Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage

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Contributors to This Issue


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Howard Y. Musselman, interested in general, Mennonite, and local history since boyhood, was born in Lancaster County but grew up in the Mummasburg Mennonite congregation after 1913, when his parents moved to Adams County. He recalls that in his younger years he asked many questions but never received very satisfactory answers. In 1977 he wrote a history for the Fairfield Mennonite congregation's fiftieth anniversary. He has been an active leader in the Sunday school and on the church council. He also served as the first chairman of the board at Brook Lane Psychiatric Center, for which he was administrator from 1968 to 1972, after twelve years of service on the board.

He became associated with his father in the apple and canning business, first known as the Orrtanna Canning Company, which in 1949 merged with the Knouse Foods Cooperative (Lucky Leaf). From 1949 to 1968 he served on the sales and distribution staff and is presently a director of the firm. An MHA member, he was recently elected to the Historical Society's development committee.

Martin E. Ressler the Little Britain area in southern Lancaster County is a self-educated church musician and lecturer. He owns the largest private music collection in the Mennonite Church in North America and concentrates on Mennonite and Amish music history. From 1967 to 1979 he edited *Music Messenger,* a bimonthly magazine for congregational song leaders and church musicians. He also directs the Christian Herald Men's Chorus and is currently in the process of updating his twenty-eight-page "Bibliography of Mennonite Hymnals and Songbooks, 1742-1972."

He serves as secretary of the board of Lancaster Mennonite Conference Historical Society and of the Eastern Mennonite Associated Libraries and Archives. In addition, he chairs the Herr House Administrative Committee and the Mennonite Historical Associates Field Trip Committee. He operates a 143-acre dairy farm and takes active responsibility in the Oakwood (Maryland) Mennonite Church, where he is a member.

Daniel E. Charles, a 1978 graduate of Lancaster Mennonite High School and editor of its newspaper, the *Millstream,* was a senior there while assisting with this study. He is currently majoring in sociology at Millersville State College. During the winter of 1977-78 he served as quizmaster for the Lancaster Mennonite Conference Bible quizzing program. A resident of Manor Township near Mountville, Pennsylvania, he is a member of the Habecker Mennonite congregation.

Kevin R. Espenshade contributed to this study during his senior year at Lancaster Mennonite High School in 1978. He is presently majoring in physics at Millersville State College but maintains a continuing interest in research of all types. He is a member of the Rossmere Mennonite Church.

Donald B. Kraybill collaborated with Daniel E. Charles and Kevin R. Espenshade in the writing of this issue's updated study of Lancaster Mennonite High School students, who had been the subject of a three-year survey of cultural transmission and social change for which he directed the field work, completed in 1974. Assistant professor of sociology at Elizabethtown College, Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania, he received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in sociology from Temple University and remains active in related professional organizations. Some books he has authored include *Our Star-Spangled Faith; Mennonite Education: Issues, Facts, and Changes;* and *The Upside-Down Kingdom.* Prior to his graduate studies he served as director of Mennonite Youth Services and as associate director of Mennonite Voluntary Service, Salunga, Pennsylvania. He pastored the Willow Street Mennonite Church from 1968 to 1972 and is presently a member of the Mennonite Board of Education.

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IN THIS ISSUE

THE COVER

The springhouse on the Preacher David Reiff farm near Cashtown, Adams County, Pennsylvania, probably built around the time of Reiff's death in 1823 or shortly thereafter, typifies the period when the more successful settlers began to replace their log buildings with substantial stone ones. It has two fireplaces. Local tradition says that this was used as a distillery. If so, the tax records do not show any still operated by David Reiff himself. Probably the building and the distillery date from ownership by the son Isaac (Rife).

Photo credits: Cover, pp. 4, 8, 11, author; p. 20, Harold C. Shank; p. 23, Lancaster Mennonite High School.

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Mennonites who settled along the Marsh Creek watershed centered primarily in Franklin and Cumberland townships in western Adams County.

The Marsh Creek Settlement of Adams County, 1769-1823

by Howard Y. Musselman

When York County became the fifth county of Pennsylvania in 1749, it included within its boundaries all of what is now Adams County. Not until 1800 did the Pennsylvania legislature carve off a number of its western townships to form the new county of Adams. The dividing line ran west of Hanover and cut through Heidelberg Township in the area where Mennonites had settled at an early date.

The first Mennonite church was a log structure erected in 1746 at Bairs Hanover. Some of the members of Bairs eventually owned land across the line in what is now Adams County, and in 1854 Preacher John Hostetter donated ground in Union Township, Adams County, for the Hostetter meetinghouse.[1] The congregation worshipping at this meetinghouse has always been an integral part of the York County Mennonite community and, therefore, is not included in this study. Similarly to the north of Hanover other early Mennonites after 1800 found themselves in Adams County, but they also remained as outposts of the York County Mennonite community.[2]

The scope of this study[3] is confined to western Adams County—that is, the section west of a north-south line drawn through Gettysburg. Today three Mennonite congregations lie within this area: Mummasburg (affiliated with Lancaster Conference until 1975, when it became part of the Conservative Mennonite Churches of York and Adams Counties under the bishop leadership of Richard Danner), Fairfield (General Conference Mennonite Church), and Bethel (Atlantic Coast Conference of the Mennonite Church). The latter two congregations formed as schisms from the Mummasburg congregation in 1927 and 1939, respectively.

Lancaster Mennonites Look West

During the War of Independence Lancaster County served as the breadbasket of the Revolution. The county escaped the ravages of war and found heavy demand for its farm products. As a result, the Lancaster County farmer enjoyed a good measure of prosperity. Because Mennonites made up a significant part of the rural population, they naturally shared in this economic well-being. Land values had risen appreciably, and the family ideal of setting up the sons on farms of their own was becoming more difficult to realize. Land had become too scarce.

Therefore, with the advent of more settled conditions after the war, many Mennonites began looking for new land outside Lancaster County. Generally they possessed adequate capital to purchase choice land in the western country. Even those with lesser means considered a farm with fewer acres or a less choice situation a bargain compared to the more expensive

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[1] *The Mennonite Encyclopedia: A Comprehensive Reference Work on the Anabaptist-Mennonite Movement*, s.v. "York County, Pa.," by Ira D. Landis; s.v. "Bair Mennonite Meetinghouse," by Ira D. Landis; s.v. "Hostetter Mennonite Church," by Ira D. Landis.

[2] Early Mennonite settlement in northeastern Adams County has not been thoroughly researched, but representatives of these York County outposts might be the Kauffman family of the East Berlin area whose daughter Barbara married Jonas Roth, son of Bishop Abraham Roth; the Bucher family who owned a homestead located right on the new county line, according to the *History of Cumberland and Adams Counties, Pennsylvania. Containing History of the Counties, Their Townships, Towns, Villages, Schools, Churches, Industries, Etc.; Portraits of Early Settlers and Prominent Men; Biographies, History of Pennsylvania, Statistical and Miscellaneous Matter, Etc., Etc.* (Chicago: Warner, Beers & Co., 1886), Part III, History of Adams County, p. 405; and an Andrew Harshey (Hershey) who purchased land in Huntington Township in 1771 (Deed F-212, Adams County Courthouse, Gettysburg, Pa.). None of these families seems to have united with the emerging Mennonite congregation of western Adams County.

[3] I wish to thank Editor Carolyn C. Wenger for her encouragement to pursue my interest in this subject and to prepare this article. She has given her time generously and has placed the genealogical material of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference Historical Society, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, at my disposal. Similarly I am greatly indebted to Dr. Charles H. Glatfelter, professor of history at Gettysburg College and director of the Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, for his support and assistance. He has gone out of his way to point out source material and to sharpen my amateur approach to historical research. He read parts of the manuscript and made valuable editorial suggestions. Without his help and the resources of the Adams County Historical Society, this study would have been very difficult if not altogether impossible.

Lancaster County farmland.

Traditionally Mennonites preferred limestone soil. Their forebears, sought out by the European nobility to build up their estates, had been the best farmers on the continent. They had pioneered in the use of animal manures and crop rotation and improved the production of clovers by the application of gypsum, and they had put this experience to good use in America. Therefore, as they moved westward, they searched out the limestone soils.[4] By this time farmers in York, the next county to the west beyond Lancaster, had already extensively settled in the eastern limestone section, and York County no longer held the potential for large-scale settlement.

By 1790 a steady movement of Lancaster County Mennonites proceeded westward. The Ebersoles, Lehmans, Horsts, Martins, and others settled in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, and Washington County, Maryland. The Weavers, Rhodeses, Heatwoles, Wengers, and Burkholders went to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Metzlers and others had moved into southwestern Pennsylvania before the close of the decade.[5]

All these major settlements occurred in limestone country. The only major limestone deposits in Adams County were found along its eastern border, where it adjoins York County and where Mennonites had earlier settled. However, in the western portion of Adams County early settlers found smaller outcroppings of limestone as well as some quite productive non-limestone ground. One source says: "The lands east of South Mountain, north and south of the Gettysburg and Chambersburg road, are exceptionally good, though rolling heavily."[6] Consequently, some of the migrating Mennonites during this period found this spot in Franklin Township near present-day Cashtown.

Franklin Township German Society

To the best of our knowledge no documented history or records exist for the first Mennonite congregation in Adams County. Mennonites in those early years did not keep records. What we learn must come from secular sources—a piece here, a piece there—such as land transfers, census and assessment lists, genealogies, and interviews with older people. Fortunately the source quoted above does give a brief reference to this Mennonite settlement:

> On the north side of the road opposite Flohr's Church, stood the old Mennonite meeting-house, in which the followers of Menno Simonis [*sic*] worshipped until 1823, when a church was erected at Mummasburg. A schoolhouse occupies the site of the old church; but opposite is the ancient cemetery of the original congregation, still claiming memorials of many of its early tenants.[7]

When this source was published in 1886, people probably remembered the cemetery and the old church as Mennonite; however, this was only partly correct. It was actually a union arrangement, of which the Mennonites were one part.

For a long time Flohr Lutheran Church could not locate its early deeds and records, but recently Kenneth Mickley, a member of the congregation, discovered pertinent information from York County records.[8] He found record of a transaction, dated May 13, 1795, in which eighty perches of land were conveyed by Peter Piper and wife to Nicholas Besaker (undoubtedly Reformed), Henry Walter (Lutheran), and Jacob Shank (Mennonite), trustees of the German Society of Franklin Township, for the "purpose of a School-house and for a burying ground for the use of said Society."[9] On the same day, May 13, 1795, William Cross and wife conveyed an adjoining tract of one acre to the same trustees for the same purpose.[10] The descriptions coincide with the present location of the old cemetery.

Five years later, on February 28, 1800, Jacob Middlecauf and wife conveyed an additional tract to Peter Mickley and Peter Mark, trustees of the Calvinist Reformed German Church, and to Baltzer Pitzer and Henry Walter, trustees of the Lutheran Church.[11] This land lies across the road from the above-mentioned tracts of the German Society and constitutes the property occupied by the present Flohr Lutheran Church and the large adjoining cemetery.

These transactions indicate that by 1795 a sufficiently large number of Mennonites lived here to function as a congregation. They also indicate that the Lutheran and Reformed people were more interested in establishing a German school than in erecting a church building because they had already affiliated with the Arendt union congregation at present-day Arendtsville. This undoubtedly explains why the deed refers to its use as only a school and a burying ground but not as a church. Probably the Mennonites first used the school building as a meeting place for worship. How much or

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[4] *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* s.v. "Farming Among the Mennonites in North America," by J. Winfield Fretz.

[5] *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* s.v. "Lancaster Mennonite Conference," by Ira D. Landis.

[6] *History of Cumberland and Adams Counties,* Part III, p. 247.

[7] Ibid., p. 253. This crossroads locality in Franklin Township hereafter referred to as Flohr lies along old U.S. Route 30, one mile east of Cashtown. It takes its name from a Flohr who operated a country store at this location at a later date. In the time period with which we are concerned, the place had no specific name. Probably the first Mennonites referred to it as Marsh Creek, as had the Scotch-Irish before them. Dr. Glatfelter has found Marsh Creek used as the name of the Reformed congregation at this place on records dating to the 1820s.

[8] Mickley was working independently on this search. In fact, Dr. Glatfelter had unearthed the same information earlier and reported it in a letter dated November 20, 1976, to Ira D. Landis.

[9] Deed L-2-121 and Deed L-2-123, York County Courthouse, York, Pa.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Deed A-302, Adams County Courthouse, Gettysburg, Pa.

This building of the Flohr Lutheran Church was erected in 1875 after the union of Lutheran and Reformed congregations dissolved. The Reformed congregation purchased the bricks from the previous structure, erected in 1822-23, to build their church in nearby McKnightstown. The older section of the cemetery pictured in the foreground was established in 1800.

The old Mennonite cemetery at Flohr (1979 photograph) was established in 1795 as a union effort with the Lutheran and Reformed churches but after 1800 was used primarily by Mennonite families.

when the Lutheran and Reformed congregations used it for worship remains unknown.[12]

In 1812 the construction of the Gettysburg and Chambersburg Turnpike had been completed eight miles from Gettysburg to "the German church on the lands of Jacob Middlekauff." This description, found in a Pennsylvania Legislature enabling act dated December 22, 1812, concerning construction of the turnpike, identifies the tract acquired by the Lutheran and Reformed groups in 1800.[13] We know definitely that the Lutheran and Reformed congregations began using their newly acquired land for a burial ground immediately after 1800 and that they laid the cornerstone of a brick structure on this property in 1822.[14] In 1823 members of the Mennonite congregation moved their location to Mummasburg, where they erected a new meetinghouse and established a cemetery.

Because the Lutheran and Reformed groups so quickly acquired their own cemetery, we could consider most burials in the older cemetery of the German Society, at least those after 1800, to be Mennonite or Mennonite-related. This would provide validity for the custom of calling this the Mennonite cemetery. Unfortunately, the older grave markings have now disappeared or have become illegible. The oldest recognizable marker is that of Gorg Reiff, who died August 5, 1803, aged twenty-five years. The next oldest is that of John Throne, who died February 10, 1815, aged forty-six years; followed by that of Maria Reiff, who died November 30, 1821, aged sixty-three years; and that of her husband, David Reiff, who died September 22, 1823, aged sixty-seven years. All these persons are known to have been Mennonite.

What happened to the property of the old German Society of Franklin Township? We have an 1886 account that "a schoolhouse occupies the site of the old church."[15] Could it not, in fact, have been the same old building? Franklin Township accepted the option of public schools the first year after the enactment of the Pennsylvania Public School Law in 1834, but we have no evidence that ownership of the site was ever assumed by the Franklin Township school directors. The Flohr schoolhouse of the early twentieth century stands just a quarter mile down the road, and the old church site was used as a yard for buggies and autos by the Flohr Lutheran congregation until recent times. No one has ever researched this matter, but one can theorize that the early Franklin Township school authorities merely obtained permission to use the building as a public school because it had probably continued as a German school to that time. Title to the land

[12]A situation parallel to this can be found at the Bairs Church near Hanover where a German school and burial ground were established in 1775 with the cooperation of the Lutheran and Reformed congregations of that locality. See Lida Bowman Meckley, "The Mennonites of York County, Pennsylvania," p. 91. The Shank family came from Bairs.

[13]Dr. Glatfelter, well versed in Adams County history, pointed out this information. He has a hunch that the Lutheran and Reformed groups might have erected some sort of church building soon after 1800. No solid evidence exists for this, but several references circumstantially support this thesis. The Grading Book of the Turnpike Company, entry of February 5, 1812, refers to the "fence near Meeting House road," and follows with another reading "at Piper's Lane." These landmarks lie on the north side of the road as did the property of the German society used by the Mennonites. The nomenclature is interesting: "meeting house" on the Mennonite side of the road and "German church" on the Lutheran-Reformed side if, indeed, two structures stood there in 1812. A land survey made in 1811 covering the adjacent farm refers to this German Society structure as a "schoolhouse." All these terms—"meeting house," "German church," and "schoolhouse"—could have interchangeably referred to the same building, or they may have referred to separate structures.

[14]Edwin M. Sando, *History of Gettysburg Classis of the Synod of the Potomac, Reformed Church in the United States* (Hanover, Pa.: Anthony Printing Company, 1941), pp. 108-109.

[15]*History of Cumberland and Adams Counties*, Part III, p. 253.

probably still rests with the old German Society of Franklin Township.

The cemetery continued in limited use for many years as a burial plot for some Mennonite families and possibly for some non-Mennonite families as well. Family names represented are Shank, Reiff (or Rife), Musselman, Yeatts, Eshleman, Heintzelman, Shaner, Zeigler (or Zigler), Throne, Musser, Lentz, and Shultz. Most of these identifiable burials took place in the period from 1825 to 1899. The last persons buried here were Amos Shank and Anna Shank, an unmarried brother and sister who both died in 1917. They were descendants of the first trustee, Jacob Shank.[16]

In the past the grounds were somewhat neglected; in fact, its Mennonite identity was rapidly becoming lost to most people, even Adams County Mennonites, scarcely any of whom are descendants of these original families. In 1973 the Fairfield Mennonite congregation, learning something of its own history and background, cleared the grounds and has continued to have an annual work day there. The trustees of the Flohr Cemetery have assumed primary responsibility for its upkeep.[17]

Relocation at Mummasburg

We are indebted to the *History of Cumberland and Adams Counties* for information concerning the relocation of the Mennonite place of meeting to Mummasburg. The area for the town

> was surveyed in 1820 by John L. Hinkle for John Mumma. It was platted into 150 lots, one of which was the spring, donated for public use, one for a schoolhouse and one or two for religious purposes. . . . In 1822-23 John Mumma succeeded in having the *Mennonite Church* at Flohr's removed to the new town, and donated the original Wislar lot to the congregation. Here a meeting-house was erected in 1823, and the cemetery laid out by John Wislar and Tobias Boyer, the first trustees. Here Abraham Roth, the bishop, David Reiff and George Herone [*sic*] preached for many years.[18]

The deed for Lot 113 at Mummasburg, conveyed by John Mumma and Barbara, his wife, to the "Mennonist Society," was dated August 28, 1824.[19]

The above quotation sheds valuable light on the leadership of the congregation and was confirmed with one exception by Jacob F. Bucher, the elder minister of the Mummasburg congregation, who in 1920 penned the oral traditions of the congregation as they were handed down to him. Concerning the ministry at this early date, Bucher wrote, "I do not know if Preacher George Throne served the Mummasburg Church." The ministers who first served the Mennonite Church at Mummasburg "as near as I can tell" were Bishop Abraham Roth, who died September 13, 1854, aged eighty-one years, and Christian Shank, who died February 11, 1872, aged eighty-one years.[20]

We should note that in this oral tradition the details of the earlier Flohr Church history were already becoming obscure. David Reiff died September 22, 1823, just as the relocation to Mummasburg had taken place, but Bucher omitted his name. Christian Shank was probably ordained at this time to succeed Reiff. George Throne died February 3, 1847, aged sixty-nine years, and is buried in the Mummasburg Cemetery.

We can trace Mennonite settlement in western Adams County in three separate strands: those who moved in along the Marsh Creek watershed, primarily in Franklin and Cumberland townships; those who settled in the southern townships of Hamiltonban and Liberty; and John Mumma, who laid out the town of Mummasburg, and the Mennonites who settled along the Conewago Creek, primarily in Menallen and adjacent parts of Franklin Township. In later articles we shall treat separately these three groups, each of which made an important contribution to the establishment of the Mummasburg Mennonite Church in 1823. This article covers only the first group who settled along Marsh Creek.

First Marsh Creek Mennonites

The first white settlers in western Adams County were the Scotch-Irish, who flooded into the area soon after the Penns had purchased the territory west of the Susquehanna from the Indians in 1736. The Penns had reserved land for themselves and named it Manor of Masque, the name of an old Penn family estate in England. Large numbers of the Scotch-Irish had squatted on this land, possibly unknowingly, because it had not yet been surveyed. When in 1741 the surveyors did appear, they encountered confrontation from belligerent settlers, but in the end all the settlers received clear title to their lands.

The difficulties, however, necessitated that rather detailed reports, listing all the settlers found on the land, be given to the Penns. These lists contain much historical value. All these squatters were Scotch-Irish except one German, a John Cishinger. When the German settlers—Lutheran, Reformed, Mennonite, Dunkard—

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[16]Amos and Anna Shank were known as odd recluses. Roy A. Mickley, now in his ninety-third year, remembers Amos and "Annie" well. He tells the story of how Amos late in life made his first trip to Hanover, about twenty-five miles distant, the farthest he had ever gone from home. Upon his return he exclaimed, "I didn't know the world was so big!" The parents of Amos and Anna were Jacob and Mary (a granddaughter of David Reiff) Shank, who died in 1895 and 1899, respectively, and are also buried at Flohr. The graves of the area pioneer Jacob Shank and his wife are probably located here as well but are unrecognized.

[17]The Flohr Cemetery trustees receive the income of a small endowment for the upkeep of the Mennonite cemetery from the will of Amos Shank. This income is obviously inadequate to cover the work expended by the trustees in behalf of the cemetery.

[18]*History of Cumberland and Adams Counties,* Part III, pp. 255-256. This source omitted the name of John Rife, the third trustee.

[19]Deed L-230, Gettysburg.

[20]This memorandum is in the archives of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference Historical Society, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

appeared in this area a generation or two later, they bought these partly developed farms of the Scotch-Irish.

According to the *History of Cumberland and Adams Counties,* the second German settler west of Gettysburg (after Cishinger) was Samuel Byer, a Mennonite.[21] Byer was the son of John and Barbara Boyer, who settled in Conestoga Township, Lancaster County, about 1733. Samuel Byer sold his farm of 210 acres in Conestoga Township in June 1769, and a few months later a deed recorded in York showed that he had purchased 226 acres in Hamiltonban Township in York County (now Highland Township in Adams County).[22] This farm was located within sight of Marsh Creek along what was then known as the Great Road to Hagerstown, now Pennsylvania Route 116. The land transfer was from a John Fletcher, who, according to the Manor of Masque lists, had homesteaded there in 1739. This deed states that Samuel Byer was a blacksmith.[23]

Samuel Byer's influence led his brother John and his wife Elizabeth also to sell their Conestoga Township farm in 1776 and move to Cumberland Township not too far from Samuel's location in Hamiltonban. The tax assessment lists of a few years later indicate that he may have been a shoemaker by trade; he owned only fifty acres, a tract of land smaller than the general holdings of his time. *American Boyers* carries John's family line no further than to list the names of his children. We have not been able to find indications that they maintained a relationship with the Mennonite community in later years.[24] Martin Boyer, a third brother of Samuel and John, moved to Heidelberg Township in York County, where his name appears on the tax list for 1779.[25] His family would play a prominent part in the Mummasburg story at a later date.[26]

Samuel and Mary Byer, the first Mennonite family to pioneer in this area, had six children. In 1770, the year after their arrival in York (Adams) County, their daughter Esther was married to her Lancaster County friend, Abraham Beam, in St. James Episcopal Church in Lancaster.[27] By 1777 the Beams resided in Cumberland Township near her parents, but by 1783 they had moved west to Allegheny County along with another sister Mary, married to John Black.[28] Another daughter, Barbara, married John Stockslagle and remained a resident of Adams County but without any known Mennonite connections. In the absence of eligible young Mennonites the daughters seem to have married local men and joined their churches.

The Byer sons may have also married non-Mennonites, but the wives became Mennonite. The identity of the wife of the younger Samuel Byer is unknown, but their son Christian married Elizabeth Wisler of a Mennonite family. Jonas Byer, son of the elder Samuel, married Elizabeth Swartz. Jonas was first a blacksmith, then after 1786, a farmer in Franklin Township. He gradually added to his farm until he owned three hundred acres of land and operated a sawmill as well. He seems to have prospered but for other reasons moved to Markham, Ontario, in 1811, during a period when many Pennsylvania Mennonites were migrating to Canada. Another son of Samuel, Sr., David, took over the home farm in 1783.

Several of David's children, perhaps most of them,[29] married into Mennonite families, but the best genealogical record exists of the line of his son Christian, who remained on the home place and who is buried in the family plot. Three of his children were members of the Mummasburg Mennonite Church: Hettie, who married Bishop Daniel Shank; Sarah, who married Deacon Reuben Roth; and David, who married Martha Hartman. The latter were the parents of Mennonite mission worker Charles Byer, who pioneered city missions at Columbia, Pennsylvania; Knoxville, Tennessee; and Tampa, Florida.

Samuel Byer died early in 1790. He was preceded in death by his oldest son, Samuel, who was married and left children as mentioned in the older Samuel's will.[30] According to the inventory of his estate, Samuel Byer

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[21] *History of Cumberland and Adams Counties,* Part III, p. 284.

[22] Melville James Boyer and Donald Arthur Boyer, *American Boyers, Sixth Edition, a Supplement to the 1940 Edition* (Association of American Boyers, Inc.: 1963). This edition, beginning on page 94, contains the most detailed information concerning this branch of the Boyer-Byer family. The *History of Cumberland and Adams Counties* also contains a section of biographical sketches of prominent men of Adams County as of 1886. The biography of Christian Byer, great-grandson of Samuel, appears on page 453. It contains some errors in names and other details; such errors occur throughout the book. Christian's great-grandfather, listed as Adam on page 453, should read Samuel; the text on page 284 should likewise read Samuel instead of Christian. This source says that Samuel paid John Fletcher one-half penny per acre for his land in 1769.

[23] *American Boyers,* p. 95. The fact that he was a blacksmith is also verified in his estate inventory, filed at the York County Courthouse.

[24] Appearing on the Cumberland Township tax list of 1783 is a George Byer, who does not seem to fit into the family of either Samuel or John Byer. The 1793 list refers to him as "Captain." Probably this George Byer is the one listed in *American Boyers,* p. 96, as the son of John and Elizabeth Boyer of Codorus Township in York County and grandson of John Boyer of Manheim Township. The latter John would have been a first cousin of Samuel and John Byer of Adams County. This John, according to *American Boyers,* pp. 96-97, had five sons as follows, in addition to several daughters:

1. John (father of the above George), m. Elizabeth; buried in Ziegler Church Cemetery (Lutheran).
2. Henry, m. Barbara Winter; buried in Garber Mennonite Cemetery.
3. Christian, m. Magdalena; buried in Garber Mennonite Cemetery.
4. Daniel, unmarried.
5. Benjamin, m. Anna Miller; moved to Cumberland County, where he became a bishop in the River Brethren Church and the progenitor of the eminent Byer line of Brethren in Christ leaders. A remarkable number of his descendants became ministers in other churches as well and scattered throughout the Midwest and Far West.

[25] *American Boyers,* p. 95.

[26] *American Boyers* notes the different spelling of the family name a number of times. The spelling of Byer is therefore not unique. The

had a significant library of religious books very similar in nature to that of Preacher John Shank. This raises the question of whether he was not actually ordained. It answers the question of how he maintained his Mennonite identity and why most of his family remained Mennonite.[31] When death came to the isolated Byer family, they had no Mennonite community with which to share their sorrow and which would help to bury the dead in a Mennonite graveyard. So they chose a spot on a hill of their own farm, where they laid first the son to rest and then the father.

Even after the new, Mennonite-sponsored cemetery became available sometime after 1795, the Byer family continued to use this plot to some extent. Over the years at least a dozen persons have been buried there. Christian Byer (d. 1871), a grandson of the first Samuel, was buried there. The last burial, that of his cousin Christian's widow, took place in 1897. The farm passed out of family hands in 1890, and the cemetery is now neglected and overgrown. It is located about two hundreds yards off the Knoxlyn Road, Legislative Route 10017, opposite the old Quarry School, now converted into a home.[32]

Possibly in the period prior to 1790 the brothers Samuel and John Byer were not the only Mennonites in western York (Adams) County. Samuel's brother John and a Christopher Hollinger served as executors of his estate. Hollinger may have been a Mennonite. His name appears on the 1786 Franklin Township assessment list, the oldest list extant, and remains on it through 1799, when he was assessed for a stone house, then uncommon and thus a symbol of status. The Hollinger name does not appear in the later annals of the Mennonite church here.

One of the witnesses of Samuel Byer's will was Christian Hershey. This man's name appears on the Cumberland Township tax list of 1784. His background has not yet been researched, but probably he came from one of the numerous York County Hershey families. His Cumberland Township property was one of those involved in the Manor of Masque transactions. Christian evidently did not bother about the technicality of a clear

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local assessors contrived many phonetic spellings: Buyers, Bier, Bayar, Boyers. In trying to correlate certain entries found on the tax lists with the genealogical records, I have used the same liberty in identifying a Byer as a Boyer, and vice versa when other circumstances seemed to make the identification fit.

[27]*American Boyers*, p. 98.

[28]Black was a prominent Presbyterian family name in Adams County at this time. Soon after 1770 a James Black "went west" to the Somerset area, where he "did well." Some family connection here may have influenced the husbands of the two Byer sisters to migrate as well. See *History of Cumberland and Adams Counties*, Part III, p. 73.

[29]The marriages of David Byer's children were as follows. See *American Boyers*, p. 101.

1. Christian, m. Elizabeth Reinecker. According to Dr. Glatfelter, the Reineckers were Lutheran.
2. Michael, unmarried.
3. John, no data.
4. David, no data.
5. Fanny, m. Joel Graybil, probably Mennonite.
6. Esther, m. Samuel Carpenter (or Zimmerman), son of Peter Zimmerman of the Carrollsburg group of Mennonite settlers.
7. Elizabeth, m. Michael Stover.
8. Mary, m. John Stover. Possibly this Stover family was Mennonite. Daniel Sprenkel's daughters also married into the Stover family. This line, however, bears more study.
9. George, m. Susannah Hoover, who reportedly came from Graceham, Maryland, a Moravian settlement.

[30]*American Boyers*, p. 97.

[31]Among the administrative papers of Samuel Byer's estate is an appraisal of his personal effects, including a library of twenty religious books. This was very similar in nature to that of Preacher John Shank (whom we will mention later) and strongly suggests that Samuel Byer was an ordained Mennonite leader. Byer possessed several histories that Shank did not. This information came to light since the completion of the manuscript for this article through the efforts of Dr. Glatfelter and points up the need for further research to obtain the full story of this early period.

Though probably not officially organized as a congregation until later, Mennonites probably held worship services from the very beginning in the home of Samuel Byer and perhaps in the homes of other Mennonite families as yet not fully identified during this period of his life. By the 1780s the semblance of a Mennonite congregation had formed. Perhaps Preacher John Shank's move to Franklin Township from Hanover in 1791 was impelled by Samuel Byer's death in order to supply continuing, spiritual leadership to the scattered but growing numbers of Mennonites. He was old and apparently ailing by this time.

[32]When I visited the Byer Cemetery in 1978, I found some visible reminders of thirteen graves. Four of these were very old field stones, soft and eroded, with no discernible markings. These probably mark the graves of Samuel Byer, Sr.; Samuel Byer, Jr.; and their wives. The Adams County Historical Society has a record, made in 1937, of the dates on nine gravestones, which are still legible. They read as follows:

1796 Andrew Harshey, a ten-year-old boy. Probably the son of Christian Harshey (Hershey), a friend of the Byer family. (If he was related, the relationship has not yet been established.)
1822 Esther, aged 51, wife of David Byer of the second generation.
1831 David Byer, aged 76, son of Samuel, Sr., of the second generation.
1843 Elizabeth Reinecker Byer, aged 33, wife of Christian of the third generation.
1844 Michael Byer, unmarried son of David and Esther Byer of the third generation.
1847 Jonis, "frail angel," aged four months, son of Christian and Elizabeth R. Byers of the fourth generation.
1854 Mary Jane, aged 5, daughter of Christian and Eliza R. Byers of the fourth generation.
1871 Christian Byer, aged 74, son of David and Esther of the third generation.
1897 Elizabeth Wisler Byer, aged 80, wife of Christian Byer, son of Samuel, Jr. The late date of this burial indicates some special significance, possibly her request to be buried beside her husband, whose grave is not marked.

Christian married the second time, but the name of his second wife and her place of burial are not known. Some of the above information concerning Christian comes from his granddaughter, Mrs. Charles C. Taylor of New Oxford, Pennsylvania.

title from the former owner nor record his purchase in the York County courthouse. Later when he began to think about selling a portion of his holdings or establishing his sons on their own farms within the next few years, he had to obtain a conveyance, dated February 19, 1806, for 149 acres from John and Richard Penn.[33] This deed was witnessed by Alexander Cobean. By this time Christian Hershey owned several properties, a total of 300 acres in Cumberland Township and 145 acres in Franklin Township.

The family also wanted to operate a mill on the Marsh Creek. To acquire the best site, Christian Hershey purchased 120 acres from Alexander Cobean in 1809.[34] In the same year Hershey sold the original 149-acre plot to Alexander Cobean, who seems to have purchased it speculatively because he resold it in 1812.[35]Hershey was apparently raising capital to erect the mill, which appears on his taxable property for the year 1810. Within five years, in 1814, the family sold the mill at a good profit but retained the mill tract of 141 acres, and the family again concentrated on farming.[36] This tract was divided between his two sons, Jacob and Joseph, in 1830. All of Hershey's property seems to have been located along the Marsh Creek, which forms the boundary line between Cumberland and Franklin townships, and all lay close together within a mile or two of his original home place.

At this point we need to go back to the year 1802, when a Joseph Hershey[37] purchased a 145-acre farm in Franklin Township. This 145-acre farm was sold in 1806 to Christian Hershey. In 1810 the title for the farm passed to Henry Hershey, who kept it until 1814, when he bought another 125-acre farm. Christian again owned the 145-acre block for a time. These transfers of the same land from one Hershey to another strongly suggest some family connections.

Henry Hershey remained on his 125-acre farm for many years. He is the ancestor of all the Hersheys buried in the Mummasburg Mennonite Cemetery. Was he a son of Christian Hershey? In addition to Henry's name, the name of a John Hershey appears on the tax list for a 157-acre farm and sawmill from 1815 to 1832 and the name of a Christian Hershey, Jr., for a 50-acre tract from 1822 to 1832. A study of the Christian Hershey household as recorded in the 1800 and 1810 census suggests the possibility of all these Hershey landowners being sons of Christian.[38] Also, Henry Hershey's farm was located along the Marsh Creek right in this nest of Christian Hershey's family.[39]

In 1831-33 John, Christian, Jr., Joseph, and Jacob Hershey all disposed of their farms and moved to Darke County, Ohio, an area where "between the years 1827 and 1831, quite a number of families emigrated from Adams County, Penn., and settled in the east central part of the township, where they laid out and built up the village of Gettysburg, which took its name from Gettysburg, Penn. The nominal founder of the village was John Hershy." He erected a tavern, the first house

The Marsh Creek meetinghouse of the Dunkard (Church of the Brethren) congregation near Knoxlyn stands within a quarter mile of the Christian Hershey homestead. The congregation organized about 1795, very soon after the Mennonite group, but did not erect this stone building until 1830. The Brethren met in homes and barns of members until this meetinghouse was built. It also became known as the Pfoutz meetinghouse after an early leader, David Pfoutz.

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[33]Deed E-489, Gettysburg. This deed describes in length the legal steps taken to clear up the Manor of Masque land dealings but does not mention the name of the original owner(s) prior to Hershey. This omission generally comes to light on similar deeds.

[34]Alexander Cobean was a prominent Gettysburg banker, businessman, and landowner and one of the first officers of the Bank of Gettysburg when it was established in 1812. Anglicizing Christian Hershey's name to its present form took almost twenty years. Beginning in 1784 it appeared on the tax lists as Christopher Hirshy. Every year or two thereafter it appeared in a different phonetic rendering from Hirshy through Harshaw, Hershaw, Hearshaw, Hartsha, Hersha, Harsha, and Hersha until finally in 1806 it finally appeared as Christian Hershey. The family itself apparently preferred the "Harshey" spelling because they used it on the 1806 and 1809 deeds and on the tombstone of his son Andrew. His descendants who emigrated to Ohio also used that spelling for many years.

[35]Deed E-497, Gettysburg.

[36]See *Gettysburg* (Pa.) *Compiler*, May 4, 1886. The *Compiler* ran a series of articles on "History of the Mills," of Adams County. About Trostle's Mill it said, "In 1809 Alexander Cobean sold to Christopher Hershey 120 acres of the above tract, having thereon erected a stone grist and saw mill, with dwellings and improvements, for 2000 pounds. This mill was torn down two years ago [as of 1886] and was still well preserved, part of the stone being used for the erection of the new bridge at that place." From the sentence construction of the above statement I am not sure whether Hershey actually erected a new mill on this tract after 1809 or whether Cobean had erected a mill before the sale in 1809. From the sale price of £2,000 I am inclined to take the latter view.

The *Compiler* statement continues: "In 1813 Christopher Hershey and wife deeded the property to their son John Hershey for the sum of 1808 pounds 'together with the love and affection they bore their son.' A few months later, on April 1, 1814, for the sum of 4000 pounds ($19,360.00) John Hershey deeded the same property to Thomas and Daniel Weirman of Huntington Twp. In 1826 Thomas and Daniel Weirman deeded the same to George Trostle for the sum of $4437.75, a loss or depreciation of the property in 12 years of $14,922.25 . . . due no doubt to the wretched condition of finances of the country about this time." So it seems that the Hersheys had

in the village.[40] From obituaries sent back to Adams County we learn that Christian Hershey and wife Elizabeth also moved in 1833 with their sons to Darke County. Christian attained the age of ninety-seven years (he died in 1854), and Elizabeth was ninety-three years of age when she died in 1856.[41] During Christian Hershey's early life in Adams County his family was almost certainly a part of the Mennonite community which gathered around Samuel Byer. One evidence of this is the gravestone of an Andrew Harshey dated 1796 and found in the Byer plot.[42] Without doubt this was a son of Christian because no other known Hersheys lived in this locality at that time.

Another possible member of the early Mennonite group looking to Samuel Byer as leader might have been a John Welty, whose name appears on the Cumberland Township list of 1788. A John Welty served as elder (or deacon) in the Bairs Hanover congregation as of 1775.[43] He is presumed buried in the Bair Cemetery; however, the grave could possibly be that of his son. Years later a Henry Welty served as deacon of the Mummasburg congregation from 1847 to 1854.[44] Possibly all these tie together, but a connection has not yet been definitely traced.

David Reiff Family

On April 26, 1790, David Reiff of Earl Township in Lancaster County, counted out £1,950 in payment to Alexander Speer for 420 acres of land in Franklin Township. About twenty years before this transfer Speer had paid the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania £155 for the same undeveloped tract. David Reiff was the son of Abraham Reiff, Jr., and Barbara Groff, a granddaughter of Hans Groff, the pioneer settler of Groffdale. David's grandfather was Abraham Reiff, Sr., who had come to America about 1719 and settled for a time in Montgomery County, where he was ordained as deacon in the Salford Mennonite Church. In 1740 Abraham Reiff, Sr., moved to Leacock Township in Lancaster County, where he was said to have been a friend of the aging Hans Groff. The several intermarriages between the Reiff and Groff families are evidence

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good fortune or were astute managers and knew when to sell. The mill remained in the Trostle family under the ownership of George Trostle or his son-in-law, John Weigle, until 1874, when it was sold to Isaac Hereter and Abraham Mickley. In more recent times it was known as Hereter's Mill. As implied in the *Compiler* article, the original mill was no longer in use by 1884 or before, and a more modern establishment was erected across the road.

This mill was located on Marsh Creek at the point where the creek crosses under Legislative Route 01002 only about one-fourth mile from Pfoutz Dunkard Church, built in 1805. Such a location means that the Hersheys were located in the heart of the Dunkard (Church of the Brethren) community and raises the question of what relationship the Hersheys and other Mennonite families may have had with their Dunkard brethren. Because both were "plain churches," intermarriage would have been more acceptable. John Hershey married Hannah Bosserman. Bosserman was a surname common among the Dunkards of Adams County. See Deed M-427, Gettysburg, in which John and Hannah Hershey acknowledge receipt of Hannah's inheritance from the estate of Michael Bosserman.

[37]The name Joseph was commonly used among the York County Hersheys. We would need to do more extensive research to identify the family from which this Joseph as well as Christian may have come and whether they were closely related.

[38]J. Richard Hershey, a descendant of Henry Hershey, reports that the family tradition says that the first Hershey in Adams County came from the Hanover area about 1820. Such traditions cannot be lightly dismissed. We can understand the discrepancy between the 1820 date and the actual appearance of Henry Hershey in 1810. Therefore the question remains uncertain: was Henry a son of Christian? The other persons mentioned seem definitely to be sons. Also a probable daughter is found in the report of the marriage of an Elizabeth Hershey to John Stoner, both of Cumberland Township, on March 15, 1826. See acquisition 3307, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

[39]Information taken from the original of an agreement between Henry Hershey, Sr., and George Trostle when in 1834 the latter wanted to rebuild his dam and thus raise the water level on Henry Hershey's land. Agreement is in the Hershey family folder, Adams County Historical Society.

[40]*The History, Darke County, Ohio, Containing a History of the County; Its Cities, Towns, etc.; General and Local Statistics; Portraits of Early Settlers and Prominent Men; History of the Northwest Territory; History of Ohio; Map of Darke County; Constitution of the United States, Miscellaneous Matters, etc., etc.* (Chicago: W. H. Beers & Co., 1880), pp. 420-421.

[41]*Gettysburg* (Pa.) *Star & Banner*, August 24, 1855, and April 17, 1857. In addition to the parents the death of John Hershey is reported in the *Gettysburg* (Pa.) *Compiler*, October 26, 1846; that of Jacob Hershey in the *Compiler*, March 13, 1848; and that of Joseph Hershey in the *Compiler*, October 14, 1850. Therefore, the parents outlived their sons. We find no mention of the younger Christian in the Ohio sources. Perhaps he moved farther west because Jacob did move to Illinois for a time and then returned to Darke County. See *History, Darke County*, p. 551. The first Methodist church building in the Gettysburg, Ohio, area was on land of Christian Hershey. See *History, Darke County*, p. 422.

Mrs. E. James (Toni) Seiler of the Garst Museum, affiliated with the Darke County Historical Society, in two letters to Harold Y. Musselman in May 1979, writes: "The Hersheys played an important part in settlement of Adams Twp. . . . Darke County was a swampy area and took a lot of draining. It is now the top agricultural county in Ohio.

"The Hersheys lived in the same area for many, many years almost a community unto themselves.

"They were farmers, furniture makers & undertakers and ministers.

"John Hershey built the first house in the village of Gettysburg and it was used as a tavern.

"The township was named for Major George Adams, . . . who was with Gen. St. Clair & Anthony Wayne," and not for Adams County, Pennsylvania.

[42]The gravestone reads: "In memory of Andrew Harshey who was born Dec. 12, 1785 and Died in the year of our Lord 1796, August 5th, aged 10 years, 8 months, & 13 days." The name Andrew was frequently used among all the Hersheys so widely that we find it almost impossible to identify Christian's particular family branch. See David R. Johnson, "The Early East Petersburg Area Hershey Family," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* I (January 1978): 6.

[43]Meckley, "Mennonites of York County," p. 102.

[44]See Jacob F. Bucher memorandum.

of a close social relationship. For example, David's younger brother Samuel married Christiana Burkholder, daughter of the outstanding Bishop Christian Burkholder of Lancaster Conference and Anna Groff, another granddaughter of Hans Groff.[45]

The sizable tract of 420 acres which David Reiff acquired lay just west and south of Flohr, where the union school-church was later erected. His tract, which became known colloquially as "Rife's Purchase,"[46] included most of the present village of Cashtown on both sides of old Route 30, east to the Cashtown Elementary School, and south on both sides of the Orrtanna Road to "Rife's Corner."[47] In the last few years of his life David Reiff divided the property among his sons.[48]

David Reiff, married to a Maria, was ordained a preacher in the Mennonite church.[49] David Reiff's sister Barbara had married Isaac Shantz and migrated to Ontario. She said her brother was ordained in his thirty-ninth year, which, according to her granddaughter who provided the information, would have been in 1790. However, the Canadian relatives apparently erred regarding David Reiff's birth date. The information on his gravestone indicates that he was born December 10, 1755. The key information from the Canadian source seems to be that the ordination was in his thirty-ninth year. Therefore, the date of his ordination would have been very late in 1794 or early in 1795. This date rather than 1790 seems more plausible. In 1790 hardly enough Mennonites would have been living in the area to organize a congregation and ordain a preacher. Furthermore, as will be noted later, an ordained Mennonite minister was already planning to join the new Mennonite settlement.

Whatever the date, Reiff might have been ordained by Bishop Burkholder because he was from Burkholder's Weaverland district. Possibly Bishop Burkholder took an active part in counseling Reiff initially on his move to Franklin Township, first, because he was a relative and, second, because Burkholder is known to have traveled much and to have assisted in the establishment of many young churches.[50] Burkholder's involvement in this instance is, of course, purely conjectural.

When the mantle of leadership fell upon Preacher David Reiff sometime before 1795 at the age of thirty-nine years and when he inherited responsibility for unifying a new, unorganized group, he must have felt the burden keenly. He had neither prior experience nor support and guidance from senior ministers. A bishop from Lancaster might make at the most a semiannual trip to hold communion and to baptize new members. They conducted meetings for worship in their homes at first—a common practice among Mennonites of the eighteenth century, but after 1795 they no doubt used the schoolhouse at Flohr.

The congregation until 1895 followed the practice of meeting for worship only every four weeks. The worship service, conducted in the German language, was simple and nonliturgical and included a long sermon. Reiff was so steeped in the German language that his tombstone was cut in German. Their schooling was in German, too, for the group would have been almost illiterate in English. Almost all of them used the German script in their signatures or made a mark.

John Shank Family

The John Shank family from Manheim Township in York County seems to have been the first to join David Reiff in the Marsh Creek area. John Shank had been a minister at Bairs Hanover Mennonite Church as early as 1774.[51] On July 27, 1791, he received the deed from the estate of Walter Buchanan for a tract of 550 acres along Marsh Creek.[52] Shank must have been in ill health because his will is dated a few days previous to that of the deed, on July 24, 1791. He died late in the following month.[53]

The will includes the usual detailed instructions to his heirs for the care of their mother. Shank also took special care to provide for his daughter Myrie, who was apparently handicapped in some manner, and for his daughter, Elizabeth Shank, and her child. The older sons had already received cash advances of varying amounts, and in his will he adjusted these to make all equal. He then gave the 550-acre farm to his son Jacob and son-in-law, Henry Hoober, as tenants-in-common

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[45]Genealogical material on the David Reiff family comes from Mrs. John (Lois) Musselman, Route 1, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania.

[46]This term was found in the description appearing in an 1803 deed, Deed A-400, Gettysburg.

[47]J. Harold Rife, a direct descendant of David Reiff and a civil engineer now residing in Hanover, Pennsylvania, has resurveyed this original purchase and superimposed it on a current map of the Cashtown area. The Adams County Historical Society has a copy of Rife's resurvey.

[48]The children of David Reiff for the most part evidently remained Mennonite during the second generation. They were:

1. David. Farmer in Franklin Township. Name of wife and place of burial of both unknown.
2. Abraham, m. Nancy Musselman. In 1811 he moved from Franklin Township to the Mennonite community of the Hanover area. He and his wife were buried in a private graveyard on his farm in Conewago Township.
3. Samuel, m. Elizabeth Hoke. Farmer in Franklin Township for a time. With the opening of the Gettysburg and Chambersburg Turnpike he became a gatekeeper and opened a tavern. A few years later he moved to Ontario, where his descendants became part of the Mennonite community there.
4. Maria, m. John Musselman. Both are buried in the Flohr Mennonite Cemetery beside her parents.
5. John, m. Eve [Hershey?]. John became a deacon in the Mummasburg congregation. Prior to that he served as a trustee. He and his wife are buried there. Only one child, Elizabeth, is known.
6. George. Died unmarried at the age of twenty-five years and is

(not joint tenants, he said). His son Jacob and his "good friend," Samuel Flickinger of Manheim Township, he named executors.

Whatever John Shank may have wished about the future of the farm under the provision for tenants-in-common, the brothers-in-law split the inheritance into two separate tracts. In 1803, after the estate was finally settled, Jacob Shank sold his portion to Anthony Deardorff of Reading Township and purchased another farm of 154 acres in Franklin Township. In 1803, when the heirs acknowledged final disposition of the estate,[54] most members of the John Shank family were living in Virginia. Franey, wife of Christian Shelley, and her sister Elizabeth were living in Augusta County, and the sons Adam and Michael were in Greenbrier County.

The inventory list of John Shank's estate deserves special interest because it lists an uncommonly large library of religious books for a man of his times. The total of twenty-eight books included four hymnbooks, five psalm books, five Testaments, and a book of sermons. The inventory also included one "large book" valued at one pound and fourteen shillings, an amount very much greater than any other of his books.[55] Would this have been a large German Bible or a *Martyrs Mirror*? Shank's signature appears in a firm, clear German script, suggesting that he was highly literate. All this confirms that John Shank was the ordained preacher to whom the young Mennonite colony looked for minis-

The tombstone of David Reiff (d. 1823), first preacher for the Mennonite congregation, is cut in German script in the Flohr cemetery.

This stone homestead, probably erected in the 1830s, stands on what was the farm of Jacob Shank, son of Preacher John Shank. A small date stone in the wall near an upstairs window reads 1789, but this was surely retrieved from an earlier building and incorporated into the stone wall. This structure served as the home of Amos and Anna Shank, mentioned in the text.

buried at Flohr.

7. Joseph, m. C[atherine?]. Three children all died young. They and he are buried at Flohr.
8. Isaac, m. Elizabeth. They are buried at Flohr. One daughter, Mary, married Jacob Shank of the Mennonite family. The Shanks are also buried at Flohr, but for the most part Isaac's children did not remain Mennonite.

[49]Ezra E. Eby, *A Biographical History of Waterloo Township and Other Townships of the County, Being a History of the Early Settlers and Their Descendants, Mostly All of Pennsylvania Dutch Origin, as Also Much Other Unpublished Historical Information Chiefly of a Local Character* (Berlin, Ontario, Canada: 1896), 2:180-181.

[50]*Mennonite Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Burkholder, Christian," by Ira D. Landis and Robert Friedmann.

[51]Meckley, "Mennonites of York County," p. 98.

[52]The record of the deed has not been located in the York County records, but the administrator's accounting for the estate of Walter Buchanan gives the following information concerning this transaction: "They [the administrators] also charge themselves with the price of said deceased's late dwelling Plantation, sold to John Shenk on the 10th day of May, 1791, agreeable to the directions of the will, for the sum of £1800 0.0., payable as follows, viz. the sum of £700 in hand and from thence yearly the sum of £100 until the whole is paid." This was filed July 27, 1791, and was signed by Robert Buchanan and Walter Buchanan.

[53]Will H-1-257, York County Courthouse, York, Pa.

[54]Deed A-1-268, Gettysburg.

[55]Original inventory of estate of John Shank, Franklin Township, York County, Pa., filed August 22, 1791, Register of Wills, York County Courthouse, York, Pa.

terial leadership and that it was some time after his death before steps were taken to ordain David Reiff.

Other Early Mennonites

In 1791 Abraham Byer (or Boyer, as it variously appears on the tax lists) moved into Franklin Township from York County. Probably this Abraham Boyer was the son of Martin Boyer of Heidelberg Township and thus a nephew of Samuel Byer, the area's first Mennonite settler.[56]

Another name appearing on this tax list is that of Abraham Steiner, in subsequent years listed as Stoner. He had previously lived in Mount Joy Township, Lancaster County, and he died in 1807. The executors of his estate were Martin Hoover and his son, John Stoner. John and his family are buried at the Mummasburg Mennonite Cemetery. Probably Abraham Steiner and his wife lie in one of the unmarked graves at Flohr.

Other Mennonite families joined the Marsh Creek settlement in the next decade or so. The tax list again points out a few names possibly Mennonite. Jacob Shantz both arrived and left about 1797. (David Reiff's sister was married to a Shantz.) According to the assessment lists, the Throne family of Heidelberg Township in York County began buying land in Franklin Township as early as 1799. The names of Samuel, John, and George Throne all appear in the assessment lists. However, according to the Thron genealogy, the Mummasburg area farm to which John Throne moved from York County was not purchased until 1809.[57] John died in 1815 and was buried in the Flohr Mennonite Cemetery. His widow, Catherine, and family returned to York County. Catherine was buried at Witmer, now Stony Brook Mennonite Church. John Throne's brother George purchased the property in Franklin Township.

George Throne became the second preacher to serve the congregation before its move to Mummasburg. He died in 1847 at the age of sixty-nine years and is buried at Mummasburg. The date of his ordination is uncertain, but it probably occurred shortly after his marriage in 1805. One is impressed with the number of young men ordained in those days to the ministry, not an exclusive old men's club by any means. George Throne would have been twenty-seven years old at that point.

In 1802 the Graybils arrived. Joseph Graybil acquired a farm of 306 acres. Samuel Graybil acquired a 154-acre farm, which passed to his son Shem in 1808. All the Graybils seem to have moved from the township by 1811-12, a date suggesting that they may have joined the migration to Canada with Jonas Byer and others. However, a widow Graybil remained on the tax levy for a few years longer, and some others of the family must have remained in Adams County. One Grabil burial, that of Elizabeth Grabill, who died in 1879 at the age of sixty-four years, took place in the Mummasburg Cemetery.[58]

The name of John Wisler appears on the Franklin Township tax lists[59] in 1809. He and his wife Magdalena are both buried in the Mummasburg Mennonite cemetery. His family played a major role in the life of the Mummasburg congregation for the next one hundred years. A total of thirty-three Wisler burials, the last in 1915, took place in the Mummasburg Mennonite cemetery.

Still another possible family of the Mennonite community was the Zeiglers. Two apparent bachelors, John Zigler, who died in 1854 at the age of sixty years, and Leonard Zeigler, who died in 1862 at the age of eighty-two years, are buried at Flohr, but the family line has not been studied. Across the line in Menallen Township near present-day Biglerville, Isaac Byer (or Boyer) had settled by about 1797, only a few years after his brother Abraham had settled in Franklin Township. The greater influx of Mennonites into Menallen Township came a few years later, after John Mumma's arrival there in 1807.

This article has attempted to give a fairly comprehensive survey of the Mennonites settling along the Marsh Creek in the period from 1769 to about 1810. At about the same time a Mennonite settlement was taking form just to the south of the Marsh Creek in Hamiltonban and Liberty townships. Also after 1810 a new wave of York County Mennonites led by John Mumma became interested in the lands along the Conewago Creek just to the north of the Marsh Creek settlers. These all became part of one widely scattered Mennonite congregation and will be surveyed separately at a later date.

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[56]Martin Boyer of Conestoga Township in Lancaster County moved to Heidelberg Township in York County, in which his name appeared on the tax returns for 1779. He died in 1793 and left seven children: Henry, who died by 1795; Tobias, who moved to Adams County in 1810; Abraham, whom we identify as being in Franklin Township in 1791; Isaac, who we believe was in Menallen Township in Adams County by 1797; Esther, who married Henry Witmer; Anna Margaret, who married Samuel Bran and died before 1795; and Elizabeth, married to Christian Roth. The Roth family figured largely in later Mummasburg Church history.

[57]Berniece Throne Moxley, *Hans George Thron, A Genealogy* (n.p., 1975), p. 54.

[58]Shem Greble (Graybil) was convicted of "a breach of the Lord's day" by driving a wagon through the borough of Gettysburg on the first day of February 1807 and was fined four dollars, a rather stiff penalty when one considers that land sold for $2.50 to $12.00 per acre in that period (*History of Cumberland and Adams Counties*, Part III, p. 142). Adams countians sometimes hauled their grain or produce to Baltimore by wagon. Perhaps Shem Graybil was simply getting an early start on the long trip. Mennonites, though God-fearing and tradition-bound in many ways, were New Testament-oriented and less rigid in interpreting Old Testament legalisms than were their Calvinist neighbors.

[59]From the original Adams County tax assessors' lists, arranged according to township, in the archives of the Adams County Historical Society. I have used these lists as a major source of information. In cases I have mentioned names and dates without reference to deed records or other authoritative sources, I have obtained the information from these lists.

This article commemorates 175 years of continuous use for a Mennonite hymnbook.

Ein Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch

by Martin E. Ressler

The year 1979 marks the 175th anniversary of the first printing of *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* (A Nonsectarian Hymnbook). It thus has the longest useful life span of any Mennonite hymnal compiled in North America. In addition, this anniversary also marks 150 years since any changes were made in the text.

Until the printing of this hymnal the Mennonite brotherhood used primarily the *Ausbund*. However, congregations were increasingly making use of other, non-Mennonite hymnbooks. In 1925, for instance, Harold S. Bender discovered a number of unused copies of the 1763 printing of Ambrosius Lobwasser's *Neu-Vermehrtes Gesangbuch*[1] in the attic of the Groffdale Mennonite meetinghouse.[2]

One of the reasons for turning from the use of the *Ausbund* was its content. This ancient Anabaptist hymnbook contained many martyr hymns which Mennonites were no longer singing. By the end of the eighteenth century the Mennonites had been established for nearly a century in peaceful communities, and they no longer faced the threat of martyrdom. Therefore, these martyr hymns no longer filled as useful a place in their experience as was the case in the lives of their forebears.

Because of this trend the Mennonite communities of the Skippack (Franconia Conference) and the Conestoga Valley (Lancaster Conference) decided to compile a new hymnal more fitting to their times. They made this decision near the end of the eighteenth century. The two conferences appointed persons who would be responsible for compiling such a book.

The first recorded information of the results of this hymnal committee appears in a letter that Martin Mellinger sent to his relatives in Germany in 1821.[3] Along with other information in that letter, he wrote:

> And now I want to tell you how it went when the first book was to be printed. Since we had all sorts of hymnbooks, the old Swiss songbooks [*Ausbund*] and Reformed hymnbooks [Lobwasser], and not enough of what we had, our brethren decided to have a hymnbook printed for ourselves. Brethren and choristers were to select beautiful and fitting hymns, after which they were to be collected and given over to 3, 4, or 5 men. These men were to select enough out of the hymns which had been collected so that the hymnbook would not be too large. After a time two Skippack brethren came together with two of our leading bishops in my house to examine the hymns which had been collected. The Skippack brethren, since they have a large and strong church as well as a large district and are well-trained in singing, had brought together enough hymns for a complete hymnbook and had

The Skippack Mennonites compiled and published their *Zions Harfe* in 1803.

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[1] *Neu- vermehrt- und vollständiges Gesang-Buch, Worrinnen sowohl die Psalmen Davids, nach D. Ambrosii Lobwassers. . . .*, zweyte Auflage (Germantown: Christoph Saur, 1763).

[2] *The Mennonite Encyclopedia: A Comprehensive Reference Work on the Anabaptist-Mennonite Movement*, s.v. "Hymnology of the American Mennonites," by Harold S. Bender.

[3] Ibid.

3,000 subscriptions in advance. We also had many hymns from Virginia, from Jacob's Creek [Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania], and from our vicinity, which were to go into the book. So it was feared that the book would become too large. In addition our brethren wanted to include a number of psalms and notes. In short, the difference was so great that the Skippack brethren said that their hymns had been handed in by so many brethren and dared not be omitted, and so many had already subscribed, and there was a lengthy discussion. The second day the Skippack brethren said they were only delegates, and they saw no other way than to have their book printed in Germantown where they had a good printer and bookbinder, which was so handy for them that they could look after everything, and we could print ours in Lancaster. And so the outcome was that they had as many printed as we. But that made no difference to us or them, for we love one another, and we visit them and they visit us every year. And still it is a pity that it had to be so. For many years already, many families have been moving to Virginia, Jacobs Creek, and Canada, and each has his hymnbook, and then they have different hymnbooks when they come together. Although you will doubtless know most of the hymns in the books, you will probably find many beautiful and valuable hymns, especially in the last appendix, which are strange to you and have never yet appeared in print.[4]

Thus what was intended to be one hymnal developed into two. The Skippack brethren compiled theirs first and published it in 1803. From correspondence from Martin Mellinger to some Skippack brethren and Michael Billmeyer, the Germantown printer, we discover some additional information. The Franconia (Skippack) hymnal was published in the summer months, was introduced in the congregation of Jacob Oberholtzer on September 18, 1803, and was declared an excellent hymnal.[5] The brotherhood accepted it well and reprinted it six times in the next one hundred years: 1811, 1820, 1834, 1848, 1870, and 1904. It bore the title *Die Kleine Geistliche Harfe der Kinder Zions*[6] (The Small Spiritual Harp of the Children of Zion), but as time passed it became known by the shorter title of *Zions Harfe* (Zion's Harp). After the transition in language from German to English occurred, the book was no longer used or reprinted.

Fort Pitt Influence

Martin Mellinger's correspondence to the Skippack reveals more about the origin and reason for two hymnals instead of one. Evidently the concept for two hymnals began in neither Skippack nor Lancaster but in "Vorpitt," a place not yet fully identified. The name "Vorpitt" was probably a colloquial term for the Mennonite churches in the Fort Pitt area or what is now part of Allegheny Conference. At that time the Allegheny Conference did not exist, and Lancaster Conference shepherded the churches in that area. When Martin Mellinger wrote to his relatives in Germany, he mentioned that they had many hymns submitted from Jacob's Creek, which later would contain the town of Scottdale. All this appears to support the fact that the "Vorpitt" churches were the ones in western Pennsylvania.

Martin Mellinger tried hard to persuade the Lancaster Conference to accept the Franconia hymnal and not necessitate publishing a second book. He lost, however, because of the request of the "Vorpitt" churches. A letter read before the session of Lancaster Conference on October 7, 1803, from the "Vorpitt" congregations stated that they could not accept the *Zions Harfe* because it does not have notes excepting in the


Ein

Unpartheyiſches

Geſang-Buch

enthaltend

Geiſtreiche Lieder und Pſalmen,

zum

Allgemeinen Gebrauch

des

Wahren Gottesdienſtes.

Auf Begehren der

Brüderſchaft der Menoniſten Gemeinen

aus vielen Liederbüchern geſammelt.

Mit einem dreyfachen Regiſter.

Zum Erſtenmal ans Licht geſtellt.

Lancaſter:

Gedruckt bey Johann Albrecht, 1804.

In 1804 the Lancaster Mennonites published the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch*, which has undergone more reprints than any other Mennonite hymnal.

Psalms. They wanted notes prescribed for one verse of each tune in the book. Apparently most of the conference members, somewhat neutral and uncommitted, were swayed by the request of the "Vorpitt"

[4]Harold Bender, trans. and ed., "The Correspondence of Martin Mellinger: Translations of the Correspondence of Martin Mellinger with Relatives in the Rhenish Palatinate, 1807-1839," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 5 (January 1931): 56-57. The original letters exist in the archives of the Mennonitische Geschichtsverein at the Weierhof, Marnheim, Germany.

[5]Jacob Oberholtzer to Martin Möllinger, September 13, 1803, Michael Billmeyer Collection, Germantown Historical Society. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This was discovered by Robert F. Ulle. Letters were translated by Amos B. Hoover.

[6]*Die kleine geistliche Harfe der Kinder Zions, oder auserlesene geistreiche Gesänge. . . .* (Germantaun: Michael Billmeyer, 1803).

churches.[7] The Lancaster hymnal was subsequently published.

The full title of the Lancaster hymnal appeared thus: *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch, enthaltend Geistreiche Lieder und Psalmen, zum Allgemeinen Gebrauch des Wahren Gottesdienstes. Auf Begehren der Brüderschaft der Menonisten Gemeinen aus vielen Liederbüchern gesammelt. Mit einem dreyfachen Register. Zum Erstenmal ans Licht gestellt.* It was published in Lancaster by Johann Albrecht in 1804. The word "Ein" was dropped after the first edition, and another "n" was added to the word Menonisten in 1820. An English translation of the title is: A Nonsectarian Hymnbook, Consisting of Spiritual Hymns and Psalms, for General Use in the True Worship of God. Collected upon the Desire of the Brotherhood of the Mennonite Churches Out of Many Hymnbooks. With a Three-Part Index. Brought to Light for the First Time. The copyright notice on the reverse side of the title page stated that "John Albright" deposited in the office of the District of Pennsylvania "on the twenty-sixth Day of November, in the twenty-ninth year of the Independence of the United States of America" a copy of this book.

Following is an English translation of the foreword:

To all souls who love God

Here for the first time on this continent appears a new nonsectarian hymnbook not with the intention of bringing something new to the ears of the people or to discredit other books. Our purpose was to collect beautiful, edifying, and spiritual hymns from different hymnbooks into a nonsectarian book or song collection of hymns available to all those who love and honor the goodness of Jehovah.

In the selection of these songs we took pain to choose only those which are based on the Word of the Lord. To these alone we restricted ourselves. The sincere wish of our heart is to sing psalms, praises, and hymns not with our voices only but also that each heart, mind, and soul be fitted by the Holy Spirit in order to have a quiet haven that one can praise God continually, that when one's heart be broken through the force of the law. Then can mankind through this means of grace learn the real, sinful condition of his soul. Through this confession he atones himself by the true atonement through the blood of the Lamb in order to become holy and worthy for the family of God in Christ, where each one brings his harp and sings his own favorite hymn when we all come together over there from all generations, tongues, languages, and nations.

We sincerely believe from the heart and confess freely that on that great day we shall find ourselves among the number of the children of God from all generations and nations because we profess no other salvation than the grace and mercy of God. Yes, we reckon the long-suffering of Jesus Christ is the means of salvation for us and others. 2 Peter 3:15.

While considering ourselves and our Mennonite congregations of which we are a part, we find good reasons to sing lamentable songs with the old tribe of Israel, whose walls of Zion were broken down and whose holiness lay in the dust and ashes. Psalm 137. The walls of our church have become full of holes, and the evangelical rule of Matthew 18 is being little cared for by many, and the love of the world takes too much place, through which love, peace, and meekness are losing ground. Yet love is the only bond of brotherhood and, where this fails, then no other bonds are valid before God.

Baptism indeed is a seal of a good conscience before God and an incorporation into a Christian church. If a person first confesses his sins and comes to repent before God and to have faith in Jesus Christ, then the Lord has commanded

The foreword to the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* contains an allusion to Algerius, a Padua student who was martyred for his faith at Rome in 1557. Jan Luyken etched this engraving for the 1685 edition of the *Martyrs Mirror*.

baptizing such believers. Mark 16:16, Matthew 28:19. Many of our youth consider this commandment very unimportant and disregard God's counsel against themselves, and they do not allow themselves to be baptized. Luke 7:30.

In memory of our fathers and pious witnesses with blood of martyrs, who willingly gave their lives as a testimony for the truth of the Word, we have included some of their songs into this songbook, especially one by George Simon, a very edifying hymn directed toward youth which begins, "Merkt auf ihr Völker alle" [p. 199], and one by a young prisoner and champion in Jesus Christ, Algerius by name [which begins, "Als man zählt tausend fünf hundert jahr," (p. 208)] together with many others in which are found edifying and encouraging lessons. Because these persons were true fighters and reverers of the Saviour of the world and lived in a time when the persecuting spirit and restraint of conscience ruled everywhere, therefore, we have not considered it unreasonable or unserviceable to have some of their songs included.

Here, on the other hand, we live in a free country under a government that grants freedom of conscience to us all and enjoy a great blessing from God, including many good deeds for which we are duty bound to thank Him. Further, we find it our duty to be subject to the government and pray to God for them and love our neighbors and fellowman as well as

[7]Martin Möllinger to Michael Billmeyer, November 19, 1803.

our enemies and not resist evil. Matthew 5. And remember, therefore, to hold to our principles in life and in death because the base and foundation is laid. Each one should take heed how he builds thereon.

In closing, dear male and female singers, readers, or whoever you are, you will find beautiful hymns, songs, and psalms in this book; each one learn, encourage, and admonish himself in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing in your heart to the Lord. Colossians 3:16. For the singing of the ungodly is not pleasing to the Lord though it may have a beautiful tune. The singing which is acceptable to the Lord takes place in humility with the children of God by means of one's heart and voice being moved through the Holy Spirit to praise and thanksgiving. All will find such spiritual songs in this book who apply themselves to their soul's condition.

Prove all things and hold fast to that which is good. The Holy Spirit will strike the right tune in the bottom of your hearts. He alone creates a righteous heavenly harp and instrument of God that can be sung without a loud voice. Hitherto we sincerely entreat the blessing and support of God, through Jesus Christ, Amen! To God and the Lamb alone be the honor.[8]

The compilers stated in the foreword that "in memory of our fathers and pious witnesses with blood of martyrs" they included some of their songs in this songbook. This is the only Mennonite hymnal that drew extensively from the hymns in the *Ausbund*. They included sixty-three of them in the first printing. An additional hymn from the *Ausbund* appeared in the first appendix in 1808. Still another hymn from the *Ausbund* appeared in the third appendix in 1829. Thus the Lancaster hymnal included a total of sixty-five *Ausbund* hymns. Following is a sequential listing of these hymns as they appear in the Lancaster hymnal. The numbers of the hymns where they appear in the *Ausbund* are listed beside in parentheses.

1	(131)	166	(129)	241	(57)
63	(50)	171	(7)	264	(116)
80	(60)	172	(30)	280	(90)
82	(2)	173	(32)	281	(91)
88	(99)	174	(33)	287	(126)
89	(112)	175	(35)	310	(64)
95	(49)	176	(36)	348	(135)
96	(74)	177	(37)	349	(136)
97	(108)	178	(39)	350	(134)
101	(92)	180	(44)	361	(48)
102	(55)	182	(100)	362	(58)
103	(89)	183	(113)	365	(138)
112	(67)	184	(52)	372	(5)
113	(114)	185	(8)	383	(133)
114	(122)	186	(42)	387	(109)
120	(56)	187	(29)		
121	(97)	202	(110)	First Appendix	
122	(69)	210	(86)		
123	(62)	216	(75)	17	(65)
124	(118)	217	(120)		
129	(82)	218	(123)	Third Appendix	
142	(119)	219	(137)		
149	(88)	229	(87)	12	(140)
151	(121)	231	(84)		

Only three hymns from the *Ausbund* were condensed in the Lancaster hymnal. Number 122, which in the *Ausbund* had twenty-six stanzas, had fourteen stanzas in the Lancaster hymnal. Number 184, containing twenty stanzas, reappeared in the Lancaster book with thirteen stanzas. Number 387 was reduced from twenty-four to eight stanzas. Many of the hymns in the Lancaster hymnal are lengthy and contain as many as thirty-five stanzas. The longest in total text is number 218, which has thirty-three eight-line stanzas—a total of 264 lines.

By checking various sources we can identify the authors of many of the other hymns selected for *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch*. Perhaps additional hymns may have Mennonite authors, who, because of humility, remained anonymous. The only hymns included in the first edition known to be written by an American are those of Christopher Dock. They are numbers 130, 257, 258, 266, and 269. Another hymn of Dock was included as number 1 in the third appendix of the 1829 edition.[9]

The second edition of the *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch* was published in 1808 with an appendix of thirty-five hymns. The third edition, enlarged again with a second appendix of thirty-two hymns, appeared in 1820. In this second appendix appeared a number of hymns from the pen of a Mennonite author. The personal papers of Bishop Christian Herr, who served in that capacity in the Pequea District of the Lancaster Conference from 1840 until his death in 1853, included twenty-five hymns he had written. Nine of these were included in the second appendix of this hymnal. They are numbers 3, 4, 5, 13, 14, 16, 20, 22, and 23. Whether any of the remaining hymns in this appendix were written by Mennonites is not known, but the hymns written by Christian Herr constitute more than one fourth of the appendix. Martin Mellinger, when he wrote to his relatives in Germany on February 20, 1821, that "you will probably find many beautiful and valuable hymns especially in the last appendix which are unfamiliar to you and have never yet appeared in print," may have been referring to Herr's hymns included in the supplement.

Another addition to the 1820 edition was a special section listing hymns to be sung with certain texts during the preaching service. This was not included in all printings of that edition, and it never appeared in any later printings. Because that special printing is becoming rare, I shall list the hymns suggested for the various texts along with an English translation of the introduction.

[8]Amos B. Hoover, Denver, Pennsylvania, has provided the English translation of the Foreword.

[9]John C. Wenger, *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference* (Telford, Pa.: Franconia Mennonite Historical Society, 1937), p. 302.

A Brief Introduction to All Those
Who Read This Reference Table

The hymns that refer to the certain chapters of the Gospels are practically all suitable to sing to the message of the chapter designated. Hymns and verses are only reinforcement to the lesson and parables that Jesus taught; therefore, it is intended for edification only with nothing in mind to discredit song leaders *[erfahrene Sänger]* because I believe many song leaders are acquainted with the designated hymns and verses and also many others that are suitable to sing in the worship of God. My objective is merely that it serve as a stimulus for one to learn melodies, not only to sing the designated hymns but many other hymns also that may be sung in worship of God to praise our God in singing, speaking, and praying, which we are duty-bound to do. All honor be to God.

J. HSR

A Reference Table

How to find the hymns designated to certain chapters.

The page number by which one finds the designated hymn in this hymn book is always at the end of the hymn title in parentheses. [When the following texts were used, the hymns listed were considered suitable to be sung following the sermon.]

Matthew, chapter	2	Hymn No. 12
Luke	2	13
Luke	2:21-40	26
Luke	2:41-51	283
Matthew	3	460, st. 11, 12, 13
Matthew	4	287
Matthew	5	224 or 130
Day of Fasting and Prayer (Preparatory Service)		165
Matthew	6:24-34	399, st. 6, 7, 8
Matthew	7	300 or 170
Matthew	8	149
Matthew	9	418, st. 6, 7, 8, 9
Matthew	10	81, st. 16, 17, 18
Matthew	11	218
Matthew	12	10
Matthew or Luke	13 8	129 or 94
Matthew	13:24-54	398, st. 6, 7, 8, 9
Matthew	14	365
Matthew	15	128
Matthew	16	121, st. 10, 11, 12
Matthew	17	408, st. 1, 2, 3, 4
Matthew	18	131 or 261
Matthew	19	320 close with Psalm 128
(Wedding Feast)		324 or 326
Matthew	20	137
Matthew	21	251, st. 2, 3, 4
Matthew	22	243 or 396, st. 26, 27, 28
Matthew	23	118
Matthew	24	402 or 400
Matthew	25	321 or 322
Matthew	26	33
Matthew	27	37
Matthew	28:1-15	39, st. 11, 12, 13
(Baptismal Service)		98
Matthew	28:16-20	98 or 243
Luke	10	252, st. 2, 3, 4
Luke	11	169
Luke	12	399, st. 6, 7, 8 or 167, st. 20, 21, 22
Luke	13	78, st. 14, 15, 16, 26, 27
Luke	14	324, st. 20, 21, 22, 23
Luke	15	63
Luke	15:11-32	86
Luke	16:1-19	405
Luke	16:19-31	281
Luke	17	69
Luke	18	212
Luke	18:9-31	424
Luke	19	203, st. 15, 16, 17
Luke	20	103, st. 2, 3, 4
Luke	21	405
Luke (Feetwashing)	22 (Communion)	104, Close with 113 117 or 457
John	1	456 or 76, st. 5, 6, 7, 8
John	2	324, st. 8, 9, 10
John	3	121, st. 1, 2, 3 or 123, st. 7, 8
John	4	165, st. 10, 11
John	5	171
John	6:26-70	111, st. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
John	10	332 or 192
John	15	123 or 332
Ephesians	6	283
Mark	16	47
Acts	1	58
Acts	2	51
Acts	3	71, st. 1, 2, 3, 4

No one has identified the person who compiled this text-hymn reference table. A common practice among German writers was to drop the vowels from their name when they attached it to some literary accomplishment. If true in this situation, the letters following the table could indicate that the work was done by J. H[ou]S[e]R. This, however, has not been researched and therefore remains as a conjecture.

Nine years later in 1829 the fourth edition, which included a third appendix of fourteen hymns, appeared in print. This now gave the second part of the book 471 hymns. The first part of the book consisting of psalm paraphrases continued to have sixty-two hymns. The texts of the hymns remained the same in all subsequent printings. This hymnal has not only enjoyed a longer life span than any other American Mennonite hymnal, but it has also served as a source from which editors have chosen hymns for the books they compiled.

Broadened Influence

As people migrated north, west, and south, they took the *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch* with them. In these new

communities they compiled smaller hymnals, which included mostly hymns from the parent book. The first of these to appear was *Die Gemeinschaftliche Liedersammlung,* published in Canada in 1836.[10] About two-thirds of the hymns in this book were taken from the Lancaster hymnal, and most of the rest came from the earlier Franconia hymnbook. Next appeared *Eine Kleine Lieder-Sammlung,* compiled by the Reformed Mennonites in 1837.[11] This hymnal contains 131 hymns plus two psalms. All but three numbers came from the Lancaster hymnal. In 1839 Peter Kaufmann and Company of Canton, Ohio, published a hymnal containing 102 hymns.[12] The title of this book was exactly the same as that of the first edition of the Lancaster hymnal. All the hymns in this 1839 book came from the Lancaster hymnal. Three later hymnbooks based on the Lancaster hymnal were *Eine Unparteiische Lieder-Sammlung* in 1860,[13] *Die Allgemeine Lieder-Sammlung* in 1871,[14] and the revised, enlarged *Unpartheiische Lieder-Sammlung* in 1892.[15]

Besides its influence in the (Old) Mennonite Church, it was also appreciated among several other groups. Later Swiss Mennonite immigrants who settled in Ohio and Indiana brought the *Ausbund* with them and used it almost exclusively until about 1850. After 1850 they completely accepted the *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch* and used it until the publication of *Gesangbuch mit Noten* in 1890.[16] Many of these later Swiss immigrants eventually joined the General Conference Mennonite Church.

Another group, the Hutterites of United States and Canada, still uses the Lancaster hymnal regularly. All the approximately two hundred Hutterite colonies in the United States and Canada hold the Lancaster hymnal in high regard. Nearly all their homes contain a copy of the book. Today the Hutterites do not know when their colonies began to use this hymnal, but their oldest leaders remember that it was always used in their lifetime. They believe their ancestors brought the book from Russia. A number of historians find this improbable.

However, when my wife and I traveled in Europe in 1973, I saw in the archives of the Mennonitische Geschichtsverein at the Weierhof, Germany, the following printings of the *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch:* 1804, 1841, 1854, and 1871. How early these books came to Germany is not known, but each of these copies was printed before 1873, when the first Hutterites left Russia to come to the United States. Further support for this possibility lies in the fact that in their worship services they needed only one book. Even today only the minister uses the hymnal. He "lines" the hymn, and the congregation sings it after him. Someone should do further research to establish with certainty whether the Lancaster hymnal was used in Russia. Possibly some friends gave the Hutterites a few copies of the book.[17]

The demand for reprinting the *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch* depends basically on its usage by the Old Order Mennonites and Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Both of these groups conduct their worship services in the German language. They request reprints of up to four thousand volumes every several years.

All printings of the *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch* bear the name of Lancaster as the place of printing though all printings from 1841 through 1903 carry this additional wording on the title page: "Stereotyped by S. Douglas Wyeth, Pear Street No. 7, Philadelphia."

Johann Albrecht published the first edition of *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* in 1804. Georg and Peter Albrecht published the second, 1808 edition. The next five editions—those of 1820, 1829, 1841, 1848, and 1853—were published by Johann Bär. The next two editions, those of 1854 and 1857, were published by "Johann Bär und Söhnen." The 1861 edition and subsequent editions of 1865, 1868, 1871, 1880, 1887, and 1903 were published by "Johann Bär's Söhnen." The New Era Printing Company, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, published the 1913 edition. From the 1923 edition on, all editions designate the publisher as "Verlag von den Amischen Gemeinden in Lancaster County, Pa." After 1937 the name of printer (not the same as the publisher) is given as Lancaster Press, Inc., Lancaster, Pa. After 1923 subsequent editions appeared in 1930, 1937, 1941, 1945, 1948, 1951, 1954, 1959, 1962, 1965, 1969, 1972, 1975, and 1978—thirty-two editions in all.

Even though the book was properly copyrighted by Johann Albrecht in 1804, Johann Bär recopyrighted it in 1841, the date of copyright that appears in all subsequent editions. Each edition bore the proper number through the fifth edition in 1841. The sixth edition, that of 1848, was also marked as the fifth. Beginning with the seventh edition in 1853, each edition was marked

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[10] *Die Gemeinschaftliche Liedersammlung, zum allgemeinen Gebrauch des Wahren Gottesdienstes. . . .* (Berlin [Ober Canada]: H. W. Peterson, 1836).

[11] *Eine Kleine Lieder-Sammlung, zum allgemeinen Gebrauch des wahren Gottesdienstes, für die Gemeinde Gottes* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Gustav S. Peters, 1837).

[12] *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch zum allgemeinen Gebrauch des wahren Gottesdienstes* (Canton, Ohio: Peter Kaufmann und Co., 1839).

[13] *Eine unparteiische Lieder-Sammlung zum Gebrauch beim Oeffentlichen Gottesdienst und der Häuslichen Erbauung* (Lancaster, Pa.: Johann Bär's Söhnen, 1860).

[14] *Die allgemeine Lieder-Sammlung zum privat und öffentlichen Gottes-Dienst. Mit Fleiß zusammengetragan [sic]* (Elkhart, Ind.: John F. Funk und Brud., 1871).

[15] *Unparteiische Liedersammlung zum Gebrauch beim Oeffentlichen Gottesdienst und zur Häuslichen Erbauung,* revidirt und vermehrt (Elkhart, Ind.: Mennonitischen Verlagstalt, 1892).

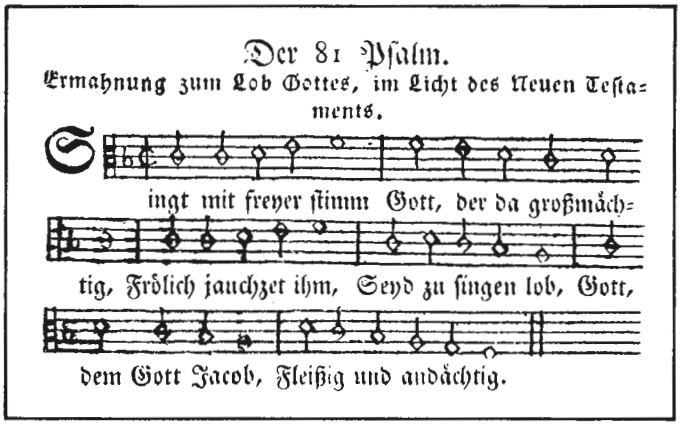
[16] *Gesangbuch mit Noten. Herausgegeben von der Allgemeinen Conferenz der Mennoniten von Nord Amerika* (Berne, Ind.: Christliche Central-Buchhandlung, Welty & Sprunger, 1890).

[17] Peter S. Tschetter, Martin R. Walter, and John A. Tschetter, interview at Lancaster, Pa., June 4, 1973.

as the sixth through 1903, when the identity of the edition was dropped.

Tunes

After the churches at "Vorpitt" wrote that they could not accept the Franconia hymnal, *Zions Harfe,* because it did not contain a sufficient number of tunes, Martin Mellinger wrote that they had found a person in Lancaster who could print notes for their hymnbook and had ready some samples they wanted to examine.[18] The first four printings of the *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch* contained diamond-shaped notes. In 1841 Johann Bär



The first four printings of the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch* contained diamond-shaped notes such as the above. In every edition since 1841 the book has had round notes.

changed the notes to round notes, the form used in every edition since then.

The *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch* has three indexes. One is a topical index of the hymns, one index lists the hymns in alphabetical order by first line, and one is a metrical index of tunes. The metrical index lists the tunes found in the book according to groups of sixty-two meters (sixty-one in the first edition). With nearly every hymn appears the name of a suggested tune. Following the tune name is a number in brackets that indicates the meter group to which this tune belongs in the metrical index. At the close of the preface is a paragraph, which reads in English translation as follows: "N.B. The number which is enclosed in brackets at the beginning of each song corresponds with the group of songs with that same number in the melody index." This arrangement was intended to help the *Vorsänger* (song leader) to identify the meter properly. The letters "N.B." stand for the Latin words *nota bene,* meaning "note well."

The melody appears at its place in the hymnal with the first tune listed in each of the meter groups in the melody index. At the close of the hymn section in the book is a *Noten-Leiter* or a note guide for those not well trained in the singing of notes. This directs such persons to the key note in each melody. Except for a few variations that I have not identified, only two different keys are used in the entire book. Only half and whole notes are used in printing the melodies.

The sources of tunes for these hymns were in various tunebooks published primarily for music instruction books. The oldest one I found published at Lancaster was Conrad Doll's 1798 *Sammlung Geistliche Lieder nebst Melodien* (Collection of Spiritual Songs Along with Melodies).[19] In fact, the name of the person who set the music for the Lancaster hymnal was Doll.[20] Perhaps this was the same man.

The first really useful tunebook for the *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch* was *The Philharmonia.*[21] This book has an excellent selection of tunes in various meters for nearly all the hymns in the book. Throughout the *Philharmonia* the tunes are numerically marked according to meter. All tunes of the same meter occur together in the book. On the last page of the *Philharmonia* appear reference tables showing how to find proper tunes for the hymns in four German Mennonite hymnals, among which is the Lancaster hymnal. In the first column of the chart prepared for the Lancaster hymnal appears the list of numbers found in brackets at the beginning of each hymn. For example, in the Lancaster hymnal on page 402 appears hymn number 377. Here is a melody for the hymns listed in the (3) category. In the chart in the *Philharmonia* on page 335 the (3) category of the *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch* corresponds with meter number 45 in that book. On page 150, where tunes with the meter of 45 begin in the *Philharmonia,* the second tune on that page is the first of the 45 meter and is the same melody used in the Lancaster hymnal. The next three pages contain six more tunes that fit the 45 meter. Thus a song leader can choose from a number of melodies to sing the hymn. Other meters are designed in the same way. Some errors occur in both books, but on the whole they are designed carefully.

The *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch* is an excellent example of a functional hymnal. No other American Mennonite hymnal has had the honor of so many repeated calls for reprints as this one. The use of the book in the future depends upon the use of the German language among Mennonite people. That the only hymnal ever published by the Lancaster Conference has stood for a century and a half in such demand and without a call for revision stands as a monument to these forebears. Those who appreciate this heritage of singing stand in reverence to the contribution they have made to posterity.

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[18]Martin Möllinger to Michael Billmeyer, December 8, 1803.

[19]*Sammlung Geistlicher Lieder nebst Melodien von Verschiedenen Dichtern und Componisten* (Lancaster: Conrad Doll, 1798).

[20]Martin Möllinger to Michael Billmeyer, December 8, 1803.

[21]Martin D. Wenger, comp., *The Philharmonia: A Collection of Tunes Adapted to Public and Private Worship. . . .* (Elkhart, Indiana: Mennonite Publishing Co., 1875).

Analysis of change among Mennonite high school students provides an indicator of social changes occurring in the larger Mennonite culture.

Changes in Mennonite Youth Attitudes, 1974-1978

by Daniel E. Charles, Kevin R. Espenshade, and Donald B. Kraybill

The following article is based on research involving students at Lancaster Mennonite High School, located near Lancaster, Pennsylvania. A brief description of the school, its history, and the cultural context in which it functions provides a useful perspective for interpreting the data collected in this study. Beginning early in the eighteenth century, Mennonites immigrated to the Lancaster area from Germany and Switzerland and formed similar agrarian settlements. The Mennonite subculture was characterized by a simple, rural lifestyle and distinctive forms of ethnic dress and practice.

This postcard photograph of four Mennonite ladies about 1910 typifies the distinctive dress of an era when Mennonites of Lancaster County existed in an almost exclusively rural lifestyle. Second from the left is Mrs. Ephraim Gerlach of Millersville, and on the right is Mrs. Benjamin (Elizabeth Herr Dombach) Martin, mother of Mrs. Elizabeth M. Thomas of the Mennonite Home, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Both women along with two others took the trolley to Ephrata, Pennsylvania, to purchase eiderdown patches by the pound and were photographed on their return at the square in Lancaster.

Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, a standard metropolitan statistical area with a population of approximately 360,000 and with a long tradition of agricultural excellence, is currently undergoing rapid urbanization and industrialization. Disagreement within the Mennonite community on proper modes of adaptation to this imposed social change has led to the formation of numerous subgroups of Mennonites in Lancaster County. The major body is the Lancaster Mennonite Conference, which has approximately sixteen thousand members.

In 1941 the Bishop Board, the governing body of the Lancaster Conference, established Lancaster Mennonite High School (hereinafter LMHS). This move apparently resulted from a feeling of alienation from the increasingly centralized public school system on the part of many within the Mennonite community. The enrollment of LMHS today has stabilized at approximately 560, 90 per cent of which are Mennonites. About half of the high school age Mennonites in the Lancaster area attend LMHS.

The Problem

As the formal agency for socialization in the Mennonite subculture, the Mennonite high school provides an excellent case study for social change. The Mennonite community in the Lancaster area is undergoing rapid social change produced by the forces of urbanization, industrialization, and tourism. A major shift is taking place in the occupational structure with movement away from agriculture and toward professional careers. In 1974 John A. Hostetler and others discovered that while 80 per cent of the grandfathers of students at LMHS had been farmers, only 20 per cent of the male students themselves planned to go into farming.[1]

This rapid exodus off the land has tremendous rami-

[1]U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Cultural Transmission and Instrumental Adaptation to Social Change: Lancaster Mennonite High School in Transition,* by John A. Hostetler, Gertrude Enders Huntington, and Donald B. Kraybill, Final Report Project No. R0-20651, Grant No. DHEW OEG-0-72-1396 (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare: 1974), p. 109.

fications for social norms and religious practices in the Mennonite community. In contrast to the separatist and avoidance orientation of the past, Mennonites in Lancaster County today find themselves in a situation where they interact frequently and intensely with non-Mennonites. Traditional ethnic patterns of behavior and unique Mennonite folkways are rapidly disintegrating. An analysis of attitudinal change among Mennonite high school students provides an indicator of social changes which are occurring in the larger Mennonite culture. This article analyzes social change in the Mennonite high school in the four-year period between 1974 and 1978.

Procedures

The 1974 data reported in this study was collected during a three-year study of cultural transmission at LMHS.[2] Senior students completed a self-administered questionnaire in classroom groups during the last month of the 1973-74 school year. One of the authors, who spent one day a week as a participant observer in the school, developed the questionnaire items specifically for use in this ethnic setting. Ninety-seven per cent of the senior students completed the instrument. Non-Mennonites attending the high school were not included in the analysis.

In the spring of 1978 an instrument containing identical questions was administered to the senior class of LMHS. The majority of students completed the questionnaire in a classroom setting during the third week of April. Absentees completed the questionnaire during the next two weeks. Ninety-eight per cent of the seniors participated. Because the focus of this article is on Mennonite social change, the responses of non-Mennonite students (N = 20) were disregarded. Thus all the results reported in this article represent only the attitudes of Mennonite students who were in their senior year at the high school.

Characteristics of Respondents

In 1978, 48 per cent of the respondents were males compared with 40 per cent in 1974. A profile of residential change between 1974 and 1978 is displayed in table 1. The exodus off the land is verified with an 11 per cent decrease on large farms. Consequently, the number living on plots, in small towns, and in cities has slightly increased. Although Mennonites are experiencing a transition off the land, the Mennonite community is still predominantly rural with less than 10 per cent living in cities larger than 2,500.

The Mennonite occupational structure (table 2) is shifting from agrarian-based vocations toward operatives, professional, and administrative-type occupations. In 1978 fewer fathers are working as laborers and farmers while more are employed as operatives, administrators, and professionals. In residence and in occupation the pattern of change is away from the rural lifestyle. The move to more diversified occupations

TABLE 1
RESIDENCE OF STUDENTS IN 1974 AND 1978 IN PER CENT

Place of Residence	1974 N=142	1978 N=160
Large Farm (50 acres or more)	42%	31%
Small Farm (3-50 acres)	13	14
Plot (Less than 3 acres outside a village)	24	28
Small Town or Village	11	13
Suburban Development	8	8
City (Over 2,500 population)	2	8

TABLE 2
FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS IN 1974 AND 1978 IN PER CENT

Occupation	1974 N=142	1978 N=160
Laborer	6%	1%
Service	2	2
Farm Laborer and Manager	39	35
Operative	8	13
Craftsman	17	15
Clerical	1	1
Sales Worker	3	3
Manager and Administrator	13	15
Professional	10	15

which are less closely identified with traditional ethnic practices can be expected to produce a lack of consensus within the Mennonite community regarding attitudes toward appropriate behavior.

Ethnicity

Social scientists often differentiate among four dimensions of ethnicity: subjective ethnic identity, evaluation of ethnic affiliation, ethnic beliefs, and ethnic behavior. The first three dimensions are attitudinal perceptions whereas the fourth refers to action. In the following discussion ethnicity refers to the second dimension designating an individual's *evaluation* of his ethnic affiliation.

Ethnic group members are assumed to maintain attitudes toward their ethnic group. The cognitive component of their attitude refers to the knowledge and factual information which they possess regarding the group. The affective component of the attitude refers to an individual's evaluation of his ethnic group

[2]Ibid.

and his desire to affiliate with the group. In essence an individual makes a positive or negative assessment of his feelings regarding membership in the ethnic group. Individuals can then be ordered on an ethnic attitude scale according to how positively or negatively they perceive their ethnic affiliation.

A thirteen-item, Likert-type scale was constructed to measure the degree of ethnic affiliation. The questions constituting this scale were specifically designed to measure Mennonite perceptions of ethnicity. The ethnicity questions and responses appear in table 3.

TABLE 3
PER CENT RESPONSE TO ETHNICITY QUESTIONS IN 1974 AND 1978

	1974 (N=142)			1978 (N=160)		
Questions	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
1. I am glad to be a member of the Mennonite Church.	77%	19%	4%	76%	19%	5%
2. For me, being a Mennonite has more bad points than good points.	7	20	73	9	22	69
3. I am not happy to be a Mennonite.	8	16	76	3	24	73
4. I'd rather belong to the Mennonite Church than any other denomination.	50	40	10	49	41	10
5. I have a deep respect for our historic Mennonite beliefs.	68	19	13	58	34	8
6. I appreciate our Mennonite customs and traditions.	43	34	23	36	48	16
7. I have a strong feeling of attachment to our Mennonite heritage.	55	21	24	32	49	19
8. The Mennonite way of life is very important to me.	58	25	17	46	45	9
9. I think the Mennonite Church has an important message for the world today.	82	15	3	80	13	7
10. Sometimes I am ashamed of some of our Mennonite practices.	64	18	18	58	27	15
11. I don't receive much satisfaction from attending Mennonite church services.	32	16	52	22	22	56
12. I am glad when non-Mennonites find out I am a Mennonite.	40	47	13	35	53	12
13. I'd prefer if some of my friends didn't know that I go to a Mennonite church.	11	13	76	6	17	77
Average Ethnicity Scale Scores		48.4			48.8	

Questions 1 to 4 show little change in the respondents' general feelings about membership in the Mennonite Church. The majority are comfortable with their ethnic affiliation though nearly half are uncertain about or disagree with statement 4, implying an openness to membership in another denomination.

Statements 5 to 8 indicate attitudes toward Mennonite heritage and traditional ways of life. A significant decline in the students' appreciation for their Mennonite heritage has occurred during the four years. On all four items (5 to 8) uncertainty regarding the importance of Mennonite heritage and customs substantially increased. In 1978, 10 per cent less of the students report a "deep respect for our historic Mennonite beliefs."

Between 1974 and 1978 there is a 23 per cent decline in the number of students who "have a strong feeling of attachment to our Mennonite heritage." Perhaps the significant increase in uncertainty regarding Mennonite heritage and tradition results from a lack of consensus in the Mennonite community about what actually is Mennonite heritage. The ambiguity indicated by the results may also reflect a genuine disinterest of Mennonite youth in traditional Mennonite practices.

Six per cent fewer students in 1978 report that they are "ashamed of some of our Mennonite practices." This is probably a result of the rapid decline of many distinctive Mennonite practices in the last four years. Approximately 10 per cent fewer students in 1978 report dissatisfaction with Mennonite church services. Questions 12 and 13 focus on the willingness of students to be publicly identified as Mennonites. In 1978, 5 per cent less agree that "I am glad when non-Mennonites find out that I am a Mennonite." Approximately three-fourths of the students in both years disagree with the statement, "I'd prefer if some of my friends didn't know that I go to a Mennonite Church."

In summary, virtually no difference exists between the *average* ethnicity scores of the students between 1974 and 1978. However, as noted above, changes did occur in certain areas of ethnicity. Students' general evaluation of ethnic membership remained constant, but a decline took place during the four-year period in appreciation for historical traditions and beliefs. In contrast, students in 1978 reported more satisfaction with present-day church services and less embarrassment about certain Mennonite practices.

Ritual

Ethnic ritual refers to the degree of attitudinal acceptance of unique ritual practices within the ethnic subculture. It serves to sustain and increase the individual's linkage to a particular group. Ceremonial symbols and collective ritual frequently support ethnic

group ideology. Ritual behavior for ceremonial and daily occasions is useful in developing and maintaining boundaries between the ethnic minority and the larger society. Ritual is a conventionalized act through which respect and regard is deferred to an object of ultimate value. Positive ritual consists of offerings and acts of deference through which homage is paid to a superior entity. The ethnic group itself frequently becomes the recipient of the homage offered in ceremonial ritual.

A Likert-type scale consisting of seven attitudinal statements regarding specific Mennonite ritual activities was constructed. The questions which constitute the scale appear in table 4.

TABLE 4
PER CENT RESPONSE TO RITUAL QUESTIONS IN 1974 AND 1978

Questions	1974 (N=142) Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	1978 (N=160) Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
1. The lot is still the best way to select a preacher.	39%	43%	18%	31%	39%	30%
2. A cappella singing (without instruments) should be the only type of music in the Sunday morning service.	14	18	68	13	11	76
3. Women should wear their prayer veiling when they appear in public places.	23	38	39	16	34	50
4. It is important to kneel for congregational prayer.	15	25	60	10	19	71
5. It is preferable for ladies to wear cape dresses.	4	8	88	4	6	90
6. It is best if men and women sit on separate sides of the church during Sunday morning worship.	2	6	92	2	4	94
7. Mennonite preachers should wear a plain suit.	8	18	74	6	11	83
Average Ritual Scale Scores		16.6			14.7	

All seven of the ritual statements are worded as endorsements of traditional Mennonite practices. Without exception the students in 1978 show less support for the seven specified rituals. The slight change (2 per cent) for cape dresses and sex segregation in worship results from the fact that an overwhelming majority of students had already rejected these practices in 1974. With the other five rituals the erosion of support over the four-year period ranged from 8 to 12 per cent. Of the seven traditional rituals only the use of the lot for ordination was endorsed by a third (31 per cent) of the students in 1978. Students displayed the greatest ambiguity and uncertainty toward the use of the lot and the prayer veiling in both years.

This classroom at Lancaster Mennonite High School portrays a typical roomful of students in 1977.

The evidence in table 4 suggests that the small support shown for traditional Mennonite ritual in 1974 is continuing to decline. Unless an abrupt change occurs, all these ethnic rituals can be expected to disappear gradually.

Avoidance

Religious groups make a distinction between two realms of the universe: profane and sacred. The separation between these two areas includes objects, beliefs, and behaviors. A normative order develops to perpetuate this distinction with a set of positive and negative rites. Restraints prohibit contact with profane objects and forbid behavior which the religious group defines as sacrilegious. Conversely, positive rites encourage and constrain the faithful to participate in sacred activities of a ceremonial nature. The rules and restrictions which emerge in the social organization of a group enable the members to distinguish between the profane and sacred realms of life.

As an ethnic religious group Mennonites espouse a profane and sacred dichotomy in their thought. They view members of the Mennonite Church as saved and redeemed persons who have been called out of an evil society. Many other persons in the larger society are perceived as unregenerate, sinful persons in need of salvation. Consequently, Mennonites have developed a unique set of ethnic rituals for ceremonial occasions within the ethnic community. They have articulated and written down in formal statements of group discipline a complementary set of taboos which forbid worldly behavior.

An essential tactic for a minority group is to limit and control carefully the nature of interaction between

the sacred and profane sphere of life—that is, between ethnic members and members of the dominant society. The avoidance of interaction or highly controlled interaction with non-ethnics prevents minority members from succumbing to assimilative influences from the larger society.

Avoidance designates the acceptance of specific ethnic norms which prohibit normative behavior in the dominant society. Conceptually, avoidance norms are the opposite of assimilation norms because the avoidance norms encourage withdrawal and rejection of prevailing practices in the major culture. Avoidance norms not only specify preferable modes of conduct opposite those of the secular society but also constitute a necessary condition for sustaining membership within the ethnic majority.

TABLE 5
PER CENT RESPONSE TO AVOIDANCE QUESTIONS IN 1974 AND 1978

Questions	1974 (N=142) Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	1978 (N=160) Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
1. Men should not wear "short" (cut above the knee) trousers.	8%	16%	76%	4%	8%	88%
2. Fellows should not let their hair cover their ears.	8	9	83	5	4	91
3. It is best not to wear "bright" colored clothing.	2	13	85	3	5	92
4. Girls should not wear slacks to a youth group picnic.	15	15	70	4	11	85
5. It is all right if girls cut their hair short.	23	24	53	49	28	23
6. There is nothing wrong with wearing a high school class ring.	51	25	24	53	29	18
7. Married couples should wear wedding bands.	39	39	22	40	42	18
8. It is wrong to listen to "popular" music on the radio.	10	15	75	10	24	66
9. Every family should have a television set.	8	18	74	4	28	68
10. It is all right to watch movies in a theater.	63	24	13	61	28	11
11. It is all right to watch movies rated for "adults only" (R and X rated).	8	13	79	14	26	60
12. Mennonites should not hold political offices of any kind.	38	35	27	19	36	45
13. It is all right to place flowers at the front of the church auditorium.	81	12	7	86	9	5
14. It is all right to eat at a restaurant on Sunday.	58	27	15	64	23	13
15. There is nothing wrong with going to a high school dance.	16	21	63	24	29	47
16. It is all right to play cards with poker cards.	43	37	20	64	23	13
Average Avoidance Scale Scores		45.0			40.4	

A Likert-type scale consisting of sixteen questions was constructed to measure avoidance norms. The items constituting this scale appear in table 5.

Questions 1 to 7 identify clothing, hair, and jewelry practices in the larger American culture which have traditionally been opposed by the Mennonite community. Student acceptance of American cultural norms has increased from 1974 to 1978 on all seven issues. The increased acceptance of American cultural norms is most pronounced on women's hair style. In 1974, 23 percent of the students approved of short, cut hair for girls, and only four years later the endorsement jumped to 49 per cent. The results clearly indicate that Mennonite youth are not accepting the distinctive dress patterns that have been historically associated with the Mennonite subculture. In both 1974 and 1978, students expressed the most uncertainty on the issue of wearing wedding bands.

Questions 8 to 11 measure attitudes toward mass media. Attitudes toward the use of media have been fairly stable over the four-year period, but some noteworthy changes have taken place. On all four mass media items an increase occurred between 1974 and 1978 in the percentage of students who are uncertain about these issues. Approximately two-thirds of the students in both measurements felt it was "all right to watch movies in a theater." A 6 per cent increase took place in the number of students who approved of watching R- and X-rated movies.

Question 12 is a crucial indicator of the extent to which the Mennonite subculture is structurally assimilated into American society. In both 1974 and 1978, one-third of the students were uncertain about whether Mennonites should hold political offices. However, the percentage who agreed that "Mennonites should *not* hold political offices" declined from 38 per cent in 1974 to 19 percent in 1978. In other words, less than 20 per cent of the Mennonite youth respondents felt that Mennonites should not participate in political officeholding.

The last four questions (13-16) tap a variety of issues. Students show increasing acceptance of general American norms and values on all four questions. The most dramatic shift is in the percentage who endorse playing with poker cards. In the four-year period approval of card playing increased by 21 per cent.

In terms of avoidance the results show that Mennonite youth are increasingly less avoidant of typical American behaviors. In other words, Mennonite youth attitudes display an increasing acceptance of the

practices and values which are considered normative in the larger society. The youth show a gradual and in some cases dramatic decline in their acceptance of unique ethnic practices and beliefs.

Summary

The findings of this four-year study of attitude change among Mennonite youth at Lancaster Mennonite High School demonstrate an increasing encroachment of the forces of American culture on the Mennonite subculture. The results confirm a rapid decline in the acceptance of unique ethnic rituals and practices among Mennonite youth. The evidence also suggests a more wholehearted embrace of normative American social practices.

In light of these trends in an admittedly short span of time between 1974 and 1978, the continued erosion and demise of traditional Mennonite folkways and mores seems inevitable. Of considerable interest, however, is the fact that in the midst of the disintegration of distinctive ethnic practices, Mennonite youth report positive and stable attitudes toward their affiliation with the Mennonite Church. Thus, even though the young people no longer accept traditional Mennonite practices, an overwhelming majority report a positive identification with the Mennonite Church.

Der Henner un die Harnesel

by Noah G. Good

Mir worre maryetz am disch. Mir hen all gut g'esse. For dem marye esse hen mir schun ziemlich g'schafft. Mir hen die hinkel g'fiedert, 's hot ebber holz in die kischd gebrocht, eens hot hoi fom bohrer runner g'macht, ich un die maad hen sechs kieh g'molke. Yedes hot ebbis zu du g'hatt for'm marye esse. Mir sin mit gutem appetit an der disch kumme. Die Mem hot's esse g'macht, un die ann're hen draus g'schafft, f'leicht drei fartel stund.

Eb mir g'esse hen hot der Pap die Bivel g'leese, un's iss dan ruhig gebeet warre. 'S kalt esse wor schon uff'm disch, awwer was hees sei hot solle wor hinne uff'm offe g'schtanne. Als mir ziemlich fartig worre mit'm esse hav ich mei schtul z'rick g'schova. Der Pap hot mich aageguckt, hot g'saat, "Du gehtst mit'm Henner un mehst hecke un distle im weedland un in de heckestreme an de fence noch."

Sell hav ich net gern g'heert. Mit'm Henner hav ich gern geh wolle, awwer hecke mehe wor mir'n laschd. Die hecke sens wor so'n ung'schicktes ding. Ich hett fiel liever gras mehe wolle als hecke. Wann mer hecke mehe will muss mer die grass sens am warf abnemme un die hecke sens draa mache. Die hecke sens iss kartz, breit un schwer. Ich meh gern mit der grass sens, awwer mit der hecke sens seh ich's gern wann ebber schunst's dut. Wann die sens schtumb ward iss es fiel leichter mit de grass sens. Mer kan sie wetze, un's klingelt so schee. Die hecke sens iss net schee zu wetze.

Der Henner wor froh. Ihm wor's ken laschd. Ich hab aa g'wisst dass es besser iss nix zu saage. Mir sin in der wagge schupp gange, hen yedes'n sens runner g'numme un mit dem daume g'fielt ob sie gut scharf wor. Der Henner hut sich'n wetzschtee in der sack g'steckt.

Uff'm weg noch dem hinner feld hav ich draa gedenkt wie ich ball allsfort schtich grick beim hecke mehe. Der Henner net. Er geht so langsam hie un seht sie eb sie ihn g'schtoche hen. Ich hab aus g'macht er mag forgeh. Er soll sie aus broviere. Ich glaub ich hab mir an dem daag etliche schtich g'schport. Ich hab awwer doch etliche grickt.

'S wor noch so frieh dass 's grass noch net drucke wor, do hot der Henner'n gross geelweschpe nescht ferstarrt. Er hot's g'sehne eb er ganz ins nescht g'hackt hot. Er iss z'rich g'schtanne un hot sie wenig beguckt. No hot er g'saat, "Ich denk du brauchst bissli ruh. Geh ans haus un hool wennig babier un matches. Bei uns hot mer deitsch g'schwetzt, awwer s'worre so watte das mer yuscht im Englische saage hen kenne. Schdreichhoelsli hot ma bei uns net g'saat. So bin ich uff der weg fer bapier un matches. "Bringst aa bissli kohleel mit, gel?"

Wo ich z'rick kumme bin hot er alles um die weschbe abg'meht g'hatt. Alles wor ruhig. 'S bapier hot er in balle gedrickt un 'san's end fun're heck g'schteckt. 'S bapier hot er mit dem kohleel nass g'macht.

"Naa mache mir es eich schee warm," saagt er. Die weschbe sin ins feier g'flogge wie sie aus dem nescht kumme sin. Mir sin net g'schtoche warre.

" 'S iss besser mir schaffe areyetz schunst biss sie wennig ruhig sin. Sie warre des net gut ferschtee, un sie sin f'leicht net so freindlich, wann sie heem kumme un finne's haus abgebrennt."

Die geelweschbe sin oft im grund, awwer des nescht wor wie die harnesel ihre neschde baue. Speeter hen mir noch hummel g'funne, un aa'n geelweschbe neschd im grund. Der Henner hut sich'n breet stick fon're schindel g'funne. Als die hummel kumme sin hut er sie ab g'schlage, un dan un wann wenig am neschd

g'schtart. Ken eener iss weg kumme.

"Ich meen's iss honig im hummel neschd. Den misse mir fersuche. Was saagst?"

"Sell is fer dich, wann du's ferlangst. Ich hab g'nung mit dem aasehne. Ich ferlang kenner." So hav ich g'saat. Mit dem schtick schindel hut er's nescht fonanner g'macht. 'S wor noch'n hummel drin, awwer sie hot net fliege wolle. Doch hut er sie ins grass gedrickt. "Sie legt die oyer, awwer 's iss besser mer dut sie aa aus'm weg."

'S wor'n hunnig rose im neschd so gross wie'n halve hand. Die mitt wor foll oyer, awwer neeve rum wor scheener hunnig in gleene cupplen so wie'n halve grundniss schaal. Die hot er so sachte abgezogge, un sie ans maul g'hove, und den hunnig raus gedrickt.

"Nemm doch aa wennig, der iss appedittlich. 'S gebt nix anneres ganz wie der hummel hunnig."

"Ich bin's ganz zufridde dass du'n esse kannst. Ich brauch kenner." Spater hav ich doch wennig g'numme. Er war g'wiss gut. Ich hett recht gern mee. Awwer wann ich die hummel fechte muss, bleibt der hunnig im nescht. Ich grick allsfort schtich. 'S iss es net wert.

Die geelweschbe im grund hen mir aa ferdilgt. Der Henner hot wennig kohleel ins loch g'schiet, dann wennig bapier ovve druf, uns bapier hot er aag'schteckt. Sell war's end dafon.

Mit de harnesel iss es'n annere g'schicht. Fer die hot mer respect. Die geelweschbe, die schwarze weschbe, die grosse hummel, un die gleene hummel sin mir all schlim g'nung. Ich loss sie sei, un bin froh wann sie mich ge losse. Die gleene hummel, die "eyebungers" findt mer oft imme hole riegel, un 'sin alsfort fiel. Sie sin gute soldate, un wehre sich gut. 'S brennt wann sie dich in der backe schteche.

Ich hab g'saat ich du ihne nix wann ich wees wo sie sin. Der Henner schpielt gern mit'ne all, aa mit de harnesel. An dem dag wo mir hecke mehe hen solle, hen mir'n gross hernesel nescht g'funne. 'S wor so'n gleener hickry baum im fence schtreeme. 'S harnesel nescht war an 'me nascht, f'leicht kopp hoch. Oft sin sie recht hoch. Des hot grad recht g'hanke. Wann sie hoch henke is net fiel zu du als'n loch nei schiesse mit de schrot flint. Sel schafft, awwer 's iss doch am beschte dass sie dich net sehne. Sie suche weit rum. Harnesel schtich fergesst ma net so glei.

'S wor schun gege ovet, die sunn hot schun ziemlich nidder g'lege. Die harnesel ware noch am fliege, awwer fiel wenniger als um middag. Der Henner hot g'meent, "Mir hen schun ziemlich fiel g'schafft. 'S iss bald zeit dass mir wennig g'schpass hen."

"Net mit de harnesel, will ich hoffe." Mir wor es ken gute aussicht. Ich bin weit z'rick g'stanne. Der Henner iss langsam—ganz langsam, hie gange. Sie hen ihm nix gedu.

"Sie mache nix wann du sachte kummst," sagt er. Er hot so mit der rechte hand am hosse sack rum g'wischt. Ich hab net g'wisst was er sucht.

"Ich loss es liever so, ich kenn sie zu schlecht." Ich hab nix mit harnesel mache wolle. Doch hav ich arg wisse wolle was er for hot. Gans langsam iss die rechte hand in der hosse sack gange. Er hot's rot schnuptuch raus gezoge, sachte um die hand g'wickelt, un so ganz unschuldig ins loch g'schteckt, un mit dem daume hot er's diefer nei g'schove. Dan hot's aag'fange brumme dass ich's g'heert hab wo ich g'schtanne hab.

Der Henner iss hinnerschich z'rich g'loffe, hut g'saat, "Ja, 's schnupdichli kennt ihr recht gern havve. Ich brauch's den nummidag nimme. Ich denk mir gehn heem. Ich hol's f'leicht wann die reife drauve zeitig sin."

Im Oktober hot der Henner ee Sunndag nummidag g'saat, "Ich gingt gern wennig laufe, gehst mit?"

Am nemliche blatz hen mir die beschte trauve g'esse. "Ich det gern deel mit nemme. Ich denk fer sell wer's schnupdichli net so schlecht wann's noch dort iss." Mir hen so wie'n hut foll drauve heem g'numme im schnuptuch. Harnesel wore kenne meh do—all dot.

Notes and Queries

I have received a grant from a private foundation in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to do a study of **Mennonite fraktur** from the early Mennonite settlement in Germantown and the present-day counties of Montgomery, Bucks, Chester, Berks, and Lehigh. It will cover the geographical area presently known as the Franconia Mennonite Conference.

The initial study will take the form of an inventory. I am interested in locating *fraktur* that originated in the Franconia area and that is still in the possession of descendants of the original owners. This may be determined by family names and/or locations marked on the *fraktur,* by *fraktur* that is known to have descended in a Mennonite family from this area, or by the identification of the *fraktur* artist.

This study may have value in documenting evidence of the magnitude, quality, and beauty of Mennonite folk art. Translation of the script may give us a glimpse

into Mennonite thought, beliefs, and values during the period of its creation. The collected information will become the property of the Mennonite Heritage Center and its library and archives and will be available for research and later additions as they are found. If you know of *fraktur* that should be included in this study, contact:

—Mary Jane Hershey
1171 Old Sumneytown Pike
Harleysville, PA 19438

Jeanette Lasansky, director of the Union County Historical Society Oral Traditions Project, has been awarded a grant from Early American Industries Association, Inc. to "understand the value of **blacksmithing**, some of the men who worked at it, their relationship to their communities and the nature of their products in Pennsylvania." Hopefully, this will evolve into a book. Anyone knowing of any old account books, photographs, invoices, or old people who might give oral accounts on local blacksmiths for inclusion in this project should contact:

—Nada Gray, President
Union County Historical Society
Lewisburg, PA 17837

From the diary of Abram B. Mensch, Skippack, Pennsylvania. Friday, May 5, 1899: "This afternoon Jacob Good from Ohio came here on his wheel. Today he came from Coatesville, Pa. He spent most of the winter and spring in the city [of] Lancaster, Pa. weaving carpet which is his trade.

"He will spend a week in Bucks Co., Pa. and a few days in Philadelphia. Then go to Atlantic City, New York City, Albany, Buffalo and Niagara Falls, then strike for home."

Who was **Jacob Good?** Is any of Jacob Good's carpet remaining anywhere in Lancaster County? Some carpet weavers wove their name into the carpet at an end on the bottom. I would be interested in knowing of and seeing carpet woven by Jacob Good of Ohio.

—Wilmer Reinford
Creamery,
PA 19430

A memorial scholarship fund honoring former Eastern Mennonite College professor Grant M. Stoltzfus has been established to assist students interested in combating social ills, Dean Albert N. Keim of Harrisonburg, Virginia, recently announced. Stoltzfus, who died of a heart attack in 1974, had taught church history at EMC for seventeen years.

Candidates for the annual award must demonstrate interest in church-state relations, peace issues, or social concerns such as poverty, mental health, labor relations, and race or male-female issues.

Author of *Mennonites of the Ohio and Eastern Conference,* Stoltzfus served as vice-chairman of the Eastern Mennonite Associated Libraries and Archives. In 1971 he and Harrisonburg attorney Donald E. Showalter supplied material which was used in successfully pleading the Amish case in the Supreme Court decision that prohibited states from forcing Amish children to attend high school.

The $800 scholarship program will begin in September 1979 and will increase as additional funds accrue and yield earnings. Donations to the fund should be made payable to the Grant M. Stoltzfus Scholarship Fund and sent to:

—Eastern Mennonite College
Harrisonburg,
VA 22801

Perhaps the oldest house in the Lititz area is located southwest of the borough. It belongs to the farm which adjoins Woodridge Swim Club. This stone dwelling, adjoined by a springhouse, contains two floors with an approximately twelve-by-fourteen-foot room on both floors and includes three fireplaces.

Land commissioners granted a warrant in 1717 to John Herr and Martin Kendig for the survey of five thousand acres, which was to be subdivided into various plots of land for fellow Mennonite immigrants. Two of these tracts were in Warwick Township. One consisted of four hundred acres to the southwest of present-day Lititz, according to the patent map. Herr and Kendig sold this land in 1727 to Henry Baer and Hans Burkholder, the latter of whom received 250 acres.

Hans Jacob and Barbara (Brenneman) Burkholder built a larger stone house on the premises in 1789. John Jacob Burkholder is recorded as a Mennonite minister as early as 1750 in the Burkholder reunion reports (Volume VII, page 57). He was living in Warwick Township at least as early as 1776. His name also appears in the 1790 census. Possibly he migrated elsewhere because all traces of his family in Pennsylvania seem to have disappeared.

Jacob Frantz became owner of this homestead and in 1819 sold 199 acres to Christian Burkholder, a son of Bishop Christian Burkholder of Groffdale. This farm passed from Christian Burkholder (1775-1839) to son John (1813-1890) to son-in-law Menno Nolt (1847-1881). It passed from Menno to son Benjamin (1878-1929) to son Paul Nolt, now living in Lititz and a member of Hess Mennonite Church.

A wooden frame section was added to this building in 1939. The basement was used by Paul Nolt for butchering. It was sold in 1969, and the land is currently being chartered for a housing development. This house since the pioneer days of Lancaster County has seen many generations of Mennonite families remain loyal to the Christian faith.

—Robert Reeser
Route 1
Leola, PA 17540

Book Reviews

Quest for Piety and Obedience: The Story of the Brethren in Christ, by Carlton O. Wittlinger (Nappanee, Indiana: Evangel Press, 1978. 580 pages. Index, illustrations, clothbound. $12.95).

Carlton O. Wittlinger has written the first major interpretive study of the Brethren in Christ since A. W. Climenhaga's *History of the Brethren in Christ Church* of 1942. To Wittlinger, piety as warm fervor in religious experience and obedience as discipleship mark the goals in the Brethren religious endeavor. They have always sought to maintain a balance between the two in order to remain faithful to their calling as Christians. Wittlinger follows this quest for such a balance as the central theme of his work. He chronicles and analyzes his people's development through four distinct stages of relative balance and imbalance.

In Stage One (1780-1800) Wittlinger explores the Brethren's originating from Mennonite, Pietist, and Dunker theological roots. (In this review Brethren will mean Brethren in Christ and Dunker will mean Church of the Brethren.) He posits a Brethren world view consisting of absolute reliance upon Scripture, personal conversion, the church as a visible community of the converted, and a world essentially hostile to true Christians. He traces Brethren theology and ordinances, patterns and places of worship, patterns of governance and discipline, relations with the larger society, geographical expansion from the Pennsylvania base, and finally that most painful of elements among the plain people—schism. The Brethren established a balance between piety and obedience during their first one hundred years.

Stage Two (1880-1910) as a period of transition was characterized primarily by the introduction of Wesleyan holiness among the Brethren, initial forays into missions both at home and abroad, further geographical expansion, and the building of institutions. Wittlinger sees a tilt toward piety in this period.

In Stage Three (1910-1950) Wittlinger perceives an adjustment of the prior imbalance by means of an almost studied move toward obedience. Two world wars jarred the Brethren into examining their historic view of obedience, first regarding nonresistance and then other issues. In this period of adjustment they also experienced the triumph of a theology that made provision for a second work of grace as well as a developing tendency toward legalism fostered in part by a program of intensive instruction.

Finally in Stage Four (from 1950) Wittlinger sees the Brethren in a second, more rapid and radical stage of transition. How should the Brethren respond to the challenges of increasing ecumenicity, urbanization and modernization of life, social revolution, and a shrinking world with its initial promise of increased mission opportunities but an ultimate promise of mounting criticism of all Westerners? They responded by appointing at least two General Conference committees with the specific mandate to plan Christian responses to these changes. They gave another kind of response by increasing their membership by fifty percent, up to 12,500 persons, by 1975.

Wittlinger closes with a brief personal assessment of the Brethren's present and future resolution of the goals of piety and obedience. He optimistically sees a new balance emerging. The appendices include the first Brethren confession of faith, geographical distribution of Brethren households in North America in 1880, and a graph of Brethren membership changes from 1926 to

1975. All in all, Wittlinger gives us an impressive body of data and analyses cast into a structure that seems unassailable; few denominations can bear analysis as handily as this one by using such a singular theological and ethical measuring stick.

Wittlinger has produced an excellent piece of scholarship, a work one feels will serve the present generation of Brethren both as inspiration and guide. However, many non-Brethren will find his work useful. One suspects that Mennonite and Dunker lay readers will find Wittlinger's book instructive especially on how an earnest people of God ought to face pressures for change greater than their capacity to absorb and withstand them but also on the warm and fervent spirit of brotherhood that triumphed over developing fissures. Churchmen will surely find the Brethren's rational approach to change and the manner of decision-making matters of more than casual interest. Historians of other plain people will notice the many striking parallels with their own group.

Additional strengths of Wittlinger's work are obvious. He has painstakingly scrutinized a large body of rich primary sources, including some impressive oral evidence. For the early decades of the Brethren's existence, when the written evidence is thin, Wittlinger has been careful to distinguish the ascertainable facts from those less demonstrable. He has provided a large body of illustrative material, including juicy quotations and excellent photographs. This reviewer responded with special enthusiasm to his treatment of women in early church work, local church outreach, editors of the *Visitor*, the informal meeting of leaders in Indianapolis in 1950, and the nature of the early Sunday schools.

Also especially appealing are the numerous touches of human interest: the prohibition of mustaches in order to make the holy kiss more accessible, the minister who was temporarily silenced only because of his economic incapacity, the appeal for funds to bury a Philadelphia woman who died destitute because she had surrendered her life insurance when she joined the Brethren, Isaac and Ernest Swalm at the dramatic moment of the latter's conscription in 1918, Sallie Kniesly's resolute defense of Christian laughter against a heavier asceticism which imagined that frowns were more Christlike. These and many other glimpses of flesh-and-blood human beings add immeasurably to the general interest of the work.

In effect Wittlinger asks to be evaluated on the expected bias of an insider's account of his own people: can he write Brethren history "without praise or blame" (page ix)? He obviously loves his church, but affection will not cause him to cover its flaws. He candidly outlines the schisms of the 1840s and 1850s as candidly and lucidly as the available source material will permit. However, he does tip his hand in several places. He dislikes the changes in architecture of the 1960s. He shows more than a tinge of blame in his description of the Brethren's present imbalance between piety and obedience even when he remains optimistic that a balance will be restored. Still, Wittlinger is eminently fair throughout the book. It stands as one of the least biased treatments of denominational history by an insider this reader has encountered.

If Wittlinger's strengths are both numerous and obvious, his weaknesses are fewer and less readily apparent. He marks a distinct advance over Climenhaga in the degree to which he relates Brethren history to the larger American milieu of which they were a part even when they decried much of that milieu as "the world" and tried to avoid it. Wittlinger acknowledges the Brethren dependency on religious dimensions of that American context, especially with Wesleyan holiness. However, he sees that dependency and influence less clearly in the general institution building of the Brethren which paralleled in time that same phenomenon in the larger American culture.

One could make the same comment about the real and obvious impact that individualization of general American life has had on the individualization of decision-making among the Brethren. Wittlinger could have pointed out rather more than he did the parallels between developing Brethren history and that of other plain people. None of our plain denominations has been as unaffected by the larger "world" as we have wanted to think it was. One suspects the Brethren historians in the future will comparatively examine and analyze their early confession of faith in more detail than is possible at this point in time.

In terms of personal taste in contrast to substance, this reviewer would have preferred to read more on the world view of the early Brethren and to learn more of the specific objections of the earlier opponents of the church periodical. In addition, despite E. Morris Sider's excellent coverage of some prominent Brethren in *Nine Portraits: Brethren in Christ Biographical Sketches* (Nappanee, Indiana: Evangel Press, 1978), this reviewer would have enjoyed some substantial biographical detail on many more interesting persons such as Rhoda Lee or Samuel Zook. Both biographical sketches and narrative tales, of which we never have enough, help to make a denominational history more useful to God's people.

Wittlinger has placed all of us in his debt with his excellent study. One has the distinct impression that his book will wear well—as story but also as reference work.

—John S. Oyer

Only a Twig: A Branch of the Zugs/Zooks from Pennsylvania, by Lois Ann Zook (Strasburg, Pa.: Author, 1979. 211 pages. Illustrations, maps, facsimiles, paperback. $9.00).

The Zook family of America (Zaugg in Switzerland, Zug in Germany and colonial Pennsylvania) is one of the several dozen Amish families which emigrated from Europe in the eighteenth century, settled in Penn-

sylvania, and spread from there to many points in the Midwest in the nineteenth century. This book deals with the complete posterity of "Major David" Zook of the Kishacoquillas ("Big") Valley in Mifflin County but includes materials on the Immigrant Moritz Zug, David's great-grandfather, and Moritz's two brothers, Christian and Johannes Zug, and the first three generations of descendants of each of the three brothers.

All three brothers emigrated from Germany in 1742 and landed at Philadelphia on the *Francis and Elizabeth* on September 21, 1742. Other Zug immigrants arrived in 1727, 1738, 1750, and 1754. The three brothers settled first in the Northkill Amish settlement in Berks County but moved to Chester County shortly before the Revolution. Moritz moved in 1770 to West Whiteland Township to what is now Exton, where his handsome stone house still stands next to the Exton Shopping Mall. Christian moved to East Whiteland Township, and Johannes moved to Honeybrook Township. In 1790 Moritz joined other progressive Amish of the Chester Valley in building the first Amish meetinghouse in America.

The Zooks were part of the Amish division that agitated the Swiss, Alsatian, and Palatine Mennonite worlds in the 1690s. Prior to that time the name Zaugg appears frequently in "Täufer" or Anabaptist circles in Canton Bern, Switzerland. Probably the three emigrants were grandsons or great-grandsons of the Anabaptist preacher, Hans Zaugg, of the parish of Signau in the Emmental who was imprisoned several times for his faith. In 1671 he was banished to Germany. The *Letters of the Amish Division of 1693-1711* mention ministers named Christian Zug (Amish, from Germany), Hans Zug (Amish), and Hans Zug (Mennonite, from Germany). The earlier generations of the Pennsylvania Zugs were Amish though some converted to Mennonitism and the Brethren faith and later generations joined other denominations.

The heart-searching struggle of Eli James Zook (1841-1904) represents the struggles of other individual Amish for higher education. A great-great-grandson of Moritz Zug born in Mifflin County, Eli chose to go against the church's ban on higher education by attending normal school in Ohio and graduating from Jefferson Medical College at Philadelphia in 1878. He practiced medicine in Franklin and Cumberland counties, Pennsylvania.

Others made their peace with Amish standards and lived out quiet Amish lives in Amish communities. They rejected higher education but indulged their scholarly drives in the permitted channels of religious devotion and historiography while adhering to the pattern of the self-taught scholar within the plain world. One of these was David Zook (1788-1870) of "Big" Valley and a grandson of Moritz. He made a translation from the Holland Dutch of a volume of sermons on *Meidung* by Wilhelm Wynantz which Johann Baer of Lancaster published in 1830. In 1858 David published his own metrical version of the Psalms. He also laid out the town of Mechanicsville, now part of Belleville, in 1832.

Another grandson of Moritz, the renowned Shem Zook (1798-1880) of Mattawana in Mifflin County, was a farmer, industrialist, and self-taught historian who prepared the "History of the Omish or Amish Church" for the 1844 I. Daniel Rupp volume on the religious denominations in the United States. Shem Zook also published the third edition of the *Martyrs Mirror* at Philadelphia in 1849 and in 1880 a booklet, *Eine wahre Darstellung,* on the Amish division. In addition to farming, he was partner in the firm of Hertzler and Zook, an iron and brass foundry at Belleville which made stoves and farm implements.

The Zooks like most Amish families scattered widely throughout the United States in the nineteenth century—many of them first to Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, then to Fairfield, Stark, Logan, and Wayne counties, Ohio; Elkhart County, Indiana; Cass County, Missouri; and elsewhere. Most of these were "plain" settlements, part of the expansion map of the plain sects of the Pennsylvania Dutch into the Midwest.

The book gives many insights into the life and times of the Zook family along with good social history. The book lists nicknames, which served an important function within the Amish community that contained several individuals of the same surname with the same first name. For example, "Major David" Zook was called thus to distinguish him from other David Zooks; he had bought his farm from a Major Wilson, a Scotch-Irishman of "Big" Valley. Others were "Potter Joel" Zook, "Dick Hans" Zug, and "Big Sam" King.

The book includes 147 pages of genealogy, followed by five appendices: "History of Signau"; "Zaug Anabaptists in Switzerland," consisting of materials from the Staatsarchiv in Bern and translated by Noah G. Good; "Anabaptist Documents at Bern State Archives," also translated by Noah G. Good and giving the minutes of a trial of Anabaptist leaders, including Hanss Zaugg, in 1660; "Christian and Johannes Zug (brothers of Moritz Zug)"; and "Early History of Allensville." A poem by Robert F. Lantz, "The Valley I Call 'Home,' " extols the "Big" Valley. I judge from the index that the families most closely intermarried with the Zooks were the following, mostly Amish: Beiler-Byler, Esh, Fisher, Hertzler, Hooley, Hostetler, Kanagy, Kauffman, King, Kurtz, Lantz, Lapp, Mast, Miller, Myers, Peachey, Plank, Schmucker-Smucker-Smoker, Sharp, Stoltzfus, Summers, Troyer, Umble, and Yoder.

The book is illustrated attractively with maps, surveys, and photographs. The family pictures add to the sense of place and time that the book gives throughout—grandfathers in shirtsleeves and suspenders with little children grasping their hands; grandfathers feeding the chickens in the yard by the summer kitchen door; grandparents seated on porches and holding contented dogs in their laps and sur-

rounded by bright-eyed, barefoot children; a bearded farmer with his daughter studying a pear tree in their garden with a huge Pennsylvania barn in the background; and lastly a shy troupe of Zooks and Yoders posed before a regimental cannon on a tourist visit to the Gettysburg battlefield.

Even without the author's excellent text, the pictures tell us something of the value system of Pennsylvania's plain groups—respect for the family, honor to old age, devotion to rural life, interest in the natural world, and a knowledge of and interest in the rejected secular world.

—Don Yoder

The Wenger Book, a Foundation Book of American Wengers, Samuel S. Wenger, editor-in-chief (Lancaster, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Heritage History, Inc., 1978. 1218+ pages. Illustrations, maps, charts. $35.00).

A foundation record of the Wenger family, this encyclopedic volume is necessary for not only the Wenger family researcher but also any researcher studying Lancaster County genealogy and history. The Wengers were originally Bernese Swiss living in the Emmental Valley, where Wenger families still live today. Chapter titles include "Who Are the Wengers," "The Wenger Name," and "Brief Notes on the Bernese Wengers." Many Wenger immigrants came to America with Christian Wenger (designated in the book by the letter B) being the first Wenger immigrant in 1718. Part IV lists thirty Wenger immigrants along with the first three or four generations of descendants for each immigrant.

The majority of *The Wenger Book* concentrates on the 1727 immigrant Christian Wenger (C family). Born about May 1, 1698, at Eggiwil, Switzerland, he was the son of Ullrich Wenger and Christina Engel. Shortly after arriving in America he married Eve Graybill (Kraybill) and settled in what is today West Earl Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. The original stone house, built about 1728 by Christian, still stands today.

Of Christian Wenger's eleven children, nine grew to adulthood. Short biographies are given for each child with code numbers for each grandchild. Other surnames appearing in the second generation include Groff, Huber, Long, Sensenig, Sheibly, Sherk, Weber, and Zimmerman. Each generation of descendants is listed together in one chapter before moving to the next generation. Most of Christian Wenger's children lived in Lancaster County. As a result, the researcher can read much early history of Lancaster County families in this book. Although a few names and dates are missing throughout the text, the data given includes documentation from wills, deeds, interviews, and other published genealogies. The biographies of each descendant are informative and colorful. All of Christian Wenger's descendants, except for a few lost family lines, are given to the sixth generation. In addition, seven of Christian's children's descendants are carried at least to the seventh generation and some to date.

Chapters on the Wengers and the Mennonite Church, the Church of the Brethren, the Brethren in Christ, and the Old Order Amish provide Wenger history never before published. A short chapter on the Jewish Wengers suggests that the Wenger family was at one time a Jewish family. "The Wengers and the Military" provides a list of Wengers involved in the Revolutionary War and short summaries of involvement of Wengers in the Civil War and World Wars I and II. Part VI describes forty-one Wenger business enterprises located in Lancaster County.

One of the most commendable sections of this book is "Anecdotes and Interesting Items." True stories and traditional stories passed from one Wenger generation to another fill eighty-two pages. Illustrations, portraits, and maps appear between stories such as "Blind John Wenger," "A Wenger in Congress," "A Bishop Takes a Wife" (George R. Brunk I), "A Wenger Run-In with the Molly McGuires," "The Ghost of Ressler's Mill," and "Wenger Mills."

For persons not descended from a Wenger family, a section of this book in outline format giving names of non-Wenger progenitors may prove helpful. This section lists sixty-two immigrants and two to six generations of descendants for each immigrant. A sampling of the immigrant surnames includes Bowman, Brubaker, Eberly, Eshleman, Fox, Good, Groff, Horst, Huber, Kauffman, Lichty, Martin, Musser, Reiff, Rohrer, Seibel, Shirk, Weber, and Witwer. Most of the data for this section came from the genealogical card file at the Lancaster Mennonite Conference Historical Society and should be used by researchers only as a clue for further investigation and documentation.

Following a lengthy bibliography, Appendix A presents a history of the Wenger reunions to date. Appendix B includes biographical sketches of the editors and researchers of *The Wenger Book.* Appendix C, "Last-Minute Material," gives the descendants of Samuel B. Wenger (1792-1874). Illustrated advertisements complete the volume.

An editorial team consisting of eighteen persons under the leadership of editor-in-chief Samuel S. Wenger brought this work to completion after many years of research by Earle K. and Helen Wenger, Virginia W. Driver, Thomas F. Whanger, Samuel S. Wenger, and others. Published by the Pennsylvania German Heritage History, Inc., with headquarters at LMCHS, *The Wenger Book* is not yet considered complete by the Wenger editors. They are busily preparing a supplement which will include a listing of one hundred additional Wenger immigrants, a more up-to-date listing of several Wenger generations, and an every-name index, which is vitally important to anyone who uses either book. This index will include approximately sixty thousand names. An impressive volume in itself, the book's value and use will increase considerably

with an index. *The Wenger Book* should become a major reference source in the field of Mennonite genealogy.

—Lois Ann Zook

Faithfully, Geo. R.: The Life and Thought of George R. Brunk I (1871-1938), by J. C. Wenger (Harrisonburg, Va.: Sword and Trumpet, Inc., 1978. 222 pages. Illustrations, bibliography. $9.75).

Reviewing this biography of George R. Brunk is a privilege. I knew him. He was a contemporary of my father, Tillman M. Erb, and they worked together in developing the Mennonite Church in the West. Both were ordained to the office of bishop on the same day, October 23, 1898, at the Pennsylvania Mennonite Church, near Newton, Kansas.

I heard several of Brunk's sermons, including his Mennonite General Conference sermon in 1929. I read his newly published books and his writings in the *Gospel Herald* and the *Sword and Trumpet.* My father and two of his sons were among those influenced by the campaign against the wearing of neckties to which he gave his powerful promotion and which was to a considerable degree successful, first in the West and later in the East. I have lived long enough to see the years sort out the causes he supported—like the attack on Calvinistic eternal security to which the entire church rallied and the encouragement of voting on local moral issues which many still oppose. I have seen with satisfaction how fully were George R. Brunk's prayers answered for the faithfulness of his children to what their father taught them.

For many years I have known intimately and worked with J. C. Wenger and am very happy that he has written this biography. As a theologian he understands well the issues at stake in the career of George R. Brunk, and as a Mennonite historian he is aware of the stresses that troubled the Mennonite Church in the first half of this century. For this writing he had access to many resources: letters, literary files, and personal acquaintance with the family. A trained researcher, he honestly shows both strengths and weaknesses of his subject. He does not need to say that George R. had a sharp tongue. By quoting many letters he could let George show the reader how true this was. However, his many sources also show the intellectual powers, spiritual depth, and moral integrity of this man as well as his love for his family and his faithfulness to his God and the Mennonite Church. Wenger allows the reader to judge these things for himself.

The book begins with George R. Brunk speaking on behalf of his congregation at Denbigh, Virginia, with civic leaders on the issue of the flag salute. Two chapters show him growing up in Kansas, finding a wife, and rearing a family of his own in Kansas and Virginia. One chapter tells of his leadership in the churches of Virginia. The rest of the story takes place in the context of the whole church: his controversies in defense of sound schools and a faithful church, his General Conference work and witness, and his wrestling with the questions of Christian experience and biblical interpretation. Another chapter tells of his final stand for the truth as he edited the *Sword and Trumpet.* The story of his correspondence with its usual close, "Faithfully, Geo. R.," forms part of the book. The last chapter tells of his death and includes appraisals of his life and character written by family members, friends, and the biographer.

The Mennonite Church can be thankful that God gave her a person with the ability of George R. Brunk, that he responded to the preaching of John S. Coffman in a full commitment to Christ and to the Mennonite faith and life, that he used his abilities to save his church from Modernism on one hand and from Calvinism on the other. He never yielded, says Wenger, to any temptation to divide the church. However, in his contending for the faith he, according to his own confession, did sometimes seem to violate Christian courtesy. He reared a family which continues to contribute to the church's leadership, Bible teaching, large-scale evangelism, and the status of women. George R. himself sometimes pessimistically projected, from trends in the church, disastrous effects which have not taken place. Though he was self-educated, he valued learning so much that he had a part in beginning Hesston College and could be considered a founder of Eastern Mennonite College.

Although in many respects Brunk tried to hold the old as against the new, he did help to bring changes in the church such as continued evangelistic meetings. During his first years after ordination he received many assignments to serve on committees to settle church troubles. Later he worked much as an individualist as was the case when he began a magazine, the *Sword and Trumpet,* the content for which he assumed most of the responsibility. He did not fit primarily into church structure though he argued for conference authority and responsibility. He preached many conference sermons and achieved in the denomination very much the status of a father figure.

Theologically he gave his brethren the term "synergism," an explanation of salvation with man's being responsible for accepting what God has provided in Christ. He lived a little too soon to make much use of Anabaptist terminology. However, his emphasis on obedience to Christ, on the brotherhood of the church, and on a balance between Christian faith and Christian behavior was thoroughly Anabaptist. He wrote articles of faith which with little change were adopted as the "Christian Fundamentals" of Mennonite General Conference in 1921. He knew what he believed, and he determined to defend that old faith at all cost. He knew some things he did not believe such as Modernism, Calvinism, and lax morals, and he fought these with faithfulness by every means at his command until his death. Few men have influenced the Mennonite Church doctrinally as much as George R. Brunk. *—Paul Erb*

Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage

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The above listing includes only feature-length articles but omits regular series such as the Henner stories, notes and queries, and book reviews.

Books for Sale

"Brubaker Coat of Arms." 9½" x 6¼", colored. $1.60.

Doane, Gilbert H. *Searching for Your Ancestors: The How and Why of Genealogy.* New York: Bantam Books, 1974. 212 pp. $2.25.

Eby, Martin Christian. *The History of the Hershey Mennonite Church of Salisbury Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.* n.p., 1978. 52 pp. $2.50.

Griffin, H. Vaughan. "Ancestral Chart for Six Generations." Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc., n.d. 17" x 22". $.50.

High, Levi. *History of the John High Family of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania: 1754-1977.* Adamstown, Pa.: Ensinger Printing Service, 1977. 97 pp. $3.75.

Kieffer, Elizabeth C. *How to Study the History of a Community.* Lancaster, Pa.: Community Historians, 1962. 32 pp. $2.00.

Kraybill, Spencer L. *History of the Kraybill Family in America: 1754-1972.* Adamstown, Pa.: Ensinger Printing Service, n.d. 223 pp. $17.00.

Reamstown [Pa.] *Bicentennial: 1760-1960.* n.p., 1960. 200 pp. $5.00.

Shenk, Barbara Keener. *Rimes for Our Times* [poetry]. Author: 1979. 29 pp. $1.25.

Spotts, Charles D. *The People of Bowmansville.* Lancaster, Pa.: Community Historians, 1970. 85 pp. $2.00.

Wenger, J. C. *How Mennonites Came to Be.* Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1977. 70 pp. $.75.

_____. *What Mennonites Believe.* Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1977. 70 pp. $.95.

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