **DISSINGER**, John, b. Sept. 11, 1792, Schaefferstown, Lebanon Co.; d. Mar. 16, 1878; bu. United Christian Cem., Campbelltown, Lebanon Co.; m. Catharine Conner. John Dissinger; John (George) Dissinger (Dec. 7, 1772- 1815) and Catharine Neff; (John) George Dissinger (Sept. 17, 1748-Aug. 8, 1816) and Judith Lauser (b. June 22, 1753); John Eberhart Dissinger (Dec. 14, 1711-ca. 1772) and Anna Catharina Meyer (b. Mar. 17, 1717), Oct. 21, 1761 immigrants from Germany; John Eberhart Dissinger (b. ca. 1660) and Anna Elizabeth _____.
43. **CONNER**, Catherine, b. 1802, Schaefferstown, Lebanon Co.; d. 1857; bu. Schaefferstown Evangelical Cem.?; Catherine Conner; James Conner, immigrant from Ireland.
44. **MUSSER**, Benjamin Engle, b. Aug. 14, 1810, East Donegal Twp., Lancaster Co.; d. Sept. 23, 1884,



Hallie G. Keesler (no. 14) and Bessie I. Kembery (no. 15) - taken by Agnews Studio in Creston, Iowa, probably a wedding photograph. Note the button on her collar which has an image of a face, probably that of her husband.

Herrington, Kansas; bu. Cross Roads Cem., Mt. Joy Borough, Lancaster Co.; m. Dec. 7, 1828, Elizabeth Brenner. Benjamin Engle Musser; Heinrich Musser (Apr. 4, 1776-Oct. 3, 1822) and Maria Engle (May 16, 1783-Oct. 20, 1842); Jacob Musser (Apr. 20, 1753-1784) and Christina Engle (1750-Nov. 1787); Jacob Musser (ca. 1728-1755) and Maria Hershey; John Musser (ca. 1694-Apr. 1752), Sept. 30, 1727 immigrant from Germany, and Veronica _____; Peter Musser.

45. **BRENNER**, Elizabeth, b. Sept. 23, 1811, Mt. Joy Twp., Lancaster Co.; d. May 25, 1880; bu. Cross Roads Brethren in Christ Cem. Elizabeth Brenner; Michael Brenner (July 30, 1782-Nov. 19, 1840) and Susanna Hoffman? (Dec. 4, 1794-Aug. 7, 1874); Philip Brenner (Nov. 11, 1752-July 1, 1836) and Anna Maria Singhaus (Jan. 18, 1762-Feb. 1822).
46. **LEHMAN**, Joseph Kreider, b. Aug. 22, 1812, W. Lampeter Twp., Lancaster Co. d. May 9, 1899; bu. Air Hill Brethren in Christ Cem., Chambersburg, Franklin Co.; m. 1835, Leah (Elizabeth) Seitz. Joseph Kreider Lehman; John Leaman (Nov. 2, 1782-Dec. 2, 1870) and Elizabeth Kreider (July 7, 1780- Apr. 21, 1857); Joseph Leaman (May 20, 1757-July 11, 1833) and Elizabeth Lefever (May 12, 1756-Mar. 15, 1812); John Leaman (d. 1759) and Elizabeth Brenneman (ca. 1727-ca. 1766); Peter Leaman (d. 1741) and Anna _____.
47. **SEITZ**, Leah (Elizabeth), b. Sept. 27, 1815, Pa.; d. Dec. 22, 1893; bu. Air Hill Brethren in Christ Cem.; Leah (Elizabeth) Seitz; Jacob Seitz and Elizabeth _____.
48. **HOLLENBECK**, Albert G., b. 1806, N.Y.; d. Mar. 6, 1870; bu. Wayne Cem., Wayne Twp., Cass Co., Mich.; m.(1) Jan. 20, 1836, Mary Ann Palmer; m.(2) Anna Finley.
49. **FINLEY**, Anna, b. 1823, N.Y.; d. Feb. 16, ____; bu. Wayne Cem.
50. **PEARSE**, Edwin H., b. Oct. 12, 1834, New York City,

N.Y.; d. Sept. 13, 1894; bu. Wayne Cem.; m. Oct. 17, 1856, Paulina Luce Nash. Edwin H. Pearse; Augustus F. Pearse (ca. 1809-Dec. 24, 1898).

51. **NASH**, Paulina Luce, b. Mar. 4, 1831, N.Y.; d. Nov. 20, 1908; bu. Wayne Cem.? Paulina Luce Nash; Hendrick Nash (Feb. 29, 1808-Aug. 9, 1861) and Mary Fish (Sept. 27, 1812-ca. 1877); Jacob Nash (1784-Apr. 4, 1866) and Lovina Robbins (Mar. 1788-Aug. 19, 1851).
52. **BRAY**, Richard, b. ca. 1798, Md.; d. ca. 1852, Noble Co., Ind.; m. Lydia Smith.
53. **SMITH**, Lydia, b. ca. 1805, Va.; d. ca. 1881, Noble Co., Ind.
54. **RICE**, Israel, b. Ohio; m. Susannah _____.
55. _____, Susannah, b. Ohio; d. Apr. 5, 1865.
56. **KEESLER**, John, b. ca. 1829, N.Y.; m. Susan Ewing.
57. **EWING**, Susan, b. N.Y.
58. **SNYDER**, Jacob, b. ca. 1807, Pa.; m. Margaret _____.
59. _____, Margaret, b. ca. 1814, Pa.
60. **KEMBERY**, James, b. 1803, England; d. 1858; bu. England; m. Ann Hicks. James Kembery; William S. Kembery and Sarah _____.
61. **HICKS**, Ann, b. 1801, Camerton, Somersetshire, England; d. 1869; bu. England. Ann Hicks; John Hicks and Mary _____.
62. **CAMPBELL**, James R., b. Mar. 28, 1821, Kentucky; d. June 2, 1891; bu. Campbell Cem., Washington Twp., Adair Co., Iowa; m.(1) Susan Johnson; m.(2) ca. 1888, Hepsy Ann McKenzie.
63. **MCKENZIE**, Hepsy Ann, b. Oct. 17, 1831, Indiana; d. Sept. 26, 1915; bu. Campbell Cem. Hepsy Ann McKenzie; _____ McKenzie (d. ca. 1832) and _____ Stonebreaker. □



Thomas Kembery (no. 30) and Sarah Ann Campbell (no. 31)



James Campbell (no. 62) and Hepsy Ann McKenzie (no. 63)

Queries

Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage will publish members' historical and genealogical queries free of charge, as space permits. Genealogical queries must include a name, a date, and a location. Send materials to *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*, 2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster, PA 17602.

ADAMS: Who were the ancestors and siblings of John Adams who recruited (in Adams Co., Pa.) and commanded a Company in the War of 1812? He m. _____ Muller and had at least 2 sons, Elias (b. Oct. 11, 1815) and Jeremiah (b. ca. 1822). This family moved to Ohio in 1826 and to Ind. in 1846.

Robert P. Connett
196 Crestview Drive, NE
Abingdon, VA 24210

AUGSPURGER: A book about the three Augspurger families who immigrated from France to Butler Co., Ohio, in 1819 is in preparation. Descendants who wish to be included should contact me before June 30, 1996.

Marilyn L. Holthouse
20144 Village 20
Camarillo, CA 93012

BENDER: Who were the parents of Johannes/John Bender (Mar. 4, 1760-Mar. 19, 1838) and wife Anna Maria (Aug. 28, 1762-Nov. 30, 1831)? They are bu. Bender Cem., Millersville, Lancaster Co., Pa. John's will, dated 1838, lists 3 sons: John, Michael, and Jacob.

Leon E. Hertzler
59 South Main Street
Newport, NH 03773

BIRKENBETHL/BURGUBINE/PERKAPEAL: I am seeking information on Andreas ("Entrance") Bergenboyl, Sr. (b. ca. 1720, Germany, possibly Westerwald region; d. July 1773, near Alesia, Baltimore Co., Md.) He was naturalized in Baltimore, Md., on Sept. 6, 1769.

James D. Purkeypile, Jr.
112 North Oak Street
Lakeview, OH 4331-0103

CAMPBELL: Who has information on my ancestor Jennie/Jane Campbell (d. 1871)? I descend from her m.(2) John Dutton, alive in 1879, a farmer and hosler at Quarryville, Lancaster Co., Pa. She m.(1) Mr. Davis. All 6 ch. were raised in foster homes after her death. Was she related to either John Campbell or Ross Campbell, both shown on a 1864 map near Quarryville?

Janet Beverly Renn
Route 1, Box 2651
Edinboro, PA 16412-9801

CARROLL: I seek information on sisters Margaret Carroll (b. 1832) and Mary Carroll (b. 1836) whose parents were Timothy Carroll and Margaret Morrissey (1798-1837). He was a nightwatchman. They m. Jan. 1828, and attended St. Joseph Roman Catholic Church, Philadelphia, Pa.

Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage

Richard Morrissey
28656 Murrieta Road
Sun City, CA 92586

DICK: Who were the parents of Henry Dick (Sept. 29, 1817- Feb. 18, 1869) who is bu. Mt. Zion Cem., Mapleville, Washington Co., Md.? He ran a canal boat and m. Barbara Beechler. They had 6 ch. One dau. Mary m. Josiah Poffenberger and they lived in Locust Grove, Washington Co.

Mary E. Butts
1010 East Brandon Drive
Chambersburg, PA 17201

DIENNER: I am seeking information on the early years of Anna Dienner (b. ca. 1831) who immigrated in 1838 to Lancaster Co., Pa. Where did she live? She m. Mar. 25, 1856, Nicholas L. Roth in Lancaster Co. or Ontario.

Nancy Burkard
8395 Stahley Road
East Amherst, NY 14051

FOSTER: Who were the parents of Robert Foster (b. ca. 1765, Ireland; d. 1823, Adams Co., Ohio). He m. Margaret McCord (b. ca. 1770, Pa.; d. 1849, Adams Co.). They lived in Lancaster Co., Pa., when m. ca. 1790.

Jack Lines
924 South 16th Avenue
Yakima, WA 98902

HESS: I am searching for information on my grandmother Mary Elizabeth Huffman and her parents, Julia Hess of Pa. and John Phillips of Mo., who m. in Rushville, Va. They had a son Aubrey Phillips. According to family tradition John went away to the Civil War and never came back, but we can find no record of a pension.

Roy L. Harmon
1017 Back Bay Beach Road
West River, MD 20778-2215

HOOVER/HUBER: Who were the parents of Mary Hoover (b. ca. 1800)? She lived in Juniata or Snyder counties, Pa. and m. Abraham Landis/Landes. They had at least 8 ch.: Elizabeth (b. Nov. 3, 1821), Jacob, Anna (b. Apr. 17, 1829), Leah, Catherine, William (b. Jan. 7, 1835), John, and Abram.

Gregg E. Jacobs
Route 2 Box 85-C
New Bloomfield, PA 17068

JONES: I need information on descendents of John Jones (Dec. 24, 1729-June 24, 1840), a landowner and farmer of Metal Twp., Franklin Co., Pa., who had sons Jesse, Jacob and James. They were German Baptist Brethren, later Church of the Brethren, members.

G. Marjorie Jones
PO Box 93
Enterprise, KS 67441

KOLB/KULP: I am seeking information on John Kolb/Kulp who m. Mary Moyer. Two ch. were Isaac

Kulp (1828-1892) of near Bachmanville, Dauphin Co., Pa., and Jacob Kulp (1835-1907) of Palmyra, Lebanon Co., Pa.

Elmer F. Kulp
39500 Warren #398
Canton, MI 48187

KUGLE: I am seeking information on the parents of Catherine Kugle (Dec. 10, 1788-Jan. 16, 1831) who m. Jacob Hutzel on Sept. 8, 1808. They are bu. at Reformed and Lutheran Cem., Boonsboro, Md. Son John m. Elizabeth Zittle.

Mary E. Butts
1010 East Brandon Drive
Chambersburg, PA 17201

KUHN/GROFF: I am seeking information on Louisa Coon/Kuhn who lived in Frederick Co., Md., probably near Thurmont or Emmitsburg, and who m. ca. 1770, Henry Groff, son of John and Elizabeth Groff of Taneytown, Md. She was the dau. of Christian Coon (d. 1806, Frederick Co.) and d. before her father. Where is she buried? Was Christian Coon/Kuhn a son-in-law of Johannes Schlessman of Germantown (near Philadelphia), Pa.? Henry Groff is bu. Lutheran Cem., Emmitsburg, next to m.(2) Elizabeth Kephart.

Mrs. Evelyne E. Boose
2352 Tyrone Road
Westminster, MD 21158-2636

LECHLITNER: I am searching for data on the ancestors of David Lechlitner (b. Feb. 27, 1828, Richmond Co., Ohio; d. June 8, 1900, Elkhart Co., Ind.).

David Miller
2945 Sheldon Road
Snover, MI 48472

LEHMAN/BUCKWALTER: In the estate papers of Johannes Romer/Ramer of Perry Co., Pa., Henry Buckwalter is noted as the guardian in 1846 of the ch. of Jacob Lehman and Catherine (1786/87-before 1838), the dau. of Johannes Ramer. Who and where were Henry, Jacob, and the ch.?

John H. Ramer
131 E. Lake Avenue
Monticello, WI 53570

LINDMAN: I am seeking information on Mary Lindman/Lindemann (b. ca. 1803, Franklin Co., Pa.) who m. ca. 1820, James Laughlin. They moved to Crawford Co., Pa., then to Calhoun Co., Va., now W. Va.

Vivian Hytovick
14872 SW 111th Street
Dunnellon, FL 34432

PATTON/DERR: Who were the ancestors of Thomas William Patton (b. ca. Dec. 1797) who had siblings Peter and Betsy (m. Mr. Spriggle)? Thomas m.(1) ca. 1820, Sarah Derr and had one son Daniel (b. 1825, Pa.). He m.(2) Lydia Powell; they had son William M. (b. 1850, Ill.) who m. 1870, Julia Schofield.

Dorothy Patton Beeson
1615 So. La Canada
Green Valley, AZ 85614

PRAUL: Does anyone have information on Edward Praul (b. 1817; d. July 4, 1863, of rattlesnake bite)? He m. Lucy Thompson and was a minister. Possible b. locations are Pa. counties of Crawford, Mercer, or Lancaster.

Karen Zach
Route 7, Box 43
Crawfordsville, IN 47933

RHODES: Are the following persons from Franklin Co., Pa., related? Michael Shearer (b. ca. 1775-80; d. Chambersburg, Pa.) m. Miss Rhodes; John Rodes (d. 1805, Letterkenny Twp.) m. Maria Barbara _____; Michael and Maria Roth had 2 sons (b. 1801 and 1803); Hannah Rhodes, daughter of Henry, m. John Shively; Jacob Shively, brother of John, m. Maria Rhodes (d. 1836), perhaps daughter of John Rhodes of Green Twp.; Henry Rhode of Letterkenny Twp. in 1805 had 2 mills near Strasburg.

Ruth Acevedo
R.R. 4, Box 107
Laurel, DE 19956

RITTENHOUSE: I am searching for information on William Rittenhouse (b. Montgomery Co., Pa.; d. 1830, Mifflin Co., Pa.).

Kay Fisher Smith
62 Logan Street
Lewistown, PA 17044-1802

SAUDER/SCHROCK: I lack information on the parents of both Henry Sauder (b. 1802, Pa.; d. 1885) and Elizabeth Schrock (b. 1806, Altoona, Huntingdon Co., Pa.) who m. 1824 in Holmes Co., Ohio. They moved to Wayne Co., Ohio in 1826. In 1846 they moved to Cedar Creek Twp., Allen Co., Ind.

Fred Brubaker
3738 Nokomis Road
Fort Wayne, IN 16809

SLICK/SCHLICK: Who were the parents of Rev. John Slick (b. Jan. 26, 1790), a Methodist minister, and where was he born? He m. Elizabeth Vickroy in Bedford Co., Pa., and in the early 1800s was living in Dutch Corners, Bedford Co. Their dau. Mary Ann (1816-1896) m. John Crisman Wisegarver (1818-1899). I believe that John was b. Hagerstown, Md., and his parents migrated to Bedford Co. Was he a brother of Jacob Slick who was living in Cocalico Twp., Lancaster Co., Pa., in 1790?

Maxine I. Crabtree
208 Mayfield Drive
Lynchburg, VA 24502

SNAVELY: Who were the parents of Prudence Snavely (Sept. 17, 1821-Mar. 31, 1905) who m. Abraham Huber on Jan. 23, 1845? She moved from Lancaster Co., Pa., to Washington Co., Iowa, in 1855.

Herbert D. Huber
Box 285
Wellman, IA 52356-0285

Tips

Readers are invited to share new findings with *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*, 2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster, PA 17602.

EÖSCH: The following was abstracted from a photocopy at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society of a record from a 1531 Froschauer Bible. Bracketed data comes from *Amish and Amish Mennonite Genealogies* by Hugh Gingerich and Rachel Kreider. At one time the Bible belonged to "Johannes Hieppert."

Jacob Eösch, b. June 8, 1766 [m. Susan Miller and m. Barbara Yoder]

Christina Eösch, b. Aug. 13, 1767 [m. Heinrich Emerich]

Jacobina Eösch, b. July 13, 1769 [m. David Yoder]

Maria Eösch, b. Feb. 13, 1774

Joseph Eösch, b. Aug. ?, 1776 [m. Barbara _____]

Christian Eöash, b. Apr. 23, 1779 [m. Mary Zug]

ERB: The following data was abstracted from a 1776 Bible at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society which belonged at one time to Anna (Bomberger) Erb. Bracketed data is from secondary sources at the Society.

[Christian Erb, Feb. 6, 1755-Aug. 1, 1812]

[m. Anna Bomberger, Feb. 8, 1752-Sept. 17, 1823]

1. Johannes Erb, b. Mar. 29, 1774

2. Maria Erb, b. Apr. 29, 1775 [m. Henry Hostetter]

3. Elizabeth Erb, b. July 5, 1776

4. Jacob Erb, b. Mar. 7, 1781 [m. Elisabeth Becker]

5. ?Samuel Erb, b. Aug. 8, 1786

6. Christian Erb, b. Mar. 21, 1790

HILDEBRAND: The following data was abstracted from a photocopy at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society of a record from an 1803 Bible.

John Hildebrand, d. Mar. 2, 1831

m. Dec. 4, 1816, Elizabeth Zellers; d. July 22, 1868.

1. John Hildebrand, b. July 30, 1817

2. Catherine Hildebrand, b. Jan. 12, 1819

3. Samuel Hildebrand, b. Mar. 8, 1820

Maria Decker, b. Aug. 30, 1818

Samuel Hildebrand

m. Apr. 2, 1871, Mrs. Maria Grotta

MARTIN/GEIGLEY: The following information was abstracted from a copy at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society of record from an 1873 Bible.

Abraham S. Martin b. Feb. 8, 1851, Earl Twp.; son of Christian Martin and Ann Showalter.

m. Nov. 22, 1874, Barbara Ann Geigley (by Rev. Henry of Hinkletown, Lancaster Co., Pa.); b. Oct. 4, 1853, near Blue Ball, Lancaster Co.; dau. of John Geigley and Matilda Stauffer.

1. Matilda G. Martin, b. Dec. 16, 1876, East Earl Twp.

2. Annie G. Martin, b. Jan. 1, 1880, Ephrata Twp.

3. John G. Martin, b. Apr. 4, 1882, West Earl Twp.

4. Elam G. Martin, Aug. 13, 1884, Earl Twp.

PHOTOGRAPHS TO IDENTIFY: I have tin types and studio portraits taken in Lancaster Co., Pa., and partially identified by my mother, Bertha Marie (Brown) Snider, dau. of Henry William Brown (b. July 14, 1872, Lancaster Co.; d. July 13, 1934, Sterling, Whiteside Co., Ill.) and Bertha Elizabeth Hoak (b. Nov. 8, 1871, Lancaster Co.). Henry's parents were Henry Brown and Elizabeth Froelich; Bertha's parents were Isaac Hoak and Margaret Pickel. I need help with more data on these photographs: 1) Will Ault; 2) Cousin Mary Ault; 3) Silas and Mary Ault; 4) Susanna Pickel, dau. of Silas Pickel; 5) Great grandfather Amos Pickel; 6) Great grandmother Hoak. Photographs of other persons, possibly related, picture Ben Long, Hannah Meidich, William Phenagan, Rebecca Shertz, Kate Russell, Martha Greet, and Mrs. Hannah Byrum.

Letha Snider Bolender
N 70 Beach Drive
Hoodsport, WA 98548

RISSER/LANDIS: The following data was abstracted from a photocopy at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society of a record from an 1884 Bible. Bracketed data is from an obituary in *Gospel Herald* (June 6, 1950, p. 551).

Elias P. Risser, b. June 5, 1868, Dauphin Co., Pa.; [d. Mar. 25, 1950; son of Samuel Risser and Annie Peters.]

m. Sept. 11, 1890, Annie Landis; b. Sept. 14, 1867; d. Jan. 20, 1940.

SCHROLL: The following data was abstracted from a photocopy at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society of a record from *Tägliches Handbuch* of 1831. It also contains a notice of a funeral for Abram Lightner to occur on Nov. 26, 1862. A Phillip Schroll is listed on the 1810 census index for Hellam Twp., York Co., Pa.

Philip Schroll, b. Aug. 11, 1785

m. Maria _____, b. Mar. 23, 1784

1. Catharina Schroll, b. Aug. 3 or 9, 1809

2. Maria Schroll, b. Apr. 8, 1811

3. Susanna Schroll, b. Feb. 7, 1813

4. Philip Schroll, b. Feb. 14, 1815

5. Christina Schroll, b. July 4, 1816

6. Elizabeth Schroll, b. Dec. 11, 1818

7. Rebecca Schroll, b. Nov. 30, 1820

8. Sara Scroll, b. Oct. 14, 1822

SHIP PASSENGERS: What were the European origins and the North American destinations of the families on the ship *Friendship of Bristol* which arrived in Philadelphia from Rotterdam on Oct. 16, 1727?

John H. Ramer
131 E. Lake Avenue
Monticello, WI 53570

Book Reviews

Amish Folk Artist, Barbara Ebersol: Her Life, Fraktur, and Death Record Book, by David Luthy. Mennonite Sources and Documents, no. 4. Lancaster, Pa.: Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, 1995. 111 pages. Color illustrations. Hardback. \$29.95.

This book reminds me of a phrase used to describe the movie character Mary Poppins—"practically perfect in every way." The subject, a Pennsylvania Old Order Amish woman named Barbara Ebersol, is intriguing and enigmatic. The narrative, by an Ontario Old Order Amish man, David Luthy, is sensitive and warm. The reader hears Ebersol's own unpretentious voice through transcriptions of letters she wrote to relatives in Ontario; life-like illustrations of her needlework, watercoloring and penmanship; and a genealogical record of the Lancaster Old Order Amish congregations. The cartography is aesthetically appealing, professionally executed, and well-integrated with the text to maximize its informative value. The captivating design has a look and feel that echoes Amish values.

Barbara Ebersol was born on May 18, 1846, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Given the Pennsylvania German nickname of "Befli," she was a dwarf who later became renowned as an Old Order Amish fraktur bookplate artist. As Daniel J. McCauley writes in his brilliant interpretive foreword, "What could more adequately represent the spirit of Amish philosophy than for the smallest to prove to be one of the most significant?"

Ebersol would not have considered herself a fraktur bookplate artist, however. John L. Ruth notes in his endorsement on the dust jacket that "she probably never uttered the word 'art' or heard the work 'fraktur.'" In her correspondence Ebersol never even mentioned "marking" books.

Ebersol identified herself primarily with her Old Order Amish faith community and kinship network. Her bookplates trace the lines of ownership of cherished religious texts in her community. Her family records catalogue the marriages, births, and deaths that comprise the history of her people. Her genealogical record of the Lancaster Old Order Amish congregations confirms her attachment to her co-religionists. The painstaking entries in meticulous fraktur printing demonstrate the importance that she assigned to her undertaking. The intimate and personal watercolor decoration demonstrates the loving relationship between creator and recipient.

Ebersol also identified herself with utilitarian "work" which she described in her correspondence as "sewing," "knitting," and "braiding." Contemporaries identified Ebersol with utilitarian work as well. Annie M. Neuhauser, in a beautiful eulogy published shortly after her death on April 4, 1922, noted that "Her little hands were well trained with the needle; she done a good bit of sewing for the people, also made many pincushions and such little remembrances which she presented to the many, many people who came to see her." Luthy sees irony in the fact that "at death she went unnoticed for

what she is most appreciated today—her beautiful fraktur bookplates." They document her function at the center of Amish society.

We should be grateful to Luthy, a meticulous researcher and effective communicator, for collecting and interpreting Barbara Ebersol's fraktur bookplates. We should also be grateful to the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society for publishing Luthy's work in such professional form. I heartily recommend this book to collectors, academics, and general readers. It would make a wonderful addition to any library or coffee table.

Reg Good, Waterloo, Ontario

The Upside-Down Kingdom, revised edition. By Donald B. Kraybill. Foreword by Tom Sine. A Christian Peace Shelf Selection. Scottdale and Waterloo: Herald Press, 1990. 312 pages. Paperback. Available for \$14.95 plus \$2.50 shipping from Provident Bookstores, 1-800-759-4447.

For a new edition of this well-known "study of the kingdom of God in the synoptic Gospels," the author has undertaken a complete, line-by-line revision. The general thesis of the book is one that deserves to find hearty responsiveness: Jesus calls us to radical discipleship in areas that include wealth, possessions, power, politics, piety, non-violence, ambition, social status, and personal relationships; since nothing is ours absolutely and everything is a gift from God, we should turn possessiveness, greed, lust for power, and other vices upside down and live as if dispossessed in the spirit of the Jubilee (p. 59), even if we are unable to completely dispossess ourselves. Christian living is irreducibly paradoxical, as a series of paradoxes that constitute chapters five through twelve make clear.

This reviewer must demur in one respect, however. Kraybill's paradoxical, radical discipleship formed the heart of the Christian history that serves as Kraybill's main foil: the supposed Constantinian-Augustinian Christendom against which the Radical Reformation revolted. For Augustine and his medieval heirs, nothing created by God could be evil in itself, while anything could be used in an evil way. Demonization of some of God's created gifts (usually money, sex, power, or, more recently, alcohol) was always found only among the marginal groups until the modern and Protestant movements. One finds a remarkably upside-down kingdom in the supposedly "establishment" theology of Augustine and John Chrysostom, to name only two writers from the mainstream tradition.

Kraybill sets forth an excellent theory of the paradoxical integration of the spiritual and the social, inner and outer (e.g. pp. 20-22, 28-34), and at many points remains faithful to that laudable goal. In a number of instances, however, the book's stated goal of integrating the spiritual and the socio-economic devolves into a purely socio-economic framework. For instance, Mary's song of joy in

Luke 1 (p. 18) was woven from Psalm verses that were interpreted in her day in both socio-economic and spiritual terms; Kraybill reads it in socio-economic terms only.

Surprisingly, excessive socio-economic interpretation suddenly turns into excessive spiritualizing when we are told the Parable of the Talents must not be read in an economic way: "the commodity in the story is our knowledge of the Christian faith." On its most literal level, the parable most certainly does refer to financial stewardship. A talent was an amount of silver. But reading the parable in an economic way would mean that Jesus praised people for astute economic investments, and that runs counter to the rest of *The Upside-Down Kingdom*. Surely an economic reading of this parable does not exhaust its meaning, but why exclude a literal reading entirely?

Sometimes the paradoxical tension between proper use and abuse of things that serves as a *leitmotiv* for the book collapses into a revolutionary extremism. For instance, language of reforming the deformed (Jesus "called religious practices to their original reason for being") suddenly turns into loaded and revolutionary language: Jesus "replaced the machinery of formalized religion"; "no longer . . . worship God in the holy temple"; "worship would be freed from elaborate buildings and complicated ritual" (pp. 71-72). This implies that elaborate buildings and complicated ritual in and of themselves corrupt religion and corrupt hearts.

Kraybill says he chose the Synoptics over the Fourth Gospel as his scriptural basis (p. 11) because the Gospel of John does not offer a very sharp portrait of Jesus. The portrait of Jesus in John is different from that found in the Synoptics, but not because it is blurred. In John we see Jesus' highly focused awareness of having been sent from the Father, with its corollary that the relation of the Son to the Father is the paradigm for social and spiritual relations between Christians. John locates Jesus' glorification precisely in his hour of suffering on the Cross. These and other Johannine themes would serve Kraybill's purpose well.

In chapter nine we learn that the Father in the Prodigal Son story is an upside-down father. But are not mercy, love, forgiveness to be normal for fatherhood (which we learn about from God-the merciful-yet firm-Father)? To retain his "upside-down" theme, Kraybill is forced to make pride, harshness, and lack of mercy normative for fathers. Likewise, by reducing "love of enemies" to pacifism in view of military service, Kraybill truncates love of enemies. On occasion it may be a loving thing to stop someone from doing something terribly wrong. The issue is whether one acts out of genuine love. Sometimes it is very hard to decide such questions, and war is one of the hardest.

Among the book's many strengths is a clear narrative of the political history of Palestine before and during the time of Christ (chapter 2), although adding the highly tendentious writings of Thomas Sheehan and Marcus Borg as authorities (p. 294, 286) does not inspire confidence. Kraybill writes in a fluid, accessible style, with many striking and well-turned, clever phrases, e.g., "full valleys, flat mountains" (p. 17), making his book a pleasure to read. At points the cleverness borders on cuteness and occasionally tempts the writer into a *reduc-*

tio ad absurdum, for example (p. 32) where we find Jesus in the wilderness lecturing the stones on the virtues of inner harmony.

In short, Kraybill's stated intentions are laudable and much of this book achieves those intentions. Jesus calls us to a full-orbed, proper use of all created things despite the fact that we are constantly tempted to abuse created things. Yet the abuse does not drive out the possibility of proper use. *The Upside-Down Kingdom* addresses these important questions. Mennonites will profit greatly from their investment in reading and pondering it.

Dennis D. Martin, Chicago, Illinois

Proceedings of the Conference: Tradition and Transition, An Amish Mennonite Heritage of Obedience, 1693-1993, edited by V. Gordon Oyer. Metamora, Illinois: Illinois Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society, 1994. 241 pages. Paperback. Available from V. Gordon Oyer, 110 Flora Drive, Champaign IL 61821 for \$11.35 (or \$11.98 for Illinois residents).

The fifteen chapters of this informative book constitute the proceedings of a 1993 conference held near Metamora, Illinois, and organized primarily by the Illinois Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society. The conference reflected on the Amish heritage of contemporary Mennonite church life. The subject matter pertains to the tangled skeins of Mennonite and Amish history and the lectures range widely over time and place—from the Ukraine to Nebraska. One finds no strong interpretive scheme which gives the final word on how Amish and Mennonites have related to each other over the centuries, but such a scheme, if possible to clarify, would not be appropriate in this collection of varied contributions.

In addition to typical lectures, the book has two pieces of fiction—a brief drama on the church schism of the 1690s which divided the Swiss Anabaptists and a first-person monologue on Joseph Joder, the Amish Mennonite of Illinois who was excommunicated for his espousal of universal salvation. It also has a report on a "simulation," or open-ended reenactment of the critical 1865 Amish ministers' meeting in Wayne County, Ohio, which helped to crystallize the division which occurred among North American Amish. Noteworthy are the following contributions.

John D. Roth provides an overview of the basic issues of agreement and disagreement among Swiss Anabaptists in the later seventeenth century. The theology of the church, and the methods used to demarcate the fallen world and the redeemed church, proved quite contentious in that particular historical context. Poised between persecution and relative toleration, between extreme separation and interaction with the "world," between migration toward isolation and "mission" to the Swiss Reformed Church members, the Swiss Anabaptists eventually could not contain these tensions. The schism eventuated in what we know as the Amish, led by Jakob Amman, and the Mennonites, led by Hans Reist, although usage of the terminology of Amish and Mennonite varied with time, place, and speaker.

Jerold A. Stahly describes the Swiss-background Amish living in Montbéliard, Rhineland Palatinate, and Alsace who moved in the late 1700s to Galicia and later in Volhynia, then a part of northern Ukraine. In the nineteenth century these Amish embraced more fellowship with adjacent settlements of "Reistish" Swiss Anabaptists and with Low German Mennonites whose origins were in the Low Countries and northern Germany. In 1874 most of these Swiss Volhynians immigrated to Kansas and (now South) Dakota. In this dizzying series of wanderings over the centuries Stahly traces their identity as Amish Mennonites.

The 1779 conference of Amish Mennonite leaders in Essingen, Germany, and the discipline they affirmed is the subject of an interesting analysis by Neil Ann Stuckey Levine. Her painstaking attention to the textual variants of this discipline and other related rules which ordered Amish life provides a solid foundation for studies of earlier and later disciplines.

Delbert L. Gratz analyzes the early church conflict in North America surrounding Johannes or Hans Burkhalter (b. 1797), a Mennonite born in the Bernese Jura, who immigrated in 1817. Gratz traces the differing details in various accounts of the basic story: Hans, already baptized by Mennonites, sought baptism from the Amish in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, probably in the 1820s; since he was a Mennonite, they required rebaptism. Hans refused to undergo rebaptism and traveled to Ohio where he was accepted in the Amish congregation in Wayne County by Bishop David Zook. As a result, several Amish congregations broke fellowship with David Zook. As Gratz states, "This event opened the way for a series of *Diener Versammlungen* [ministers' meetings] which resulted in the end of any semblance of Amish unity in America" (p. 139).

The text for a guided tour of Amish Mennonite sites in central Illinois by Steven R. Estes gives the reader colorful details concerning these particular Amish settlements. Begun in the 1830s to the east of the Illinois River in what are now the counties of Tazewell, McLean, and Woodford, these congregations in the nineteenth century all sided with the more progressive branch of the Amish Mennonites. By the twentieth century they had dropped the word Amish from the names of their congregations, but not from their heritage.

This conference and fine collection are a fitting testimony to the thriving historical activities among the Mennonites of Illinois. I recommend it to persons interested in Anabaptist history in Europe and North America, and especially to persons with Amish Mennonite ancestors in the upper Mississippi Valley region.

David J. Rempel Smucker, Akron, Pennsylvania

Amish Houses and Barns, by Stephen Scott. Intercourse, Pa.: Good Books, 1992. 158 pages. Paperback. \$6.95.

This book reflects the author's love affair with the Old Order way of life. Stephen Scott joined the Old Order River Brethren in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and has written numerous books on Old Orders such as *Plain Buggies* and *The Amish Wedding*. In this book he presents the domestic architecture of the three largest Amish com-

munities: Holmes County, Ohio; Lancaster County, Pennsylvania; and the Indiana counties of Elkhart and Lagrange. In each setting he first introduces the community, its history, and the character of the church districts, along with a number of photographs of characteristic farmsteads.

The most striking feature of the book, in the reviewer's opinion, is the case study of one farm in each region. These farmstead histories include family histories as well as histories of household management mixed with the whims and foibles of particular individuals. An Irish immigrant built one farm which was later transformed by Amish owners. In tracing each farmstead over several centuries, Scott identifies the organic growth and rhythms of family cycles and successions, of economic trends and pressures, of church policies and individual adaptations to them. This approach illuminates the construction of buildings, additions, remodelings, completely new restorations after fires, and accommodations to changes in agricultural demands. This history of the single farm is a genre of writing which describes an important vernacular tradition in Anabaptist and North American building.

Unfortunately, Scott does not reveal his sources, nor suggest his methods of research. Given the personal and often anecdotal material, it is likely that family oral tradition and records represent the sources, as well as some public records such as deeds. However, the attribution of sources would have been useful and bolstered the integrity of the book.

As a work on architecture, the book is surprisingly brief concerning construction techniques and stylistic features in the built form tradition. Although one picture of a mortise and tenon joint is included, we learn little concerning joining or other construction techniques. Surprisingly, no photographs of the building process such as a barn raising are found in the many illustrations. Nor is there any indication of the identities of the builders.

The book is richly illustrated with Scott's own photographs and line drawings of floor plans, although he has not dated these illustrations. Eighty seven photographs of exteriors of farmsteads, houses, and barns provide ample visual evidence of the range and variety of structures in the three regions. Since he has respected the Amish proscription on the portrayal of human faces, one finds no such photographs. The absence of human beings in the illustrations stands in marked contrast to the many photographs of livestock: three of cows, three of chickens, three of horses, two of pigs, and one of mules. The only photograph of a human face is that of the author's self-portrait on the back cover, complete with big bushy beard and broad-brimmed hat.

Readers will find this engaging book easy to read—a story of the human lives behind this distinctive and continuing vernacular tradition of built forms that is Amish architecture.

John M. Janzen, Newton, Kansas

Book List

- Anabaptist Currents: History in Conversation with the Present.* Edited by Carl F. Bowman and Stephen L. Longenecker. Bridgewater, Va.: Forum for Religious Studies, 1995. 319 pp. \$16.95. (paper).
- Arnold, Jackie Smith. *Kinship: It's All Relative.* 2nd ed.. Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1994. 109 pp. \$9.95. (paper).
- Barnes, Robert. *Maryland Marriages, 1634-1777.* Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1995. 233 pp. \$25.00. (cloth).
- Bittinger, Emmert F. *Allegheny Passage: Churches and Families, West Marva District Church of the Brethren, 1752-1990.* Camden, Maine: Penobscot Press, 1990. 856 pp. \$45.00. (cloth).
- Brintzenhoff, Keith & Karlene. *Alde, Deitsche Lieder* (A Collection of Pennsylvania German Folk Songs). Kutztown, Pa.: Keith and Karlene Brintzenhoff, n.d. \$9.00. (tape).
- Brunk, Harry Anthony. *History of Mennonites in Virginia, 1727-1900.* Vol. I. Harrisonburg, Va.: H. A. Brunk, 1959. 554 pp. \$25.00. (cloth).
- Brunk, Harry Anthony. *History of Mennonites in Virginia, 1900-1960.* Vol. II. Harrisonburg, Va.: H. A. Brunk, 1972. 592 pp. \$12.50. (cloth).
- Croom, Emily. *Unpuzzling Your Past: A Basic Guide to Genealogy.* 3rd ed. Cincinnati, Ohio: F & W Publications, Inc., 1995. \$14.99. (paper).
- Fitzkee, Donald R. *Moving Toward the Mainstream: 20th Century Change Among the Brethren of Eastern Pennsylvania.* Foreword by Donald B. Kraybill. Intercourse, Pa.: Good Books, 1995. 348 pp. \$9.95. (paper).
- Folsom, Jan. *The Amish: Images of a Tradition.* Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1995. 146 pp. \$19.95. (paper).
- Friedmann, Robert. *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries: Its Genius and Its Literature.* Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, no. 7. Sugarcreek, Ohio: Schlabach Printers, 1995. 287 pp. \$12.00. (paper).
- Guth, Hermann. *Amish Mennonites in Germany: Their Congregations, the Estates Where They Lived, Their Families.* Metamora, Ill.: Illinois Mennonite Historical & Genealogical Soc., 1995. 380 pp. \$19.50. (cloth).
- Herr, Donald M. *Pewter in Pennsylvania German Churches.* Birdsboro, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1995. 214 pp. \$40.00. (cloth).
- Johnson, David R. *Christian Strenge's Fraktur.* Translations by Larry M. Neff and Frederick S. Weiser. East Petersburg: East Petersburg Historical Society, 1995. 24 pp. \$12.00. (paper).
- Kauffman, S. Duane. *Mifflin County Amish and Mennonite Story, 1791-1991.* Belleville, Pa.: Mifflin County Mennonite Historical Soc., 1991. 472 pp. \$25.00. (cloth).
- Lestz, Gerald S. *Lancaster County See & Do Handbook to Help You Find the Innumerable Delights of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.* Lancaster, Pa.: John Baer's Sons, 1981. 52 pp. \$3.00. (paper).
- Luthy, David. *Amish Folk Artist Barbara Ebersol: Her Life, Fraktur, and Death Record Book.* Lancaster, Pa.: Lancaster Mennonite Historical Soc., 1995. 111 pp. \$29.95. (cloth).
- MacMaster, Richard K. *Land, Piety, Peoplehood: the Establishment of Mennonite communities in America, 1683-1790.* Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1985. 343 pp. \$17.95. (paper).
- Mowrer, Barbara. Weaver, Sylvia. Longenecker, Linn. *Memories of the William and Barbara Longenecker Family.* [Columbia, Pa.]: Barbara Mowrer and Sylvia Weaver, 1995. 81 pp. \$16.50. (paper).
- Mumaw, Virgil R. *From Pequea Creek to Wayne County: A History of the Amos Mumaw Family.* Richmond, Va.: Virgil Mumaw, 1995. 111 pp. \$15.00. (paper).
- Rhoads, Catherine M. *Country Carpenter: Josiah C. Werner, 1863-1926* [Barn, house, and church builder of Somerset County, Pa.]. Baltimore, Md.: Gateway Press, Inc., 1991. 128 pp. \$20.00. (cloth).
- River Brethren Recipes II.* Mount Joy, Pa.: 1994. 288 pp. \$11.00. (paper).
- Smucker, Esther. *Good Night, My Son—A Treasure in Heaven.* Elverson, Pa.: Olde Springfield Shoppe, 1995. 85 pp. \$6.50. (paper).
- Water Boy Gedichde: The Life and Poetry of Edwin Gehman Weber.* Edited by Ruth Ann Weber Hollinger. Myerstown, Pa.: Ruth Ann Weber Hollinger, 1995. 284 pp. \$14.95. (cloth).
- Weaver, Martin G. *Mennonites of Lancaster Conference Containing Biographical Sketches of Mennonite Leaders; Histories of Congregations, Missions...* Scottsdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1931. 496 pp. \$28.00. (cloth).
- Weber, Dale K. Weber, Verlene Vaughn. *The Peter Good Family Book, 1530-1995.* Bath, Mich.: Dale K. & Verlene Vaughn Weber, 1995. 93 pp. \$19.50. (paper).
- Why I Am a Mennonite: Essays on Mennonite Identity.* Edited by Harry Loewen. Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1988. 350 pp. \$14.95. (paper).

Orders filled on a first-come, first-served basis while supply lasts. Add \$3.00 for the first volume and \$1.00 for each additional one for postage and handling. Pennsylvania residents add six percent sales tax. Address requests to Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, 2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster PA 17602-1499.