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Ned D. Heindel
Natalie I. Foster
Lisa Colbert
Lee C. Hopple
Johannes Naas

See next page for additional authors

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NED D. HEINDEL, Ph.D., is Professor of Chemistry at Lehigh University, Bethlehem, PA, and Professor of Nuclear Medicine at Hahnemann Medical College. In addition to professional interests in the development of tumor-detecting radioactive pharmaceuticals he has avocational interests in the history of medicine and chemistry.

NATALIE I. FOSTER, D.A., is Assistant Professor of Chemistry at Cedar Crest College and Research Associate at Lehigh University. Her research interests bridge organic synthetic chemistry, radio-iodination techniques and patent medicine manufacturers in early America. Dr. Foster is Secretary-Treasurer of the Division of History of Chemistry of the American Chemical Society.

LISA COLBERT, of York, PA., is a student at Millersville State College, where her major is Foreign Languages. She is both participant in, and product of the Pennsylvania German Culture Program of Professor C. Richard Beam; under his direction she prepared the initial draft of this timely, sympathetic, yet still objective account.

LEE C. HOPPLE, Ph.D., Professor of Geography and Director of Institutional Planning at Bloomsburg State College, has written seminal works in the area of demographic and spatial geography, the new geography of people movement. Having previously examined migration geography of Pennsylvania Plain Dutchmen in PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE, he focuses on members of the Church of the Brethren in this issue.

JOHANNES NAAS (d. 1741) was a religious pioneer in the Church of the Brethren. He, Alexander Mack, Peter Becker and John Jacob Price were founders of the faith on the Eder, though harrassment sent all four to Pennsylvania, Naas the last leader to go. He had been German Reformed before he assumed Dunker leadership. Naas organized the Brethren congregations in West Jersey.

ISAAC CLARENCE KULP, Jr., of Vernfield, PA, is a folklorist and local historian, whose specialty is the Indian Creek-Goschenhoppen area of Montgomery County. He apprenticed under Alfred L. Shoemaker and Thomas Brendle. Articles by Kulp have appeared in PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE and Bulletin of Historical Society of Montgomery County; was Editor of The Goschenhoppen Region, and wrote A Brethren Pilgrimage in 1976.

YVONNE J. MILSPAWE, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Folklore and American Studies at the Pennsylvania State University—Capitol Campus, is a resident of Middletown, PA. She has been active in Folk Cultural and Historical organizations in Pennsylvania. Most recently Dr. Milspaw has assisted in the production of a television series on Ethnic Minorities in the Keystone State.

A. E. YOUNG of Radnor, PA, has worked both in the Quaker State and in North Carolina. He has followed his historical and folk cultural interests not only into the graveyards but into a study of the philosophies of individuals. He took his undergraduate degree at Cornell University and has done further study at University of Chicago, Harvard and M.I.T.; his work has been in insurance, in marketing and sales promotion and most recently in consulting and counseling.
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COVER:
Dr. Constantine Hering became President of the North American Academy in Allentown in its formative stage when merely thirty-three years of age. Already a world traveler, Hering had served as medical missionary in South America. Professor, executive, editor and author, he was the driving force behind the new Lehigh Valley institution.

Layout and Special Photography: WILLIAM MUNRO
The residents of eastern Pennsylvania in the early 19th century were faced with a wide variety of medical alternatives in times of illness. Orthodox physicians with degrees from established medical schools practiced side by side with Pennsylvania Dutch pow-wow doctors with their incantations and charms, Thomsonian herbalists with their patented botanical therapy systems and hydropaths with their beliefs in the curative powers of water. During this time Pennsylvania's German-speaking area proved to be a fertile seed-bed for homeopathy, the leading unorthodox medical system in early America. The Northampton and Lehigh County region became the site of the first homeopathic medical society, medical journal and medical teaching college in America. The medical journal was primarily a German language publication, the language of instruction at the college was exclusively German and the professors were drawn from the Pennsylvania German immigrants in the region. To understand why this unusual medical system germinated and grew in the Lehigh Valley, one must examine the European roots of homeopathic theory and the medical and social climate in this region of Pennsylvania in the early 1800's.

Homeopathy was the creation of Samuel Christian Hahnemann (1755-1843), a German physician trained at the Universities of Leipzig, Vienna and Erlangen. Hahnemann became disenchanted with the so-called heroic medical practices of the day (bleeding, blistering, purging, leeching) because of the suffering these methods inflicted upon patients. In homeopathy, he espoused a benign therapy regimen concentrating on diet, pure air and a revolutionary concept of medication known as the law of similars. "Similia similibus curantur" (let likes be cured by likes) was the central credo of homeopathy. Strictly speaking, this idea was not new with Hahnemann, for Hippocrates had stated in the 4th century BC that "medicines cure diseases similar to those they produce."

Hahnemann believed that a medicinal agent could be characterized or "proven" by the set of symptoms it caused in a healthy person. The physiological manifestations after dosing with a substance would show the vital powers of the organism that the drug was capable of mobilizing. When an ill person displayed the same set of symptoms as a result of disease, that disease could be cured by taking the similar — the drug that produced those same symptoms. In the homeopathic view, the symptoms were really the body's natural defense processes at work fighting the disease, not the disease itself.
Samuel Hahnemann (1755-1843) formulated the basic law of his new homeopathic medical system ("similia similibus curantur" or "let likes be cured by likes") in the early 19th century. His first major medical text, The Organon, appeared in 1810 and helped to popularize homeopathy in the New World.

Hahnemann also prescribed that homeopathic medicines (extracts and tinctures of plants, minerals, elements and even some animal exudates) be administered in high dilutions. He believed that the potency of a drug was inversely proportional to its concentration: the less one took, the greater the effect for, in fact, the drug was merely stimulating the body’s recuperative powers.

These two unique theories concerning how medicinal agents functioned and what quantity of a substance should be administered as treatment constituted the main differences between homeopathic and established medicine in the 19th century. The traditional allopaths promoted no unified theory of drug action. They administered large quantities of unpleasant and often downright poisonous substances in an effort to drive illness from a patient. Indeed the idea that medicine had to taste bad to be effective was popularized during this period. Homeopaths relied exclusively on the law of similars to match symptoms with treatments. They usually administered analytically insignificant amounts of medicinal agents to their patients. At least their medicaments did not make a patient feel worse than he already felt. One unwritten law of homeopathy was “Above all, do not harm.”

The spread of homeopathy was aided by the fact that Hahnemann was a prolific writer. His treatise, Die Organon der homöopathischen Heilkunde, originally published in 1810, saw no fewer than five subsequent editions. Numerous other books and medical articles by Hahnemann introduced homeopathy to German-speaking intellectuals in Switzerland, Austria, the German states and among German emigrants. The latter consequently accounted for the entrance of homeopathy into Pennsylvania. With its blend of herbal cures familiar to the folk-medicine practitioners in the area and the German language which was well established in the region due to the presence of a sizeable Pennsylvania Dutch community, the new medical system found a rich and receptive base on which to grow. Its introduction to the new world was due primarily to the influence of four key physicians who converted to homeopathy with an almost messianic zeal.

William Wesselhoeft emigrated to the United States from Switzerland early in the 19th century and established a medical practice in Bath, Pennsylvania, several miles northeast of Allentown. He read and studied the Organon, sent to him by his father in 1824, but remained unconvinced of the basic homeopathic philosophy. In addition to founding a busy general practice, Wesselhoeft soon became a very successful and renowned eye surgeon. In 1828 he was confronted by a patient with a fetid polypus of the nose that had been incurable by allopathic means. He finally tried one of the homeopathic remedies sent to him four years earlier and effected a cure in three months. Fascinated by this development, Wesselhoeft reduced his medical practice drastically and engaged in full-time study of the new medical system. Wesselhoeft’s father supplied him with homeopathic information sent from Europe, as did a friend of his father, Dr. Stapf in Germany. Stapf was a diligent author and provided Wesselhoeft with a complete set of the Archiv Für die homöopathische Heilkunst, an early German homeopathic journal begun by Stapf in 1821. Wesselhoeft was also shipped homeopathic medicines through the generosity of a college colleague, Dr. Siegrist, of Basel, Switzerland.

Henry Detweiler arrived in Philadelphia from Basel in 1817. He had studied medicine at the University of Freiburg, Germany, and emigrated just prior to receiving his diploma. After serving as an assistant in the office of Dr. Charles H. Martin in Allentown, he opened his own office in 1818 in Hellertown, twelve miles south of Bath. He did not, in fact, hold an M.D. but degrees were not required at that time for medical practice.

Sometime in the mid-1820’s, Wesselhoeft and Detweiler became close personal friends and began a series of informal medical meetings. One of their meeting places was the Moravian Pharmacy at 420 Main Street in Bethlehem. The pharmacist-physician in Bethlehem
The original assembly site for Pennsylvania homeopaths in 1828 was the home of Wm. Wesselhoeft on Chestnut Street in Bath. An informal "school" for student homeopaths was held here until about, 1834.

at that time was Dr. John Eberhard Freitag (1764-1846), also a German immigrant with a background similar to those of Wesselhoeft and Detweiler. Freitag had been a respected apothecary and lay physician in the Moravian community for many years and had even written a popular treatise on veterinary medicine entitled Der Deutsche Pferde-Arzt. Soon after the commencement of the meetings, Freitag abandoned traditional practice and became a homeopath. Shortly after Freitag's conversion, Dr. John Romig of Allentown joined the group. Romig was a young allopathic physician with a successful practice and an enviable popularity among patients and colleagues alike. These four successful and respected physicians organized in an effort to spread the tenets of the homeopathic system throughout the area. Out of their association grew an informal school of homeopathy in Bath, Pennsylvania. Although the school in Bath never gained official degree-granting status, from 1829 to 1835 it trained many individuals in the homeopathic healing art. Early in the 1830's, however, the group began to explore ways to convert their informal program into a formal degree-granting institution. By December, 1833, the four decided they needed a homeopath of considerable eminence to head their school. Dr. Constantine Hering (1800-1880), who had just moved from his missionary post in Paramaribo, Surinam, to Philadelphia, was just such a figure. Although only 33 years old, Dr. Hering was already an internationally known and well-respected homeopathic physician. Hering was to be the spiritual and intellectual cornerstone upon which the homeopathic teaching college was built.

On January 1, 1834, the plan for the college to be located in Allentown with Dr. Hering as President and principle instructor was proposed and adopted at a meeting at Dr. Hering's Philadelphia home. Financial backing and legal incorporation were arranged that year and die Nord-Amerikanische Akademie der homöopathischen Heilkunst was officially founded on April 10, 1835. In between the planning and founding of the Academy, the four physicians also established die Northampton Gesellschaft homöopathischer Aerzte (Northampton Society of Homeopathic Physicians) on August 23, 1834. Six other Lehigh Valley physicians and two clergymen were charter members of this society, the object of which was to advance the practice of homeopathy by interchange of experience and for mutual improvement and encouragement in the study of the healing art.
Constantine Hering served as President of the first American homeopathic medical school and as editor of its official journal. After financial failure of the initial efforts in Allentown, Hering and a small group of Philadelphia physicians including Drs. Jacob Jeanes and Walter Williamson, began efforts to recreate a homeopathic school in the Delaware Valley. The Pennsylvania legislature granted a charter on April 8, 1848 to an institution later to become Hahnemann Medical College. Hahnemann Medical College was not the first homeopathic institution, The North American Academy in Allentown bears that distinction.

On May 27, 1835 the cornerstone was laid for the main building of the Academy in a festive ceremony featuring an inaugural address by Dr. Hering himself. Two three-story wings of the main building were erected south of Hamilton Street and east of Fourth Street in Allentown; a second building somewhat remote from these was planned to house the chemical laboratory and anatomical and dissecting rooms. The Pennsylvania State Legislature granted the institution a charter of incorporation on June 16, 1836. Instruction commenced immediately thereafter.

The faculty consisted of Drs. Hering, Wesselhoeft, Detweiler, Freitag, Romig and J. H. Pulte. Pulte was one of the students at the informal school in Bath. He would go on later to found the Pulte Medical College in Cincinnati, Ohio, and to be named United States ambassador to Austria.

That the faculty aspired to high standards of comprehensive education was evidenced in the Constitution and By-Laws of the Academy. This publication was among the first documents issued by the school and was printed in both English and German. The following branches of study were considered indispensable to the complete education of a homeopathic physician: clinical instruction, examination of the sick, pharmacodynamics and materia medica, pharmaceutics and medical botany, dietetics, surgery and obstetrics, medical jurisprudence, general therapeutics, symptomatology and human pathology, anatomy and physiology, zoology, phyttology, mineralogy, chemistry, physics, geology, astronomy, mathematics, history of medicine and history of natural science. As preparatory studies, Greek, Latin and German were considered essential for all courses were taught in German, and most of the homeopathic source materials were available in the German language only.

Prior to their matriculation at the institution, students had to pass preliminary examinations before a committee. Diploma candidates were obligated to pass a colloquium and present curriculum vitae and dissertations on medical subjects. Only those students who
Correspondenzblatt
der homöopathischen Ärzte.

Ausgegeben durch die R. A. Akademie der homöopathischen Heilkunst,
in Allentau an der Lecha.


82. Schlechtsbehandelte oder vernachlässigte Gastrovömmungen heilte ans Xo in mehreren Fällen.


83. Bei stehender Placenta und einem sicheren Auslaufen des Uterus, wo Säure mit wenig Erfolg gegeben worden war, half kali Xo vollkommen.

84. Ablass der äußeren Schamlippen bei einem Kinde von zwei Monaten durch Vernachlässigung entstanden, löste sich von selbst nach mehreren Monaten fortgesetztem Gebrauch homöopathischer Arzneien; so wie sie nach der jüdischen Symptomengruppe angezeigt waren.


87. Ich habe neulich sehr erfreuliche Erfahrungen gemacht mit rhus vernix 12 im Scharlachfieber, und wünsche unsere Freunde Collegen daraus aufmerksam zu machen, damit wir bald mehr Erfahrungen darüber erhalten.

O. H. Dute.

had attended a full roster of courses and passed examinations in anatomy, physiology, pathology, Materia Medica homeopathia, homeopathic therapeutics, surgery and obstetrics were entitled to a diploma.

An early concern expressed by Romig was that the homeopathic materia medica be presented in a learnable form for the students and that English translations of German sources be prepared. During the first year of instruction, the faculty translated Hahnemann's Organon and Jahr's Manual, a compilation of medicaments and their symptoms. Both translations featured prefaces written by Hering in which he updated information and touted the new school. Romig found the Manual pedagogically unsatisfactory and felt that some source should be provided that collated the properties of well-known drugs and medical case histories of their use.

Some of Romig's concerns were answered by the establishment of a journal by the Academy, Correspondenzblatt der Homöopathischen Aerzte, and its affiliate publication, the Archivzettel. The publication, as its name implied, was a true corresponding journal. Physicians practicing in the community could submit case notes of cures effected homeopathically, questions about medicaments and observations about the utility of new remedies applied homeopathically. Hering served as editor of the journal and frequently commented directly about physicians' submissions, answered questions personally and occasionally wrote extensive editorials on medical issues. This journal appears to be the first American publication devoted exclusively to medicine as opposed to matters of general scientific and scholarly interest. It pre-dated the Journal of the American Medical Association by more than a decade. Most of the articles were published in German, but those received in English were printed in English. Business matters related to the school were often in English, as were announcements regarding the regular meetings of the Homeopathic society. Perhaps this constituted an attempt to reach a wider audience of non-German speaking allopathic physicians and thereby interest them in homeopathy.

The main content of the journal consisted of reports on drug provings. "Proving" is the homeopathic method of evaluating the efficacy of candidate medicinal agents. Homeopathic physicians would administer small doses of substances to themselves and to healthy, intelligent associates and volunteers and then painstakingly record all signs of the drug's influence. The early history of the drug proving process in America and the results of many provings done in the Lehigh Valley are recorded in the Correspondenzblatt.

In a further attempt to collate the known homeopathic materia medica and order new information on provings sent in by numerous physicians, the faculty of the Academy established an archive and appointed an archivist to manage it. The archivist was charged with systematically ordering the results of provings and publishing the results. The archive of the Academy contained: (1) the original hand-written case histories and practical experiences of the homeopathic physicians; (2) a summary of all case histories previously published ordered both by medicament used and symptom treated; (3) an ordered collection of all the disorganized medical signs reported in homeopathic and allopathic writings, and (4) new symptoms of medicaments resulting from provings in progress. The results of this task assumed physical form in the Archivzettel. These pages were published as inserts in the Correspondenzblatt and Hering gave explicit instructions regarding their use.

Every subscriber received two copies of each page of the Archivzettel. The pages contained columnar listings of symptoms by key word followed by brief descriptive elaborations. The symptoms were set in Gothic type on the left side of each column and were matched with medicaments set in Roman type listed on the right side of each column. Hering suggested that physicians and students cut the columns into small slips (Zettel), each slip containing a symptom-remedy pair. Because they had two copies of each page, they could then assemble the slips in two different notebooks: one arranged alphabetically by symptom, the other alphabetically by drug. Every physician and student could thereby establish his own private archive of symptoms and medicaments.

Segments from the Archivzettel, published as an optional insert in the Correspondenzblatt, and designed to enable its user to establish his own personal archive of homeopathic symptoms and remedies.
One of the founders of the Pennsylvania homeopathic movement was Dr. Henry Detweiler. When the Academy closed in 1839, he built an extensive practice in Easton, PA. His home and office occupied a portion of this building he owned there at Third and Northampton Streets, on the central square of the growing city of Easton.

Unfortunately, the Correspondenzblatt and Archivzettel had a very short run. Only fourteen issues of the journal appeared at somewhat irregular intervals between October 22, 1835 and February 8, 1837. All of these issues did not contain Archivzettel inserts. The Academy not only officially sponsored the journal but also supplied it with articles and loaned it money. Although no reason is given for the cessation of publication in the final issue, one might conclude that severe financial loss was the cause. Several pleas for prompt payment of subscription fees and additional fees for receipt of the Archivzettel were made in the last few issues.

The Academy itself did not last long beyond its journal. The medical school had deposited its funds in an Allentown bank which folded in the financial panic of the late 1830's. Formal instruction terminated in 1839 and although numerous attempts were made to re-fund the institution, a terminal board meeting was convened on June 14, 1843. The termination at this point was merely a formality, as the school had ceased operations four years earlier. The four key physicians and their mentor had long since moved on: Hering to private practice in Philadelphia, Wesselhoeft to Boston, and Freitag, Detweiler and Romig to private practices in Bethlehem, Hellertown and Allentown, respectively.

Although the school had been short-lived, the homepaths associated with it continued to practice and the movement flourished. The translations of homeopathic texts done by Hering and the faculty spread homeopathy outside the German-speaking medical community and the curriculum and organizational structure of the Academy served as a model for the Homeopathic Medical College of Pennsylvania (later to become Hahnemann Medical College) which opened in Philadelphia in 1848. Locally, the physicians who served as the nucleus for the Academy planned and gained control of the Allentown State Hospital, imposing a requirement, removed only in recent years, that its superintendent be a trained homeopath.

Homeopathy, with its ideals of benign, patient-oriented treatment, was to modify the mainstream of establishment medicine. Consequently, the role played by the homeopathic pioneers in Eastern Pennsylvania during the 19th century deserves an important place in the history of American medicine. The Allentown Medical School, despite its short time of operation, also deserves recognition as a leader in medical education, academic organization, and information dissemination through its publications.
Concern for the sick is of major importance in every Amish community. People find out who is sick by way of the Amish Newspapers, *Die Botschaft* and *The Budget*, or by noticing their absence in church. The common criteria for determining one is sick would be if he is unable to do his chores, does not want to go to school (in the case of a child), and if there is a possibility of a fever. The Amish react mostly to the illness of the mother, then the father, and sick children are given special attention. When a person is sick, relatives and friends will come by the farm often to visit, and others in distant communities will send mail. A few illnesses that occur more often in Amish than in non-Amish people are, obesity, chronic bedwetting, digestive problems, and mental disorders. The Amish treat their sick people in four basic ways: chiropractors, physicians, health food stores, and home remedies.

One skill every Amish woman must learn is how to take care of the sick. An ill person who requires constant attention is taken care of in the home primarily by the women, although when needed the men will help. Aged persons who need attention sit in a rocking chair in the kitchen where they can be looked after while the day's activities are going on.

If help is needed outside the home, a chiropractor is usually contacted first. The cases where a physician
is notified first are for sudden illnesses, broken bones, and pregnancy. If the help needed cannot be obtained in the immediate area, the Amish will go great distances to find medical help. For example, two women from Curryville, Missouri went to Jackson, Tennessee to have some teeth pulled, and to get new dentures, simply on a recommendation from a friend. Advice given from friends and fellow Amish people is taken quite seriously and usually followed.

Their religion does not forbid the Amish to utilize modern medical technique or medicines, but they sometimes stay away from them simply because their ancestors did not have them to use. And while a great many of the Amish go to the hospital, they will try to avoid it. This is due to the fact that because they do not believe in insurance, the hospital rates are very high, especially when tests must be run. An extensive amount of time in the hospital would run into a monstrous sum. When this happens and the family is not able to pay, the community and the church raise the rest of the money needed.

Since there are almost no trained Amish physicians, the Amish go to doctors outside their culture. Dr. Henry Wentz, of Strasburg, Pennsylvania, has been a physician for 31 years, and handles many Amish patients. Two to five percent of Dr. Wentz's patients are Amish, so, out of the approximately forty patients he sees per day, two or three will be Amish.

Dr. Wentz says the Amish come to him not for a cold or sore throat, but only if they're fairly sick. For instance, he treats many patients for accidents and injuries; children come mostly with pneumonia or severe respiratory infections, and heart diseases are common among his older patients. Women come to him mostly because they're pregnant. In 1960 in Lancaster County three fourths of the Amish births were in hospitals. However, the women prefer to have their babies in the home because it's cheaper and that is where they are most comfortable. After the baby is born, Amish families sometimes pay Amish women to come to the home and help care for the baby and the mother.

As a group, the Amish have been studied genetically, rather extensively. The Amish often intermarry within their own communities, so the possibility of genetic problems is very great. Studies have shown that hemophilia and 6-fingered dwarfism are very common in Amish people. Victor McKusick of Johns Hopkins, has found that arthrogryposis occurs in the Amish much more frequently than in other people. In this condition, if the mother's blood is RH negative, and the baby's blood is RH positive, the mother's blood will build up antibodies against the baby's blood, causing severe anemia. This condition gets worse with each succeeding pregnancy, until the babies eventually die. Today the mother can be immunized to prevent the babies from dying, but why this occurs mostly in the Amish is still under study. The Amish are very easy to study genetically because they keep complete family records in their homes, and a deformity can often be traced back to one individual that came to America from Europe.

Dr. Wentz considers the Amish very good patients. He notices that the children are extremely well-behaved, almost stoic. The Amish child will almost never cry, no matter what is done to him. Dr. Wentz believes this is because the children don't get a lot of sympathy at home, and are taught not to cry. His adult Amish patients are very cooperative, trusting, and appreciate the medical help.

One Amish family spends approximately $500 per year on medical care. They try to cut costs by making as few trips to the doctor as possible, but they are very responsible and trusting when it comes to paying for their medical help. Dr. Wentz will adjust his fees for a family of three or four children, including the Amish, who usually have six to eight children. However, in some instances the bishop of a community will come to Dr. Wentz with money from the church and its members to pay for a man who cannot pay his bill. In another instance, a man gave Dr. Wentz a signed, blank check telling him to write out the amount that was due whenever he had figured it out. The man's philosophy was, that if he could trust Dr. Wentz with his life, he could certainly trust him with his money.

As in other American subcultures, death to the Amish is a somber occasion, but is viewed as a matter of course in their religion. Dr. Wentz's experiences with the Amish have shown him that they handle death very well. He went to visit an elderly man who was dying, and he talked to the man's wife about what was happening, and what to expect. The woman understood and took everything well, and was very well prepared for her husband's death.

Dr. Wentz does not give any formal instruction courses to the Amish patients on treating illnesses, but they do learn quite a bit within the examination room. He tries to educate them as to which kind of medical help is necessary, for example, immunization and prevention of illnesses. Dr. Wentz believes that especially the younger Amish are eager to seek out medical help, and in the future, with additional medical counseling, the Amish will continue to utilize modern medicine.

Physicians in general consider the Amish good patients. However, they feel more education is needed, especially in preventing illnesses. Often the Amish will not pay much attention to their health until they become ill. Some illnesses they believe to be natural occur-
rences, so they don't go to a doctor. But the Amish are very cooperative and pleasant patients, so the doctors believe that they will learn more about medical help as time goes on.

For outside medical help the Amish go to chiropractors most often. Chiropractic involves the healing of nerves located at the base of the skull by readjusting the vertebrae. This method is used to cure almost any malfunctioning part of the body. Dr. James Coder Sr., his son George Coder, and his grandson James K. Schemm, have a chiropractic office in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where the elder Dr. Coder has lived since 1925. He has been practicing chiropractic for sixty-one years, and has had much involvement with the Amish.

Between the three of them, Dr. Coder, his son, and his grandson see between thirty and forty patients per day, about 40% of which are Amish. He had visited several Amish homes and knows them to be warm, honest, and sincere people. Dr. Coder is familiar with their culture, and reports that although the Amish have accepted most medical treatments, they do not take a lot of medicine. This is perhaps one reason why they prefer a chiropractor to a doctor.

Dr. Coder sees a lot of children, and about an equal number of men and women. His regular fee is $60 for the first visit, which includes an X-ray, and $10 for each succeeding visit. But, he takes into consideration the size of the Amish family, and the number of visits necessary for treatment, and if he feels his regular price is too high, he will adjust the fee. The number of times a patient must see Dr. Coder varies with each type of injury.

Dr. Coder can only treat the Amish whenever they come into the office, but he does offer them advice on how to maintain their health at home. His philosophy is that first, life is health, and second life is contentment. The Amish do not follow this philosophy; they are working people, and spend much of their time in physical work. According to Dr. Coder, this doesn't leave much time for recreation or relaxation, which does not make them content. He advises them to relax a little more, and not to push themselves too hard.

The food the Amish eat is also very important to their health. Their diets are fairly good, although they eat too many greasy and fried foods. Dr. Coder encourages them to eat more vegetables, and to do more steaming and boiling. The food should be well masticated, also. The Amish obtain a large supply of natural vitamins from the food they grow, which, to Dr. Coder, is a healthy asset.

Dr. Coder concluded that the Amish are very warm and cooperative people. They put their trust in doctors, such as himself, because they know he is working with God's power; the power of nature, and not a lot of medication. This concept of working with God and nature is strongly held within the Amish faith; and the most important thing in Amish life is keeping true to their faith.

The columns in Die Botschaft sent in by Old Order Amish and Mennonite readers from several different parts of the country and Canada, contain news of current events in their home county. They write about its people, farms, weather, and life in general in each community. The subject of medicine and hospitals was brought up in almost every article in talking about a neighbor's illness, an accident, and how these were treated. Except for a few cases where an individual wished not to see a doctor or stay in a hospital, the injuries and illnesses were treated in hospitals, and the doctors' advice was followed without hesitation. Among the most common ailments reported were heart attacks, farm accidents, transportation accidents, pneumonia, the flu, appendicitis, and cancer. The most resistance to the medical profession came from articles sent in over the controversy of cancer and its treatment, and polio vaccinations.

The columns in the paper reported many cancer patients and cancer-related deaths. A number of the cancer patients had been under a doctor's care, and were either living at home or were in the hospital. In both groups almost all of the patients had had one or a series of operations. But there were a few articles published in Die Botschaft that brought to the readers' attention that the modern form of cancer treatment is unnecessary, and further more how the doctors of today will purposely lead the patients into these treatments mainly for money purposes.

For example, one article written by Levi Graber told the case of Dr. Don Kelly of Grapevine, Texas. The article explained that, today the accepted treatment of cancer, according to the American Medical Association is either chemo-therapy, radiation, or surgery, and anything outside of these forms is considered illegal. Dr. Kelly felt that cancer could be arrested, or even cured by nutritional manipulation—pancreatic enzymes, vitamin and mineral therapy, and a regimen of body ecology. Dr. Kelly wrote the book, One Answer to Cancer, explaining this treatment. Since then, several groups, such as the FDA, CDC, IRS, FBI, and Dental Society, have harassed Dr. Kelly. It now takes him $8000 per year to defend his license in court, according to the article.

J. T. Wickey, of Mansfield, Missouri, mentioned the book, How I Cured Cancer Naturally, (author not specified). Wickey felt that there are other alternatives to cancer-treating such as this book explained, and that doctors try to frighten their patients into an operation. He felt that an operation wouldn't remove
the cause, therefore the cancer would return. 39

Many of the articles in Die Botschaft supported the use of laetrile as a cancer-fighting substance, but explained the medical profession's resistance to it. One article told the story of Mrs. Mary C. Welchel who was arrested for giving laetrile to cancer patients in Mexico, and for supposedly issuing propaganda to discourage the use of U.S. medical facilities. 40 Mrs. Welchel wrote a letter to the Cancer Journal explaining her ordeal and her humanistic intentions, but the U.S. press distorted the story, and made her sound like a criminal harming helpless people with laetrile.

But the U.S. coverage didn't discourage some of the cancer patients. People have written in their columns of friends or relatives that have gone to Mexico for natural cancer therapy, and are now at home using laetrile. 41

Home remedies are another method of fighting cancer in some of the communities. Cancer salves are used in many cases. In one case, a salve and a flaxseed poultice was used on a cancerous lump, and within two weeks the writer wrote that the lump had fallen off. 42 A man used a salve on a lump on his arm for three weeks, but in this case, the arm became swollen and red, instead of better. 43 Another cancer victim drank herbal tea when cobalt treatments had burned one side of his face, had caused him to lose his hair on his right side, and to lose over eighty pounds. 44 But the tea had cured the cancer in three weeks. Also, John H. Tobe prescribed a raw food diet for ninety days to cure the cancer. 45

The other subject of great controversy is the polio vaccinations given to so many Amish communities. Some people refuse to take the vaccinations, although some can be persuaded to be immunized. 46 But in general, Die Botschaft writers felt that the immunizations are too dangerous. There were many columns written describing how someone had been crippled, died, or had contracted the disease from taking the vaccine. 47 Books such as Vaccination, the Silent Killer, Hidden Dangers in Polio Vaccine, and The Poisoned Needle, were written to discourage people from accepting immunization. It was stories and books such as these that could possibly account for the low turnout for vaccinations in some communities. For instance, in Smoketown in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, the number went from 318 people for the first shot to 174 for the second shots. 48 Because of low turnouts like this one, some health officials in some communities went to church service on Sunday and administered the vaccine there. 49 Another alternative when few people were immunized, was to speak with the bishop of the community, as Dr. Wentz did. 50 The bishop explained that he was not instructing his people not to take the vaccinations, but he wasn't encouraging them to, either. Dr. Wentz explained the importance of the vaccinations, and the bishop and the doctor arranged a time and place where his people would come to be immunized.

Most of the people who resist the polio vaccine can be persuaded to accept it, and in such cases health officials often go to the community and administer the vaccine. 51

The third major source of health care that the Old Order Amish seek is the health food store, such as Miller's Health Food Store in Bird-in-Hand, Pennsylvania. 52 Although two-thirds of this store's customers are non-Amish, the Amish frequent health food stores and make use of virtually all of the products. 53 Some of the items the store sells are dried fruits, nuts, spices, juices, fresh fruit, teas, vitamins, natural hygiene products, health books, and many more products. A few of the most popular items sold to the Amish are bananas, cheese, and vitamins. 54 The Amish rely on vitamins, found in their diet, or in tablet form, for a good part of their nutrition. One example of a vitamin sold in the store is, Natural Super-C-500, (500 mg of vitamin C). Other health products include Dr. Michael's Hexylum, for treatment of constipation; Barth's Naturally: Calms—To Help You Relax; and NF Factors: Intesto-Klenz—for Intestinal Cleaning.

The store also displays pamphlets on health care; facts about nutrition and diseases, home remedies, hair and skin care, and several other health-related literature. For example, one pamphlet listed nine steps to cure the common cold, using an enema, garlic injection, cider and vinegar rubdown, and a hot bath, to name a few. Another gave the facts on heart disease and nutrition, and another on natural products for the skin and hair. The Amish read this literature as part of educating themselves on health and nutrition. 55 The Amish often use several remedies for a great number of health problems. These remedies are published in newspapers, farm almanacs, or are passed on through the generations. 56 A regular feature in Die Botschaft is "Iverich und Ender", a couple of pages devoted to recipes, verse, and to hints on health care. There are remedies submitted by readers for almost any type of ailment. Some examples of these remedies are:

Oat Nut recipe for Multiple Sclerosis: 2 tablespoons rolled oats, 2 tablespoons raisins, 2 teaspoons honey, 2 tablespoons grated nuts. Mix together and pour cold milk over them, add part of banana if desired. Serve. 57

Polio: deny person sweets for 36 hours; polio will be cured. 58

Blemishes: Rub fresh tomato over skin to clean
pores; mash tomato pulp with corn meal — massage — leave on skin for 10 minutes. Do this twice a day.60

**Insomnia:** cup of hot catnip tea, and a teaspoon of honey.61

**Stuttering:** slow down, exhale gently through mouth.62

**Itching Heat Rash:** ½ cup salt, ½ cup apple cider vinegar in tepid bath, soak for 20 minutes.63

**Constipation:** Yogurt, vegetable laxative, all-bran cereal.64

**Sore Mouth:** drink hot, salty milk.65

**Arthritis:** put cheese in cloth bag, 1 oz. dandelion root, 1 oz. prickly ash bark, 1 oz. Columba, 1 oz. quassia chips. Soak 4 days in sweet Concord grape wine; take 1 oz. in morning and 1 oz. at night.66

**Cataracts:** put a few drops of goose oil in eyes.67

**Emergency heart attack:** drink a teaspoon of cayenne in a cup of hot water.68

**Diabetes Control:** increase in your diet, bran, wheat germ, nuts, seeds, raw chewy vegetables, fruits, and some grains.69

**Flu prevention, fussy babies, fever:** add thyme tea to peppermint tea, or whatever you drink for breakfast.70

**Spine trouble:** eliminate wheat from your diet. This means no noodles, spaghetti, macaroni, or any form of wheat.71

The Amish will usually try to take care of minor illnesses themselves by using home remedies before they go to a physician.72 Newspapers, pamphlets, almanacs, and almost any other type of Amish literature advertise products to cure certain ailments. Some of the common products advertised are those to cure rheumatism, arthritis, constipation, and itching.73 Some others include “Kalms”74 for nerve trouble, a natural “Miracle Pill” that beats stress, nervous and sleep problems,75 and a B-15 pill which treats twenty diseases. These diseases include allergies, mild poisoning, diabetes, and hepatitis.76

Although less commonly used than any other form of treatment, folk practices will be used, usually by the older Amish, when an illness isn’t cured by any other means.77 One such practice is called “brauche”, or sympathy healing.78 The healer silently repeats verses and chants at given times in the day. The skill may only be passed on to someone else of the opposite sex.79 The patient must believe in this practice, but does not have to be present when it is performed.

Another folk practice is bonesetting, done by an Amish man who visits the sick in Amish communities. This and “brauche” are less accepted methods of curing an illness, but are sometimes still used.80

Mental disorders are among the most common illnesses of the Amish. Emotional problems usually are caused by a feeling of not being able to live up to the cultural expectations of the community, or not finding fulfillment within the Amish way of life.81 Psychotic or psycho-neurotic disorders usually stem from an experience the individual may have had.82 A person may be considered to have some form of neuroses if he exhibits symptoms such as he doesn’t marry, he frequently visits the doctor, he has religious problems, and he doesn’t find satisfaction in a full day’s work.83

If a person is psychotic, the Amish will not hesitate to admit him to a mental hospital, or take him to a psychiatrist.84 About an equal number of Amish men and women are admitted to mental hospitals, most commonly between the ages of 15-60.85 About the same number of men and women have suicidal tendencies,86 however the actual number of suicides is
highest among young men. This is believed to be so because that is the time when the culture’s values are either accepted or rejected.\textsuperscript{47}

If a person is emotionally disturbed, the Amish will try to cure him themselves.\textsuperscript{48} An abnormal person is urged to work harder.\textsuperscript{49} Sometimes the mentally retarded are cared for at home.\textsuperscript{50} The family provides a sense of belonging and of being needed. The sick visit friends and relatives often, and abnormal behavior is tolerated.\textsuperscript{51} A special prayer for the sick is not used to the extent that it may be in other religions.\textsuperscript{52}

The Amish use remedies for a variety of mental disorders. For instance, advertisements or articles sent into Die Botschaft offer relief for a number of problems. Leslie Kane’s article, “The Natural Foods That You Can Eat to Chase Away Those Depressing Blues,” gives the lack of vitamin B-3 (niacin), or vitamin B-6 (pyridoxin), as the main cause of depression, and the lack of calcium as the cause for irritability, tremors, irregular heartbeat, muscle spasms, and sometimes convulsions.\textsuperscript{53} She goes on to say that the best calcium sources are milk, cheese, sardines, wheat bread, sesame seeds, and spinach; “B” vitamins are found in green vegetables, wheat germ, liver, lima beans, peas, brown rice, peanut butter, and nuts; and iron to cure anemia is best found in dairy products, eggs, beef, chicken, pork, veal, prunes, apricots, and wheat germ. Following this article, there is an ad for B-3 and B-6 vitamins.\textsuperscript{54}

Also, the B-15 vitamin advertised in Die Botschaft listed schizophrenia, hypertension, senility, and autism among the diseases cured by the vitamin.\textsuperscript{55} These are just two examples of the many advertisements and articles submitted to Die Botschaft to cure emotional problems.

The Amish take mental disorders very seriously. And, as in their efforts to help physical ailments, they will take necessary steps to help the mentally ill.

Through my study of the Amish medical practices, I have gathered some very interesting information. All these sources and informants stated that the Amish are very warm, honest people. Their attitudes about medical practices represent both the past and the present; they still use home remedies in place of most medicines, but yet a great many have opened up to and accepted modern doctors, hospitals, and today’s methods of treatment. The fact that the Amish are accepting the modern medical profession gives every indication that they will continue to do so in the future. It will take some time yet until they feel they can depend on our doctors as we do, but the younger ones are willing to take the necessary steps toward seeking even more medical help. These necessary steps include gaining knowledge of health and illnesses, and educating themselves as a family. A possible way to do this might be to generate more interest by promoting medical health education, and by setting up courses or clinics. In this manner some diseases such as polio, which has occurred in some Amish communities, and the common Amish birth defects such as the six-fingered dwarfism would eventually be prevented. For this to happen, the medical profession has to want to educate the Amish, and the Amish have to want to learn; and these attitudes are evolving more and more with time, both on the part of doctors and of the Amish.

ENDNOTES

2. Ibid.
3. Interview with Dr. Henry Wentz, M.D., November 29, 1979.
4. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 291.
8. Ibid.
9. Interview, Dr. Wentz.
11. Ibid., p. 289.
15. Interview with Dr. James Coder, Sr., November 21, 1979.
16. Smith, p. 149.
18. Interview, Dr. Wentz.
20. Interview, Dr. Wentz.
22. Interview, Dr. Wentz.
23. Telephone conversation, Miss Sarah Fisher, an Amish schoolteacher.
24. Hostetler, p. 293.
25. Ibid., p. 292.
26. Interview, Sarah Fisher.
27. Interview, Dr. Wentz.
28. Ibid.
30. Ibid., p. 291.
32. Smith, p. 187.
33. Interview, Dr. Coder.
34. Ibid.
35. Various articles throughout 10 issues (see bibliography) of Die Botschaft.
36. Ibid.
43. Mrs. Felty Yoder, “Hazelton, Pa.,” Die Botschaft, July 18, 1979, p. 18, col. 5.
for countless generations of fever, soothed a raw throat and settled a queasy stomach for countless generations of plain and church Germans in America.

Mint provided a variety of curative teas which lowered fever, soothed a raw throat and settled a queasy stomach for countless generations of plain and church Germans in America.

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The Dunkards are one of the four major Protestant denominations of ethnic German ancestry now comprising the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Community. The Dunkards are members of what, since the early twentieth century, is officially called the Church of the Brethren.

The Church of the Brethren originated in Germanic Europe (Figure 1) exactly two centuries earlier. Religious origins of the church can be traced back to the beginnings of the Protestant Reformation in early sixteenth century Germanic Europe. Conversely, therefore, the religious and spatial experiences of this church can be reconstructed from that time forward.

The Brethren faith is rooted in the theological precepts of Pietism, one of the last reform movements to develop within German Protestantism. Pietism began as a radical movement which gradually moved toward and ultimately adopted most of the tenets of Anabaptism.

Early Radical Pietism preached Separatism, encompassed communitarianism, openly opposed authority, and embraced similar other positions. Radical Pietism seems, therefore, to have been early influenced by Militant Spiritualism, original Hutterian consumptive communism, Separatism, and other comparable movements. The radical dimension was eventually superseded by a more pacifist form of Pietism, approximating Anabaptism. Hence, the Church of the Brethren emanates, but with certain specific differences, from Anabaptism. Thus, peaceful Brethren-Pietism appears to have been engendered by the Mennonite and Amish Anabaptist movements, the reorganized...
pacifist Hutterian productive communal societies, the mystical Anabaptist-like theology of Schwenkfeldianism, and comparable movements.

The entire European phase of the Brethren movement was exceedingly brief and, unfortunately, rather poorly documented. However brief, the Germanic European history of what is now the Church of the Brethren cannot be understood or appreciated, even in general outline, without a cursory review of Anabaptism and its related movements; and a more extensive observation of Pietism.

The above-described background has largely dictated the organizational pattern of the study, which consists of three major divisions. The first is comprised of two parts; one section discusses Anabaptism and the other Militant Spiritualism. The next unit examines the origins of Pietism, and development of Pietism from its more radical stages through peaceful Brethren-Pietism, and the spatial experiences of Brethren-Pietism. Finally, the last principle unit describes the establishment of the Brethren faith, and then proceeds to examine the religious and spatial history of the Brethren to their migrations from Germanic Europe (Figure 1) to southeastern Pennsylvania, where they are known Dunkards.

The text is supported by eight maps. But, since the contents of this paper and these maps embrace some two centuries, and because of the tumultuous religious, socio-cultural, and political conditions of those centuries, the boundaries are, in most instances, approximate and others highly generalized. More detailed comments about the maps, spellings, and religious terms are included in the appropriate sections of the Endnotes.

PROTESTANT MOVEMENTS INFLUENCING THE ORIGINS AND SPATIAL HISTORY OF THE BRETHREN

When Anabaptism, the radical wing of the Reformation, emerged in the early sixteenth century, most clerics and theologians condemned it as revolutionary and its followers as heretics. Yet the model of the Radical Reformation was committed to the complete purification of Christianity by and through a return to peaceful, nonviolent rituals of the ancient Apostolic Church as described in the New Testament. Through time, and in different sections of Germanic Europe (Figure 1), four major branches of peaceful Anabaptism emerged: The Swiss Brethren; the Dutch Men­nists; the Hutterites; and the Amish. Schwenkfeldianism, a mystical theology comparable to Anabaptism, developed in another area of Germanic Europe (Figure 1), far distant in space but at the same time as the Swiss Brethren movement. Another movement consisting of three separate branches professing the tenets of Anabaptism but of a much different underlying temperament also emerged in various sections of Germanic Europe (Figure 1) during the early years of the sixteenth century Reformation.

Spatial Origins of Anabaptism and Schwenkfeldianism

The Swiss Brethren movement was established by Conrad Grebel near Zurich, Switzerland (Figure 2) in 1525. The Brethren Anabaptist movement spread rapidly northward through Switzerland and south Germany. Savage persecution dispersed the movement, almost destroying it. Remnants fled as far north as the Netherlands where the precepts of peaceful Brethren Anabaptism were preserved. The movement was reorganized, under the leadership of Menno Simons, as the Dutch Menists at Groningen in 1536-37 (Figures 1 and 2). Dutch Menist Anabaptism diffused eastward across north Germany and southward toward Strassburg where additional survivors of the Swiss Brethren were also attempting to reorganize. Here at Strassburg, the Swiss Brethren merged with the Menists to form the Mennonite sect (Figure 2) in the 1550's.

The Amish are direct descendants from the Mennonite faith. The Apostolic beliefs and practices upon which the Mennonite movement was established became increasingly diluted over the generations to the chagrin of a substantial number of adherents. A controversy concerning a more rigid enforcement of the rules of the church, which had been growing for years, finally erupted in the early 1690's. Despite a number of meetings, the matter proved irreconcilable. A group of rigid disciplinarians following Jakob Amman seceded from the main body Mennonites, organizing the Amish sect at Berne, Switzerland (Figures 1 and 2) in 1693. The movement spread through southwest Germanic Europe within the next several decades.

The fourth and last of the original early sixteenth century Anabaptist movements — the peaceful Hutterian approach to the community-of-goods concept — developed in southeastern Germanic Europe (Figure 1), far from the mainstream of Anabaptism (Figure 2), where it was strongly and most unfavorably influenced by Militant Spiritualism. Since the combined effects of Anabaptism and Militant Spiritualism must be described to understand the religious and spatial beginnings of the Hutterites, the discussion of this movement, of necessity, follows the description of Militant Spiritualism. Thus, at this point the reader's attention is diverted to northeast Germanic Europe (Figure 1) where yet another movement within the overall frameworks of the Radical Reformation was evolving in the third decade of the sixteenth century.

Although not generally considered a part of the mainstream of Anabaptism, a religious movement parallel-
ing the rise of the Swiss Brethren in time, was developing in eastern Germanic Europe (Figure 1). This movement was inspired by the peaceful mystical-spiritualistic teachings of Caspar Schwenkfeld, a Lutheran layman who opposed organized formal churches. Nevertheless, a Schwenkfelder church was founded, contrary to the wishes of Schwenkfeld, at Liegnitz, Silesia (Figures 1 and 2) in the early 1520’s. The faith spread from Liegnitz across northern Silesia with remarkable velocity (Figure 2), gradually adopting a more Anabaptist view of Christianity as it diffused.

The Radical Reformation succeeded because enough clergymen and laymen were convinced that the Lutheran Reformation was too conservative. Still others believed that Anabaptism was, likewise, too moderate since it seemed to be relatively uninterested with nonclerical affairs. This latter group was convinced that the secular world was so rife with corruption that it was in greater need of reform than the church.

Those more concerned with changing living conditions in the sixteenth century Germanic Europe frequently used the Protestant Reformation as a mechanism for revolutionizing economic and political life. The leading figures among the secular revolutionists were intent upon replacing the established order of the time with communities-of-goods societies. These groups were not the least unwilling to employ violent methods to achieve their objectives while at the same time preaching the beliefs of peaceful Anabaptism, the consequences of which were disastrous for these violent militant religious movements, as well as for the Swiss Brethren movement which was just developing.

Spatial History of Militant Spiritualism

Three such Militant Spiritualistic movements, preaching Anabaptism but intent upon organizing community-of-goods societies through physical violence if necessary, arose in Germanic Europe (Figure 1) in the 1520’s: the first at Zwickau; the second at Waldshut; and the third at Munster (Figure 3). The Zwickau movement, called the Puritan Reformation and organized by Thomas Muntzer in 1521, attempted to overthrow the legal authorities by force and, summarily, was destroyed in 1525. But the concepts of the movement were transported to Waldshut (Figure 3) by Balthasar
Hubmaier, where another Militant-Spiritualistic community-of-goods movement was founded in 1528. Utilizing the same tactics employed at Zwickau, this movement experienced a similar fate and a history as short lived as had the Puritan Reformation. Hubmaier fled to Moravia in southeastern Germanic Europe, where he hoped to initiate the same movement (Figure 1). Militant Spiritualism also diffused from Zwickau to Munster (Figure 3), transported there by one Melchior Hoffmann. In 1530, Hoffmann founded a Militant Mellenarian movement. The Munsterites, as the Militant Spiritualistic Mellenarian followers of Hoffmann were called, also utilized brutalism to attain the secular goals of religious militancy. This movement, accused of unimaginably obnoxious practices for the time, was literally annihilated by the established churches of 1535. The Militant Spiritualist movements, particularly those at Zwickau and Waldshut (Figure 3), influenced the development of the Hutterites, the fourth of the major branches of Anabaptism.

Peaceful Anabaptism and Militant Spiritualism diffused toward Nicolsburg, Moravia (Figures 1, 2, and 3) from a number of directions. Peaceful Anabaptism came to Nicolsburg from Strassburg via Augsburg (Figure 2) and other places by John Hut, a disciple of Hans Denck. Meanwhile, Militant Spiritualism also reached Nicolsburg, partially from Zwickau and Munster, but primarily from Waldshut (Figure 3) because of the migration of Balthaser Hubmaier. From the beginning, bitter conflict developed between the Militant Spiritualists and the peaceful Anabaptists from Switzerland and southwest Germany. The Anabaptists, under the leadership of Jakob Hutter, instituted a consumptive communistic approach to Anabaptism. Gradually, the peaceful Hutterites outnumbered the Militants and consumptive communal Anabaptism was firmly entrenched around Nicolsburg (Figure 2).

Fearing a repeat of the Zwickau fiasco, the clerical and secular authorities purged and scattered the Hutterites from Nicolsburg (Figure 3) and surrounding towns in 1535. Following the banishment and subsequent death of Hutter, the movement was reorganized by Wolfgang Brandhuber and a communism of production replaced Hutter's consumptive approach.
Except for comminals, the main principles of the Hutterites were similar to other sixteenth century Anabaptists.31

Approximately 150 years after the successful inauguration of the Radical Reformation, another Protestant movement called Pietism gradually developed in Germanic Europe (Figure 1). Pietism, as it evolved through its several stages of development mentioned earlier, was influenced in varying degrees by Anabaptism, Schwenkfeldianism, Militant Spiritualism, and some other less influential movements which have not been discussed. However, among all the afore-described Protestant religious movements, the impact of Schwenkfeldianism which adopted an Anabaptist approach had the most profound impact on Pietism32 and, subsequently, the Brethren movement. Direct linkages between Pietism and Schwenkfeldianism can be traced from Jakob Boehme (1575-1624), through August Herman Francke (1663-1727) and Philip Jakob Spener (1635-1705), to Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714), Ernest Christopher Hochmann (1670-1721), and Alexander Mack33 (1679-1735).

Thus, Pietism has often been called the grandchild of Anabaptism.34 Though Pietism and Anabaptism have many commonalities, there is a major fundamental difference between them. Anabaptism emphasizes the "bitter Christ" of suffering, while Pietism stresses the "sweet Christ" of devout living.35

ORIGINS AND SPATIAL HISTORY OF THE BRETHREN

Pietism was an attempt to recover the essence of the sixteenth century Reformation and restore true Apostolic Christianity by accepting the teachings of the New Testament and de-emphasizing the Old Testament.36 Pietism was also partially a protection against the loss of entire sections of thought and culture.37 Those laymen and clergymen repulsed by the state of clerical and secular life, who were attempting to evolve a more satisfying faith38 and a more gratifying economic and social life based upon the internal history of the soul through personal, small-group religion and Bible study, came to be known as Pietists.39

Spatial Origins of Pietism

Many of the first Pietistic reformers were convinced that true religious reform necessitated the complete separation from the established churches and a thorough reform of secular life through the organization of communal societies. Separatism, which seemed as radical during this period as it had nearly two centuries earlier, was filtering into western Germanic Europe from England 40 (Figure 4), while secular reform probably was a vestige of Hutterite Anabaptism, and even Militant Spiritualism. This group of reformers was known as radical Pietists.

The movement logically developed in northwestern Germany and the Netherlands, along the Rhine Valley41 (Figure 4), a natural corridor for the transfer of ideas and along which peaceful Anabaptism, the lineal parent movement, had long since diffused (Figures 2 and 4). Among the first evidences of the beginnings of Pietism in western Germany was through the mystical theology of Jakob Boehme, from around the Liegnitz area (Figure 4), which he admittedley appropriated from the beliefs of Schwenfeld.42

Boehme's interpretation of Schwenkfeldianism probably surfaced as the predominant Pietistic thought pattern by the time the Brethren faith was founded because of the sequence of influencing events. Militant Spiritualism was destroyed. The Hutterites were purged and dispersed, had reorganized, and largely migrated from Moravia long before the rise of Pietism; therefore, the effects of these movements were not particularly forceful. Separatism, invading the Rhine Valley from then relatively remote England, also proved ineffective. Possessing some two centuries of history in western Germany, Anabaptism, supported but modified by Boehme's beliefs, eventually dominated.

Pietism first appeared in the Reformed Church and then embraced the Lutheran faith. Two Reformed clergymen, Theodore Untereck (1635-1693) and Frederick Lampe (1683-1729), both in Bremen (Figure 4), stressed biblical and catechetical study and learning.43 But it was in the Lutheran Church that the foremost advocates of early Pietism came to the forefront formulating plans for improving prevailing conditions of the church, the clergy, and Christian living.44 Philip Jakob Spener, a Lutheran "pathfinder," reputed father of Pietism and head pastor at Frankfurt (Figure 4), emphasized the reform of church life and proposed a six-point plan for its improvement.45 August Herman Francke joined a Bible study group at Leipzig (Figure 4). Eventually he became pastor and professor at Halle (Figure 4) where, because of his Bible study and other activities as well as his long tenure there, that city became the primary focus of late seventeenth century Pietism.46

Historical understandings of the radical separatist wing of Pietism filtering in from England (Figure 4) and elsewhere were methodically articulated by Gottfried Arnold at Geissen47 (Figure 4). Ernest Christopher Hochmann, converted by Francke at Halle, became Arnold's close associate and friend. Hochmann, an itinerant preacher, devoted much of his life to teaching Enthusiasm, Separatism, and Radical Pietism which brought him into considerable disagreement, even conflict, with the state churches.48 In 1706 Hochmann became acquainted with Alexander Mack49 at Schries-
heim (Figure 4). The influence of Hochmann soon converted Mack to Pietism from the Reformed faith. Close friends and associates, they traveled and preached together. Hochmann ultimately settled at Schwarzenau where he wrote a creed which is the closest approximation of a Brethren (Dunkard) confession of faith.52 Mack, who is credited with being the founder of the Brethren movement, followed Hochmann from Schriesheim to Schwarzenau.53

In summary, by the middle of the first decade of the eighteenth century, Pietism — the theological basis of the Brethren faith — was firmly established along the Rhine River Valley.54 Historically, the movement spread westward from the Liegnitz area northwestward to Bremen, southward to Frankfurt, northeast to Leipzig, northwest to Halle, southwest to Geissen, continuing southward past Frankfurt to Schriesheim, and finally north to Schwarzenau, which soon became the focus of the Brethren movement (Figure 4). Less important centers of Pietistic activity developed around Heidelberg, Mannheim, Strassburg and Basel.55 (Figure 4).

Spatial History of Brethren-Pietism

The growth, development, and firm establishment of Pietism (Figure 4) by the closing years of the seventeenth and the opening years of the eighteenth century was, what seems from this vantage point in time, a natural response to several factors: the general decay of secular life resulting from the devastating Thirty Years War which virtually tore the Palatinate asunder; the Peace (treaty) of Westphalia which ended the Thirty Years War;56 and the laxity of Mennonite Anabaptism over the generations as attested by the Amish schism as the seventeenth century was drawing to a close.

The most important of these factors seemingly was the Peace of Westphalia, for it created a cohesive state-church system by stating that the ruler determines the religion — Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed.57 Protection of these orthodox state-churches was primarily responsible for the decline in clerical life, along with accelerating the decay of secular living.

All these conditions, together with the several direct and indirect influences of the various religious move-
ments reviewed earlier, were not only unquestionably responsible for the rise of Pietism, but were also undoubtedly responsible for its early radical position. Evidently all the founding fathers from Untereyk and Lampe through Mack were conditioned by the combined effects of all these factors. Exactly where radicalism was overcome by the more Anabaptist-like approach to Christianity is difficult to establish. Suffice perhaps to say, it was a gradual process.

Pietism succeeded because the state-churches directed very little attention to the movement during its formative years. Thus, the movement became widely, if not deeply, entrenched in the territories of Hesse Kassel, Wittgenstein, Ysenburg-Budingen, and the Rhenish Palatinate comprised of northern and southern sections with each section split by the Rhine River* (Figure 5).

Brethren-like Pietistic activities centered in a number of towns and villages. Converts to Pietism resided in Frankenthal, Eppstein, Lambsheim, Heidelberg, and Schriesheim in the southern Rhenish Palatinate; in nearby Nordheim and Umstatt; Marienborn and Dudelshaim in Ysenburg-Budingen; Kassel in Hesse Kassel; Schwarzenau in Wittgenstein; Solingen in the northern Rhenish Palatinate; as well as in Dilienburg just south of Wittgenstein; and Strassburg and Frenkendorf much farther south along the Rhine** (Figures 5 and 6).

The vast majority of these early Brethren-Pietist converts were former members of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches. A few were probably Mennonites and Roman Catholics. Declining membership caused the established churches to direct increasing attention toward this quiet, though growing new movement. Alarmed by the number of converts, the three state-churches instituted repressive measures to arrest further growth of the movement. The Pietistic-Brethren were subsequently persecuted and banished from their homes. Fleeing from place to place, they gradually centered in and around two areas: Wittgenstein and Ysenburg-Budingen* (Figure 5), particularly in the former.

The Pietistic-Brethren gravitated toward Ysenburg-Budingen and Wittgenstein because the rulers, being somewhat tolerant, permitted a moderate degree of re-
religious freedom. In Ysenburg-Budingen, Brethren-Pietism focused in Marienborn and such nearby places as Dudelsheim, Eckartshausen, Rohrbach, Stockheim and Bergheim (Figures 5 and 7). The chief center of Brethren Pietism in Wittgenstein was the small community of Schwarzenau and the surrounding villages of Christianseck, Schlechter Boden, Elsöff, and Stuntzel (Figures 5 and 7).

Wittgenstein, the more tolerant of the two provinces, became the primary center of Pietism, particularly the town of Schwarzenau where the Brethren movement originated. However, a few Pietist-Brethren resided around Duisburg, Solingen, Düsseldorf, Krefeld, and even Cologne in the northern Rhenish Palatinate and around Heidelberg and Worms in the southern Rhenish Palatinate.

**EUROPEAN ORIGINS AND SPATIAL HISTORY OF THE BRETHREN**

The Pietists at Schwarzenau were intense students of the New Testament and became deeply impressed by the biblical injunction of adult faith baptism. Alexander Mack, now at Schwarzenau, quickly became the dominant personality among the Brethren-Pietists. By this time (1708), the movement assumed a more Anabaptist view of the church apparently to the displeasure of Hochmann, still a radical Pietist. Whether the Anabaptist approach was or was not caused by the influence of Mack is difficult to ascertain.

**Founding of the Brethren Movement**

Sometime during the summer of 1708, a total of eight persons, one of whom was Alexander Mack, gathered at the Eder River near Schwarzenau. Here at the Eder, one of the eight baptized Mack by trine (triple) immersion; and then he, in like manner, baptized the other seven. This new movement was reluctant to give itself a name; the members simply referred to themselves as “brethren.” In Europe they were named New Baptists, Schwarzenau Baptists, and other identifying terms to distinguish them from similar Anabaptist sects. Baptism by triple immersion subsequently resulted in them being identified by a number of terms both in Europe and America, the popular term in southeastern Pennsylvania being Dunkard.
This event at the Eder River inaugurated the Brethren faith which was to persist in Germany for little more than two decades; after which the Brethren migrated to Pennsylvania, terminating their geographic history in Europe. And unfortunately, as stated earlier, these two decades of the sect's spatial history are practically unrecorded.71

**Spatial History of the Brethren Congregations**

Following the previously described ceremony in the Eder River, the original group of eight persons developed a flourishing congregation around Schwarzenau in Wittgenstein (Figures 5 and 8). The Pietists in the several villages around Schwarzenau and other areas, such as Hesse Kassel and the northern Rhenish Palatinate, probably became members of this original congregation (Figures 5, 7, and 8). Some of the most ardent adherents presumably became proselyters traveling to Basel, Hamburg-Altona and through the Palatinate (Figure 8) to obtain additional converts and establish congregations. However, there is little evidence that they experienced much success in this endeavor. A second sizeable congregation was firmly established at Marienborn in Ysenburg-Budingen by 1715 and probably was comprised of former Brethren-like Pietists from the surrounding towns and perhaps from the southern Rhenish Palatinate and southern Hesse Kassel (Figures 5, 7 and 8). Finally, a third but much smaller congregation was organized at Eppstein and probably consisted of the few Brethren-Pietists still residing in the southern Rhenish Palatinate who had not affiliated with the other congregations (Figures 5, 7 and 8). Undoubtedly all three congregations obtained converts from the established state-churches, especially the Reformed.

The Marienborn congregation, organized by 1715, enjoyed a rather brief period of tranquility. Strong harassment from the state-churches — the Reformed in particular — developed. Maltreatment and persecution ranged from arrest, fine and imprisonment through forced oaths of allegiance to the state-churches, to enforced labor. Economic and religious conditions quickly became so intolerable that the congregation disbanded and migrated to Krefeld where the Brethren
reorganized the congregation (Figure 8). The Eppstein congregation presumably experienced similar, equally harsh treatment and they too, according to the skimpy evidence available, moved to Krefeld (Figure 8).

The Krefeld congregation was almost immediately confronted by the same intolerable conditions imposed upon them by the state-churches in their former homes at Marienborn and Eppstein, as the Reformed Church revoked what little religious freedom they still possessed. Compounding the situation still further, internal disension regarding church discipline began convulsing the Krefeld Brethren. The combined influence of internal strife, external economic and political pressures, and religious suppression caused a precipitous decline in membership.

Under the leadership of one Peter Becker, the remaining members of the Krefeld congregation migrated to Pennsylvania in 1719 for the purpose of preserving their identity and perpetuating the movement. The number of adherents involved in the 1719 migration is not known with absolute certainty nor is the route of migration thoroughly documented. However, it seems plausible to assume that the Krefeld group migrated from Rotterdam via Cowes (Figure 8).

Thus, by 1720 there remained but one active Brethren congregation in Germanic Europe, that at Schwarzenau (Figure 8). The original Schwarzenau congregation apparently lived in relative peace from 1708 to about 1719. In 1720 the Schwarzenau congregation, under the guiding hand of Alexander Mack, moved to Westervain in the Netherlands (Figure 8). The reason or reasons for this move is sketchy and unclear. Over the next decade the Westervain congregation, under the guiding hand of Alexander Mack, grew and prospered obtaining a number of converts, again mainly from the Reformed Church. Correspondence from members of the former Krefeld group describing the extremely favorable living conditions in their new homeland caused Alexander Mack to lead the majority of Westervain Brethren to Rotterdam via Cowes (Figure 8) in 1729. Setting sail from Rotterdam on July 7, 1729, some 59 families consisting of 121 persons arrived in Philadelphia on September 15 of the same year.

The 1719 and 1729 migrations included nearly all the
European Brethren who did not return to their former churches. A few individual families or small groups of not more than several adherents migrated to Philadelphia between 1731 and 1735. Thus, for all practical purposes, the European spatial history of the Brethren movement came to a conclusion by or soon after 1730.

SUMMARY

There is no absolute proof of the size of the Brethren movement in Germanic Europe, but it probably never exceeded around 300 adherents. Although there is no conclusive documentation, between 225 and 250 Brethren came to Pennsylvania in two major migrations.

Because of their close affinities with the Anabaptist sects, they were rapidly assimilated into the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Community, consisting also of the Amish, Mennonites, and until near the end of the last century the Schwenkfelders.78

Founders of the Brethren faith took the name New Baptists and adopted the religious precepts of Pietism, which is rooted in and emanates from Anabaptism, the mystical theology of the Schwenkfelders, and other sources. Therefore, Brethren religious underpinnings, mores, and secular living are akin to the Mennonites, Amish, and Schwenkfelders. European spatial experiences are also similar to those of the other three sects: religious intolerance; periods of severe maltreatment by the established state-churches of the time, interspersed with brief periods of peace and toleration; flight from place to place to avoid persecution; and subsequent migration from Germanic Europe (Figure 1) to the British-American colonies, particularly Pennsylvania, in anticipation of religious and other liberties.

Upon arriving in Pennsylvania, the Brethren — who were referred to as Tunken, among other terminologies, in Europe because of their method of baptism as well as to distinguish them from other groups — were called Dunkards by the English-speaking Pennsylvanians.74 Thus, the word Dunkard represents the “corrupted” mispronunciation of a German word, just as the word Deutsch was “corrupted” to Dutch. From their arrival to the present, the Brethren have been called Dunkards in southeastern Pennsylvania without any “disparaging” connotation intended.77

Because of all this confusing terminology, the Brethren decided in 1836 to take the official name of Fraternity of German Baptists. In 1871 the church changed its name again, this time to German Baptist Brethren. A third and final change in 1908 resulted in adopting the official title of Church of the Brethren.79 Despite their official name, however, the Brethren are still known as Dunkards in southeastern Pennsylvania.

Since their arrival in Philadelphia (Germantown), this church — like the Amish and Mennonites, but unlike the Schwenkfelders — has grown and prospered, spreading from the Philadelphia area over the United States into Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Present membership is about 300,000 baptized adherents,79 the largest single concentration is probably still located in southeastern Pennsylvania.

ENDNOTES

Religious Terms

Most of the religious words and terminologies used in this study are defined in: F.E. Mayer, The Religious Bodies of America (St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1961). NOTE: The term Brethren-Pietism is used to separate the more radical aspect and period of Pietism from the transition to the more peaceful Anabaptist approach whose believers established the Brethren faith.

Spelling

George Huntston Williams, The Radical Reformation (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962); Franklin Hamlin Littell, The Macmillan Atlas History of Christianity (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1976); and Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., European Origins of the Brethren (Elgin, Illinois: The Brethren Press, 1958) are the major sources for the spellings of place names and proper names. The writer has attempted to preserve the spelling of the time period encompassed by the study except where at least two of the three sources do not agree; in which case, contemporary spelling is used.

Map Notes and Sources

Map Notes

The writer is uncertain of the precise location and correct spelling of Eppstein (Figures 6 and 8); Westervain is also (or was) called Surnusterveen (Figure 8); Krefeld is also spelled Crefeld (Figures 7 and 8); Kassel and Cassel (Figures 5 and 6) and Berne and Bern (Figures 2 and 8) are spelled interchangeably. Other place names also are spelled differently, but wherever possible, early eighteenth century spellings are used.

Most boundaries are generalized and approximate and may differ somewhat from studies of comparable times. Because of the time frame of this study, along with the frequency and velocity of political changes and the general unavailability of maps of those times, it is almost impossible to prepare precise maps.

Map Sources

Footnotes

1The word Dunkard is an English "corruption" (mispronunciation) of a German word by which the Brethren were known in Europe. This German word, and other identifying terminologies which will be explained in the text, was immediately mispronounced by the English-speaking Pennsylvania Quakers upon the arrival of the Brethren from their European homelands. Since that time, the Brethren have been called Dunkards in southeastern Pennsylvania. The word Dunkard is offensive to the official "Church of the Brethren." Some of the literature criticizes the users of this word as being ignorant and/or stupid. That literature is deliberately not cited in this paper. Suffice it to repeat, the word Dunkard has always been used in southeastern Pennsylvania with considerable envy of these people and their undulated way-of-life. Furthermore, large numbers of Brethren call themselves Dunkards.


8Durnbaugh, The Church of the Brethren Past and Present, pp. 10-11.

9Williams, pp. 813-814.


12Williams.

13Littell, p. 85.

14See footnotes 12 and 13.

15Littell, p. 85


17Williams; Littell.

18Williams and Littell are used as the primary sources for the spellings of place names and most proper names. Durnbaugh's works are used for the spellings of the names of persons directly affiliated with the Brethren movement. In a few cases, of necessity, other sources have been used.


20Littell, p. 85; and Williams.

21Ibid.


24Littell, pp. 85-86.

25Williams.


27Ibid.

28Ibid.

29Ibid.; Williams, pp. 106-117; Littell, p. 86.

30For a thorough discussion of Militant Spiritualism, see Williams. For a synopsis of these movements, see Hopple, "European Religious and Spatial Origins of the Pennsylvania Plain Dutch."

31Littell, p. 85.

32Williams, Chapters 9 (pp. 204-233) and 16 (pp. 417-434).

33Littell, p. 86.

34Williams, Chapter 14 (pp. 387-403).


36Ibid.

37Ibid.


39Littell, p. 95.

40Ibid.

41Ibid.

42Durnbaugh, European Origins of the Brethren, pp. 33.

43Ibid.

44Williams, p. 813.

45Durnbaugh, European Origins of the Brethren, p. 33.

46"Otho Winger, History and Doctrine of the Church of the Brethren (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1919) p. 16; Church of the Brethren, Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, pp. 28-29.

47Durnbaugh, European Origins of the Brethren, pp. 32-33; Church of the Brethren, Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, pp. 28-29.


49Brumbaugh, pp. 13-14; Durnbaugh, The Church of the Brethren Past and Present, p. 10.

50Durnbaugh, European Origins of the Brethren, p. 36; and Church of the Brethren Past and Present, p. 10.

51Durnbaugh, Church of the Brethren Past and Present, p. 12.

52Durnbaugh, European Origins of the Brethren, p. 36. The theological position of the Brethren Church as it relates to Hochmann's position is somewhat confusing to this geographer. For example, sources describe Hochmann as a radical Pietist, while at the same time suggesting that his creed is the closest approximation to a Brethren confession of faith.

53Durnbaugh, Church of the Brethren Past and Present, p. 12.

54Durnbaugh, European Origins of the Brethren, Chapter 11.

55Ibid., p. 39.


58Ibid.

59Ibid.

60Ibid.

61Ibid.

62Ibid.


65"Durnbaugh, The Church of the Brethren, Past and Present, p. 11.

66See footnote 52.


68Durnbaugh, The Church of the Brethren Past and Present, pp. 9-10.


70Durnbaugh, The Church of the Brethren Past and Present, p. 9.

71The skimpy records dealing with the contents of the following
section are nearly identical with Brumbaugh, pp. 29-50; Winger, pp. 19-23; and Durnbaugh, *The Church of the Brethren Past and Present*, pp. 10-14. A substantially more comprehensive treatment is found in Durnbaugh, *European Origins of the Brethren*.

"The author.


12The author.


14The author.

15Durnbaugh, *Church of the Brethren Past and Present*, pp. 9-10.


**Additional References**


Falkensteine, George N. *The German Baptist Brethren or Dunkers*. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania German Society, 1900.


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Members of the Church of the Brethren lie at rest in the burial grounds adjacent to Kline’s Meeting House and Delp’s Meeting House, both near Harleysville, PA, with other Plain Folk. As Preacher George W. Landis, Elder-in-Charge at Amwell Church of the Brethren, NJ, said at Delp’s on 17 August 1980, “When I speak of ‘the Brethren,’ I mean Mennonites and River Brethren as well as Church of the Brethren members.”

28
The Church of the Brethren is one of the youngest churches to take advantage of the offer of shelter and freedom for worship William Penn made near the end of the seventeenth century. It was the year 1708 when eight brethren, discontent with the religious insufficiencies they saw around them, covenanted together at Schwarzenau in the territory of Wittgenstein. They baptised each other in the waters of the stream there, the Eder, and moved about the country to organize, albeit with some difficulty, small communities of the faithful. Harassed and challenged by the secular authorities, they nonetheless added new converts, some of whom took up leadership roles immediately. Among those were Johann Henrich Kalckloeser of Frankenthal, Christian Liebe and Abraham Duboy from Epstein, Johannes Naas from Norten in Westphalia and Peter Becker of Dillsheim.

The Church of the Brethren was originally a radical “Baptism-minded” (Taufgesinnten) community with polity and discipline based on the principle of consensus. This meant that even though they believed in strict gospel discipline and the excommunication of those who departed from the gospel order of their community, they also believed that the Bishops should not take precipitate action in any major matter until each member of the congregation could give their “yea and amen” to the decision. This was referred to as taking the “Rath der Gemeinde” (counsel of the congregation).

A breakdown of unity raises the possibility of schism and spiritual disaster. This happened at Crefeld. A young preacher, Martin Hacker, married outside the faith. Although the wife was Mennonite, Christian Liebe, Bishop of the Brethren community at Crefeld, acting without consulting the congregation as a whole, excommunicated Hacker. Johannes Naas, another of the Dunker preachers at Crefeld, was greatly distressed by that unbrotherly action. Naas departed from Crefeld and went to Switzerland for a time. Later at the vigorous urging of Alexander Mack, the most respected name of all in the ranks of the Brethren, Naas not only rejoined the Brethren but sailed to join Mack and his small community in America. Very shortly after, Naas became Bishop of the Brethren congregation at Amwell in Hunterdon County in West New Jersey.

Liebe reacted in several most peculiar activities and later himself married outside the congregation of the faithful. Naas joined Mack in Pennsylvania at least temporarily, to be followed by his own son in two years. Peter Becker, a young lay preacher at Crefeld, also made the momentous decision to emigrate to America about then. That voyage to America was far from pleasant as the letter sent by Johannes Naas to his son Jacob Wilhelm Naas, will attest.

No wonder a successful voyage was something to sing and praise God for. No wonder Christians fell on their knees on the docks to glorify God for His grace and mercy having brought them safely to the shores of a New World. Upon landing in Pennsylvania, the Brethren from Crefeld scattered and it required more than four years to regroup and reunite them. For many of the Brethren settlers the community a short five miles west of Philadelphia, called Crefeld by Holland Dutch Mennonites who originally settled it thirty years earlier, was at least briefly to be home. Of course their English, Welsh and Irish neighbors called the place Germantown.

Brother Johann Jacob Preiss (spelled Price by later generations) was one of the original Dunker immigrants.
from Crefeld and settled along the Indian Creek, some twenty miles beyond Germantown, as early as 1721. He had been an active evangelizing Brother in Europe, accompanying Johannes Naas on numerous missionary journeys.

Near Indian Creek stands the Klein Meeting House and adjoining Harley burial ground where both Peter Becker, early settler and Brethren leader, and Abraham Harley Cassel, historian and bibliophile of a later generation, lie buried. The Klein Meeting house is laid out in the 1770 architectural style even though built later than that. It has plain benches which face the preachers' table from three directions, bringing the great majority of worshippers face to face.

The sixth oldest congregation, that at Amwell meetinghouse, Sergeantsville, New Jersey, was closely associated with Bishop Naas. Not only did he organize it and preside over some of its early troublesome times, he made it a focal point of Church of the Brethren activities in New Jersey. Indeed, Naas turned up the Old York Road into West Jersey very shortly after his arrival in Philadelphia, moving along a trail of settlement used by a great many Germans come to establish their families in the New World. The Amwell congregation was not only the oldest in New Jersey but became prosperous under the guidance of Johannes Naas. As respected leader, he was one of the peace delegation sent from Germantown to Ephrata to attempt to heal the breach which had developed. The mission was not successful but attention focused upon this old and venerable preacher, Naas, so recently arrived from Germany. George Adam Martin, a visitor to Amwell, paid high compliments to the wisdom and alert mind of the aging Naas. Bishop Naas died 12 May 1741 and was buried there with his wife and family.

ICKJr

GERMANTOWN, the 17th of Oct., 1733
Heartily Beloved Son, Jacob Wilhelm Naas,

I greet thee and thy dear wife Margareta, together with her dear children, very heartily . . . The eternal and almighty God give you all much light of grace and faith so that you may not only choose the good in time of grace, but may you also win the true and active faith, in true sanctification and childlike obedience in Christ Jesus. Would that the great God through Jesus Christ might work this within us and in all who love his appearance. Amen, yes; Amen.

As I have been requested by some to describe our journey, I have not been able to refuse it entirely, therefore I will do it in as short a way as possible. [He then refers to a letter of September 15th, from Germantown, announcing their safe arrival, and also to a letter from Plymouth, England, in which he describes the journey from Rotterdam to that place, but which letter is not now believed to be in existence.]

The 24th of June we went from Rotterdam to within half an hour's distance from Dort, where we lay still, the wind being contrary. On July 3rd we started and the ship was drawn by men several times on the river Maas, as far as the neighborhood of Helvoetsluys. There the wind became favorable so that we sailed into the sea on July 5th, near Helvoetsluys. Then the seasickness began among the people, that is, dizziness and vomiting. The greatest number after having vomited could begin to eat again.

On the 13th of July, early in the morning, we arrived in the port of Plymouth, which port lies in the midst of rocks. We had to lie in the middle of the harbor until the ship was released by the custom officers and provisioned.

On July 21st we sailed into the big ocean and on our left we lost the land, France and Spain. The 24th we also lost it on our right, namely England. The 25th a little child died. It came upon the ship very sick; the next day about 8 o'clock it was buried in the sea. When
the body fell from the plank into the water I saw with great astonishment that a large number of big fish appeared and darted quickly away in front of the ship, as if they wished to flee from the corpse.

For ten days we had steadily a good breeze, so that we sailed a long way on the big ocean.

The 28th of July, before daylight, a French man-of-war by the name of Elizabeth, came near us. This Captain examined our Captain in French. After having made themselves known to each other, they wished one another a happy trip and each went on his course.

After this day we had very changeable weather so that in three weeks we made only sixty hours (about 180 miles), which in very good wind we could have done in one day.

On August 3rd, I got up an hour before day in order to see how it was going, as I had made up my mind to watch the compass during the entire trip, to see if there would be a change in our course. When I reached the ladder, all the people were still asleep and a bedstead was under the ladder, and the coverlet of the people lay high up against the ladder, and during the night it had been raining a little so that it was slippery under the trap-hole, and while I was standing on the top step of the ladder and was about to climb on deck, the people in their bed stretched themselves and unwittingly knocked the ladder from under my feet; then I fell down from the top and with my left side I struck upon the ladder, that I was almost unconscious and lay there a long time before I could get up. Then I had to lie on my back about two weeks until I could get up again and walk a little. At first I feared that I would remain lame, but to the great God be all the glory in his Son, who has caused me to get well again without herbs or plaster, so that I feel but little of it any more.

The 4th the crew early in the morning spiked a big fish with a harpoon. It was as long as an ordinary man and shaped in its head like a pig, also in body and insides like a pig.

The 7th of August during the night again a little child died and in the same hour a little boy was born, and the dead child buried at sea on the 8th.

The 11th and 12th we had a storm, which was not very strong; however, it lasted forty-eight hours, so that all the sails had to be reefed, the rudder fastened, and the portholes boarded up, so that we were sitting in darkness, while the force of the waves struck through the porthole glass into the beds. Some people always have to vomit during every storm and strong, stiff winds.

On the 13th again a little boy was born. The 17th we had another storm, which was much stronger than the first for six or eight hours and blew the sea very high up. It lasted for one and one-half days and one and one-half nights, but towards the end was not so strong.

On the 23rd of August again a child died and was buried at sea that evening.

The 26th, about 5 o'clock P.M., we passed by a mast standing fast, the point of which showed a half yard above the water, quite immovable and with ends of rope still on it. By good fortune our ship passed it at about a rod's distance. The Captain had just been drinking tea. Many people were very much frightened by this sight, because it was impossible for this mast to be standing on the bottom and it yet was immovable.

On September 6th in the morning the First Mate spiked a dolphin, which are quite different from what they are pictured in Germany. This day we had much heat and little breeze.

The 7th, another big fish was caught by the crew, which was called shark. The crew took a hook, which was very large and strong and of about a finger's thickness; to this they fasten one and one-half pounds of bacon. When they saw the fish near the ship's side they threw the hook with the bacon to him, which he swallowed at once and since the fish was very thick and five feet long and of great strength in his tail, as well in as out of the water, they drew him into the ship with a very hard pull, and drove back all the people so that it should not hurt anybody, as he struck the deck so powerfully with his tail that if he should have hit any one against the legs, those would certainly have been struck in two. But after the ship's carpenter had cut off his tail with his axe after ten strokes, his strength was all gone. His mouth was so big that he might have swallowed a child of two years. The flesh the Captain ordered to be distributed to the delighted people.

On the 11th again a little child died, without anybody having noticed it until it was nearly stiff, and the 12th it was buried at sea.

The 13th a young woman, who had always been in poor health, died in childbirth and was buried at sea on the 14th, with three children, two of them before and now the third one just born, so that the husband has no one left now.

On the 16th in the morning about four o'clock a woman fifty years of age died; she had not been well during the entire trip and always repented having left her native place. She was buried at sea that same day.

And since the trip owing to the many changes of
wind had lasted somewhat long and the greater number of the people had all consumed their provisions and their conception [imagination or expectation] was always set upon six weeks from land to land, they had gone on eating and drinking hard, from morning until late at night. Then at last they found it a great hardship to live on the ship's fare alone; thus the greater number entirely lost courage that they never expected to get on land again.

On the 17th a small landbird, which they call the little yellow wagtail in Germany, perched down several times on our ship, that the people could have a good look at him. This caused great rejoicing among them, that they clapped their hands with joy.

On the 18th a ship from Rhode Island came up to us. It had a cargo of sheep and other things, in order to sail to the West Indies, which our Captain spoke through a speaking tube; after they had made their arrangements they reefed their sails on both the ships, since there was but little running anyhow and our Captain had a boat lowered into the water and rowed with four seamen to their ship. When they had drunk the welcome together, he returned and brought with him half a bag of apples, a goose, a duck, and two chickens and distributed the beautiful apples at once among the people. That caused great rejoicing to get such beautiful American apples on the high sea, and those which were still left over he threw among the people to grapple for them, and they fell in heaps over one another for the beautiful apples.

On the 19th, a strange looking fish came upon the ship. It was shaped like a large round table and had a mouth like two little shallow baskets. The same evening a large number of big fish came from the north towards our ship and when they had reached the ship they shot down into the deep, in front, behind and under the ship, so that one could not see one any more on the other side of the ship.

On the 20th again a young married woman died and was buried at sea the same night, and on this evening again came a large number of countless big fish from the north which one could see from high above the water and which did just like the former, that one could not see one on the other side of the ship. Thereupon we had a very heavy fall of rain that some people caught half kegs of water, only from the sails and from the Captain's cabin. This was followed by a powerful windstorm from the northwest. The sea rose up so high, that when one looked into it, it was just as if one were sailing among high mountains all covered with snow; and one mountain-wave rose over the other and over the ship so that the Captain and First Mate and the Cook were struck by a wave that they kept not a dry thread on them; and so much water poured into the ship that many people's beds, which were near to the holes were quite filled with water. The holes were hastily boarded up, the rudder bound fast, and the ship was, with a very lowly-reeded sail set sideways to the wind, so that it should not roll so hard on both sides. The storm lasted the entire night with great violence, so that without any
fear one could well see that it was not alone the seafarming of the ship that it could weather such powerful blows, but that it was preserved in the Almighty hand of the Lord, in order to make known to man his might.

To him be above all and for all the glory, Amen.

Not a human being remained on deck, but one sailor who was tied fast in order to watch by the rudder; all the rest, the Captain, the mates, the seamen crawled into their beds in their wet clothes, and the ship lay sideways to the wind always on its side so that it drew water all the time, which however, poured out again. At midnight the waves struck so hard against the port-holes aft, that two boards sprang away from the windows where part of the people lay in sleep and slumber, and the water rushed in through the window, as big as it was, and straight into the beds, which caused a great terror to those who lay near the window. The water took away a board together with the rope; we all sprang up because the friends who lay near the window had not tied the board fast enough and the misfortune might have become a very great one. We took a wool bag, which was handy, and stopped the window up and the other one with the board, that was made fast again.

The ship's carpenter the next morning made a new window board. The storm also abated a little and thus the anxiety of the people grew a little less and towards two o'clock in the afternoon it cleared, the wind ceased, and the port-holes in the ship were opened, and it was beautifully calm weather. Then the Captain quickly ordered a kettle of rice to be boiled, in order that we all might be able to eat something warm to eat that day and night for their supper.

The 22nd at noon the ship lay as still as a house, then the people dried their clothes again. A good breeze sprang up at dinner time and blew all night, so stiff and so steady that one did not know in the ship that it was moving and yet made two miles and a half in one hour. At midnight the first soundings were made, 150 rods deep, and no bottom found.

The 23rd at nine o'clock another sounding was made and at 55 rods ground was struck, at eleven o'clock at 35 rods; shortly after, 20 rods; and yet we did not see any land, but were nearing the river [Delaware]. Then the people became very joyful on account of the good breeze and the ground being found. But the Captain did not trust himself to reach the river by daylight; since one could not see any land even, and at four o'clock in good wind he reefed the sails, and had the rudder tied fast, because there are many sand-banks in front and inside of the river.

Early in the morning all sails were set again and we headed for the river although the breeze was not very favorable and there was a heavy fog. Then again they made soundings and found 15 rods, and an hour later 7 rods. At twelve o'clock we saw the land with great rejoicing. Towards half past four we neared the river, for one is still six hours away from it when one gets in sight of it. Meanwhile, I and the Captain caught sight of three boats sailing towards us; then the Captain cried, "These are the pilots or steersmen." One could hardly see them among the waves. Then he had all the sails set and was very glad that the pilots came to meet him. The first one who came he did not accept, but when the second came, whom he knew, he took him into the ship at once, intending to sail into the river that same night, however, when we were on both sides against the land just in front of the river, suddenly from the southwest a storm broke loose such as we had never had yet. Then all had to help reef the sail, and the anchor was thrown out for the first time. There we lay fast, and the water had no longer such a great power because it had not more than 7 rods of depth. So we lay at anchor all night and the storm soon ceased.

The 25th, early in the morning, we weighed anchor, set sail, and tacked into the river. We saw there on both sides with so much joy as can easily be imagined, the land and the beautiful trees near the shore just as if they had been planted there.

On the 26th the before mentioned last born baby died and was buried in the river. That same day during the night we sailed into the narrows of the river, which is indeed very delightful to see, as wide as the Rhine where it is the widest, and on both banks are the most beautiful woods and groves and here and there houses stand on the banks which have fish nets hanging to dry in front of them.

The following day, the 27th, we passed New Castle with little breeze and in a very dense fog. This town lies forty miles distant from Philadelphia. Since we had very little wind we had to sail mostly with the tide or with the current of the water, therefore we sailed during the 28th, and on the afternoon of the 29th we arrived safely in Philadelphia.

We were met by brethren and sisters in small boats who brought us fine bread, apples, peaches and other refreshments of the body, for which we gave thanks to the Highest publicly on the ship near the city, with singing and ringing shouts of delight. With many tears we praised and glorified the Lord for having preserved us in his Father's hand, and having carried us as on the wings of the eagle so that we all could meet again in love on this side of Eternity. See, dear children, brethren and friends, this is in short the description of our journey across the very big sea.

If I were to relate everything how things went with the people on the ship, there could be much more to write and it grieves my heart, when I remember that
I so often told them when on the ship, I did not think that with all the unclean spirits of Hell there could be worse going on with cursing, swearing, blaspheming and beating [fighting], with over eating and drinking, quarreling day and night, during storm and weather, that the Captain often said he had taken many people over to this country already but had in all his days never yet seen anything like this.

He thought they must have been possessed by the demons [devils]. Therefore they made such a good picture of Hell, although to us they were all very kind, friendly and helpful and they held us all in great fear. The Captain often threatened he would order some of them to be bound to the mast and to be whipped by his sailors from head to foot, still they remained bad.

Now I will report some more experiences in regard to the great danger and hardships of the journey to Pennsylvania.

The danger of this journey is this; if God should be against one and were willing to work His revenge and justice against us, no one, of course, could escape from him, as little as on land. Another danger would be if one went in an old bad ship upon the big sea, or with a ship master who was a tyrant or ignorant of sailing. But, if the Lord is not against us, which must first be settled, and one has a good ship and good sailors then the danger is not half so great as one imagines it. The Lord sustains Earth and Sea and one in and on the other, therefore also the vessels upon the sea and those who have gone up on high or down into the deep, and the eternal Jehovah has rescued them, they all shall come to him and shall praise the name of the Lord who does great wonders to the children of men.

The hardships, however, of this journey consist of many kinds and things; but for myself I have not to say of many, on the contrary of but few hardships on this trip; but others have seen and experienced a great deal, especially first when people start on this trip who are not obliged to enter upon so great a journey.

Secondly, when people start this enterprise without any reason, and sufficient deliberation and for the sake of material purposes.

Thirdly, when people break up to move and especially married people when they are not fully agreeing with one another to begin such a long journey.

These three things are the main reasons of all difficulties on this long journey, for I can say with full truth that on six or seven ocean vessels I have heard of few people who did not repent their journey, although according to the declaration of the greatest number only extreme necessity had driven them to it. Although there were a good number of educated people among them, yet it was with them too, on account of the sad decline in their business affairs by the hard oppression of government, that caused them to leave or to become poor, and as poor people they could no longer help themselves from getting into debt and becoming beggars. Nevertheless they so much regretted having started on this journey that some became sick of it and were so furious that often they did not know what they were doing. Neighbors accused one another. Husband, wife, children fought bitterly. Instead of helping one another, they only added to the burden of each and made it every hour more unendurable, seeing that such people are obliged to be pent up together for thirteen, fourteen or fifteen weeks, what an amount of trouble must follow with such natures! Then one can never do what one wants on a ship. Then there are some who will consume all the food they have taken with them while the ship’s fare is still good; this they will throw into the water. But later on when the ship’s fare has long been lying in the salt, the water grows foul smelling, so that rice, barley, pease and such can no longer be boiled soft in it, then the people have devoured and drunk everything they had and then necessity compels them to begin with the poorer stuff and they will find that very hard; and because the people live so closely together some will then begin to steal whatever they can get, especially things to eat and drink. Then there are such quantities of lice on the people, that many persons are compelled to louse for a whole day at the time, and if one does not do this very frequently they might devour one. This was a very great hardship for all the people and for me as well.

Now that we have safely arrived in this land and have been met by our own people in great love and friendship all the rest has been forgotten in a moment (so to speak), for the sake of the great joy that we had in one another. This hardship has lasted about nineteen weeks; then it was over, wherefore be all the glory to the Highest: Amen, yea; Amen!

For it does not rue us to have come here, and I wish with all my heart that you and your children could be with us; however, it cannot be and I must not urge you as the journey is so troublesome for people who are not able to patiently submit to everything but often in the best there are restless minds, but if I could with the good will of God do for you children all, I assure you that I would not hesitate to take the trip once more upon me for your sake; not because one gets one’s living in this land in idleness! Oh! no; This country requires diligent people, in whatever trade they may be — but then they can make a good living. There are, however, many people here, who are not particularly successful; as it seems that if some people were in Paradise it would go badly with them. Some are to be blamed for it
come over here, then the writing would have an end,
can have their bread with others and soon learn the
ways of the country.
cannot pay their own freight. These will sooner be
provided for than those who have paid theirs and they
for many young people it is very good that they
obliged to have them taught writing and reading and in
the end to give them new clothes and present them with
a horse or a cow.

There are few houses to be found in city or country
where the people are at all well off, that do not have
one or two such children in them. The matter is made
legal at the city hall with great earnestness. There
parents and children often will be separated 10, 11, 12,
13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 hours [in distance]
and for many young people it is very good that they
cannot pay their own freight. These will sooner be
provided for than those who have paid theirs and they
can have their bread with others and soon learn the
ways of the country.

I will make an end of this and wish patience to
whomsoever reads this. God be with you all, Amen.

JOHANNES NAAS.

N.B. — Now beloved children what more shall I
write? It might perhaps arrange itself that you should
come over here, then the writing would have an end,
but if you do not come I shall some other time
know more to write. Therefore, I will close for this
time and commend you all with your dear children
to the infinite love of God, who may lead and guide
you himself that you do not enter upon the path of
the sinners and do not sit where the scoffers sit,
for that would not be good for you.

The acquaintances, Brother Settlers, outside of
Gundrich, are in eternity; the others send hearty
greetings: Brother Becker, Brothers Gantz, Gomrey,
Ritter, Paul, sen., with Brother Mack, the old and the
young Zeiglers, and his people, all send greetings
and many other brethren and sisters who do not
know you, and whom you do not know — all greet
very heartily those who fear the Lord at Creyfelt.

Your in-love-faithfully-united father,
JOHANNES NAAS.

P.S. — The mother and Elizabeth greet you heartily,
they will do so yet in their own hand. Do not forget
to greet heartily all who ask news of us in love,
even if their names were not mentioned.

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*Die Kleine Harfe, Gestimmt von unterschiedlichen Lieblichen
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gengeben*. Chestnut Hill: Gedruckt bey Samuel Saur, 1792.
(Reprinted: Baltimore, 1797; 1816; Philadelphia, 1817; Ger­
man, 1829; Philadelphia, 1830).
Includes such hymns as: “Eins betrübt mich sehr auf Erden,”
and “Heiland meiner Seele”.

NOTE: Bishop Naas' hymns may also be found in the various
editions of the several German language Hymnbooks of the Dunker
or Brethren groups throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. English translations of his hymns are to be seen in
Brumbaugh and Flory. The translation of the Johannes Naas to
Jacob Wilhelm Naas letter dated 17 October 1733 as used in this
article is that found in Brumbaugh, *A History of the German
Baptist Brethren in Europe and America* (1899), pages 108 to 124.
Johannes Naas was a passenger on board the Pennsylvania Mer­
chant, John Sedman, Master (S-H PGP I, 121-126; II, 114, 116).
Jacob Wilhelm Naas came to Philadelphia by way of South
Carolina on the Billender Oliver, Samuel Merchant, Master. They
arrived at the Quaker City 26 August 1735 (S-H PGP I, 152-154; II,
142-143).
The history of a town is not necessarily to be found in its archives, should it happen to possess one. Nor is it found entirely in the delicate and dry texts its favorite daughters and sons produce for their bicentennial booklets. This town can now talk about the contributions of its diverse ethnic population, but until recently, the "foreign element" was feared and derided and kept apart. The scars of this battle are plainly etched on the landscape. "The land spreads tremendous", Glassie says, "the people's own manuscript, their handmade history book . . . the product of the divine average." And the story of Steelton — the town, the landscape, and the lives of hundreds of those practically forgotten people who suffered the terrible passions of loss and non-acceptance — is one of conscious differences. As these people were separated in life in their homes, their jobs, their language, their religion, so also they remained separated in death. And if the cemetery is, as Bethlesen and Jensen have suggested, "a remarkably sensitive record of change, representing successive generations, each with its own distinctive set of values and ways of perceiving the environment," then Steelton's old cemetery reflects a time in the not so distant past when the people saw themselves as separate and not quite equal.

In 1866 there were six families living in the town of Baldwin, Dauphin County, just south of Harrisburg on the Susquehanna River when the Pennsylvania Steel Company (now Bethlehem Steel) established a plant there. In 1880 the name of the town was changed to Steelton, and the company began to attract immigrant laborers to the area. At first the work force consisted largely of native German Protestants and Irish Catholics, but soon large numbers of Southern European immigrants, particularly Slavs, moved to Steelton, lured by the promise of relatively steady work. A few Italians, Hungarians, and a large number of Croatians and Slovenians moved into Steelton and the mill by the 1890's. Serbians began arriving about 1900, and a large group of Bulgarians and Macedonians from Philipsettled there in 1918. Additionally numbers of Black Americans found work in the mills, so that by 1920 Steelton had an immensely diverse ethnic population numbering more than 13,000 people. And even though the ethnic population of Steelton was not large and was well contained, the highly conservative Protestant inhabitants of Dauphin County looked on this "foreign element" with fear and distrust.

The Steelton mills are located just barely above the flood plain of the Susquehanna River at a point where high hills drop off suddenly onto the alluvial plain. Hence large portions of the town were built along dangerously steep inclines or along the even more treacherous flood plain. And naturally these less than ideal building sites, ones which soon had rows of houses which "surrendered their individuality to innumerable
layers of soot,” were the ones available to the immigrant laborer. The better sites, the better jobs and ultimately the better status went to those who arrived first. Each new wave of immigration afforded the older resident a higher, new status. There was always some one to look down upon.

Kin groups tended to arrive together, they settled together and often obtained jobs in the mills together. And when more relatives and friends from the old country arrived, they found them jobs and houses in the same area. Hence in Steelton, both the mills and the town, became ethnically segregated areas. In the mills the Scots-Irish and German Protestants and Irish Catholics — the first settlers of the area — held the supervisory and skilled positions. They also owned and lived in the central section of town — above the flood plain but at the bottom of the hill. German and Hungarian Catholics were skilled laborers and were employed in the frog and switch shops. They, too, were able to live in the main sections of town. Of lower status, Italians, Croatians and Slovenians worked the open hearth, and lived in the “lower” end of town, up against the mountain. Serbians, Bulgarians and Macedonians, the last immigrants and of the lowest status, were employed as unskilled laborers in the blast furnace. They lived in the West End, a notoriously poor area of the flood plain which was entirely destroyed in the 1972 flood. Blacks were accorded the most menial positions of all; some worked in the blast furnace with the Serbians and Bulgarians. They too were segregated in a section of town along the mountain, squeezed between the ruling class uptown and the upwardly mobile Slovenes and Croatians on the “lower end.”

At first a single Catholic Church — St. James parish established in 1882 — served all the non-protestants of Steelton. But the parish catered to the needs of the Irish population, and the resulting cultural and linguistic barriers which confronted the Slavic immigrant in the parish were overwhelming. Religious societies, based on ethnic groups, were soon formed and re-formed. The St. Nicholas Society was at first a loose organization of Slovenians and Croatians, but split in 1895 into the Croatian St. Lawrence Lodge and the Slovenian St. Aloysius Society. Ultimately each was able to establish its own parish. In 1898 the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary parish (usually called St. Mary’s) was founded, serving as it still does, a predominantly Croatian population. St. Peter’s, the Slovenian church, was not established until 1909. By then St. James parish was further divided: the Germans and Hungarians had their own parish (St. John the Evangelist, 1902) and the Italian population their own (St. Ann’s, 1901).

If the Roman Catholics divided themselves by ethnic groups, it comes as no surprise that the animosity between the Catholic and Orthodox churches which played so important a role in European events of the era was carried over into Steelton’s microcosmic population. Catholic Croatians and Orthodox Serbs got along no better in the New World than in the old. Nor did Orthodox Serbs and Orthodox Bulgarians — who lived in the same neighborhood and worked the same jobs — get along particularly well. St. Nicholas Serbian Orthodox church and Holy Annunciation Bulgarian-Macedonian Orthodox church now serve the same community. Even the latter experienced a split when an unpopular priest served the parish, but after a few violent scenes in which (according to some sources) the priest was murdered, that split was healed.

A glance at the churches of Steelton today reveal the essential ethnic mix of the town. There are five Regular Baptist churches, a Primitive Baptist church and one AME church, still serving a predominantly Black population. Five Roman Catholic parishes — St. James (Irish), St. Ann’s (Italian), St. Mary’s (Croatian), St. Peter’s (Slovenian), St. John the Evangelist (German-Hungarian) — still exist, as do the two Orthodox churches — St. Nicholas (Serbian) and Holy Annunciation (Macedonian). And the early German Protestant population is still in evidence and is supported by the presence of two Lutheran churches and one Mennonite Meeting House. The only other church in Steelton is a recently established Pentecostal congregation. All these churches serve a population less than 9,000 people. Even more interesting is the conspicuous absence of two of the largest churches of South Central Pennsylvania: there is neither a Presbyterian nor a Methodist church in Steelton. There is still a slight tendency in this region for these churches to serve fairly well-to-do persons of English and Scots-Irish background. Steelton has few of either.

So the town was segregated, the jobs in the mill were segregated, the churches were segregated. It comes as no surprise that the cemeteries, too, were segregated. Members of the Roman Catholic parishes were buried at some distance in the consecrated ground that served Catholics in South Dauphin County. But the old Baldwin cemetery, located on the hill high above the town, the mill and the river, still reflects that terrible separation of Protestant and Orthodox, of Black and White, of Serbian and Macedonian, Bulgarian and German. Established in 1876 from land donated by businessman Josiah A. Dunkle, The Baldwin Cemetery was designated “for the burial of white persons.” A separate cemetery, called Midland, was “for colored persons.” It is no longer used. For the residents of Steelton, separation was a way of life and of death.

The approach to the Baldwin cemetery is the pleasant
Feneri on a granite slab. It has been painted white. Easter 1979. Baldwin Cemetery.

Tombstone and feneri of immigrants from Bulgaria. Note the plastic eggs included with the flowers at the grave. Baldwin Cemetery, Easter, 1979.

parklike atmosphere that characterized nineteenth century rural cemetery, and there exist all the conventions of nineteenth century cemetery landscape gardening. High on a hill above the dark Satanic mills, there are pleasant trees shading winding paths, stone gates flanking a Downingesque caretaker’s cottage, and carefully kept grass carpets for Victorian monuments. One guesses that all is well, peaceful, beyond the fury and mire of human veins. But knowing the rich ethnic mix of the town, something is amiss: all the markers have the names of prominent German and English settlers. Where are the others? They are far in the rear of the park, where the land slopes dangerously off, and uncleared thickets begin, where there are piles of discarded flowers and broken stones. Far behind the pleasant lawns, there are the markers for the others. Simple concrete crosses, with lettering in a strange alphabet and a strange language. Poor and confused and despised, the ethnics lie buried on the edges and backs and trash heaps of the upper class.

The old part of the cemetery — the 19th and early 20th century stones are found just inside the North gates. From there the stones move forward year by year, toward the town and the river along the pleasant flat top of the ridge. Symbolically they face forward, surrounded by classicism, with the dangerous foreign element safely behind them clothed in medieval messiness. Serbians to the rear, Macedonians to the side, Bulgarians along the edge, Blacks across the street, Catholics can go elsewhere. And thus the landscape of an early 20th century cemetery emerges with ethnic, racial and religious segregation as its major premise.

The mainline cemetery differs very little from early twentieth century cemeteries anywhere in America. It is well kept, full of conventional stones and sentiment and the proper flowers on the proper holidays. Discretely separated across the street, the William Howard Day cemetery, the town’s new and immaculate Black cemetery stands, a tribute to planned symmetry and careful gardening. A modern memorial park, its actual
markers are barely visible. Two carefully delineated paths, outlined with symmetrically trimmed boxwood intersect in a cross at the cemetery’s center. There statues of the four apostles (St. Matthew, the Messenger, with an angel; St. Mark, the Recorder with a lion; St. Luke the Evangelist with a bull and St. John the Theologian with an eagle) look outward to the edges of the field. The outer boundaries of the park are marked by the road on the North, a small chapel on the East edge, a statue of an angel on the South, and a figure of Christ on the West. Ludwig suggests that the markers in cemeteries are “deep expressions of popular piety and religion;” if so, it leaves us in little doubt that Steelton’s Blacks are a devoutly Christian Protestant community.

The sections of the main cemetery designated for the Serbians, Bulgarians and Macedonians reveal aspects of a religious life far different from that expressed by the German Protestants or the Blacks. Even the crosses are different. And a different attitude about death seems to prevail, separating an already different people even more.

In the Bulgarian-Macedonian section of the cemetery, graves are beautifully kept and regularly cared for. And here one is apt to find feneri (literally, lanterns), small metal boxes which house candles, and, on occasions, other grave offerings. Feneri are handmade, usually by local steelworkers or family members. Some were reported to have been made by a local blacksmith. Usually measuring about 15” square, and standing not more than 24” high, they almost always take the form of a small square house with a pitched, hipped or shed roof. There is usually a conspicuous door, although on about a quarter of them it is the roof itself which opens. A few have windows or chimney stacks for ventilation.

Most feneri were constructed from sheet metal, although there were several made from found objects — a milkbox, a military ammunition box and a metal box which was labeled “Poison-Rodent Bait,” — and one was of cast concrete. Still another was a tin lined hole in the ground, covered with a flat metal
Sheet. Some had external decorations: there were several with crosses — Orthodox or Christian — cut from metal and attached. Two had designs punched into the tin door: one of those was a cross, the other was the name “Olga”. Several were painted white or grey; particularly memorable ones were painted gold with beige trim to match a similarly painted stone. Often the fenerei are set on their own small concrete slabs just to the side of or in front of the tombstone itself.

The contents were invariably similar: each contained a layer of sand or ashes and wrought metal candle holders, a brick with holes or some device to hold candles. At one time, it is reported, candles were placed at the grave every day; now they may be replaced every week. If there is no fenerei at the grave-site, candles may be placed directly in the ground.

The emphasis in the Orthodox faith is on the resurrection. Hence funerary customs are highly valued. A member of the Bulgarian Orthodox congregation of the town wrote:

There is a tradition to use wheat, wine, and oil during the funeral and memorial services. Wheat symbolizes our faith in the immortality and resurrection of our soul. Just as a grain of wheat placed in the earth does not die but brings forth fruit, in the same way, death is not the end of life but releases the soul from the body for everlasting life... Food is brought (to the cemetery) for the spirit. Forty days after one has passed on, special services are said at the cemetery and boiled wheat and unleavened bread is eaten by all the relatives. The same procedure is followed three months later, then again in six months. After each of these there is a feast. During Easter people bring food and colored eggs to the cemetery and place them on the graves or in the lanterns.

At one time intricately decorated eggs, always colored red, were the only ones left at the graves in Steelton. The egg is an especially esteemed symbol of rebirth to those of the Orthodox faith, and the color red, representing the redeeming blood of Christ, gives the symbol even greater impact.

But in the Steelton cemetery on recent Orthodox Easter, only about half of the fenerei had eggs or candles associated with them. And almost none of the eggs were red — most were painted in blue and green polka dots. It is assumed that the symbolic function of color no longer applies to the actual practices of this community. Additionally, as the painting and placing of the eggs is now largely a job for small children, often as a Sunday School project, it is possible that American child-aesthetic is here overcoming a thousand years of orthodoxy.

The Serbian section of the cemetery has remained bare and unkept. The graves were not decorated at Easter, nor were the weeds cut away, nor the faded flowers replaced or the broken stones repaired. Some graves are totally covered by debris, literal garbage dups. It is said that many graves have been moved from this section to other cemeteries. Still others are the graves of the indigent and nameless poor who failed in their attempt to begin a new life in America.

Happily a Steelton citizen’s committee is now attempting to have the cemetery cleaned up and cared for. The borough has ordered the demolition of the caretaker’s cottage which had fallen into considerable disrepair.

For the early residents of Steelton life was separation: jobs and housing and churches and social clubs continued the ethnic isolation begun by language and culture. In death it was not different. Death was no leveler of persons; it was not permitted to erase ethnic identifications. So the cemetery of Steelton stands divided, a monument to things past, an historical text that is both spatial and temporal. It reminds us sadly and gently of what is past or passing or perhaps to come.

Notes

4 Bodner, p. 310 ff.
7 Ozcel, p. 3.
12 Tsenoff, pp. 2-3.
"REST IN PEACE, JOSEPH HEWES!"

by A.E. Young

As an enthusiast of American History, I decided over a score of years ago, the best way to understand this subject was to actually visit and inspect the scene of the action. Thus, if you wish to experience the feelings of apprehension and dismay, which must have been felt by the assembled Minutemen in their "put-up or shut-up" situation, you have to visit Lexington Green in Lexington, Massachusetts. Recently when an invitation to visit and work in North Carolina was extended to me by Appalachian State University, I was able to visit several historical sites.

As a long-time admirer of Bruce Lancaster, I agree with his excellent *From Lexington to Liberty* — that the battles waged in the Carolinas did, indeed, have a significant impact on the outcome of the American Revolution. While the engagements of 1780-81 were small in scale, when compared to the large confrontations of World War II for example, such battles as at King's Mountain, the Cowpens, and Guilford Court House definitely influenced and hastened Cornwallis' subsequent surrender at Yorktown. Of these several battles, the fight at Guilford Court House certainly ranks as one of the most important — both as to the effect on the Revolution's conclusion and as to the number of troops involved. The Guilford Court House action was also one of the best ever directed by Nathaniel Greene.

Today, thanks to the interest of private groups, and subsequently to that of the U.S. taxpayer and the National Park Service, Guilford Court House, near Greensboro, North Carolina, is a delightful spot. Similar to many other locations under their supervision, the Park Service has done much to make this site attractive to casual visitors and history scholars alike. Dominating the park area in front of the Park Service museum and headquarters at Guilford Court House is a wonderfully massive statue of General Greene — a fitting tribute to his contribution — and flanking this statue are walkways and paths that invite the visitor's inspection.
Along one of these paths is another impressive monument that has the following inscription on its tablet:

In Memoriam
William Hooper and John Penn, Delegates from North Carolina, 1776, to the Continental Congress and Signers of the Declaration of Independence.
Their remains were reinterred here in 1894.
Hewes’ grave is lost. He was the Third Signer.

‘Lee, Henry and Hooper were the Orators of the Congress’

This monument was erected under auspices of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, a dedicated organization essentially disbanded upon assumption of the area’s administration by the Federal Government.

While at the time of my visit, I could only applaud the Battle Ground Company and its raising of the North Carolina Signer’s monument, I found the foregoing troublesome. Who were these three men? How could one become “lost” — vestiges of time notwithstanding? Although I didn’t doubt the facts of the inscription, I decided to investigate the “Hewes loss” further.

Interestingly, not one of the three Signers was a native North Carolinian. Penn was born in Virginia in 1741, moving to North Carolina in 1774. Hooper was born at Boston, Massachusetts, in 1742, and moved to North Carolina in 1767. Hewes was born in New Jersey on January 23, 1730, and he moved to North Carolina sometime between the late 1750’s and the early 1760’s. (I wondered if the uncertainty in this latter date was akin to the loss of his grave?)
In any event, Joseph Hewes was educated at the school in Princeton, New Jersey, and upon completion of those studies he, coming from Quaker parentage, was apprenticed to a merchant in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Upon completion of his apprenticeship, Hewes himself entered the Mercantile Business in Philadelphia, and he apparently was quite successful. Following his migration to North Carolina, Hewes settled in Edenton, where he soon became active in business and social affairs. He established a mercantile and shipping business, forming a partnership with a Robert Smith which firm, in time, owned its own wharf and ocean-going ships. Hewes became engaged to Isabelle Johnston, who died shortly before wedding vows were exchanged. Evidently deeply moved by this loss, Hewes never married.

It could well be this personal tragedy — coupled to his successful business enterprise — projected Joseph Hewes into public life. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress of 1774, and again, he was in Philadelphia as a delegate in 1775, when the Mecklenburg Declaration was made. Because of his commercial interests, Hewes apparently was well known outside the North Carolina colony. Evidently, too, in the absence of public funds, he drew upon his own business resources to assist in our freedom's cause, and his ships made a substantial contribution to the importing of needed goods and material. Within the many tasks accomplished in Congress, perhaps the most noteworthy (today) was his Chairmanship of the Committee of Marine — in effect, our first Secretary of the Navy. Through his shipping activities, Hewes was acquainted
with John Paul Jones, and he appointed Jones to the latter's command and was largely responsible for the outfitting and commissioning of ships for the Colonies' infant navy.

Joseph Hewes seemingly was a prodigious worker — and while according to contemporary reports not much given to the limelight of Congressional debate — he was an effective representative in his numerous undertakings. Without wife and children, his energetic and single devotion to the work of Congress may well have impaired his health and caused his death before reaching the age of 50. Following a brief, final illness, Joseph Hewes died in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 10, 1779. He was the only Signer of the Declaration of Independence to die at the then seat of our Government.

In 1775, the Society of Friends held a General Convention at which time the proceedings of the Continental Congress were denounced. Like the earlier loss of his fiancée, this religious activity confronted Hewes with another personal conflict, and he withdrew from the Quaker Meeting! Knowledge of this development — coupled to the location of his death — suggested an approach to follow in locating Joseph Hewes' final resting place.

At 5th and Arch Streets in Philadelphia is a restored Meetinghouse of the Free-Thinking Quakers. This sect was one that developed during the Revolution because its membership was willing to pay and collect taxes to aid the Colonies' cause and were unwilling to abide by the strict observances of the "regular" Meeting. Across the street from the Free-Thinking Quaker Meetinghouse is Christ Church's Burial Yard.

Christ Church, founded in 1695, was established in keeping with a proviso inserted in William Penn's Charter for Pennsylvania. Many members of the
Continental Congresses attended services at Christ Church, and today it is known as "The Nation's Church." Within the grounds of the Church itself, located at 2nd and Market Streets in Philadelphia, are buried Signers Pierce Butler, Robert Morris, and James Wilson. The Burial Yard, located approximately three blocks distance from the Church, was purchased in 1719, as a result of the Vestry's decision to obtain ground "located in the suburbs," as Philadelphia grew around the Church.

Probably no other non-military cemetery contains as many Revolutionary leaders as does the Burial Yard, and adjacent to it is an historical marker that reads:

Land purchased in 1719. Just inside the metal fence is the grave of Benjamin Franklin. Other Signers of the Declaration of Independence buried here are: Francis Hopkinson, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Joseph Hewes, and George Ross.

The Biographical History of North Carolina indicates that Joseph Hewes wished to be buried next to Mr. William Drayton; and in Christ Church's Burial Yard is a plaque on which the wording is:

William Henry Drayton
1742 — 1779
South Carolina. President of Provincial Congress in 1775; Chief Justice of South Carolina in 1776; Member of Continental Congress 1778 until death in Philadelphia in 1779; Signer of the Articles of Confederation. Grave unknown and unmarked.

A marker, however, is existent for Joseph Hewes, and while its location can perhaps be questioned, I am content that within the confines of one-quarter of a city block, Joseph Hewes is at quietude with his peer Signers Franklin, Hopkinson, Ross, and Rush.

"Rest in Peace, Joseph Hewes!"
Temporizing aside, it is time to set the historical record straight on Regina Hartmann/Regina Leininger. The facts, readily available, were thoroughly researched, studies, authenticated and initially published by Doctor Arthur D. Graeff in 1958. The girls who were carried off into Indian captivity after the Pine Creek massacre were Barbara and Regina Leininger. A memorial stone in the Lutheran cemetery near Stouchsburg may be visited at any time. We did not too many years ago and snapped this photo, along with one of the unusual gray limestone church beside it.

Our apologies to the Editorial Advisory Board of Pennsylvania FolkLife, and in particular to Marie K. Graeff, widow of Dr. Graeff. She was his co-worker in researching the real story some years back. In a regular issue, the errors of this account would have been detected early. The Editorial Advisory Board and the Editor are listed on the masthead of all issues, but unfortunately, none of us see the Festival (Summer) issue and its contents until after it is printed and ready for distribution.

It is our hope to present objective but historically accurate articles in all four issues of our fine magazine. We know you will continue to call us to task, as a number of you did in this case, if that high standard is missed again.

BEKANNTMACHUNG - NOTICE - The Myrin Library of Ursinus College has had available for the past year, and it is now fully in use, for students, faculty, researchers, friends and contributors to Pennsylvania FolkLife, and all others, the Pfalzatlas, that exhaustive historical, economic and demographic geography of the Palatinate in the German Rhineland. The massive work has been edited by Willi Alter and his associates in 1962 and subsequent years. With the Pfalzatlas, the reader may also consult all the substantiating data, charts and explanatory accounts of the many Beihefte issued as supplements between 1962 and 1979.

This is one of the finest working tools of comparative data for research historians, economic analysts and for genealogists of large clans and small families. As a reference work the Pfalzatlas circulates within the library. Since very few colleges of our size and exclusively undergraduate status in the United States possess a copy, but we do mean it to be useful for our whole clientele, it seems appropriate to call your attention by this means. Library personnel will gladly assist you, should questions or problems arise.

Cover design, Pfalzatlas, with Coat-of-Arms of the Pfalz (top); Financial and occupational maps of the Neustadt District about 1584, by Willi Alter.
The Ursinus community and the Pennsylvania Folk-life Society Archives housed there have been extremely happy to note several donations of German imprints and German-language books and almanacs published in America. Many have arrived in recent months and a number have already proved useful to students and teachers in our Pennsylvania German Studies Program. Among them are some unusual items which have added a special flavor to Summer duties of the staff members in the Myrin Library.

Most of these recent acquisitions are scheduled to be available for Inter-library use, unless they are fragile, incomplete, or are rare books. Initial sorting and catalog identification has, of course, posed some special problems. We are determined that as many as possible shall be fully processed and ready for shelf use in the Fall Term.

Books and materials concerned with German-speaking areas of origin and related to the history and culture of the Pennsylvania Dutch are especially appropriate to the traditions and the mission of the college. We deal not only with the founders and the pioneers of a bygone age, but as much with their descendants and others who carry on those hopes and traditions now and in the future. Folk cultural and historical personnel and scholars in religious studies may all find some assistance in books now under processing.

Elwetritsche research starts at Myrin Library; field study extends to the Lehigh Valley and to Neustadt!

Over the past fifteen months, we are delighted to add, scholarly utilization of our materials by graduate students, undergraduates, authors and private researchers has dramatically increased. But then, Libraries and Archives are for use by subscribers.

Our audio-cassettes and video-cassette tapes also come into a more general use, though additional procedural and catalog-index improvements are needed there. We note with satisfaction that the vast majority of users have acted responsibly and with a dignified reserve. The rare exception has made us conscious of the many reasons why Oral History Professionals are most alert to encroachments and interferences. Small wonder that the upcoming Fifteenth National Colloquium on Oral History at Durango, Colorado, has scheduled a session entitled: "The Pirating of an Oral History Interview." Here in the Folklife Archives we continue to build for a future when many of the folk cultural remnants and traces will have disappeared entirely.

The Twenty-Five Year Index to PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE (including the earliest volumes of Pennsylvania Dutchman and The Dutchman) is now at the printer. The combined work features a topical index covering those publications, Volumes 1 to 25, from 1949 to 1976, compiled by Judith Fryer of Ursinus College. Under the general direction of William T. Parsons, Folklife Editor and Archivist, a second major portion of the new book is a Surname Index for Migration and Genealogical articles in those same twenty-five volumes.

If all goes as now projected, The Index should be ready sometime in Autumn. It will be similar in format to the present PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE, but approximately double the number of pages in a single ordinary issue. It will be bound in a durable paper cover intended to withstand library and reference use.

Pre-publication price is $9.75. The Index will be available at that price to all our current subscribers and to initial subscribers who send in their paid orders now. A cut-off date for pre-publication orders and pre-publication rate will be established as soon as printing details are completed. Price after publication (and certainly after 1 January 1981) will be $11.95. Delivery will be made to subscribers who have ordered and non-subscribers who have paid, as soon as printing is completed, hopefully by 1 November 1980.

The reader is invited to consult the notations inside the back cover of this issue of PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE for additional details. Or if you prefer, write to the Editor for forms, information or additional notice:

Prof. William T. Parsons, EDITOR
P.O. Box 92
Collegeville, PA 19426

We have waited for fifteen years for the completion of an Index project. Now that it is so nearly ready, the entire staff has felt the impact of a certain urgency and excitement. You may rest assured that we will speed your copy to you at the very earliest possible time.
Under a system of cooperative planning instituted recently and implemented by Nancy K. Gaugler, of the Circulation Desk, a Back Issue and Reprint Service has been established for Pennsylvania Folklife Society and the Pennsylvania German Program. It operates out of the Folklife Society Archives in Myrin Library 301 and attempts in still another way to further the educational aims of this organization.

Personalized service to fit the needs of each researcher and correspondent, is our constant aim. Thus new and up-dated lists, both Back Issues Available and Reprints Currently in Stock, are correlated with an irregularly fluctuating supply. This service will be even more vital, we confidently assume, as Migration Lists and Genealogical articles in past issues are consulted by those using the new Index. We try to serve you.

Send your want list of Back Issues or Articles Requested, or just ask for the latest available items lists from:

Nancy K. Gaugler
Reprint Service M-301
P.O. Box 92
Collegeville, PA 19426

We are delighted to welcome back Dr. Don Yoder to active participation on the Editorial Advisory Board of PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE starting with this issue. He has been so prominent in the Folk Culture movement and his works have been published so often on the pages of this journal that we welcome him as colleague, tutor and friend. We look forward to further association with him in active investigation of Migration, Folklife and Pennsylvania German matters on this side of the Atlantic and in the Rhineland. We are certainly happy to salute the return to the Editorial Board today of Professor Yoder, surely the Dean of American Folklife Fellows. We can hear his wry comments on this notice already!

Professor Dick Beam sketches the outline of a folk cultural artifact at Schaefferstown Folk Festival.

While on the subject of scholarship and teaching, we also congratulate Professors C. Richard Beam of Millersville State College, whose efforts resulted in one of the articles in this very issue through an honor student of his, and Richard Druckenbrod of Lehigh County and Northampton County Community Colleges. Their efforts in Pennsylvania German dialect and culture classes continue to attract numbers of young people who are pleased to remember our heritage and who will work to learn 's Muttersprooch. Efforts to analyze the educational interests and patterns of potential success in classroom offerings have been notoriously unsuccessful over the years. We rejoice with these obviously successful teachers who elicit strong support from their students, the very ones they drive the hardest. Perhaps there is a lesson for all therein. May they both enjoy continued success!
An Early Proponent of Medical Hypnosis in America

The Twenty-Five Year Index

At long last the promise of an Index as finding guide to The Pennsylvania Dutchman, The Dutchman and PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE is becoming a reality. Our Editorial team believes this will serve readers and subscribers well. Since we currently begin Volume 30, it is obvious that The Twenty-Five Year Index attempts to list, index and cross reference those articles, authors and general topics which appeared to the end of Volume 25, that is, through the Festival Issue 1976. Be assured, however, that Five-Year Supplements are not only planned but the Indexing for Volumes 26 to 30 has already begun.

For the convenience of genealogical researchers as well, we are pleased to announce that a second portion of the work, a Surname Index, lists each individual whose name appears in Migration articles, Church Records or other items of interest in the field of Family History; that also for the first twenty-five volumes. Current subscribers and those persons who possess long runs of back issues will want to take advantage of the Pre-publication price of $9.75. To reserve your copy of this long-awaited Index, send check or money order in the amount of $9.75 for each copy you wish set aside in your name; designate INDEX on each check when ordering:

Circulation Desk
P.O. Box 92
Collegeville, PA 19426

Paulus, Margaret R. Flasheed, Root of Homespun. 2:19:2.


Peiffer, Karen S. Folk Cultura #r 24:4:49.

Folk Cultural Questionnaire. 25:1.

Brewing Techniques. 5:13:7.


The Pennsylvania Barn in Glassie. 15:2:8; 15:4:12.


Chalkware. Robacker. 5:8:12.

ABERCROMBIE, James 5:8:12.

ART, Antonia 17:2:40.

ACHABEIN, Maria 2:17:6.

ACHEBACHER, Caspar; Magdalena, both 17:2:34.


ACKERMANN, Jacob 5:19.

ACLERAND, Elizabeth (Coom) 4:17:9.

ACUFF, Catherine (Scheetz); David; Jacobh; Justus; Margaret (Acuff) Ochart; Mary (Ottinger), all 4:17:7.


AESCH, Christina 1:18:6.


AISTE, John Jacob 2:10:6. See also EYSTER.

ALBERT, Andreas 1:8:1; Anna Barbara (Wolf) 1:8:1; Christian 3:8:5; Franz 3:11:5; Georg 3:5:6; Julianna (Kintzer) 3:5:6; Lorenz 1:8:1; Margaretha 1:8:1; Sarah 5:8:13.

ALBERTHAL, Balthasar; Elisabeth Catharina; Franz Nicolaus; Johann Nicolaus, all 6:1:40.

ALBRECHT, Anna 4:3:15; Daniel 1:22:6; David 2:9:6; J. 17:2:40:41; Jacob 17:2:39; Joanna (Kittenberger) 2:9:6; Johannes 4:3:15; William 17:2:40. See also:


AISTE, John Jacob 2:10:6. See also EYSTER.
The Festival and its Sponsorship

The Kutztown Folk Festival is sponsored by the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, a nonprofit educational corporation affiliated with URSINUS COLLEGE, Collegeville, Pennsylvania. The Society's purposes are threefold: First, the demonstrating and displaying of the lore and folkways of the Pennsylvania Dutch through the annual Kutztown Folk Festival; second, the collecting, studying, archiving and publishing the lore of the Dutch Country and Pennsylvania through the publication of PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE Magazine; and third, using the proceeds for scholarships and general educational purposes at URSINUS COLLEGE.

FOR THE FOLK FESTIVAL BROCHURE WRITE TO:

Pennsylvania Folklife Society
College Blvd. & Vine, Kutztown, Pa. 19530