

Bibliographical Essay

Basic Bibliographies

An indispensable guide to basic source material for any study of European Anabaptist and Mennonite origins exists in *A Bibliography of Anabaptism: 1520-1630* (Elkhart, Indiana: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1962), a compilation by Hans J. Hillerbrand. In this work sources are listed according to geographic areas, persons, and topical studies. Hillerbrand's highly rated work can be supplemented by reference to George H. Williams' "Studies in Radical Reformation (1517-1618): Bibliographical Survey of Research since 1939" in *Church History*, XXVII (1958), 46-69. A concise summary of the literature of the American Mennonites in order of publication is found in Harold S. Bender's *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature: A Bibliography of Mennonitica Americana, 1727-1928* (Goshen, Indiana: Mennonite Historical Society, 1929). This bibliography periodizes the literature and includes the schismatic and smaller groups. Both published and unpublished material on the Amish will be found listed in John A. Hostetler's *Annotated Bibliography on the Amish* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1951). An analytical subject index lists general works, settlement histories, church doctrines and practices, literature, language, art, hymnology, biographies, popular articles and pamphlets, and modern scientific studies. The work is enhanced by ample annotations. Emil Meynen's *Bibliography on German Settlements in Colonial North America, Especially on the Pennsylvania Germans and Their Descendants, 1683-1933* (Leipzig: Otto Harrasowitz, 1937) contains an unequaled compilation on printed source materials and includes not only the German pietists of early Pennsylvania but lists sources on Germans (including Mennonites and Amish) in Ohio counties.

While Meynen's work furnishes perspective on Pennsylvania Mennonites and Amish in the German communities of colonial America, a larger focus is found in Edwin Scott Gaustad's *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962). In this work are numerous maps, charts, graphs, lists of sources, and essays which cover America's pluralistic religious scene. Holmes County, Ohio, is the only county of the Ohio and Eastern Mennonite Conference which has a population of at least 50 percent of Mennonite and Amish membership according to Gaustad's map on religion in America in 1950.

Three more important bibliographic guides must be cited. Peter G. Mode's *Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History* (Menasha, Wisconsin: Banta Publishing Company, 1921) covers the scope of American

church history from Virginia colonial days to 1920. Pages 412 and 413 contain thirty-seven references to Ohio churches and denominations and additional references to Ohio in the second awakening are found on pages 330-32. The efforts of Robert T. Handy, H. Shelton Smith, and Lefferts A. Loetscher produced two volumes on *American Christianity: An Historical Interpretation with Representative Documents* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960, 1963). A careful blend of interpretation and documentation, these volumes also contain ample bibliographies at the end of each chapter. For comprehensive coverage and listing there is now one incomparable work by Nelson Burr, *A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961). Here the bibliographical guides, survey, and histories are listed. In this work are sources for tracing the evolution of church history in America; the relation of religion to society; the relation of religion to the arts and literature; and the interaction of religion in America to theology, philosophy, and science. Abundant references to doctoral dissertations in every field enhance the value of this work to the specialist in American religious history. Burr and the volumes of Smith, Handy, and Loetscher recognize the way American religion is structured by the existence of "establishment," sectarian, and cultic bodies. Their handling of the respective documents and sources is discerning and provides any historian of a sectarian group with valuable perspectives in religion and society, church and state confrontations, and the uniquely American traits of revivalism and pluralistic faith.

A basic guide to sources for the study of Ohio is W. D. Overman, "Index to Materials for the Study of Ohio History," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XLIV (1935), 138. Vol. XLV of the *Quarterly* should be consulted for lists of Ohio history works by counties. Valuable also for a study of county history in Ohio is the compilation of Clarence L. Weaver and Helen Mills, *County Historical Material in the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library* (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1936).

Official Church Records

Though the Ohio Mennonite Conference appears to have begun in 1834, there are no known records till 1843. The next recorded minutes were in 1868. Later minutes were recorded in *Herald of Truth* of June 1870; June 1873; July 1875; July 1877; June 1878; June 1880; and April 1881. Minutes have been preserved for the year 1884. The record for 1888 is in the June 15, 1888, *Herald of Truth*; 1689 and 1890 conferences, are also in the body of official minutes, though the 1892 conference was recorded in the June 15, 1892, *Herald of Truth*. For 1893 the historian can consult the official files, though the following year found the record in the June 1 *Herald of Truth* and in 1895 in the June 15 issue; in 1896 the minutes were also in the June issue. From 1897 to 1900 the conference's minutes are found among the conference official records, but the June 1, 1901, *Herald of Truth* contains the minutes for that year. 1902, 1903, and 1904 are in the conference records while the 1905 record is in the *Herald of Truth* for that year. Thereafter for some years (excepting 1906, 1908, and 1909 which are in the official custody of the conference records) the Ohio Mennonite conference records appeared as follows:

1905, *Herald of Truth*, June 15, 1905; 1907, *Gospel Witness*, June 12, 1907. After this date, except for the years 1922, 1925, 1927, 1950, and 1954, the minutes were published in the *Gospel Herald* which since 1908 had been the official organ of the Mennonite Church. Since 1957 the conference's minutes are filed with the conference's secretary.

Sources on the *Diener Versammlungen* were published annually, 1862-65 and 1869 as *Verhandlungen der Diener-Versammlungen der Deutschen Tauffer oder Amischen Mennoniten*. 1866-67 and 1870-78 proceedings were published under the title *Bericht der Verhandlungen der Diener-Nersammlungen der Amische Mennoniten-Diener and Bouderschaft*.

Three published works of the Amish conference minutes have appeared as follows: *Report of the Eastern Amish Mennonite Conference from the Time of Its Organization to the Year 1911 with Conference Constitution and Appendix*; *Report of the Eastern Amish Mennonite Conference, 1912-1919*; and *Report of the Eastern Amish Mennonite Conference, 1920-1924*. During these years and till the merger year of 1927 the Ohio and Eastern Amish Mennonite Conference proceedings were recorded also in the *Gospel Herald*, usually in the month of June.

Minutes of the Ohio Mennonite Mission Board have been carefully preserved by the secretaries since 1919.

The Holmes County Ministerial Meeting Minutes record fifty-six meetings from 1932 to 1954 with sessions suspended during World War II. They contain much valuable information on local church life and problems.

Report of the General Conference of Mennonites in France in Reconstruction Work held at Clermont-en-Argonne, Meuse, France, June 20-22, 1919. In this 77-page report are significant addresses by several young men of the Ohio churches who served in reconstruction work in France. Included in the *Report* is a proposed constitution for a Mennonite youth movement committed to ideals of relief, missions, Christian education, and social reform. Though not an official conference record, it is a highly valuable source for understanding the currents and crosscurrents of the crisis years of 1915-30.

Manuscript Sources

The C. Z. Mast collection of manuscripts and letters summarizes much of the early Amish history of eastern Pennsylvania; contains data on the central Pennsylvania churches; and traces Amish movement from Berks and Lancaster counties to Mifflin County in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The author of this book has personal notes taken from John S. Mast in 1941 and 1942 which contain viewpoints and data on the growth and problems of the Conestoga, Maple Grove, and Millwood churches during Mast's lifetime which began in 1861.

M. S. Steiner's diaries, notebooks, and letters tell much of the internal conditions of the conference organization and operation from 1895 to 1911. A. D. Wenger's notes on his travels in Ohio, his preaching appointments, and sermon outlines give valuable insights into church life at the turn of the century. S. E. Allgyer's autobiography contains data on a long life of preaching, church administration, and missionary leadership especially from 1908 to 1945. The J. B. Smith papers are helpful for the illumination they give to the

doctrinal emphases and concerns of the Mennonite Church during the decades of 1900-1930. John S. Umble's research notes contain much factual data on the extinct churches, the rise of the Sunday school, and the various activities of the church, including tensions on disciplinary matters. The J. C. Meyer papers are invaluable for an understanding of World War I experiences of drafted men; the response of church leaders to the war; the rise of the young people's movement; and projected plans for theological training.

All the above manuscripts are in the Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, excepting the papers of A. D. Wenger and J. B. Smith which are in the Menno Simons Historical Library and Archives at Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia; the Joseph Kennel records which are in the possession of his son, Vernon Kennel, at Atglen, Pennsylvania; and the John S. Mast records in possession of the author.

Congregational Sources

In 1956 the Historical Committee of the Ohio and Eastern Mennonite Conference issued a *Handbook of Ohio and Eastern Mennonite Conference Historical Committee for Pastors, Regional and Local Historians*. The handbook gave clear instructions to local and regional historians on how to collect data; how to record data in order; and how to route them to a central depository. Nearly every congregation cooperated or was accounted for in the quest for data. Thus the dates, personalities, activities, and movements were collected into the set of documents referred to in this work as the Ohio and Eastern Mennonite Conference Records. The writer found these documents to be reliable and trustworthy source material in the construction of the history. The standardized forms were carefully filled in and frequently supplemented by letters with additional information, photostatic copies of deeds, and summaries of congregational history and enterprises.

The church records which Joseph Kennel kept from c. 1911 to 1946 are a detailed account of the congregational life of the Millwood and Maple Grove congregations in eastern Pennsylvania. They also contain much factual data on leaders of other congregations in the conference, especially the Conestoga congregation at Morgantown.

Church Periodicals

Much of the life and thought of Mennonites in America can be quarried from the periodicals they have published in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Of these the *Herald of Truth* (1864-1908) is invaluable for the period it covers. It began as a monthly and finally became a weekly periodical. Its pages contain correspondence from church communities, notices of church conferences, and numerous articles that reflect the church's inner life and etc. The weekly *Gospel Witness* (1905-8) overlapped the last years of the *Herald of Truth*, yet contains similar items. The *Gospel Herald* (1908-), also a weekly periodical, is the major source of general church life for the twentieth century and contains much on the personalities, activities, and viewpoints of the conference. From 1909 to 1953 the *Christian Monitor* was published monthly to provide a medium for the promotion of family and community interests. It contains frequent articles on congregational histories.

The Christian Exponent (1924-28) was a biweekly that grew out of the controversial decades in the early twentieth century. A comparison of its contents with those of the *Gospel Herald* for the same years yields much insight into the bifurcating forces at work in the Mennonite Church and in the Ohio Mennonite Conference and Eastern Amish Mennonite Conference. The con-

flicting emphases are especially noteworthy in views on higher education, interchurch cooperation, church discipline and standards, current theological views, pacifism and nonresistance, and the roles of the Mennonite Church in the context of America's cultural transitions.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review (1927-) contains scholarly articles on Mennonite thought, history, and affairs. It covers both European and American phases of Mennonitism and has devoted numerous articles directly to the Ohio and Eastern Conference churches and personalities. It is quite rich in reproduced original source material. *The Mennonite Historical Bulletin* has appeared each quarter since 1940 and carries popular but authentic materials on Mennonite history. *Mennonite Life* (1946-), a quarterly, presents a wide spectrum of articles and generous illustrations on Mennonite principles, doctrines, culture, and history. *The Mennonite Community* (1947-53) began as a bimonthly and in 1948 became a monthly periodical. Its illustrated pages were devoted to economic, social, educational, and cultural life of the Mennonites. It placed emphasis on stewardship, brotherhood, and ethical behavior in economic affairs. Numerous Ohio and Pennsylvania communities were described in its pages.

The growth of an official conference organ began in 1947 with the *Ohio Mission News Bulletin* which continued into 1948. From 1949 to 1952 the *Ohio Mission Evangel* was published and since 1953 continues as the *Ohio Evangel*. This periodical, a 16-page bimonthly, is the medium not only for conference mission news; it reports on total conference activities in Christian education, youth camps, service projects, and women's activities.

Since 1954 *Christian Living*, a monthly successor to the *Christian Monitor* and *The Mennonite Community*, has carried articles which reflect the everyday life, church communities, and frequently features persons and churches of this study.

Public Records

The earliest appearance of names of Mennonites and Amish in America is found in the ship list records of German immigrants from 1729 to 1808. These lists have been reproduced in the work of W. J. Hinke and R. B. Strassburger, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (Norristown, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania German Society, 1934). The work is published in three volumes and contains photostatic copies of the signatures of all subscribers to the oaths or affirmations of allegiance. Volume III forms an index of the names of all Germans who entered the port of Philadelphia during the years 1729-1808.

County deed books, will books, and files are valuable and reliable sources. In Pennsylvania the chief depositories for these are in the courthouses of Berks, Chester, Lancaster, and Mifflin counties. Drafts of early land grants are in the files of the Berks Title Insurance Company at Reading, Pennsylvania. Tax lists from 1752 to 1809 are on file at the Berks County Historical Society, Reading, Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania State Archives in the Division of

Public Records at Harrisburg contain documents that illuminate and pertain to Mennonite and Amish life in the state.

Chief depositories in Ohio for this study are in the county seats of Columbiana, Medina, Wayne, Holmes, Champaign, Logan, Allen, Fulton, and Fairfield counties.

The Ohio State Archives contain many boxes of the Ohio Branch Council of National Defense Records, an important source for the study of Ohio's domestic scene in World War I.

Selected Secondary Works on Mennonite History and Thought

The four volumes of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955-59) provide much basic information on a wide range of topics. Personalities, congregations, movements, and organizations are presented together with bibliographies in this massive, indispensable work. Any serious study of Mennonite origin must take into account George H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962). It is a sweeping and panoramic view of the nonconformist movements of the Reformation and furnishes a fresh perspective on the great renovation's diverse nature. Essential for the understanding of Mennonitism's interaction with the modifying forces of Pietism is Robert Friedmann, *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries* (Goshen, Indiana: Mennonite Historical Society, 1949). Of direct relevance to this study is Delbert Gratz' *Bernese Anabaptists and Their American Descendants* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1953). Originally a doctoral thesis at the University of Bern it contains much European background material on the Mennonites and Amish. The appendices list data on Ohio congregations deriving from nineteenth-century immigrations; the bibliography lists archival sources in Europe and America. For a general introduction to the Mennonite past in Europe the standard work is John Horsch, *The Mennonites in Europe* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1942).

The immigration and early settlement in America is recorded in C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century* (Part XXXIII of A Narrative and Critical History of the Pennsylvania German Society, Norristown, Pennsylvania, 1929). The author attempted a definitive work in a master's thesis at the University of Pittsburgh on *The First Amish Communities of America* (1954). C. Z. Mast in *Mast Family History: A Brief History of Bishop Jacob Mast and Other Mast Pioneers* (. [Published by author] Elverson, Pennsylvania, 1911) provides a genealogy of one Amish line, the members of which are found in both the Pennsylvania and Ohio parts of the conference. In 1942 Mast coauthored with Robert E. Simpson the *Annals of the Conestoga Valley in Lancaster, Berks, and Chester Counties, Pennsylvania* (C. Z. Mast, Elverson, Pennsylvania, and Robert E. Simpson, Churchtown, Pennsylvania), a work containing data on the following Amish families: Zug (Zook), Schmucker (Smoker), Kurtz, Hertzler, Kauffman, Lapp, Stoltzfus, Fisher, Koenig (King), Beiler, Esch, Hooley, Schantz (Johns), Mast, Yoder, Nafzinger, Blank, and Plank.

Further narratives of the immigration and early settlement period are Peter B. Amstutz, *Geschichtliche Ereignisse der Mennoniten Ansiedlung in*

Allen and Putnam Counties, Ohio (Bluffton, Ohio: P. B. Amstutz, 1925); and Delbert A. Gratz, "Historical and Genealogical Sketch of the Swiss Mennonites of Allen and Putnam Counties," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XLIX (1940), 282-88. Highly valuable because of its priority in historical accounting is M. S. Steiner, "The Ohio Conference," *Mennonite Church History*, ed. J. S. Hartzler and Daniel Kauffman (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Book and Tract Society, 1905). The chapter concludes with a list of the congregations in Ohio together with the names of the first founders; the first ministers; the present ministers; present deacons; the dates of the first meetinghouse; and the number of members. A view of contemporary social, economic, and religious issues around 1900 by a Mennonite leader is reflected in M. S. Steiner, *Pitfalls and Safeguards* (Elkhart, Indiana: Mennonite Publishing House, 1899). In the category of histories on the conference or some part of it by a member is Orland R. Grieser and Ervin Beck, Jr., *Out of the Wilderness: History of the Central Mennonite Church 1835-1960* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Dean-Hicks Company, 1960). Though confined largely to the Central Mennonite Church in Fulton County, Ohio, it contains a rich source of data on this "mother" congregation, its leaders, its divisions, and extensions.

Works which deal with the conference's charitable, educational, and missionary functions are: L. L. Swartzentruber, *The Child: A History of the Mennonite Orphans' Home, West Liberty, Ohio* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1931); John S. Umble, *Ohio Mennonite Sunday Schools* (Goshen, Indiana: Mennonite Historical Society, 1941); John R. Smucker, *The History of the Ohio Mennonite Mission Board and the Early Missions Concern of the Mennonites of Ohio* (Paper in Mennonite History Class, Goshen College Biblical Seminary, 1958)

An illuminating work in the situation faced by the Mennonites during the Civil War is Samuel Horst, *Mennonites in the Confederacy: A Study in Civil War Pacifism* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1967). It contains brief references to the Mennonites who moved to Ohio during or soon after these years. For a valuable account which includes documentary sources on World War I the historian needs to consult J. S. Hartzler, *Mennonites in the World War or Nonresistance Under Test* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1921). Gordon D. Zook's *Wayne County Conscientious Objectors in World War I* (1962) presents a well-researched study of Mennonite and Amish experiences in a leading Ohio county and is especially valuable for its data on total community reactions to conscientious objection. Zook's work was a research paper in a history seminar at Goshen College. World War II's experience is comprehended in Melvin Gingerich, *Service for Peace: A History of Mennonite Civilian Public Service* (Akron, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Central Committee, 1949) and Guy F. Hershberger, *The Mennonite Church and the Second World War* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1951). The former concentrates on the experience of the drafted men in alternate service and the latter recounts the church's response to the war crisis.

For an understanding of the theological currents and crosscurrents which were important in the Ohio and Eastern Mennonite Conference in the

twentieth century, and especially during the crisis years of 1915-1930, the writings of Daniel Kauffman and John Horsch are important. While neither one was a member of the conference, their writings were widely read and their viewpoints were influential throughout the conference. Kauffman's *The Conservative Viewpoint* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1918); *The Mennonite Church and Current Issues* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1923), and *The Two Standards* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1924) reflect much of the tension which the Mennonite Church as a whole was having with the larger society in various areas including the theological.

John Horsch's *Modern Religious Liberalism* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1925) contains an introduction by James M. Gray of the Moody Bible Institute in a revised edition of 1938. It was cited in 1929 in Harold S. Bender's *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature* as "the only book by an American Mennonite author to attain any circulation of note outside of Mennonite circles," a fact which gave it added prestige in Mennonite circles. Other works by Horsch were *The Higher Criticism and the New Theology* (n. p., 1917); *The Mennonite Church and Modernism* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1924); *The Failure of Modernism: A Reply to Harry Emerson Fosdick* (Chicago: Bible Institute Colportage Association, 1925); and *Is the Mennonite Church Free from Modernism?* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1926).

A series of regional histories has been issued on the respective Mennonite conferences beginning in 1931. Though of uneven value, they contain essential data and are a rich source for the historian in his investigation of the Mennonite past in America. The conference histories are: M. G. Weaver, *Mennonites of the Lancaster Conference* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1931); Harry F. Weber, *History of the Mennonites of Illinois* (Goshen, Indiana: Mennonite Historical Society, 1931); L. J. Burkholder, *A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario* ([Copyright by Mennonite Conference of Ontario], 1935); J. C. Wenger, *History of the Mennonites of Franconia Conference* (Telford, Pennsylvania: Franconia Mennonite Historical Society, 1937); Melvin Gingerich, *The Mennonites in Iowa* (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1939); Harry A. Brunk, *History of the Mennonites in Virginia, 1727-1900* (Staunton, Virginia: McClure Printing Company, 1959); J. C. Wenger, *The Mennonites in Indiana and Michigan* (Goshen, Indiana: Mennonite Historical Society, 1961); Sanford G. Shetler, *Two Centuries of Struggle and Growth, 1763-1963: A History of Allegheny Mennonite Conference* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Allegheny Mennonite Conference, 1963). A valuable local history with relevance to the westward movement of Mennonites is Edward Yoder, *The Mennonites of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Scottsdale Mennonite Church, 1942). For a comprehensive work J. C. Wenger, *The Mennonite Church in America* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1966) is useful as a synoptic study.

Selected General Works

A recent and highly praised work on *Pennsylvania: Birthplace of a Nation* (New York: Random House, 1964) by Sylvester K. Stevens traces the

growth of the state in wide perspective and contains numerous references to Mennonites and Amish in both the colonial and national periods. Especially helpful is the depiction of the role of Pennsylvania's numerous religious sects and groups in its history from the beginning. *A History of Ohio* (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1958) by Eugene H. Roseboom and Francis P. Weisenburger, edited and illustrated by James H. Roda-

baugh, is equally wide in its perspective, though it refers little to the Mennonite and Amish groups in the state. Carl F. Wittke, ed., *The History of the State of Ohio* (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1941-44) is a six-volume work which contains much material on religion in Ohio and is well documented with bibliographical references.

The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly (1887-) contains rich source material on the state and frequently features religious groups, though its references to the Mennonites and Amish are not numerous.

The county histories of the state of Ohio conform to the publishing standards which characterized these volumes that began their appearance in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and continued into the 1930's. They are invariably large, frequently multivolumed, and illustrated. The historical sections are of value and the biographical sections usually contain information that is not available in any other source. Especially relevant to this study are *History of Logan County and Ohio* (Chicago: O. L. Baskins and Co., 1880); *The Historical Review of Logan County, Ohio* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1903) by Robert P. Kennedy; *History of Wayne County* (Indianapolis: Robert Douglas, 1878) by Wayne Douglas; *History of Wayne County, Ohio* (Indianapolis: B. F. Bowen, 1910), *Vols. 1, 2; Commemorative Biographical Record of Wayne County, Ohio* (Chicago: J. H. Beers, 1889); *History of Henry and Fulton Counties, Ohio* (Syracuse, New York: Mason and Co., 1888), edited by Lewis Cass Aldrich; *A Standard History of Fulton County, Ohio* (Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1920), under the editorial supervision of Frank H. Reighard. A splendid guide to basic secondary sources on the histories of the respective Ohio counties is the work compiled by Clarence L. Weaver and Helen Mills, *County Historical Material in the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library* (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1936). It is reprinted from the Society's *Quarterly* for April 1936.

The *Papers of the Ohio Church History Society, Vol. XI* (Oberlin: Ohio Church History Society, 1900) contain historical sketches on personalities of the congregational conferences in Ohio and chapter eight tells of the Medina conference. In the same chapter the Mennonites are referred to as an "outside" group.

The experiences of other religious groups of a sectarian character on the Ohio frontier merit study for comparative purposes, though this study failed to ascertain any interaction or influences of note with regard to the Mennonite and Amish communities. *A Brief History of Ohio Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Conservative)* (Barnesville, Ohio: 1959), compiled by Charles P. Morlan, contains basic data on the Ohio Quakers and reproduces documents on their peace, educational, and service programs. *Zoar: An Ohio Experiment in Communalism* (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1960) is a publication of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society with

The selected bibliography lists the significant works including a PhD dissertation by Edgar B. Nixon on "The Society of Separatists of Zoar" (Ohio State University, 1933). Like the Quakers and Zoarites, the Moravians established communities in Ohio in close proximity to Mennonite and Amish settlements. One of these communities is written up in James H. and Mary Jane Rodenbaugh

Historical Society, 1961). This is a solid piece of historical study; it is set in the context of the history of the Old Northwest. The pamphlet also contains a fine bibliography.

Especially relevant to Mennonite history on Ohio's frontier are works which tell of the Dunkers (or Tunkers) or Church of the Brethren. Similar to Mennonites in language, ethnic origin, and nonresistant convictions the Church of the Brethren was planted in numerous areas of Ohio at the same time as the Mennonites and the two groups at times interacted. T. S. Moherman *A History of the Church of the Brethren: Northeastern Ohio* (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1914) is especially rich in materials on pioneer life in Dunker communities during the nineteenth century in Holmes, Wayne, Portage, Mahoning, Columbiana, Medina, Perry, and Stark counties. Separatistic regulations, schisms, missions, and evangelistic efforts are recorded here as well as in Jesse O. Garst (ed.) *History of the Church of the Brethren of the Southern District of Ohio 1788-1920* (Dayton, Ohio: Otterbein Press, 1921). For a study of transitions from farm to town, from preacher-farmers to pastoral ministers, from local to worldwide programs the sequel volumes to the above can be studied with much profit. They are Edgar G. Diehm *The Church of the Brethren in Northeastern Ohio* (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1963) and H. Helman (ed.) *Church of the Brethren in Southern Ohio* (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1955).

The American frontier as a creative force and as a setting in which religious groups interacted with each other and with their environment is a favorite theme for church historians. Peter G. Mode's scholarly study, *The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity* (New York: Macmillan, 1923), is a seminal work in the field. An unexcelled, useful, and authentic body of source material on the frontier and religion is in the four volumes of William Warren Sweet's *Religion on the American Frontier* (New York and Chicago: Henry Holt and Company, 1931-46) which includes the Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Methodists. The bibliographies in each volume are ample and list manuscript sources. As noted in the section of this essay on sociological interpretations, J. Scott Miyakawa's *Protestants and Pioneers: Individualism and Conformity on the American Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964) and H. Richard Niebuhr's *Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957) deal with the sect and the denomination; in both works the frontier is the setting. Two chapters of Louis B. Wright's *Culture on the Moving Frontier* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961) are illuminating for this and any study of an Ohio religious group in the nineteenth century. Chapter three, "Enlightenment in the Old West: North of the Ohio," summarizes the educational ventures and delineates the role of religion. Chapter five, "Instruments of Civilization: Spiritual Agencies,"

provides the student with much insight on how religion was planted and its influence, nurtured by frontier churches. German-speaking people of the churchy and nonsectarian tradition planted churches on the frontier and their

experience affords some interesting comparisons and contrasts to that of the Mennonites. The manner in which German churches established themselves on the frontier in a new type and status without surrendering their inheritance is well told in Carl E. Schneider's *The German Church on the American Frontier: A Study in the Rise of Religion Among the Germans in the West* (St. Louis, Missouri: Eden Publishing House, 1939).

Sociological Interpretations

Sociological interpretations of religious groups such as the one investigated in this study owe something to Max Weber and his seminal work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. by Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958). His numerous references to Mennonites bespeak a careful perception of their faith and life. The sociologist of religion who would interpret the history of the Ohio and Eastern Mennonite Conference will, of course, find even more insight and stimulation from Ernst Troeltsch's *Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, trans. by Olive Wyon (2 vols.) (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931). For an illuminating essay on Troeltsch's philosophy, psychology, and sociology of religion as well as his philosophy of history the student should consult James Luther Adams, "Ernst Troeltsch as Analyst of Religion," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 1 (1961), 98-109. For Robert Friedmann's favorable evaluation of Troeltsch see his article, "Ernst Troeltsch," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, IV (1959), 749, 750.

Ernst Correll, a student of Weber and Troeltsch, has applied insights from both in his *Das Schweizerische Taufmennonitentum* (Tübingen: J. C. Mohr, 1925).

Values and limitations of Troeltsch for the church historian are noted in Roland Bainton, "The Sectarian Theory of the Church" and "Ernst Troeltsch -Thirty Years Later, A Critique of *The Social Teaching of the Christian Church*" in *Christian Unity and Religion in New England* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).

Franklin H. Littell's critical use of Troeltsch is noted in the foreword and throughout his *The Origins of Sectarian Protestantism: A Study of the Anabaptist View of the Church* (New York: Macmillan, 1964). Another helpful application of Troeltsch as well as Weber is found in H. Richard Niebuhr's *Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957). Niebuhr is especially provocative in the chapters on "The Churches of the Disinherited" and "Sectionalism and Denominationalism in America."

From the abundant literature on this subject two additional works may be cited. Oliver R. Whitley in *Trumpet Call to Reformation* (St. Louis, Missouri: Bethany Press, 1959) and J. Scott Miyakawa *Protestants and Pioneers: Individualism and Conformity on the American Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964) are among the more recent works, both with ample documentation and the latter with extensive bibliography, which notes the sectarian process in the American frontier.

Historians and sociologists have increasingly since 1928 used Troeltsch and

Weber in doctoral theses on Mennonite topics. For a list of thirty-seven doctoral dissertations on contemporary Mennonitism either wholly or in part sociological see J. Howard Kauffman, "Report on Mennonite Sociological Research," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XXXVII (1963), 126-31. Dissertations covering fields of most relevance to this study include: Edmund G. Kaufman, "The Development of the Missionary and Philanthropic Interest Among Mennonites of North America" (PhD, University of Chicago, 1928); J. Winfield Fretz, "Mennonite Mutual Aid" (PhD, University of Chicago, 1941); Samuel Floyd

of North America in the American Environment" (PhD, Yale University, 1944); John A. Hostetler, "The Sociology of Mennonite Evangelism" (PhD, Pennsylvania State University, 1953); Elmer L. Smith, "A Study of Acculturation in an Amish Community" (DSS, Syracuse University, 1955); Paul Peachey, "Die Soziale Herkunft der Schweizer Tauter in der Reformationszeit" (PhD, University of Zurich, 1958); Calvin Redekop, "The Sectarian Black and White World" (Old Colony Mennonites) (PhD, University of Chicago, 1959); J. Howard Kauffman, "A Comparative Study of Traditional and Emergent Family Types Among Midwest Mennonites" (PhD, University of Chicago, 1960); Leland D. Harder, "The Quest for Equilibrium in an Established Sect: A Study of Social Change in the General Conference Mennonite Church" (PhD, Northwestern, 1962).

Parallel studies done on groups with backgrounds and history similar to the Mennonites and Amish deserve some attention and a few are selected as suggestive for study and comparison. Gillian Lindt Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967) delineates social and religious change of an important sectarian group in both the Old and New World with urbanization conspicuous in the latter. Herbert Hogan, "The Intellectual Impact of the Twentieth Century on the Church of the Brethren" (PhD dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1960) contains much material on how a rural, uneducated group was transfused by encounters with twentieth-century social, religious, and political thought. The impact of liberal religious influences is carefully delineated. Martin Schrag, "The Brethren in Christ Attitudes Toward the World: A Study of the Movement from Separation to an Increasing Acceptance of American Society" (unpublished PhD dissertation, Temple University, 1967) recounts the processes of social and ecclesiastical change in a small, erstwhile rural group influenced by Wesleyan holiness doctrine and in the twentieth century has undergone change as it expanded in missions and educational enterprises of considerable proportion for the size of the group. A sociohistorical work on the mutual interaction, as well as conflict, between religion and life is Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia 1682-1783* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1948). Based on original sources this work documents the social, economic, and religious life of a phase of the history of the Society of Friends during which certain of its members achieved prosperity, social prestige, and political power. Parallels, contrasts, and comparisons with the Mennonite experience in the New World are suggested.