

Chapter III

CONTEMPORARIES AND IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS OF THE PIONEERS

"Reformers whose names are ever dear unto us"

The evangelical preaching of our pioneers resulted in many converts. Numerous of these converts naturally joined their fellowship. Some of them were previously non-professors; others were of Mennonite, Amish, Reformed, Moravian, or other denominational adherence. By far the greater number were of Mennonite lineage.

The quotation at the head of this chapter is from a quarterly conference record of the Salem Church, Lebanon, Pennsylvania. Several years after 1845 when the new Salem Church edifice had been erected someone wrote a brief account of the: "*Origin and Rise of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ at Lebanon and Vicinity.*" A fuller statement embodying this quotation is as follows:

It is generally known that we as a Society are mostly an Order. From fifty to sixty years ago when darkness covered the earth and gross darkness the minds of the people of this sect as well as of many others.

It pleased the Lord, in the order of his Providence, to bless the people of this place by the ministry of a few evangelical reformers whose names are ever dear unto us. Such were Boehm, Grosch, J. Neidig, A. Troxel, M. Kreider, and H. Landis. Soon after followed Zentmeir, Ellenberger; and our worthy father Felix Light, whose ministerial labors extended up to as late as 1842. All these men of God were of the Mennonite Order and Mennonite Reformers except father Troxel.¹

But these worthy fathers were not without opposition, especially when they preached the unadulterated Word of God and spiritual life to their brethren (Mennonists) for they rejected their counsel, misconstrued the Word to the dead letter and ceremony, despised their holy zeal, and pronounced it, *Ein Ehrgeist und übertreibenheit*, (a spirit of self-esteem and excessiveness), until these reformers, impartially and without attachment to any denomination, except fathers M. Boehm, A. Troxel, and J. Neidig who soon became members of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.

But as Boehm soon died, Troxel migrated to the West, and Neidig lived from twenty to twenty-five miles distant, we were left without Brethren who were regular Conference members at that time—we nevertheless, joined heart and hand in the glorious work of reformation though without particu-

lar attachment to any Sect or Order. Various were the names which they (the reformers) bore among the people, viz.: Boehm's, Landis' or Troxel's People; by others, the United Brethren, Die Allgemeinen, Die Lichte's Leute, und by anderen, Die unpartheiischen Minnisten, (the Universal, the Light's People, and by others, the unsectarian or impartial Mennonites.)

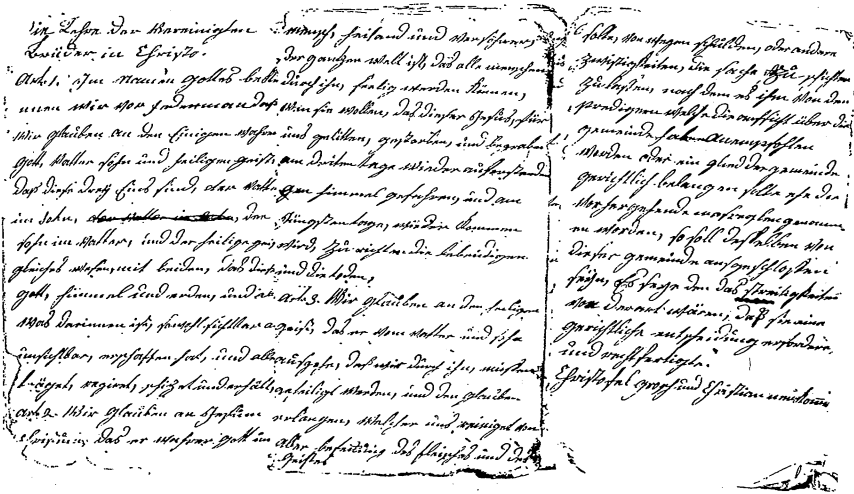
This statement, in addition to naming some of the participants in the spiritual movement, brings to light certain aspects of it, namely; the time element, the spiritual dearth of the times, the zeal of the evangelists, the opposition they encountered, and the attitude toward a strict church order. While this information comes from a local church record and bears the marks of a local situation, it sets forth accurately a general situation. All of the points there touched upon will receive more or less indirect treatment as we follow the careers of the men who were leaders in the movemnt.

Christopher Grosh was the only leader in the United Brethren movement to have Moravian background. He made certain distinct contributions to the evangelical movement. The intimacy which existed between him and Christian Newcomer probably caused Newcomer to visit Moravian headquarters both at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Lititz. The name of "Christopher Grosch" appears as one of the United Brethren Ministers from 1789 onward to his death. His home was open to the early itinerant preachers. A large upper room in the spacious stone house on his plantation of 165 acres located one and one-half miles east of New Holland, East Earl Township, Lancaster County was set apart for public worship. In this house, still standing today, he resided until his death, April 16, 1829, at the age of eighty years, three months, and four days.

He was the father of three sons and six daughters. A daughter, Barbara, married Christian Haag. Another daughter, Susanna, married Daniel Weidman, son of Rev. Joseph Weidman of Berks County. The Daniel Weidman family became owner of the Grosh farm after the father's death and continued the practice of holding divine worship in the home. Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel Weidman, married John Ranck. Their grandson, the Reverend George S. Ranck is the father of the Reverends Ezra H. Ranck and J. Allan Ranck, members of the conference. Walter Martin now owns that part of the Grosh home on which the buildings are located; Samuel Hahn is owner of the part on which the old cemetery was located.

The Rev. Grosh exercised great influence upon his contemporaries and in many respects was the superior of most of them. He, together with Martin Boehm, was authorized by the annual conference of 1803 to supervise the work of the ministers in Pennsylvania. His ability to expound the Word made him a favorite preacher at Great Meetings. He preached on such occasions in Maryland, in Cumberland County, and in his native county of Lancaster. One such was held at his homestead, May 14-16, 1803. He was one of the first to recognize the need for a better church order. To this end he col-

HISTORY OF EAST PENNSYLVANIA CONFERENCE



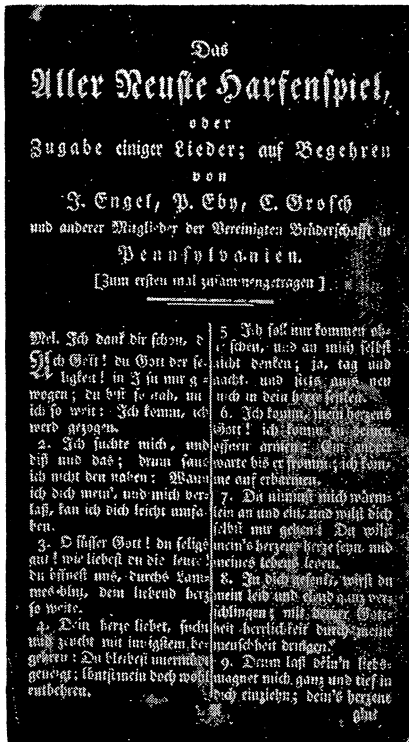
Original Manuscript
Confession of Faith and Rules of Order
(First, Second, and Last Pages)

Signatories: "Christophel Grosch and Christian Neukommer"

laborated with Newcomer in formulating the denomination's first statement of Articles on Faith and Order. The manuscript bearing their signatures is still preserved, lodging in the archives of the Publishing House at Dayton, Ohio. In the absence of a bishop he presided at two of the early sessions of annual conference, i.e.; the one held May 23-25, 1811 at Joseph Knegi's, Cumberland County, and the session held May 5-7, 1813 at Christian Herr's in Lancaster County.

The name of "Grosch" is connected with one other literary production. Solomon Meyer, printer, of Ephrata, Pennsylvania, in 1795, printed a Psalter, such as was commonly used in public and private worship in the period. The title page of the supplement to the main text is as follows: "Das aller Neuste Harfenspiel, oder zugabe einigen Lieder, auf Begehren von J. Engle, P. Eby, C. Grosch, und anderer Mitglieder der Vereinigten Bruderschaft, in Pennsylvanien." While the contribution made by Grosch to this collection may have little import, the association with him of the two other men named, and the use of the designation, "Vereinigten Bruderschaft" have major significance. To make clear the implication, it must be said that J. Engle was Jacob Engle, recognized as among the foremost of those who founded the River Brethren Church (now Brethren in Christ); and that P. Eby was a certain Peter Eby, who associated with the United Brethren.

The association of Engle's name with that of Christopher Grosch bears out the claim that the United Brethren group had intimate



Translation of:
Title Page of Supplement
to the Psalter

The
Very Latest Harfenspiel
or
Supplement of Several Hymns;
By Request of
J. Engel, P. Eby, and C. Grosh
and Other Members of the
United Brotherhood in
Pennsylvania
(Collected for the First Time)

★

fellowship with the group which were known as the River Brethren. It serves to throw light on Drury's mention of the, "River brethren," as previously cited.² The use of the term, "Vereinigten Bruderschaft," is worthwhile pondering. Its use is definitely not that of a technical name for a denomination, but that of a descriptive term of an existing fellowship. It was a fellowship of mutual worship and shared-experience common to Grosh, Boehm, Otterbein, Asbury, Albright, and Engle. However, as time went on and differing positions on doctrine and practice were taken, Grosh played a leading role in charting the course for the United Brethren in Christ.

Martin Shuey. The relation of the Shuey family to United Brethernism forms an extremely interesting episode, which illustrates perfectly a statement previously made in the section dealing with Otterbein's ministry at Tulpehocken, showing his influence upon certain families of that region, and the spread of the movement as they migrated to other areas. Martin Shuey, the elder, was definitely associated with our pioneers. The first appointment Newcomer had on coming to the valley of the Little Swatara Creek was at the home of Martin Shuey. It was on April 22, 1796. Six days later, he preached there a second time; in June of the following year, a third

time. Though the name of Martin Shuey is not listed among the United Ministers, he was most likely recognized as one of the leaders in the movement. Newcomer states that when he arrived at the Isaac Long home, June 1, 1799, to attend a Sacramental Meeting, he found there: Brs. Boehm, Fremmer, Neidig, Grosh, Kreider, and Shuey.

He is once referred to as, "old Martin Shuey," to distinguish between him and a younger man by the same name. Martin Shuey, the elder, was uncle to Martin Shuey, the younger. The elder Martin Shuey died in November of the year 1801. He was one of five sons of the immigrant ancestor, Daniel Shuey, of the family which claims our attention. Daniel Shuey came to America in 1732 and settled in that part of Bethel Township which fell into Lebanon County (then Lancaster County) when the Lancaster-Berks line was established in 1752, although he also came into possession of land located east of that line. One of these tracts, a farm of 236 acres, located a few miles from the Andrew Zeller home, became the property of son Martin in 1761. Daniel Shuey Jr., brother of Martin, the elder, moved from Berks County, Pa., to York County, Pa., then to Frederick County, Maryland, in the area later erected as Carroll County. This was not very many miles from the home of Newcomer, who contacted the family there, preaching at the home of Mr. A. Shuey as his first appointment after leaving home to make one of his tours of the circuit.

The descendants of a third son of Daniel Shuey, by name Ludwig or Lewis, (1726-1775) were the most numerous to have United Brethren connections. The repetition of the Christian name, "John," given to five of his sons, strikes us of the present as rather odd. Their names were: John Henry, John Martin, John, John Ludwig, and John Adam. There was a sixth son, named Christian. The United Brethren Shueys of Lebanon County are the offspring of the eldest son, John Henry.

The second son, John Martin, is the man of whom we write as Martin the younger. He was born June 20, 1750, and lived in Bethel Township, Lebanon County until 1805, when he sold most of his land, and with his wife and eight of their ten children moved to Twin Valley near Germantown, Ohio. So the Shuey and Zeller families again were neighbors. Christina, the eldest daughter of Martin Shuey and wife, Margaret Conrad, married John Zeller. They were members of the United Brethren Church. Another daughter, Margaret, married John Moyer, and a third daughter, Eva, married John Dodds. These families were members of our church in Dayton, Ohio. The youngest son of Martin Shuey, the younger, was Adam. He married Hannah Aley. In early married life this couple lived in Miamisburg, Ohio, and became members of the United Brethren Church at that place. Their home was open for public worship and for the comfort of traveling United Brethren preachers. They moved to the vicinity of Springfield, Ohio, in 1838, and were instrumental in the erection of Newcomer Chapel, later known as the Lagonda Avenue United Brethren Church. Sixteen

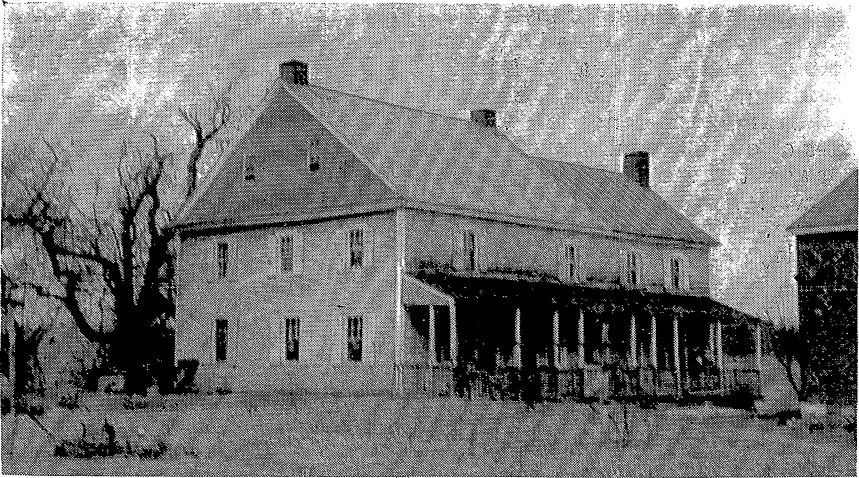
years later this family moved to Dayton where the father was for a time foreman of the mailing department of our Publishing House. Rev. Chester B. Boda of Miami Conference was their grandson. Their son, Rev. William J. Shuey was a minister and presiding elder in the same conference. He was also one of the first foreign missionaries of our Church, going to Africa in 1855. From 1865 to 1897, he was agent of the Publishing House. A great host of people, of whom the writer was one, called at his residence, 35 South Perry Street, Dayton, Ohio, February 9, 1917, on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday anniversary, to extend congratulations on his long and notable career as a churchman.

The third son of Ludwig Shuey (1726-1775) was John. He located in Washington County, Maryland, about two miles from Boonsboro. His son John married Rosanna Geeting. The fourth son of Ludwig, i.e., John Ludwig Shuey (1755-1839) on leaving Bethel Township, Lebanon County, in the year 1795, settled in Augusta County, Virginia, at the headwaters of the Middle River. Newcomer and other early United Brethren ministers frequently preached at Ludwig Shuey's. Services were regularly held in the barn of his son Henry. On October 10-12, 1807 a Sacramental Meeting was held at the home of John Shuey, another son of John Ludwig. This son John Shuey was married to Catharine Funkhouser. In 1835 they moved to Vigo County, Indiana. They were influential United Brethren. Two of their sons; Ephraim and John P. were ministers. Ephraim had a son James F. who was a minister. John P. Shuey was presiding elder for a time, and so was his son, Joseph Glossbrenner Shuey. One son of the latter, Edward Homer Shuey was minister, conference superintendent, and Field Secretary for Westfield College. Another son of John P., William R. was professor in Westfield College and later its president. All these men served the United Brethren Church.

Christian Shuey, the sixth son of John Ludwig (1755-1839) married Catharine Geeting, a granddaughter of Rev. George Adam Geeting Sr. Their son received the baptismal name of his great-grandfather Geeting. George Adam Shuey was an itinerant preacher in the denomination. The eldest daughter of Christian Shuey, Maria M., married the Rev. J. J. Glossbrenner who for ten quadrenniums (1845-1885) served as bishop in the church, and then was bishop emeritus until his death in 1887. Catharine Virginia Glossbrenner, a daughter, married Rev. Daniel Kumler Flickinger who went with the Rev. William J. Shuey, a second cousin of his wife, to the African Mission Field in 1855.

Andrew Zeller was a native of the Tulpehocken region. He was first associated with the United Brethren movement in western Berks County, Pennsylvania, and later one of its chief promoters in Montgomery County, Ohio. He was born in the year 1755, eldest son of George Zeller who located south of the Little Swatara Creek, within a mile north of the present village of Mt. Aetna, Tulpehocken Township, Berks County. The Zeller family were members of the Tulpehocken Reformed Church of which Otterbein was pastor,

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The Zeller Home in Pennsylvania

1758-60. The father died in the year 1792. Two of his sons; Andrew and John were frequently hosts to Newcomer and Geeting. A two-day meeting was held at John Zeller's, May 21-22, 1799. Newcomer mentions two other Sacramental Meetings held at "Zeller's near the Little Swatara," in the years 1800, and 1803, respectively. Andrew lived in a large log house, approximately 30 by 60 feet, the eastern section having a large room on the first floor in which, most likely, meetings were held.

In 1806 he sold his lands totaling 338 acres for the sum of 4,750 pounds and moved to the vicinity of Germantown, Ohio. In the erection of his Ohio home, he again provided a room for public worship. His home became the center of activity for the work of the church in Montgomery County. It is not known when he entered the ministry. At the time of holding the first session of the Ohio (Miami) Conference, August 13, 1810, he was recognized as having the full authority of an elder. Most likely, he had the same recognition in Pennsylvania, but having removed to Ohio in 1806, his name does not appear on the list with those who had received full authority by the year 1812.

The minutes of Miami Conference, 1815 session, show that he with six others, was formally ordained at that session. Sessions of the same conference for the years 1812, 1814, and 1816 were held at his house. In 1818 he came to the home of Christian Hershey near Lancaster, Pa. to preside at the session of the original conference.

The influences which originated with him within the bounds of our conference were continued by his neighbors and his offspring, and will be recited in connection with the sketch of the Mt. Aetna Church.

Abraham Troxel³ gave twenty-two years of spiritual ministry in the revival movement while residing in Lebanon County. His father, Abraham Draxsel, came to Pennsylvania in a period when the German-Swiss immigration was at its height. He arrived September 15, 1749, on the ship Phoenix which had 550 passengers aboard, the largest number on any one vessel during that year. The list shows that twenty-two ships arrived in 1749, that the largest number carried on any one ship was 550, but that the average was 308, and that the total number of passengers on all the twenty-two ships was 6,787.⁴ This statement, included in this connection, gives one an opportunity to note the expansion of the German-Swiss immigration which had its beginning, so far as the inland settlements are concerned, with the coming of the ship Maria Hope.⁵

The senior Abraham Draxsel purchased a large tract of land located in North Lebanon Township, about a mile north of the village of Ebenezer near Lebanon City. Mr. Daniel B. Brandt, a member of our church at Ebenezer is the present owner of ninety-four acres of this tract. Here Abraham Troxel, subject of this sketch was born, November 1, 1751. His parents were members of the Amish Society. Of all the elements which entered into the making of the United Brethren in Christ Church, this was the most conservative. Two of our early historians; Spayth⁶ and Lawrence⁷ relate his spiritual reformation. Lawrence gives the fuller account, from which we quote as follows:

Mr. Draxsel, being an obedient and loving son of kind parents, and leading a strictly moral, and in the estimation of his Amish brethren, pious life, was, in his twenty-sixth year, encouraged to take part in preaching, which he did with such grace and ability as he had. Soon after he began to preach, however, he felt the need of a change of heart, and, through the grace of God, experienced that change. The love of Christ, which was to him a blessed reality, constrained him to preach it to his brethren; and in the warmth and joy of his first love, he had hoped that the doctrine of the new birth, and the news of his own happy conversion, would be well received by them; but it was not so. That the kingdom of Christ did not consist in rigid outward rules, or forms, or ordinances, but in peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, they would not believe.

On the contrary, they were offended and scandalized by the new and heartfelt experience and preaching of Draxsel, and determined to silence him. After having admonished him the third time, without producing the desired change, either in his religious views or manner of preaching, they sent a special deputation of the elders of the society to announce to him the decision of his brethren, and that he should be silent. When these elders had finished their work and departed, it appeared to him that angels came and ministered unto him, and he felt such peace and comfort in God as he had never before enjoyed. Choosing to obey God rather than man, he continued to

preach, and, in 1782, became associated with the United Brethren, with whom he labored forty-three years.

Behind this well-worded account of Rev. Troxel's experience one must seek for the heart-throbs, prayers, and anxieties of a young man who chooses between a new faith and the faith of his fathers. Not only for him but for all the converts of the new awakening, it meant what Jesus said: "he that forsaketh not father and mother . . . for my sake and the Gospel's cannot be my disciple."

But seemingly there was no harbored ill-will between father and son. His father realizing that no man has a permanent abode in this world drew up a will three years and five months before his death. By it he bequeathed his 220-acre farm to his son Abraham. There is no codicil to show that the father changed his mind, or attitude toward his son, in the time intervening between the making of the Will and his death.

Rev. Abraham Troxel continued to reside on the old homestead for twenty years following the passing of his father. His home like that of his contemporaries became the meeting place for general public meetings and Sacramental Meetings. From it he traveled rather extensively to tell what God had wrought in his soul. He frequently preached at points in the counties both east and west of the Susquehanna River, and in Maryland. In the year 1799 he accompanied Newcomer on an itinerary which took them westward to the Monongahela River. It was on this or a similar trip that he spotted the site of his future home. Newcomer writes under date of October 2, 1804, of being in Shippensburg, and "here I also met Br. Draksel and his family on their way to Westmoreland. He gave me the pleasing intelligence of a great revival west of the mountains." Subsequently he resided in Westmoreland County, near Mt. Pleasant and the famed Bonnet's Schoolhouse, where the first and second General Conferences were held. He was a member of the first session, held in the year 1815. He died in 1825.

His daughter, Frances, remained in Lebanon County and married Samuel Brightbill. Numerous descendants, members of United Brethren churches in the Lebanon Valley, trace their ancestry to this couple. Abraham Brightbill, son of Samuel owned the land on which the United Brethren Church, known as Brightbills, was erected.

Martin Kreider performed a service for the United Brethren cause in Lebanon County similar to that of Martin Boehm in Lancaster County. He was born in Lebanon County, November 4, 1740. Next to Otterbein and Boehm, he was the oldest minister from the standpoint of age and probably from that of ministerial service. Dr. Drury is of the opinion that he was preaching as early as 1772. Those who compiled the list of the United Ministers as of the time of the conference held at Otterbein's parsonage in 1789, included his name as one of them. He, however, was not present at that conference, not at any succeeding, except in the year 1812. His name is not on the list

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of those who had been authorized, by the year 1812, to perform all the rites of a minister. His ministry in the Word was confined to the people near his home and his relation was that of a lay-preacher rather than that of a licensed or ordained preacher.

A Sacramental Meeting was held on his premises, May 27-29, 1797, on which occasion, Newcomer, Martin Boehm, and Christian Crum preached with great power. The Rev. Kreider took part in similar meetings in communities east of the Susquehanna. The Kreider residence was southwest of Lebanon City. His father, Christian Kreider, was a son of a previous generation who had settled in the vicinity of Lancaster. Christian took out a warrant for 585 acres of land whose northern limits now include the southwestern suburban area of the City of Lebanon. Martin, one of four sons, received a share of his father's land. He married Catharine Schmutz whose parents lived about two miles northeast of the city of Lebanon. Martin Kreider and wife Catharine were the parents of eleven children.



Stone Markers
Christian Grosch and Wife
Ranck's Church Yard



Stone Marker
Martin Kreider
Family Burial Plot

The oldest of the children of Martin and Catharine Kreider was John. He married Barbara Smith, and about the year 1786 moved to Hamilton Township, Franklin County. John Crider⁸ was licensed by the original conference in the year 1812. It is this event which may account for the father's attendance at annual conference session. Rev. John Crider was ordained an elder in 1817.

Christian Smith Crider, born February 1, 1811, son of the Rev. John, and grandson of the Reverend Martin, was received into annual conference in the year 1835, and was ordained four years later at a session held in Light's Meetinghouse, Lebanon, Pa. He opened a Mission in the city of York in 1840, in which work he remained until conference of 1842. The following two years he was

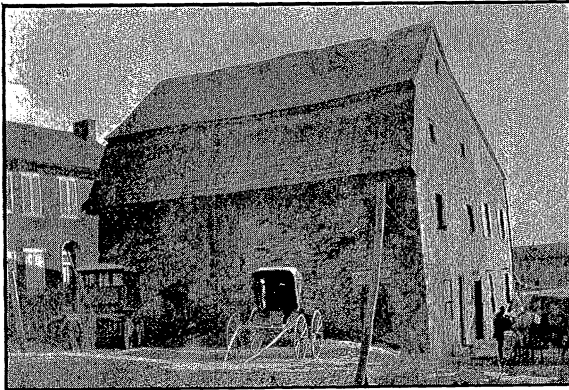
appointed to York Circuit. He was appointed to Lebanon City Station and its affiliated classes in 1845. While pastor at Lebanon the first Salem Church was erected. His pastorates terminated in 1848, when he was elected presiding elder and assigned to the Lebanon District. He served as presiding elder of said district for two years. Due to ill health he received no assignment in 1850. He died March 7, one month after that conference had been called into session. Thus at the age of thirty-nine years, one month, and six days, his very promising career came to a close.

So the contribution of Martin Kreider to the church whose cause he espoused is not limited to his personal service in that church but continued in the generations succeeding him.

Felix Light. The spiritual successor to Martin Kreider was Felix Light. He was a giant in stature, both physically and spiritually. Dr. Brane describes his physical appearance thus: "In physical form and features he was the embodiment of strength and beauty. He was six feet and three inches in height and weighed two hundred and forty pounds."⁹ His spiritual greatness consisted of deep human sympathy, evangelical passion, and persevering faith. In his own time and community he stands unmatched in the influence he exerted.

He was the grandson of John Light (Hans Licht or Lichte), who in 1738 purchased a tract of 274 acres of land whose eastern boundary was on the line of Seventh Street, and its southern boundary on the line of Church Street as of the present Lebanon City. Adjoining this tract on the east lay one of 205 acres of which he became owner six years later. On the land first purchased he erected a large stone dwelling in the year 1742. The house is standing today, located on Water Street near Eleventh. It is claimed that the Mennonites had services in it, and that Hans Light was a member of that Society. The house served admirably as a place of refuge for the harrassed citizens of Bethel and Hanover Townships when the redmen extended their cruel raids to and within the northern borders of the county. For a time a stockade stood about the house and so it became known as, "The Old Fort."

Hans Light died in the year 1759. His sons were: Martin, Jacob, John and Henry. Succeeding pages will show how large a contribution the sons and daughters of these men have made to United Brethren church membership. Without doubt, they outnumber those of any other family in our conference. Rev. Felix Light the son of John Light Jr., was born November 11, 1767. At the time of his birth Lebanon was a hamlet of about two hundred houses. The Light farms, then the property of the sons of John Sr., lay within a half mile to the north and east of it. Felix Light's father acquired the farm to the east. It in turn became Felix's property, and his house substantially built of brick, stood some rods east of Second Street and north of Cumberland.



**Hans Light
Residence
and
"Old Fort"
Built 1742
(Photo. about 1910)**

It can be authentically stated that the second and third generations of Lebanon County Light families were Mennonites. The Deed for the lot on which Light's Meetinghouse was erected in 1817 confirms this fact. Abraham Light Sr., brother of Felix was the grantor; Felix and his brother Martin, and their nephew Abraham Jr. son of said Abraham Sr., were the grantees—"Trustees of the Mennonist Society, settled, established, living, or residing in Lebanon Township, County of Lebanon, and its vicinity." According to this legal document, Felix Light, was a trustee of a Mennonite Meetinghouse in 1817. A printed historical sketch dealing with Shirk's United Brethren Church states that Felix Light was one of two Mennonite ministers participating in the dedicatory services of "Shirk's Union Meeting House," in the year 1825. So much from sources which show him to be a Mennonite.

We shall now consider his relation to the United Brethren. He preached at John Crider's, Franklin County, Sunday evening, January 1, 1806. Eight years after the United Brethren in Christ Church was organized, Christian Newcomer, "preached at Felix Lichte's near Lebanon." The following May, Christian Newcomer, Mathias Bortsfeld, and Abraham Draksel preached at a Sacramental Meeting at Felix Lichte's. On Sunday, June 27, 1810, Felix Lichte was present at a Sacramental Meeting held at Christian Hershey's in Lancaster County. On three other occasions, in the years 1812, 1818, and 1824, respectively, Newcomer held services at Felix Lichte's home. Newcomer attended a campmeeting on the premises of Felix Light, September first to sixth, 1825.

In addition to the quotation from the Lebanon Salem Church Book given in a previous paragraph, there is another very illuminating statement in the same book. In order to get the full import of the statement, we quote it in its entirety. The writer takes the liberty to change its wording, without effecting the sense.

The United Brethren saw proper to build a meetinghouse one-half mile north of Lebanon, at which dedication a number of the United Brethren preachers were present, and one of

Light's Meetinghouse

Built 1817

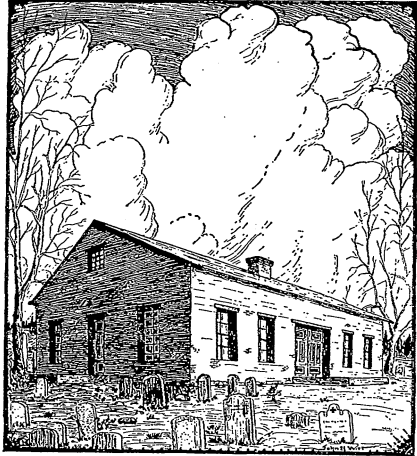
From a Pen Sketch

by John H. Wirt

Member of Lebanon

Salem Church

**According to Description
of William M. Guilford, M. D.
When he was 104 years
of age.**



the Conference members, John Neidig, preached the dedication sermon. But when the Deed for the house was written, and the inquiry made, to what Order or Sect shall it be deeded, after pausing awhile, the reply was; the Impartial Mennonites. The same person who had the Deed drawn up soon thereafter became a member and preacher of the Conference of the United Brethren in Christ; this same person, Felix Light, paid nearly four hundred dollars of his own money for the liquidation of the old church debt. Furthermore, the Society, Order, or Denomination of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ had peaceable possession of that meeting house from the first day to the last for twenty-odd years until the new church was completed. Therefore the selfsame Society in the Borough of Lebanon was completed. To this fact we do not hesitate for a moment to call hundreds of witnesses. Again, it is equally evident that out of the soul of the Mennonite Reformation grew the Society known by the name (Allgemeinem) or United Brethren in Christ. There were those who at first saw proper not to join the Conference, yet in their declining years, they gave their ministerial charges and respective congregations to the pastoral care of the members of the Conference of the United Brethren in Christ; Kreider and Sherk to Felix Light and Henry Landis, and they in turn to John and Casper Light and Samuel Etter.

This statement, from the pen of one who soon after the first Salem Church was built in the year 1845, explains the transition from Mennonite to United Brethren adherence. Though the Deed specifies that the property is for the use of the Mennonites, this statement leaves the impression that in 1817 there was a reform element within the Mennonite body about Lebanon which took a sort of middle position. They called themselves the Allegemeine (Universal),

Impartial, or Unparteiischen. (Unsectarian) Mennonites. But the statement further shows that they moved from a middle ground to complete adherence to the United Brethren, and that Felix Light was the chief leader in the transition.

It was a very gradual change. The series of steps, so far as outward evidence is concerned, are as follows: first, Felix Light opens his home to United Brethren preaching; second, he permits a Sacramental Meeting at his home; third, he attends, and preaches at such meetings away from home; fourth, he arranges for a six-day camp-meeting on his farm; fifth, he attends the United Brethren Conference; sixth, three of his sons become members of annual conference; and finally, he is instrumental in having the 1836 and 1839 annual conference sessions meet in Light's Meetinghouse.

While there is no record of him being licensed by conference, his name appears on the conference roll of ministers and he is present at the sessions held in 1832, 1833, 1836, and 1839. These sessions convened at points east of the Susquehanna River, and were the only sessions held in our area during that decade while he lived. He was then in his seventies. Advanced age and illness prevented him from being too active in his declining years.

The Landmark's History states the following concerning his ministry:

When he was about forty years old he left the farm in the hands of his boys, and gave himself almost exclusively to the work of an evangelist, preaching every four weeks at Lebanon, Jonestown, Kauffman's and Gingrich's; and every six weeks at Weiss', Sherk's, Dinger's, Kendig's and Strohm's, in addition to which he had many special engagements and preached many funeral sermons.¹⁰

Rev. J. S. Kessler tells of a visit to Felix Light's home, in the following words:

Father Light requested him to accompany him on a visiting tour through the town. House after house they entered. All seemed to know Father Light. He conversed freely with the residents respecting their health and condition; but most particularly did he inquire of the state of their souls, always imparting such advice, warning, and encouragement, as the nature of the case seemed to demand. In the pulpit Father Light was an eloquent, zealous reasoner, and had many seals to his ministry.¹¹

This much-esteemed servant of God died January 23, 1841, at the age of seventy-three years, two months, and twelve days. Mr. J. Uhler wrote an obituary which appeared in the Religious Telescope, from which we quote:

Funeral services were attended by the largest concourse of friends and relatives ever assembled on such an occasion in our neighborhood. He bore his sickness with Christian fortitude. The house of brother Light was the home of the travel-

ing preacher for many years, and where the poor without distinction found relief. Whenever he heard of a sick person, he made it his duty to visit and aid them as soon as possible, and to assist them in the salvation of their souls, no matter to what church they belonged, and almost always when persons were under conviction of sin, father Light was sent for to converse and pray with them, and many whom he thus assisted and instructed both in private and public will here and hereafter praise God for redeeming love.¹²

The wife of Felix Light was Barbara Sherk, daughter of Casper Sherk Jr. and wife, Barbara Hunsicker, of Bethel Township, Lebanon County. This Casper Sherk, (1734-1817) son of Casper and grandson of Ulrich the immigrant, was a preacher of the Mennonites. The church of that denomination at Shirksville, near Fredericksburg, is located on land he sold to the trustees of said church in the year 1775. Newcomer paid a visit to his home in 1803, and made the following notation in his Journal: "This day I paid a visit to the Rev. Mr. Sherk: he and his companion are a pious couple, may God preserve them in the way to everlasting glory." The writer of the Salem Church record associates him with Martin Kreider. So he too, in his advanced years was very friendly to the United Brethren cause, and was to a degree cooperating with them. To Felix Light and wife Barbara five children were born: John, Casper, Joseph F., and daughters: Mary, who married a Jacob Light, and Anna who died unmarried.

The Reverend John Light was born November 14, 1808. He lived in the house erected by his father. In 1832, he received annual conference license, and was ordained in 1835. His first service in the conference was in the capacity of a presiding elder. He served the Lancaster-Lebanon District as presiding elder during the conference years, 1836-39; 1840-42; and, 1845-46. He was pastor of the Lebanon-Annville charge 1842-43, of the Lebanon charge 1843-45. This completes the record of conference appointment. He died a comparatively young man, at the age of forty-two years, five months and fifteen days. He was a man of good talents and sound judgment. His preaching was edifying to the Christian and convincing to the sinner. The character and philosophy of John Light are shown in an incident which took place at the conference of 1845. One of the resolutions introduced was to the effect that all members of conference be required to wear shad-belly coats. Another was that all members of conference be required to wear their hair straight down over the forehead, and not to comb it up or to the side. Both resolutions were voted down. One of those who opposed such fanaticism was John Light.

He contended that every Christian man ought to have common sense enough to know for himself how to dress. If the fault was in the head, if common sense was wanting, he was not fit to be a minister, and his license should be demanded. If the fault was in the heart, then the proper place to

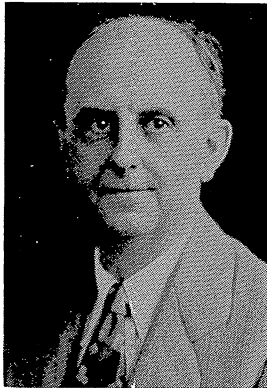
begin to whittle was at the heart and not at the coat or hair. Get the heart right, and let it be filled with the Holy Ghost; then it will regulate the man and his dress in every respect; cleanse the fountain, and the stream will be pure.¹³

Concerning his death, the following was written:

The same day he left this world, his attending physician was to see him, and returning to town, he informed the lawyers and doctors, at least some of them, that if they wanted to see a Christian die, they should step out to John Light's, who, he remarked would live but a few hours more, where they could behold the beautiful scene.¹⁴

The words of another quite agree with the doctor's testimony:

For weeks before he died he seemed to know the very hour when he would have to go. Accordingly he set his house in order; made his will; and just before the summons came he gathered his family around him, gave them his farewell advice and his parting blessing, and then looking at the clock remarked, "my time is come," and he died calmly as if he had fallen asleep.¹⁵



John C. H. Light

August 14, 1872

March 24, 1950

Great Grandson

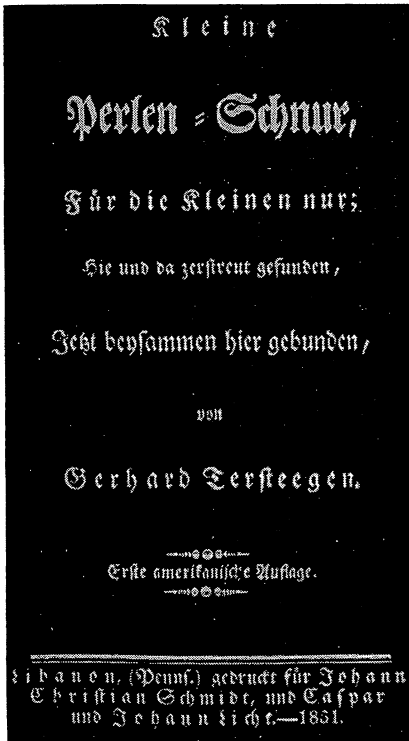
of

Felix Light

The Reverend John Light and wife Anna Hoffer had three sons who were United Brethren ministers; i.e., Rudolph, Job, and Ezekiel. Rudolph Light, born November 7, 1826, was licensed in 1854. He held charges in East Pennsylvania, then went as missionary to Canada, and in 1887 transferred to Erie Conference. Later he returned to Lebanon County and had the status of a local elder. Job Light (1839-1888), began his ministry in the Ohio German Conference at the age of twenty. In 1868 he transferred to East Pennsylvania, served churches on Bellegrove Circuit, in Reading, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Myerstown. He was presiding elder for four years, 1874-1878, in the East German Conference. His son John C. H. Light, is the last of the family name having membership in East Pennsylvania. He alone bears the distinction of being the member of a family which has an unbroken line of ministerial

brethren serving from the time of the formative period of our conference to the present. He has been in the ministry fifty-two years, in active work forty-nine years, and he had high hopes of making it fifty, but illness prevented, so that he was compelled to ask for retirement at the conference of 1945.

The Reverend Ezekiel Light (1834-1904), was converted at the age of seventeen in Salem Church, Lebanon. Four years later he was licensed by Ohio German Conference. He transferred membership to East Pennsylvania in 1865. His ministry was in varied capacities, serving sixteen years in the pastorate, ten in the eldership, three in the chaplaincy during the Civil War, three as agent of Lebanon Valley College, six as editor of German literature, and seven as chaplain of the Soldier's Home, Dayton, Ohio. Intellectually speaking, he was competent and cultivated, and enjoyed a wide range of information respecting almost every department of thought and feeling. As a preacher he was able and resourceful, philosophically strong and spiritually inspiring to head and heart.



Translation of Title Page

A STRING OF SMALL PEARLS

For Children Only

Found Scattered Here and There

Now Bound Together Herein

by

Gerhard Tersteegen

First American Edition

Lebanon (Penna), Printed for John
 Christian Smith, And Casper
 and John Light—1831

This small book is the property of Arville G. Light, of Lebanon, Pa., a great-great-grandson of the Reverend Felix Light; contains short stories of personal religious faith adaptable for instruction of young people; shows interest of those for whom it was printed.

The Reverend Casper Light, second son of the Reverend Felix, was born September 7, 1804, and died August 2, 1857. Like his father, he was a man of powerful and impressive physique. He was less argumentative in discourse than his brother John, but possessed the advantages of a remarkable retentive memory. He knew the Hymn Book by heart, was very gifted in singing and had a well-trained and magnificent voice. He received annual license a year later than his brother John, but both were ordained in the same year, 1835. He also, was presiding elder of the Lancaster-Lebanon District. His terms as such were: 1842-44; 1846-47; and 1850-51. He was pastor of Lebanon Circuit, 1845-46, associated with John A. Sand. The writer learned, from the lips of one whose father was present when Eby's Church, near Mt. Joy was dedicated in 1851, of an incident in the career of Casper Light who preached on that occasion. It had been a remarkably dry season. But while the service was in progress rain began to fall. This caused a commotion among the numerous horses tied near the church. Hearing this, the audience was somewhat disturbed. Whereupon the preacher admonished the congregation to pay no attention to the horses but to attend to the business of worship.

One son of Casper Light, Joel by name, was a minister. Reverend Joel Light (1840-1904), served ten charges in East German Conference which he joined in 1871. He was educated in the schools of Lebanon and attended Otterbein University. For reasons of his own he chose always to preach in the German language. His sermons were well arranged and delivered with zeal and energy. He was a man of strong social qualities—truly a man among men, carrying sunshine and cheer wherever he went. As a revivalist he was not excelled in the conference.

The Reverend Joseph F. Light, the third son of Felix, joined the ministerial ranks but had a very much shorter service in the active ministry than his brothers. He was born February 11, 1813, and at the age of twenty-two was converted in the Light's Meetinghouse. He received quarterly license on Christmas Day in the year 1858, and was received into East Pennsylvania Conference in 1861. Middleburg Circuit was his only conference appointment. His health being poor, he ceased to travel, but preached considerably in a local capacity.

Thus Felix Light, his three sons, four grandsons, and one great grandson bring to eight in number of Light men who were members of the conference, five of whom were presiding elders. Four others by the same family name are on our ministerial roll. The name of father Felix Light, is blessed, and his works do follow him.

John Neidig Sr. Of the men thus far noticed, who had resided permanently within our area, the Rev. John Neidig followed most closely an organized church order. He was present at the 1791 conference. He has a more consistent record of attendance at the sessions of annual conference than any of his contemporaries in the eastern area. He, more than any one else, was instrumental in

building the meetinghouse named after him, i.e., "Neidig's Meetinghouse," Oberlin, Pennsylvania. His progressive measures are all the more significant when we note this to be the first United Brethren building erected east of the Susquehanna, predating by thirty years any other such erected. His name stands first as a trustee, is first on the list of subscribers, and he handled the accounts for erection of the said building.

His adherence to the doctrine and practices of Otterbein and his ability as a preacher were recognized in that he was selected to be pastor of the Old Otterbein Church, Baltimore, Maryland, in which capacity he served three years, 1828-1831. He was officially assigned overseer of the work east of the river, in the years 1812, 1820, and 1826. In 1812 he served jointly with Christopher Grosh. He probably served unofficially during other years.

John Neidig was born in Berks County, April 10, 1765. He had a brother, Abraham, and a sister, Elizabeth. When these children were quite small, the mother died. The father, Abraham Neidig then married, Elizabeth, the widow of Jacob Eshelman, deceased.¹⁶ When son John was about five years of age, Abraham Neidig and his family moved from Cumru Township, Berks County, to Paxtang (now Swatara) Township, Dauphin County, near Highspire. The Neidigs were said to have been of the German Reformed Faith, but in their new neighborhood the younger members of the family became adherents of the Mennonite Society.

In the twenty-fifth year of his age, John Neidig was chosen by lot to be a preacher by the Mennonites. Spayth tells of young Neidig's experiences in an incident arising from it, as follows:

Being now set apart as a preacher, the desire for a clean heart, and the token that he was a child of God (as he expressed it), pressed more heavily upon him, and he prayed more frequently and more fervently. Beside this, he felt the necessity and importance of preaching an experimental salvation from sin; and this salvation he soon found, and was made to rejoice. He began to preach with much force and energy, the cause, the nature, and the necessity of the new birth. This was more than his Mennonite brethren expected from him, and more than they as a church, were willing to receive. One instance we will relate in a few words: "Some time after his conversion, whilst he was preaching and exhorting with much feeling, many in the congregation were crying loud enough to be heard. The old preacher caught brother Neidig by the arm, saying—'O not so brother. You press the subject too far.' To this he quietly replied—"There is no stopping this side of heaven. I will press it—yet more earnestly."¹⁷

This source indicates also that he began preaching for the Mennonites about the year 1790. Those who erected a tombstone at the head of his grave caused to be inscribed thereon: "A Minister of the Gospel to the United Brethren in Christ for fifty-three years." This

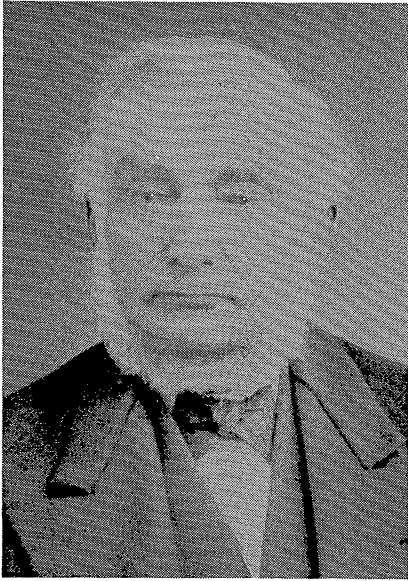
reckoning would set the year 1791 as the time when he became associated with the United Ministers. It is a certainty that he was present at the United Minister's Conference in the year 1791, and was from that time forward recognized as one of their number having full ministerial standing. Newcomer, on coming up the Cumberland Valley, made his last stopping-place that of the elder John Shopp just east of Shiremanstown, and on crossing the river, made his first stop at John Neidig's. The Journal records twenty-four visits made at the Neidig home.

The Rev. John Neidig, Sr., married Mary Bear of Lancaster County. Six sons and two daughters were born to this union. These children exemplified the spirit and devotion of their parents in the several communities which they chose for their residence. The daughters were Anna and Elizabeth. Elizabeth married Michael Frantz, and their daughter Mary Frantz married the Rev. John Raysor. The sons of John Neidig Sr. and Mary Bear were: Abraham, Daniel, John Jr., Samuel, Jacob, Benjamin, Isaac and Jonathan. Abraham married Nancy Hagey and moved to Frederick County, Maryland. Benjamin first married Catharine Snively, and after her decease, Mary Hershey of Hagerstown, Maryland. Daniel and Samuel lived in the vicinity of Highspire. Samuel was a trustee for the first church property held by the United Brethren in Highspire. Jacob married Catharine Shopp of Shiremanstown. The sons; John, Isaac and Jonathan went to Iowa. John Jr. married Nancy Hershey, daughter of Rev. Christian Hershey of Lancaster County. They went with one of the Hershey migrations to Iowa, and John Jr. became a minister there. Jonathan married Catharine Hershey, daughter of Reverend Abraham Hershey of near Carlisle. They also moved to Iowa.

Catharine Shopp, above mentioned, was a daughter of John Shopp Sr., (1761-1821), and wife Anna Hershey. Their home became a center of evangelical life and influence. Here the Hershey's, Shopp's, and Neidig's, shared an exceedingly enriching Christian and social fellowship. In 1827, a church constructed of limestone was erected on John Shopp's land, about a half mile east of Shiremanstown. A burial ground where the Shopp's, Jacob Neidig and wife, Bishop Jacob Erb and wife, the Reverend Samuel Eberly and wife, the Reverend George Gilbert and wife, and other saints sleep the sleep of the blessed, marks the site where the church stood.

It is by the courtesy of Mr. N. H. Huffman—one of the organizers of our mission work in Puerto Rico—a grandson of Isaac Neidig, great grandson of the Reverend John Neidig Sr., that we secured a photograph of the latter. Father Neidig lived to the advanced age of seventy-eight years, nine months, and one day. His body was laid to rest in the Highspire General Cemetery. One of his co-workers, the Reverend Jacob Roop wrote briefly, concerning his demise and funeral.

John Neidig died at his residence near Highspire, Dauphin County, January 11, 1844 in the full faith of the Gospel of



John Neidig Sr.

Christ. Father Neidig's preaching was plain and simple, forcibly impressing upon the minds of the people the necessity of experimental religion. For the last two years he was dwindling away, growing weaker all the while, confined to his bed for several weeks. Brother Simon Dreisbach preached from Amos, chapter four, and the writer from II Timothy, 4:6-8.¹⁸

John Hershey. The United Brethren movement during its early stages drew into its current numerous members of the Hershey family. Closely associated with them through intermarriage and church connections was the Herr family. We begin the recital of their contributions to the movement with an account of Reverend John Hershey who was born in Hempfield Township, Lancaster County in the year 1740 or 41, and died April 4, 1811 in Washington County Maryland. His residence at the time of his early ministry was within the present city limits of Harrisburg. His name is among those who were recognized ministers at the time of the conference of 1791. During the first decade of organized work of the conference, he was present at seven of its sessions. During this same decade he participated in public services at Sacramental Meetings, Camp-meetings, and in private homes, held in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. He also visited the regions of Erie County, New York; and Waterloo County, Ontario, Canada.

In considering the foundations for the work of the United Brethren in and about Harrisburg, the name of John Hershey must not be overlooked. It was by individuals like him, whose work east of

the Susquehanna River has remained in oblivion, that the foundation stones for a future church were laid. The public records give ample proof that he lived in Dauphin County and that he was a minister at the time.

The land on which he lived had been in the possession of his father, Rev. Andrew Hershey of the Mennonite Church, since the year 1752. As early as 1770, John Hershey was a landholder in Paxton Township, as per tax assessment lists. A similar list for the year 1780, has, "John Hershey, preacher," and those for the years 1786 and 1787 have, "John Hershey, Rev'd." The land for which he was assessed was a 199-acre tract, lying on Paxtang Creek, which on its southwest bordered land of John Harris Sr., the founder of the city named for him. This tract included that section of the city now within the area bounded approximately, by Walnut Street on the south, Muench Street on the north, and by Ninth and Fourteenth Streets west and east. John Harris Jr. laid out a part of his land in town lots in the year 1784. In 1786 John Hershey bought lot number 141 fronting on the north side of Market Street. It adjoined the lot on the east upon which the first courthouse was erected. He sold half of this lot to Dr. John Dentzel in 1789, and the remaining half to William Grayson, attorney, in 1791.

Whether, in 1780, John Hershey was a preacher for the Mennonites, or whether he was affiliated with our pioneer preachers, is uncertain. From the known facts of his Mennonite background, it may be supposed that he was first a preacher for that Society. Dr. Schaff says he was a member of the Mennonites.¹⁹ To that we can agree. But when Dr. Schaff states that he, "changed his church relationship after his removal to Beaver Creek settlement identifying himself with the United Brethren in Christ," we disagree. We know that he was one of the United Ministers by 1791, which was before he moved to Beaver Creek.

The land records in the Dauphin County courthouse show that he disposed of his farm in five parcels. The second last sale was on April 4, 1792. At that time he was still a resident of Paxtang Township. The Washington County, Maryland records show he bought land first in that county in 1793. These land transfers therefore indicate that he moved to Maryland in 1792 or 1793. His brother Isaac, also settled in Washington County, about the same time. His residence was a few miles to the west of John Hershey Sr.

In Maryland, John Hershey's home was one of the appointments for United Brethren preachers. His descendants played a large part in the life of the St. Paul's congregation. His son John (1771-1854), lived in Hagerstown. He was one of the organizers of the old Hagerstown Bank, was elected Mayor of the town, and took part in other public affairs. When the Benevolent Society (Preacher's Aid) was organized in 1822 as authorized by the original conference the previous year, John Hershey was elected its first treasurer.

Abraham and Christian Hershey. The gospel of pardon and peace as preached by our pioneers found lodgment in the heart of Abraham Hershey, father of Reverends Abraham and Christian. He welcomed these heralds of the Cross to his threshold and shared the hospitality of his house for the preaching of their doctrine. His 305 acre farm, located in Manheim Township, Lancaster County, lay a little more than a mile northeast of the Lancaster city limits. The house and barn became the scene of many a numerous gathering of United Brethren worshippers, first when he was their proprietor, and later, when his sons, Abraham and Christian, in succession held them in their own right.

In the closing years of the eighteenth century a gracious revival was held in the Hershey neighborhood which resulted in many converts. Newcomer came to Abraham Hershey's house on November 20, 1799 and preached at night to a numerous assembly, many of the people being new converts, "yet in their first love."

The Hershey home was but a mile west of the Lancaster-New Holland Turnpike. This road was Newcomer's route of travel from Lancaster out to Bareville and to his former home.

Abraham Hershey, father of these two preacher sons, was a first cousin of the Rev. John Hershey. Their immigrant ancestor, Christian Hershey located, in 1717, on 500 acres of land lying on both sides of the Little Conestoga Creek. The first buildings were erected on the north side of the Marietta Pike about midway between Lancaster and Rohrerstown. The progenitor of this Hershey family lived only three years after coming to the Lancaster region. He had three sons: Benjamin, a famous bishop of the Mennonite Church; Andrew, and Christian. Andrew was father of nine sons and three daughters. Of these sons, two; i.e., John and Isaac have already been mentioned. Christian Hershey, son of Christian the immigrant, had three sons and six daughters. Of the daughters more will be said under the Herr families. One of the three sons, was Abraham, the father of the preacher brothers. He died in 1811, the same year in which his cousin, John, died in Maryland.

The Reverend Abraham Hershey, eldest son of Abraham and Elizabeth Landis Hershey, was born in Manheim Township, March 3, 1774. He married Mary Herr, daughter of Christian Herr and Mary Hershey of Manor Township. Abraham Hershey and wife Mary Herr lived on the old Hershey homestead in Manheim Township for a few years, then moved on a farm in Manor Township, located between the village of Creswell and the Susquehanna River. This farm came to them as a bequest from Mrs. Hershey's father. A burial plot within a quarter of a mile of Creswell, where Reverend Abraham Hershey, his wife, and other kin are interred, is located on the northeast boundary of the farm.

One has to keep in mind that most of the work of the Reverend Abraham Hershey as a minister of the gospel was carried forward

while he lived at Creswell, or as the region is sometimes called, "Turkey Hill." From 1801 forward to his death, May 6, 1839, he was known to be a minister in the United Brethren in Christ Church. As early as 1802 we find him participating in a service at Littlestown, Adams County. He preached extensively, not as an appointed itinerant but as a local itinerant. In 1823, conference assigned him the duties of a presiding elder, a function he probably exercised over a period of years. In 1818 and 1819, respectively, Sacramental Meetings were held on his premises. From 1825 onward another Abraham Hershey, his second cousin, a resident of Cumberland County, was also a minister of the original conference. To distinguish between them in the conference record, the secretaries wisely placed the letter "L" after the name of Lancaster-Abraham, and the letter "C" after the name of Cumberland-Abraham.

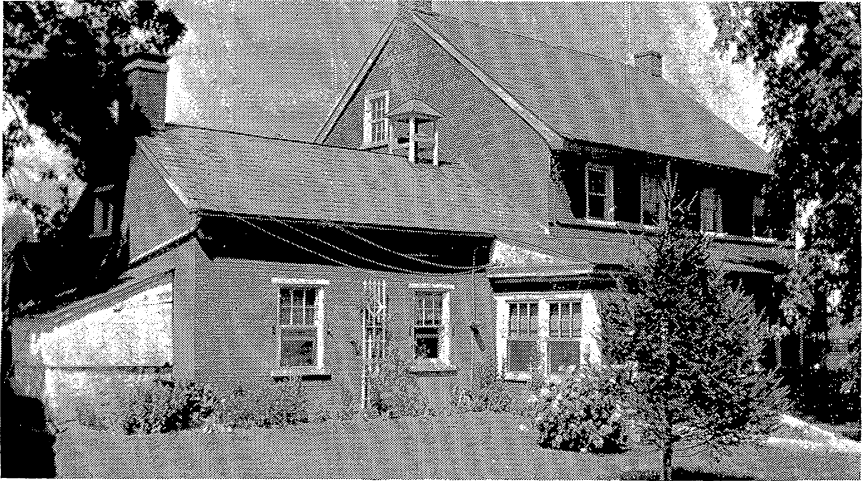
His dwelling in the Manor was of large proportions—erected in 1811 with a view of holding religious worship. It was a rendezvous for the early preachers. Newcomer preached there occasionally and more frequently lodged there. It was the scene of the wedding of Barbara Hershey, a daughter of Abraham, and the Reverend Daniel Peiffer, one of the young preachers of the conference, at which the venerable bishop officiated. Not only were the clergy attracted to this home but also other men of public affairs. Governor Ritner of the State of Pennsylvania was a frequent guest. It came about in this way. The Reverend Hershey was a great student of domestic and foreign policy. He was prominently identified with the common-school movement which culminated in the adoption of the common-school law in 1834. When this law was attacked in 1836, and pressure brought on Governor Ritner to veto the new bill drawn by W. H. Burrowes, the Reverend Hershey urged his friend, the Governor, with all his persuasive eloquence, to sign the bill which gave to rich and poor alike that priceless heritage—a chance to get a common-school education. It was the political death of Ritner but he always thereafter held his plain old friend in the highest esteem for aiding him, by his counsel, to stand firm for a measure which was so bitterly opposed, yet gave the Governor lasting fame.

The Reverend Christian Hershey was born June 16, 1777. Upon the death of his father in 1811, the other heirs deeded a farm of 143 acres over to him. It was part of the 305 acres held by his grandfather. Here he resided during the forty years of his ministerial office in Pennsylvania. His name first appears on the conference roll of 1807. In 1814 he was appointed presiding elder of the Lancaster District, to serve for two years. He had a very consistent record of attendance at annual conference sessions. Six great meetings were held on his farm. In connection with the services of the one held May 17-18, 1808, eight persons were baptized in the Conestoga Creek.

The annual conference of the year 1818 was held at his house. Both bishops Newcomer and Zeller were present. Among the twenty-four ministers present were: Christopher Grosh, Christian Hershey, David Gingrich, Joseph Yordy, Abraham Hershey, Christian Smith, and Jacob Zentmeier of Lancaster County.

In 1836, at the age of sixty-two, Christian Hershey traveled the Lancaster Circuit by appointment of conference. The circuit then consisted of about thirty appointments.

The boundless energy and zeal of this Christian stalwart, even in advanced age, is evident in that at the age of seventy-two he made a trip to Iowa in order to view the country with a possibility of entering upon a new enterprise. He was accompanied on this trip by his son Abraham, and his son-in-law, Michael Coover. He bought land in the Yankee Grove District and decided to settle there. The follow-



Christian Hershey House, Manheim Township

ing year, 1847, he sold his Manheim Township farm for the sum of seventeen thousand dollars, formed a colony of about sixty persons, and began the long trek to Linn County, Iowa. The company traveled by train, canal, and steamboat, arriving at Muscatine in the month of May of the same year, thence went fifty miles north across the country, settling on land selected the previous year, forming a small village, and calling it Lisbon. In the company were his five children with the families of each, among them being the Rev. John Neidig Jr., who was married to his daughter Nancy. The Rev. Hershey paid the expenses of moving the entire colony.

Not satisfied with mere commercial and agricultural ventures, he launched out anew in religious enterprise. In 1850, out of his own means, he erected a small brick church at Lisbon, it being the first church building erected by the United Brethren in Iowa. Lisbon was chosen as the meeting place for the annual conference held in August of 1853. A quotation here from the Lisbon Church Souvenir seems appropriate:

Reverend Hershey, who was in a sense the father of the Lisbon Church, looked forward to the coming of the confer-

ence with great expectation. When the time arrived for making the necessary preparations he joined most heartily in the work. After cleaning the church and putting everything in shape, he proposed to a friend who was with him, to go into the church and offer a prayer for the conference. He was in great joy, but on the third of August, (1853), the day before the conference was to meet, very suddenly the death angel called and father Hershey passed away.

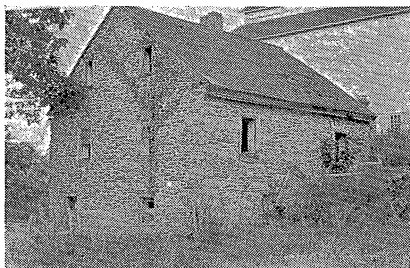
The sisters, also, of these two Hershey brothers, with their families, made vital contributions to the United Brethren Church in the several communities to which they removed. Esther Hershey married Jacob Shuemaker—they resided near Manheim. The name of their son, Christian Shuemaker, comes up in connection with our churches at Manheim and Florin. Mary Hershey and her husband John Long, and Ann Hershey and her husband, John Frick, moved to Niagara County, New York. Catharine Hershey married David Long. They settled in Pfautz's Valley, west of Liverpool, Perry County. Annual conference of the year 1816 was held at David Long's in Pfautz's Valley. He was a member of the original conference. Elizabeth Hershey and her husband Christian Erb, the parents of Bishop Jacob Erb and his sister Mrs. Reverend Samuel Eberly, located near West Fairview, Cumberland County.

The fertile spiritual soil of old Lancaster yielded a rich harvest through the life of Abraham Hershey, father of these sons and daughters. It was like unto, "a root out of a dry ground," budding to life and bringing forth fruit to nourish the hungry multitudes.

Christian Herr. The name of Christian Herr and others of the same family name appear very frequently in connection with the early work of the conference. The annual conference sessions of the years 1807, 1809, and 1813 were held at the house of Christian Herr in Manor Township, Lancaster County. This fact alone has great significance when viewed in its proper perspective. When we note that only four annual sessions of the Old Conference were held within our bounds between the years 1800 and 1832, the question arises; why three of them at Christian Herr's? Who was this Christian Herr, where did he live?

The only clue to the answer, appearing in our official conference records, is in item thirteen of the conference minutes, year 1812. It is as follows: "Resolved that the next yearly conference shall be held at Christian Herr's, in Manor Township." By tracing the routes of travel by Bishop Newcomer, and by the many references to Christian Herr in the Journal, the problem of locating his residence narrows down to a spot somewhere in the vicinity of Creswell. After a tedious search of land, and family records, and after visitations to the locality, it was found to be two miles north of Creswell and four miles west of Millersville, along a road from Creswell to Central Manor—a farm now (1946) in possession of Davis Sangrey. The spacious log house, its exterior now coated with cement-stucco, had

a large room on the ground floor in which meetings were held. The barn and the newer dwelling stand west of the old house. On the east gable of the barn is a stone with the inscription: "Built by—David Herr—and his wife—Barbara—1764." Christian Herr made a will in 1820 by which he bequeathed to his son David, this farm. David took possession of it, erected the barn, before the father's death in 1828.



Abraham Hershey Residence
(Until 1811)



Christian Herr House
Manor Township

This house deserves recognition as a shrine of the United Brethren in Christ Church in Lancaster County. The head of the family which occupied it was not a minister. Many years passed before laymen became members of the annual conference. Had it been so in his time, and his good works recorded, we would beyond all doubt behold a man who wielded a tremendous influence in the affairs of the infant denomination. Though not a preacher, he is found traveling with them and supporting them in their work of evangelism. His generosity and interest in the rising church is manifest, as already stated, in entertaining three sessions of annual conference. Furthermore, four times, great crowds of people swarmed over his farm, as they came to Great Meetings held there.

Bishop Martin Boehm presided at the sessions of 1807 and 1809. In 1807, ministers present were: Isaac Nieswander and Christian Crum from Virginia, Christian Newcomer, Frederick Shaffer, and George Adam Geeting from Maryland, and from the counties of Pennsylvania; David Long, of Perry, Abraham Mayer and David Snyder of Cumberland, John Neidig of Dauphin, and Christian Smith, Christian and Abraham Hershey of Lancaster. By the time the 1813 conference was held, Bishop Boehm had died. No bishop being present, Christopher Grosh was elected to preside. At this session Christian Newcomer was elected bishop for one year. This session also selected a committee of four to draw up a plan of union with the "Albright's People," to be laid before the next conference.

The most unique event of all, (one that seems to have been overlooked by the writers on vital matters pertaining to our denomination and conference), that transpired at the house of Christian Herr, was the forming of a class of members. The direct quotation from

the Journal recording the action, follows: "16th—(Sept. 1816) I lodged with Chr. Herr. 17th—I preached here from 2d. Corinth. 5, v. 21, 22, formed a class of eight members."²⁰ Comment on this event will appear in another place in this volume, suffice it to say here that so far as there is any record, this is the first class ever formed east of the Susquehanna River.

The intermarriages of Hersheys and Herrs form so intricate a web that no attempt will be made to unravel it here. But several family connections will be given here in order to identify certain individuals and to show that the United Brethren doctrine laid hold on them and spread through them. It so happens that the mother of Christian Herr was a Hershey, that Christian Herr married a Hershey, and that his daughter Mary married a Hershey. The parents of Christian Herr (cir. 1742-1828) were David Herr and Barbara Hershey. His mother, Barbara Hershey was a sister to Abraham Hershey Sr., father of the two brother preachers. His contribution to the church is recited in the preceding section. Esther Hershey, sister to Barbara, married Henry Herr. The Herr families at Annville and Harrisburg are of their descendants. Christian Herr, who heads this section, married Mary Hershey, and their daughter Mary Herr married the Reverend Abraham Hershey, (1774-1839).

David Herr (1722-1771) and wife Barbara Hershey had another son, by name, Abraham (1751-1823), who supported the work of the United Brethren in Manor Township. He lived about a mile west of Millersville, a short distance south of the Blue Rock Road. The house on this farm was erected by his parents. On the east wall of the house there is a small stone bearing the initials of the parents and the year built: "D. H.—B. H.—1764." Newcomer has on record eighteen instances of either preaching or lodging at the house of Abraham Herr. It was a regular appointment for preaching. There is record of four Sacramental Meetings held on his farm.

Under some miscellaneous items, Spayth quotes a letter he received from a friend which reveals something of the character and standing of Abraham Herr. It is as follows:

An acquaintance of mine by the name of Abraham Herr, in Lancaster County, became a subject of God's renewing grace. Being a man of considerable wealth, having several large farms to cultivate, and a distillery on an extensive scale in operation; and seeing the sin connected with the distillation and traffic of the poison, he set about the good work of converting the still-house into a house of worship. Near the spot where the kettles stood, he has a pulpit erected, in which the word of life is declared to many who attend the meetings.²¹

Isaac Long. How frequently Great Meetings were held on the Isaac Long place following that of the year 1767 no one can say. Thirty-two years later one was held which might well be recognized as a great anniversary occasion. The greatest array of church fathers

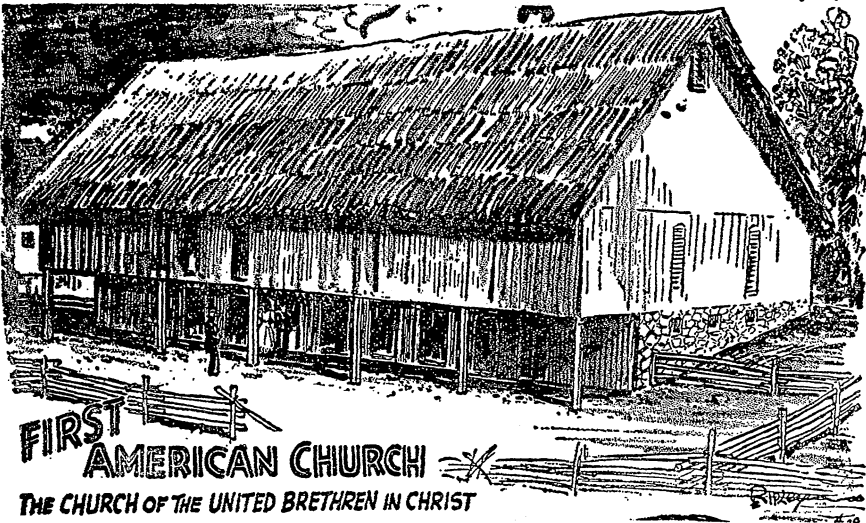
ever to assemble at such a gathering were present. They were: Christian Newcomer, Christian Crum, Martin Boehm, John George Pfrimmer, John Neidig, Christopher Grosh, Martin Kreider, and Martin Shuey. It must indeed have been a memorable occasion. That after thirty-two years father Boehm could return and live over again the thrilling moment of his fraternal embrace with Otterbein, was probably one of the richest experiences of his long and notable career. Isaac Long, we may be sure, was also present at the first meeting, and now on this anniversary.

24 TIMES-HERALD

MONDAY, APRIL 29, 1946

BELIEVE IT OR NOT

By Ripley



FIRST AMERICAN CHURCH
 THE CHURCH OF THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST
 - FIRST AMERICAN BORN DENOMINATION WAS ORGANIZED
 IN THE BARN OF ISAAC LANG - NEAR LANCASTER, PA. IN 1766

THE BARN IS STILL STANDING

(Used by permission of Ripley's "Believe It or Not, Inc.,"
 "King Features Syndicate, Inc.")

They met on Saturday, June 1. Pfrimmer preached the first discourse, others followed him. The evening service was held at the home of Abraham Hershey Sr., three miles to the southward. There they had a soul-refreshing time. On Sunday morning they met again at Isaac Long's. The congregation was very numerous. In the morning they had a Love Feast, then Newcomer and Boehm preached. After the sermons, they observed the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In the afternoon Neidig and Pfrimmer preached.

The history-making event which took place at the home of Isaac Long has filled many a page in our denominational and conference histories. In the intervening years there have been organized pil-

grimaces to this as yet unmarked shrine of the spiritual birth of the United Brethren in Christ Church. Numerous smaller groups and individuals have journeyed to it from far and near to pay homage to the devoted brethren who met there, and, there raised the watchword of the first American-born denomination.

Some further remarks on the Long family and this hallowed spot appear to be in order. The Long farm lies off the beaten path of the tourist. It is located in Manheim Township, four miles northeast of Lancaster City, by direct line. To reach it one leaves the city limits over the Lancaster-Reading Road (State Highway Route No. 422), to Landis Valley, leaving Route 422 at that point and continuing straight ahead about a mile. Taking the first road (a private road) branching off to the right will bring one to the buildings. There are two groups of farm buildings at the terminus of the private road. The buildings at the extreme right are those in which our interest centers.

John Long, father of Isaac was the original owner. He secured 325 acres from the Penn's. Upon his death in 1767, Isaac became owner of that part of the farm where the historic buildings are located. Isaac lived there until his demise in 1803. The buildings are today in an excellent state of preservation. The east side of the house is still covered with old style earthen tiles instead of shingles. Every rafter, joist and beam was a tree, cut on the farm, and hewn by hand, no sawed timber or lumber was used. The original section of the barn was built by John (Hannes) Long and wife, Anna, in 1754.²² The main building, original and later addition is 110 by 32 feet. In 1866, a storm blew down the straw roof which was the last of its kind in Manheim Township. The present owner is Henry H. Landis and the farm is tenanted by his son, Jacob B. Landis.

John Long had six sons and four daughters. Sons John, Isaac and Benjamin inherited the father's lands located in Manheim Township; sons, Joseph, Christian, and Abraham, the lands located along the Little Chiques Creek, in the vicinity of Lancaster Junction, in Penn Township. The United Brethren, in the early years of the 19th century, held services at the homes of Benjamin, Christian, Joseph and David Long. David Long (1771-1859), son of Abraham, and grandson of Hans, is the one who married Catharine Hershey, and who moved to Pfautz's Valley. He is the only member of the family to enter the ministry of the United Brethren.

John Christian Smith. Here is another unknown and unsung hero of the Church and of East Pennsylvania Conference. He was born in West Hempfield Township, Lancaster County, January 11, 1774. In his early years the family moved to Augusta County, Virginia. He embraced religion there in his twentieth year, and the same year first preached in a Lutheran Church. Not many years thereafter he returned to the vicinity of his birth, near Ironville, and resided there the remainder of his life.

He began preaching for the United Brethren in 1804. From 1807

onward he was a fairly regular attendant at annual conference sessions. He traveled the Lancaster Circuit in the year 1833-34 under conference appointment, otherwise his ministry was in capacity of a local elder. As such he preached over widely scattered areas. June 5, 1808 finds him in a Great Meeting on the Antietam. At another time, June 16, 1811, he takes part in a similar meeting at Ludwig Shuey's in Augusta County, Va., where he preaches with great power. On August 23, 1819, he is found preaching at Yost Knegi's in Cumberland County. He made frequent visits to New York, Ohio, and Canada. His son, Christian settled in Erie County, New York. His son, Gideon preached periodically in Pennsylvania, in New York, and in Canada.

The Reverend Smith was a fine classical scholar. He could converse in English, German, and Latin. We have in our custody a German sermon outline prepared by him—the only one of its kind ever to come to our notice. It shows that he made very careful preparation for sermon delivery.

In seeking to locate the exact place of his residence, we found considerably more than we were seeking. The search brought to light not only the place of his residence, but also the Bible he used, a Discipline with his name written in it, a sermon outline, and a partly written will. These articles were in the home of Mr. John A. Fox, member of the church at Ironville, and present owner of the farm where the Reverend Smith lived. It is within a half mile north-westerly of the village of Ironville.

The Bible, a very large volume, is indeed a treasure in booklore. Its text is in the Swiss dialect of the German language. There are no verse divisions. The translation was made from the Latin text by the Zurich Reformers. It was printed in Zurich by Christopher Froschauer in the year 1539. It was first the precious possession of Hans Beitler, then came into the hands of Jacob Beitler, who makes special bequest of his "Great Bible" in his will. Anna Beitler, who married a Mr. Musser, was its next owner. How Reverend Smith came by it we cannot say.

Rev. John Christian Smith and wife, Mary, are buried in the cemetery at Silver Springs. He died in 1860 at the age of 86 years, 7 months, and 27 days. He outlived all his early contemporaries in the gospel ministry. He saw the number of conferences increase from one to twenty-eight, and the church membership reach approximately 62,000 in number.

John Adam Riegel was born September 7, 1754, the son of John and Catharine Elizabeth Riegel, and was baptized by the minister of the Host Reformed Church, Tulpehocken Township, Berks County. When his name first enters United Brethren history, he lived within two miles northeast of Ephrata. He was the owner of several small tracts of land and a grist mill located on Cocalico Creek. He came to this region from Bethel Township, Berks County, in 1786. The farm of Jacob Albright, founder of the Evangelical Association, lay

three and one-half miles to the southeast of Riegel's mill. These two men had intimate spiritual relations. The evangelical movement influenced both, and they in turn became promoters of the same, Riegel casting his lot with the United Ministers.

The very first resolution in the minutes of the organization conference held in 1800 is as follows: "Resolved that two preachers shall go to Shamokin²³ and investigate whether D. Aurand²⁴ shall baptize and administer the Lord's Supper." In carrying out this resolution, Christian Newcomer and Adam Riegel²⁵ set out for Buffalo Valley, the region of Aurand's residence. Here, then, is evidence that Adam Riegel was a minister in 1800, and that he held a place of trust among his brethren.

The Reverend Riegel moved to Derry Township about the year 1805, in the vicinity of Hummelstown. His home on the Swatara was a preaching appointment for the traveling preachers. He continued his relation to the church and the conference until his death, August 2, 1822. His body rests in the cemetery at Hummelstown. His name was among the honored pioneers, whose names are recorded as ministers in full standing in the year 1812. His daughter Sarah married Abraham Light, Jr., of Lebanon, one of the trustees for the Light's Meetinghouse.

John George Pfrimmer was another very influential character whose ministry began in eastern Pennsylvania, then later continued beyond its bounds. He was born in the Province of Alsace, France, July 24, 1762, came to Pennsylvania in 1788, and settled in Tulpehocken Township, Berks County. By 1791 he had moved to Harrisburg, and was associated with our pioneers. He took a very active part in Great Meetings during the latter part of the last decade of that century. In 1800 he was present at the first formal conference, held at the Kemp home near Frederick City, Maryland.

The Reverend Pfrimmer was well educated, and his work shows that he used his early training to good advantage. It may be of seeming insignificance to note that when the German Reformed and the Evangelical Lutheran jointly erected a school building in Harrisburg in 1791, he donated a day's labor. But this shows where his interests lay. Newcomer came to Pfrimmer's house in Harrisburg on several occasions. We quote an item from the Journal to show that he not only had a desire that children might receive proper instruction with a view to conversion but that he did something about it. The item is as follows:

21st (May, 1800)—Today I came to Br. Fremmer's; about thirty children had assembled at his house, to whom he was giving religious instruction; some were under conviction. I also spoke to them; their hearts were sensibly touched; may the Lord convert them truly.

This position of his, a belief in Christian nurture for children and the practice of the same, may have been the cause for a disaffection between him and his brethren. He did not attend the conference of

HISTORY OF EAST PENNSYLVANIA CONFERENCE

1801, but wrote a letter to conference. Conference decided not to send a reply. In 1802, the conference wrote him, saying that for the present they would not have anything to do with him.

What happened between the sessions of 1802 and 1805, the records do not show. In 1805, they again gave him permission to preach. In the meantime, he had become active in the work of evangelism in western Pennsylvania and had moved to Washington County. The year 1808 finds him located in Harrison County, Indiana, near Corydon.²⁶ At Corydon he established, in 1820, the first Sunday School in our denomination.

From 1814 onward to his death he was a member of Miami Conference. That Conference formally ordained him in 1815. In 1824 he returned for a visit to the Original Conference. It was held in Showman's Church, Washington County, Maryland. The brethren accorded him, as it would seem now, unusual courtesies. He acted as one of the conference secretaries, was appointed on a committee to reply to letters, and preached the ordination sermon, using as his text, Romans chapter twelve, verse twelve. The following year, on September 25, he died.

Joseph Yordy was born in Lancaster County about the year 1770. His name is on our conference roll from 1811 to 1850. He was a frequent attendant at conference sessions. He preached locally. The conference of 1850 granted him a transfer to Iowa Conference. He was among the passengers of the "Belle of the West," which met with disaster and the Reverend Yordy lost nearly all his possessions. Early in the year of 1851, he died, in Iowa. He had probably not lifted his transfer, inasmuch as the minutes of 1851 make note of his passing. There has been considerable confusion in the spelling of his name. The minutes, during his period, being for the most part written in German, have it most frequently, "Jordy."

Joseph Weidman. The early missionary efforts extended eastward into Berks County, as far as Sinking Spring. Two Great Meetings were held at or near Sinking Spring in the years 1796 and 1797 respectively. About four miles southeastwardly lived Joseph Weidman in Brecknock Township. His family came into the United Brethren fold and meetings were held at his house. He was a member of annual conference from about 1832 to 1850. He and his wife, Susan Hoffer who was a native of Germany, had a family of four sons and five daughters. Daniel, the oldest son went across the country to Earl Township and married a daughter of Reverend Christopher Grosh. The youngest son, Solomon (1807-1871), moved to Spring Township, in 1833, about a mile north of Sinking Spring. He received annual conference license in 1851. Solomon's son, Benneville (1833-1922), was very active locally, as were many other members of the Joseph Weidman family, in the church at Sinking Spring. Benneville Weidman was also a member of annual conference.

David Gingrich Sr. was a minister of the church for more than fifty years. He was in full ministerial standing by the year 1812. His ministerial service was to the people of upper Lancaster County and lower Dauphin County. He was born November 22, 1768 and died December 4, 1849. In his mature years, he lived in Londonderry Township, Dauphin County, near Geyer's or Hillsdale Church, which when organized was known as Gingrich's Church. His son, David Gingrich, (1802-1874), received annual license in 1833 and was ordained in 1835. His name appears as an appointee of annual conference to a number of charges.

George Geyer Sr., (1777-1859) lived in the vicinity of Mt. Joy, Lancaster County. Being converted in his seventeenth year, he was one of the early fruits of United Brethren preaching in that neighborhood. His name first appears on the conference roll in 1833. He attended annual sessions whenever possible, but he was never an appointed itinerant. His son, George, had connections with the work at Florin, Eby's, and Mt. Joy. Rev. Harvey K. Geyer is a grandson of George Jr.

Foundation Stones for a New Spiritual Building

These then are the reformers whose names are ever dear to us. The total span of years covered, by the lives of these twenty-two men, from the birth of Martin Boehm to the death of John Christian Smith, number one hundred and thirty-five. Ninety-three years of United Brethren History were in the making while they lived. All of the twenty-two were born before Otterbein or Boehm had reached their fifty-second birthday. All had seen either Otterbein or Boehm, most of them, if not all had heard them preach. Newcomer must have been known to them. He mentions them all by name, except two. It is a matter of record that he was in the home of each, except these two.

Here are the foundation stones for a United Brethren superstructure. They represented diverse elements. There were diversities of viewpoint. But the Church of the United Brethren in Christ was not a gathering together of alienated and disgruntled elements from other fellowships. It was only natural that varying backgrounds of spiritual and cultural heritage should influence them in their newer associations. However, in the laboratory of spiritual experimentation they arrived at a common understanding. It would hardly be correct to say that these evangelical reformers had no shortcomings. To portray them as men without imperfections would be contrary to the facts of history. The reformer, in his zeal for the cause he espouses, sometimes, by the nature of the circumstances involved, denies himself of the use of tremendously valuable means to a good end; though sincere, he may sometimes err. But unity was achieved against all odds, within and without the new body. Their prayers, their experiences, their tears of joy and of sorrow, fused into a

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Christian fellowship which bound their hearts as with bands of steel. In purpose also they were united. They set out to win their children, their neighbors, and their kin in distant parts, from sin unto salvation, from death to life. They were in essence and in conquest, United Brethren in Christ. They deserved to be called an American-born Church.

Notes

1. Grosch was also an exception, having been formerly a Moravian.
2. See Drury, p. 103.
3. The immigrant ancestor wrote, "Drachsel;" the Conf. Min. have it "Dracksel;" descendants in Westmoreland use "Truxel" and "Truxal."
4. Strassburger-Hincke—*Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, Intro. p. xxx; and main text, pp. 273-274.
5. See sketch of Martin Boehm, p. 15.
6. Spayth, pp. 160-161.
7. Lawrence, pp. 267-270.
8. In the early legal records the family name is spelled a great variety of ways. In our area "Kreider" predominates; in Franklin County, "Crider."
9. Section by Dr. Brane, L.M., p. 207.
10. L.M., p. 207.
11. Kephart, I. L., Ed., *Biography of Rev. J. S. Kessler*, p. 37.
12. *Religious Telescope*, issue March 31, 1841.
13. Kephart, I.L., Ed., *Life of J. S. Kessler*, p. 122.
14. *Religious Telescope*, issue, Feb. 20, 1846.
15. *Life of J. S. Kessler*, p. 123.
16. Egle's Notes and Queries, 3rd Ser., Vol. 11, p. 391 ff. gives an account of the Neidig family which is in error on several points. It states that the parents of John Neidig were Adam and Anna Neidig, and that son John was born in the Tulpehocken Settlement. The land record (Deed 8-257, Berks County) definitely shows the facts set forth above. Additional authentic information having to do with the movements and connections of the Neidig family has been gathered from the land transfer records in the Lancaster and the Dauphin Register's Offices, respectively; and from tax assessment lists published in the Pennsylvania Archives, 3rd Ser., Vol. XVII.
17. Spayth, p. 72.
18. *Religious Telescope*, issue, Jan. 15, 1844.
19. Schaff, Dr. I. James, *The Pennsylvania German*, Vol. XI, No. 10, p. 617.
20. NJ p. 245.
21. Spayth, p. 242.
22. The lintel above the first stable door, north end, has the following inscription:



- The interpretation of it is: Built by Hannes (John) Long—A.D. 1754—and wife, Anna.
23. We remind our readers that Shamokin was the name for a large community extending both east and west of the Susquehanna, about the present Sunbury.
 24. See other references to "Aurand."
 25. Both the baptismal record and the tombstone inscription give the name as John Adam Riegel, though all other references consulted have Adam Riegel.
 26. For the later activities of this remarkable man see Drury, pp. 309, 652 ff.