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Cover Photo: Henry and Fannie Rice Davidson surrounded by family members, perhaps at a Rice family reunion. Cropped from a larger undated photo, courtesy of the Brethren in Christ Historical Library and Archives.

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FROM THE EDITOR

In *Quest for Piety and Obedience,* the authoritative history of the Brethren in Christ Church, Carlton Wittlinger details the significant changes or innovations that characterized the church during what he calls "the first period of transition" from 1880-1910: missions, local church outreach, Wesleyan holiness, institutions like Messiah Lifeways and Messiah College, and the founding of a church publication. One of the first names associated with the new publication, the *Evangelical Visitor*, was Henry Davidson, its first editor, who served in that capacity from 1887-1896. But who was Henry Davidson?

That question is answered by Lucille Marr in the first article in this edition of the journal. You may remember Marr's analysis of the call of Henry's daughter H. Frances Davidson to mission work in the December 2017 edition. Now she turns her attention to the story of Henry and his second wife, Fannie Rice Davidson. Drawing on denominational resources, family letters and diaries, contemporary social science literature, and public records such as ancestry.com, Marr paints a fascinating portrait of Henry and Fannie and their public and private lives and ministry. Marr's interest in the Davidson family is personal; she is Henry and Fannie's great-great granddaughter.

Some years after Henry Davidson's death in 1903, World War 1 was raging and many men from Anabaptist-related communities in the United States and Canada were faced with the choice of whether or not to join the military campaigns their respective countries were waging in Europe. During World War 1, when there was not yet an alternative to military service for conscientious objectors to war, many young men ended up in prison for refusing to put on a military uniform and join the armed forces. Among those who went to prison were members of the Hutterite community.

Duane Stoltzfus, professor of communication at Goshen College, was the Schrag lecturer at Messiah College in February 2018. In his public lecture, Stoltzfus told the story of four Hutterite men who were sentenced to hard labor and imprisoned on the infamous Alcatraz island in San Francisco. The lecture, drawn heavily from his book, *Pacifists in Chains: The Persecution of the Hutterites During the Great War* (John Hopkins University

Press, 2013), is reprinted here.

The year before the United States entered World War I in Europe, a new Brethren in Christ mission station was founded in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) in 1916. In previous editions of the journal (December 2016, April, 2017, and August 2017), Dwight Thomas has told the story of Sikalongo Mission, and now in this edition, he brings his comprehensive history to a close. This fourth part focuses on the period from 1978, the year the first Zambian-born bishop of the Brethren in Christ Church in Zambia was consecrated, to the present, and highlights the progress of four institutions: the Sikalongo Bible Institute, the Sikalongo Hospital (or Clinic), the Sikalongo Primary School, and the Sikalongo Mission Church.

For this section of the history of the mission, Thomas has relied significantly on interviews with Zambians who have been an integral part of the Zambian Brethren in Christ Church in general, and Sikalongo Mission in particular. His thoroughness in telling the story demonstrates how what might be considered a small mission outpost has had a major impact not only on its immediate community but also the larger church. To quote Thomas' closing comments: "[The Bible Institute] has trained an entire generation of pastors and denominational leaders. Sikalongo Clinic has given medical aid to hundreds of thousands of local people, Tens of thousands of children were educated at both primary and secondary schools. And, the ongoing Christian witness of Sikalongo Mission shines brightly throughout the region."

Four book reviews round out this edition, covering books on topics ranging from an Anabaptist perspective of what it means to part of in the Kingdom of God now (as opposed to sometime in the future), the art of Amish quilts, American evangelicalism, and an intergenerational dialogue on issues facing the church.

Harriet Sider Bicksler, editor

Henry B. and Frances (Fannie) Rice Davidson: Life and Vision

By Lucille Marr*

On May 3, 1903 from her post at Matopo Mission in Southern Rhodesia in southern Africa, H. Frances Davidson[1] penned a letter to three of her sisters, Ida Davidson Hoffman,[2] Lydia Davidson Brewer,[3] and Carrie Davidson Landis.[4] The post carrying the sad news of their father Henry B. Davidson's death on March 17, nearly two months earlier, had finally reached her, having made its way by ship across the Atlantic Ocean and inland by rail to Bulawayo. The act of writing a letter provided a way for Frances to feel connected with her family despite the great geographic distance that separated them.[5] It evokes the grief that Frances experienced, as she absorbed the news of their father's death:

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* *Lucille Marr is chaplain and academic dean at the Presbyterian College, Montreal; she is also adjunct professor at McGill University's School of Religious Studies. Henry B. and Frances (Fannie) Rice Davidson are her great-great grandparents.*

[1] For biographical information see Morris Sider, "Frances Davidson," in *Nine Portraits: Brethren in Christ Biographical Sketches* (Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1978), 159-214.

[2] In 1895, Ida Davidson had married Martin L. Hoffman, a Brethren in Christ minister who ran a large creamery plant in Abilene. See Earl D. Brechbill, *The Ancestry of John and Henrietta Davidson Brechbill: A Historical Narrative* (Greencastle, PA: printed by author, 1972), 58; *History of DeKalb County, Indiana* (Indianapolis, IN: Bowen and Co., 1914), 732, archive.org/stream/historyofdekalb-c00bfbo#page/730/mode/2up/search/davidson.

[3] In 1896, Lydia Davidson had married Joseph M. Brewer. They farmed just outside of Osage City, near Abilene, Kansas: "Married," *Evangelical Visitor,* October 1, 1896, 304; see also Brechbill, "Ancestry," 56.

[4] In 1875, Carrie (Caroline) Davidson had married Jacob Landis, a hardware merchant in Abilene: Brechbill, "Ancestry," 56; see also *History of DeKalb County,* 732; "D. Landis Family Tree," Ancestry.ca, accessed June 7, 2018, www.ancestry.ca/family-tree/person/tree/106889329/person/370055847787/story.

[5] Susan J. Rosowski, *Birthing a Nation: Gender, Creativity, and the West in American Literature* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 56.

> Again the Lord has seen fit to visit our family and to take a dear one to Himself. It is difficult to realize that it is actually true that dear father has left us but two letters last week sent the same sad tidings, sad to us who shall so greatly miss him. . . he is gone, we shall never more see his dear face or receive his loving counsel and we shall miss him so much. … [6]

From the middle of the nineteenth century, postal services had provided a means whereby family members, many of whom were far flung in an age of great mobility, could find solace and support one another. They could participate in family life, retaining a sense of intimacy even from great distances.[7] Well over a century later, readers still experience something of Frances's heaviness of heart as she mourned from afar:

> I think it is very fitting that he should be buried at Wooster as so many years of his life were spent there, and I suppose it was his wish to be buried there. … How does Mother's grave and lot look? Has anything been done to it or has it been neglected? If so won't some of you please have it fixed up and plant something on it. … I'll enclose a few white cosmos … flower seeds which I wish you would plant on it and sometime I'll send some for Father's grave.

Six and half years earlier in October 1894, Frances had expressed her deep sense of loss at her mother Fannie Rice Davidson's death.[8] By the time the news of her father's passing reached Frances, he had been buried in Wooster, Ohio, far from Fannie's last resting place in Abilene, Kansas. He would lie next to his first wife Hannah Craft Davidson, and alongside the

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[6] H. Frances Davidson to Martin and Ida Hoffman, May 3, 1903, MG 40-1.6, housed in Brethren in Christ Historical Library and Archives, Mechanicsburg, PA.

[7] Charlotte Gray has addressed the phenomenon of letters evoking a particular moment in time for contemporary reader: *Canada: A Portrait in Letters* (Toronto: Doubleday, 2003), 1, 3; see also David M. Henkin, *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 3-4, 93, 147 and Virginia Walcott Beauchamp, "Letters as Literature: The Prestons of Baltimore," in *Women's Personal Narratives*, ed. Leonore Hoffman and Margaret Culley (New York: Modern Language Arts of America, 1985), 37-38.

[8] H. Frances Davidson, personal diary, March 2, 1895, Hannah Frances Davidson Diaries (hereafter HFD Diaries) 1, Brethren in Christ Historical Library and Archives, http://messiaharchives.pastperfectonline.com/archive/D7FCD1A1-ABA4-4088-94C8-059638202176; and Lucille Marr, "Conflict, Confession, and Conversion: H. Frances Davidson's Call to Brethren in Christ Missions," *Brethren in Christ History and Life* 9, no. 3 (December 2017): 345.

husband and son of their eldest daughter Mary Davidson Yoder.[9] It must have provided comfort for Mary, who had buried her husband Christian and son Isaiah close to her mother, and for Mary and her siblings—Sarah Davidson Coup, Carrie Davidson Landis, William Davidson and Isaiah Davidson—who had been left motherless as small children nearly 50 years earlier. Henry's burial next to their mother completed a circle long broken.[10]

For Henry Davidson's second family, Frances and her seven siblings—Lydia Davidson Brewer, Rebecca (Becky) Davidson Dohner, Emma Davidson Diehl, Henry Davidson Jr., Henrietta Davidson Brechbill, Albert Davidson, and Ida Davidson Hoffman, dispersed as they were from Kansas to Colorado to Indiana and across the sea to South Africa—it symbolized the family's fragmentation to have their mother lying alone in Abilene.[11] Frances's letter written from southern Africa to her sisters in Kansas suggests that even from the distance brought by mobility and death, there was a force that maintained the family unit. Thoughts of white cosmos

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[9] With the help of the following people, the author researched and found Henry Davidson's gravesite in Wooster, Ohio: E. Morris Sider and Glen Pierce, emails to author, summer 2013; Susie Holderfield, telephone conversation with author, July 23, 2013; and the helpful staff of the Wayne County Historical Library, Wooster, Ohio who provided a map of the Wooster cemetery, http://www.wcpl.info/genealogy/index.php/Main_Page. Mary had been widowed in early February 1893: "Peace to his Ashes," *Wooster Daily Republican*, February 6, 1893), 3. The attempt to keep their business enterprise Hotel Yoder running had been thwarted with the sudden death of their 20-year-old son Isaiah a year and a half later, just weeks before Fannie Rice Davidson succumbed in October 1894: courtesy of Elaine Fletty, Wayne County Public Library, Genealogy and Public History Department, Wooster, OH; "Our Dead," *Evangelical Visitor*, November 1, 1894, 336.

[10] Mary was born in November 1844; she married Christian Yoder December 1866 and died in Ohio in March 1930; Sarah was born in December 1846; she married Henry Coup in 1865 and they would live out their lives in Ohio; Sarah died in September 1923; William was born in December 1848 and married Margaret Miller in November 1874; they farmed in Ohio until his death in May 1930; Isaiah was born fall or winter 1854-55; in 1878 he married Ellen Dohner and held the post of Principal of Barberton High School in Ohio for many years; he died in 1935: Brechbill, "Ancestry," 52, 55-56; and *History of DeKalb County,* 732.

[11] Lydia was born in February 1857 and died June 1923; Rebecca was born in July 1858; she married Warren Dohner in February 1881 and died in August 1916; Emma was born in June 1862; she married John Diehl in November 1891 and died in May 1940; Henry Jr. was born in March 1865; he married Elizabeth Brechbill in January 1887 and died August 1938; Henrietta was born in March 1865; she married John Brechbill in January 1887 and died in June 1949: Brechbill, "Ancestry," 56-59; *History of DeKalb County*, 732. George Albert was born in September 1872 and died in November 1952; he married and had two children: California, Death Index, 1940-1997, Ancestry.com.

growing from seeds shipped from her home on the dark continent perhaps alleviated something of the deep loss that Frances felt both in the geographic dispersal of the family and in the ultimate separation of death.

This letter, written by a daughter who had been greatly influenced by her mother, and who had worked closely with her father helping to embody his vision for mission, opens the way for exploration into the life of Henry B. Davidson and his second wife Fannie Rice Davidson, during the 40 years of their shared ministry, and the strong family bond that supported it. Fortunately, Frances Davidson's diaries, letters, and frequent submissions to the *Evangelical Visitor* provide glimpses into the Davidson vision and family life, for few of Henry's writings have survived; nor have letters or other materials penned by Fannie been discovered. Indeed, far more is known about Frances than her father, who was instrumental in launching what quickly became a bi-weekly transnational periodical that would survive for just over 125 years and, to cite Micah Brickner, has "inspired the church for decades" [and] will continue leading us in the twenty-first century."[12] Frances's writings, issues of the *Evangelical Visitor* published between 1887 and 1896 under Henry's editorship, genealogical materials,[13] denominational histories, local accounts, along with secondary literature provide fragments from which we can piece together Henry B. and Fannie Rice Davidson's story. Long hidden in the fog of the past, their significance in bringing the Brethren in Christ into the transnational history of evangelical Christianity in the United States, Canada, and Africa, is well worth exploring.[14]

With his vision and clear-headed leadership, Henry Davidson was the driving force in converting a separate people to the use of contemporary tools of communication that would keep a community together during years of expansion. Indeed, one could argue that the *Evangelical Visitor*

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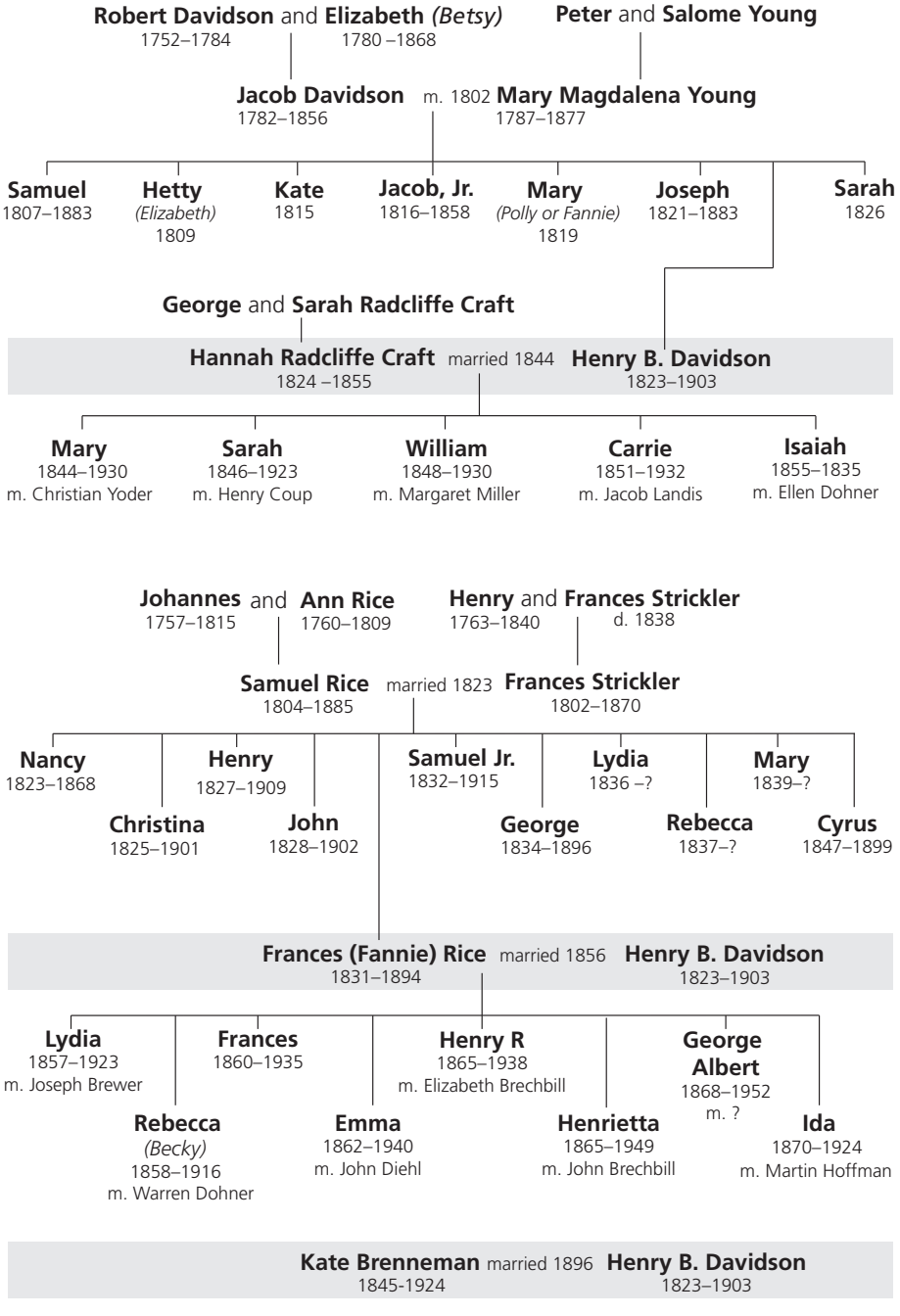
[12] "One of God's Avenues of Progress: Exploring the Outcomes of the Evangelical Visitor," *Brethren in Christ History and Life* 40, no. 3 (December 2017): 324.

[13] I have relied heavily on the Davidson history compiled by Ida Davidson Hoffman's son Paul as recorded by Henry and Fannie Davidson's great-grandson Earl Brechbill in "Ancestry."

[14] See Mark A. Noll, David Beggington, and George A. Rawlyk, eds., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, The British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990.)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 5-6, for their emphasis on the significance of evangelicalism to the history of Christianity.

Davidson-Rice Family Tree



was foundational in creating a denomination, as Americans continued the pioneer trek west and north during the late nineteenth-century; it even created the potential for a global vision.[15] Fannie Rice Davidson's role is not to be overlooked, for it was key to her husband's ministry. As cultural historian S. J. Kleinberg has emphasized, gender is "one of the dominant influences in American life and culture." We can be sure that Fannie shared Henry's legacy, and even shaped it, if "from a perspective infused with cultural beliefs about appropriate female roles."[16]

Scotch-Irish and German heritage

Henry B. Davidson was born in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania on April 15, 1823, the seventh of Jacob and Mary Magdalena Young Davidson's eight children. Just over 40 years of age when Henry was born, Jacob was well established. By this point he had become a wealthy farmer who, through his mill wright operation, supplied millstones to farmers west of the Alleghenies. A lay minister for the United Brethren in Christ, he downsized his farm operation by divesting a substantial piece of land to the new municipality of Madison, at the same time accepting the appointment of postmaster.[17]

Henry's grandfather Robert Davidson had been a Presbyterian minister, who was among the tens of thousand of Scotch-Irish that immigrated from Ulster before the American Revolution.[18] To cite historian William Sweet, "the most energetic, the most active-minded of those of Presbyterian faith," the Ulster immigrants sought "a new place of refuge with economic stability and a more egalitarian ecclesiastical status" than was available for them as Scots in Ireland.[19]

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[15] See S. J. Kleinberg, *Women in the United States 1830-1945* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 5, for her discussion of "the grand forces shaping American life," including "the westward movement."

[16] Kleinberg, *Women in the United States*, 8.

[17] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 53, 55; National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., Record of Appointment of Postmasters, 1832-September 30, 1971, roll #113, Archive Publication #M841, Ancestry.ca.

[18] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 52.

[19] William Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1965), 250-51.

Jacob had been orphaned at an early age, and apprenticed as a mill wright with the Niesley family, Pennsylvania-Dutch folk from Hummelstown, Dauphin County who raised him.[20] The massive burr millstones that he learned to craft may have been as much as six to seven feet in diameter, weighing up to two tons; essential to producing the quality flour which was the mainstay of the colonies in those years, they provided a lucrative living alongside farming.[21] The 20-year-old Jacob's marriage to Mary Magdelena Young, just 16, whose parents had emigrated to Lancaster from Baden, Germany, meant that Henry and his siblings would grow up in a home with a mixed heritage.[22]

On January 11, 1831 when Henry was nearly eight years old, Fannie Rice was born just south of Westmoreland in Fayette County. The fifth child in Samuel and Frances Strickler Rice's family of 11, Fannie was the daughter selected to carry her mother's and grandmother's name.[23] Seven of the younger children are listed in the 1850 census by the surname of Aleberger, suggesting that they may have been a family of orphans raised by the Rices; whatever the case, they were recorded in the family Bible. Like Jacob Davidson, Fannie's father Samuel had been orphaned at an early age and adopted into a Pennsylvania Dutch family; we know little more than that he was influenced by the Church of the Brethren. With the Strickler heritage of a substantial inheritance for all their children, both boys and girls, Samuel and Frances Rice appear to have been well positioned farmers on Fayette County's Youghiogheny River in Fannie's growing up years.[24]

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[20] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 52; Sydney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 248, 441; Raymond Waldfogel, "The Church Takes a Name," in *Trials and Triumphs: History of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ*, ed. Paul R. Fetters (Huntingdon, IN: Church of the United Brethren in Christ Department of Church Services, 1984), 88.

[21] Charles Hockensmith, *The Mill Stone Industry: a Summary of Research on Quarries and Producers in the United States, Europe and Elsewhere* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009), 13-14; 44-45.

[22] "Young Family Tree," Ancestry.com.

[23] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 52.

[24] Brechbill has her birth in 1835: see "Ancestry," 56; according to the 1850 United States Federal Census, she was born in 1831: Ancestry.ca, http://person.ancestry.ca/tree/84863155/person/40517204644/facts; Fannie Rice carried the name of her mother Frances Strickler Rice (1802-1870) and grandmother Frances Stewart Strickler (1772-1838): Find A Grave Memorial #95499749, created by Susan Matthews, Ancestry.com, accessed by permission of Mark Myers, August 25, 2016.

[20] Frances Strickler Rice received $1000.00 at the time of her father Henry's death: Ancestry.com; in "Ancestry," 56, Brechbill cites a letter from Henry Davidson to his Craft in-laws where he observed that Fannie came from a family that was well off.

Henry's Scotch-Irish and German parentage and Fannie's Anabaptist background rooted in Alsace-Lorraine place them in the two ethnic groups that dominated colonial Pennsylvania. Although the Scotch-Irish were the most widely scattered, no one group held a majority, and they were integrated along with the variety of German immigrants including "Mennonites, Dunkers, Moravians, Schwenkfelders, Lutherans, German and Dutch Reformed" that had responded to William Penn's invitation to religious groups to settle in Pennsylvania.[25]

Both the Davidson and the Rice families had been influenced by the evangelistic preaching, spontaneous interpretation of Scripture, and understandings of conversion inspired by the first Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s. The spiritual awakening that occurred during the revivals of this period continued to have an impact until the end of the eighteenth century and inspired members of Pennsylvania's German immigrant communities who formed new denominations like the United Brethren in Christ, River Brethren (Brethren in Christ), and Dunkers (Church of the Brethren). All of these denominations played a significant part in Henry's and Fannie's story. These denominations moved in close circles, for instance at times sharing meeting house space; with Presbyterian and Church of the Brethren influence, both the Davidson and Rice families appear to have associated in the United Brethren in Christ community in Henry and Fannie's growing up years.[26]

Emerging in 1767, in historian Carlton Wittlinger's words, "[t]he central theme" of the United Brethren in Christ "was a personal, heartfelt experience of the new birth," with public testimony expressed by both men and women.[27] In its early days, under the leadership of Mennonite leader Martin Boehm and German Reformed minister William Otterbein,

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[25] Sweet, Religion in Colonial America, 252-53; Carlton O. Wittlinger also referred to this phenomenon: *Quest for Piety and Obedience: The Story of the Brethren in Christ* (Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1978), 12.

[26] Mark Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids, MI.: Eerdmans Press, 1994), 73; Wittlinger, *Quest*, 19-20, 23-25; Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 249-50; Galen Hochstetler, *Celebrating 150 Years of Paradise Church of the Brethren,* 1841-1991 (Smithville, OH: Bicentennial Committee, 1976), 1; Brechbill, "Ancestry," 56; and Donald F. Durnbaugh, *Fruit of the Vine: A History of the Brethren,* 1708–1995 (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1997), 317.

[27] Wittlinger, *Quest*, 11.

this ecumenical movement encouraged converts to stay within their own denominations. Known for its relationships with both German and English-speaking groups, and with no preferred age or mode of baptism—infant or adult—sprinkling, pouring, or immersion were equally acceptable. With its wide swath, the United Brethren in Christ expanded rapidly from eastern Pennsylvania south to Virginia, east to Maryland and as far west as Pennsylvania's Westmoreland County. In 1815, leaders met in Mount Pleasant to present a formulated "discipline and confession of faith" that would make the United Brethren in Christ the first denomination founded in the United States. With the gathering's close proximity to the respective Rice and Davidson homes in northern Fayette and southern Westmoreland Counties, as ministers Jacob and Samuel may well have been present.[28]

A description of a minister's preparation and qualification for ministry, published in the United Brethren in Christ Religious Telescope four decades later in 1853, gives a glimpse of the high standards placed on the preachers who served the denomination. Henry and Fannie had both reached early adulthood by this point; nonetheless Isaiah Potter's ideal view gives a glimpse of the standard to which their fathers were held as ministers:

> [A minister] should be thoroughly furnished with information relative to the salvation of man. . . . Education is important to a minister's success, but not more so than deep humility, fervent zeal, a feeling sense of his responsibility, the value of souls, and a call to the ministry. I am decidedly opposed to licensing an ignorant man to preach the gospel; but not more so, than to license a literary cox comb, or a phlegmatic drone. . . . We want men . . . who are intelligent, and who have at least a good common English education, and a pretty thorough knowledge of Bible doctrine; but they [United Brethren] require this no more than they do men of deep-tonal piety, humble men, and men who souls blaze with zeal like torches.[29]

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[28] Fetters, *Trials and Triumphs,* 45-46.; Mary Lou Funk, "The Best and the Worst of Times," in Fetters, 198; Paul A. Graham, "The Beginnings," in Fetters, 60, 76-77; and Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America,* 323.

[29] *Religious Telescope,* January 1853, cited in Funk, "The Best and the Worst," 177.

There was little by way of salary, and if a minister were to fulfill his obligations to itinerate, he needed the full support of his wife and children. His wife, with the help of the children, would run the family farm while he travelled from preaching point to preaching point. During Henry's and Fannie's growing up years, these trips—as much as 150 miles—were made on horseback, through all kinds of weather.[30] To make it possible for their minister husbands to serve the church, we can imagine Frances Rice and Mary Magdalena Davidson taking on farm management, in addition to their household work, to sustain the family enterprise.

The willingness of a minister's wife to submit in obedience to husband and church, as she took on enormous responsibilities while her husband was away, was essential to effective itinerant ministry. As a boy, Henry would have been answerable to his mother as she directed Davidson farm operations; Fannie would have been called on to help run the Rice household. Days could lead to weeks and even months before a husband and father's return.[31] Along with the physical duties, Fannie and Henry would have learned the basic three Rs from their mothers. Much of what they learned of the rituals that passed on the faith including Bible reading and prayer would have been at their mothers' knees.[32] Women also provided hospitality for visiting preachers. In Henry Davidson's and Fannie Rice's growing up years, their mothers Mary Magdalena Young Davidson and Frances Strickler Rice were among the models of industry and strong women of faith who made it possible for their fathers, in Funk's words, to "make extreme sacrifices in order to preach the Gospel" in service as lay preachers in the United Brethren in Christ community.[33]

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[30] Funk, "The Best and the Worst," 183.

[31] Durnbaugh, *Fruit of the Vine*, 317-18.

[32] M.J. Heisey, *Peace and Persistence: Tracing the Brethren in Christ Peace Witness through Three Generations* (Kent, OH: Kent University Press, 2003), 18; Elizabeth Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840* (Kingston, ON and Montreal, QC: McGill Queen's University Press, 1995), 22, 210; Kleinberg, *Women in the United States,* 60-61; and Marguerite Van Die, "The Double Vision: Evangelical Piety as Derivative and Indigenous in Victorian English Canada," in Noll et al., *Evangelicalism*, 260-61.

[33] Funk, "The Best and the Worst," 176; see also 180, 198; and Waldfogel, "The Church takes a Name," 87-88.

From Westmoreland to Fayette County

The Davidson and Rice homes would have held much in common with other United Brethren in Christ ministers, but there also must have been differences. In contrast to Fannie's upbringing, which was similar to the majority of Pennsylvania German farmers "who, once they found a home, tended to remain fixed," Henry grew up in a Scotch-Irish community. His youth was coloured by the Scotch-Irish "impetuosity" and "mobility" that had caused Jacob, in his youth, to migrate from Lancaster County to west of the Allegheny mountains where other Ulster immigrants had settled.[34]

The Scotch-Irish restless and enterprising spirit saw the Davidsons uprooting in mid-life to resettle in Fayette County, just south of Westmoreland. Leaving farm property in the hands of Henry's eldest brother Samuel, Jacob and Mary re-established themselves and their younger children among the Scotch-Irish and German communities along the Monongahela where it flowed into the Ohio River. Although the record is silent regarding their motive for the move, the town of Brownsville where they situated themselves was an important centre on the National Road that provided "a route through the mountains for settlers heading west."[35] The family's re-location to this thriving industrial community with its shipyards and strong economy would shape 14-year-old Henry's destiny.

Jacob purchased the large tavern on the Basil Brown tract two miles east of Brownsville that he and Mary Magdalena would convert into a large home. Built as a hotel in 1812, for 25 years it had been frequented by wagoneers and

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[34] James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 199; see also George Dallas Albert, County of Westmoreland, Pennsylvania, with *Biographical Sketches of Any of the Pioneers and Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts and Co., 1882), 44, accessed June 11, 2018, https://archive.org/details/HistoryOfTheCountyOfWestmorelandPennsylvaniaWithBiographicalSketches.

[35] Wikipedia, "Fayette County, Pennsylvania" accessed May 18, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fayette_County_Pennsylvania#History; "Brownsville Northside Historic District," 1997-2015, The Gombach Group, accessed August 5, 2016, http://www.livingplaces.com/PA/Fayette_County/Brownsville_Borough/Brownsville_Northside_Historic_District.html, (Living Places information is deemed reliable but not guaranteed); Albert, *County of Westmoreland,* 44; and Franklin Ellis, *History of Fayette County, Pennsylvania: with Biographical Sketches of Many of its Pioneers and Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1882),13, accessed May 14, 2018, https://archive.org/details/historyoffayette00elli.

drovers. Now in their 50s, the senior Davidsons shared the home with their son Jacob Junior and his wife Hannah Kelly Davidson and their growing family, along with their own children still at home. What was the push for this move? It may have been to leave their mill wright enterprise behind, and to give the younger children a new start in a thriving industrial centre. Indeed, Jacob Jr. must have been showing signs of silicosis, the disease caused by "breathing of rock dust," with its symptoms of coughing, loss of appetite, and strength that took its toll after only a few years of working in the millstone industry, and would cause his early demise.[36] Perhaps Jacob himself also suffered from the disease.

With his financial success gained by decades of industry as farmer and in the millwright trade, Jacob was able to buy substantial property, and immediately became a prominent town figure with his appointment as a director at the local Monongahela Bank, established some 20 years earlier.[37] Public education had only been launched in Pennsylvania in 1834, so Henry's education was informal.[38] Yet, while Fannie was still a child growing up on the Rice family farm, the thriving "mercantile sector,". . . consisting "of some fifty stores, several of which were wholesale and forwarding houses, dealing in a full range of supplies—dry goods, clothing, boots and shoes, hats, grocers, produce, hardware, iron, drugs, books . . ." and hotels and taverns for travellers, provided Henry with an education that would serve him well. As he matured into adulthood, he would take full advantage of the unique employment opportunity that gave him a view of the industrial world, including seeing the potential for migrating westward.[39]

Fannie was only 13 years old in 1844 when Henry married Hannah, the daughter of United Brethren in Christ minister George B. and his wife Sarah Radcliff Craft. Henry was 21. Even as he was establishing a family

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[36] Hockensmith, *Millstone Industry,* 207; see also 208-09; Brechbill, "Ancestry," 53.

[37] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 53; Ellis, *History of Fayette County*, 425.

[38] Solomon Zook Sharp, *The Educational History of the Church of the Brethren* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1923), 44.

[39] "Brownsville Northside Historic District." For a more detailed inventory of the various commercial places that made up the commercial center, see Ellis, *History of Fayette County*, 13, 426-27. Henry Davidson and Fannie Rice lived out their childhood and youth in the arena of what Kleinberg has named "the grand forces shaping American life," including "[T]he commercialization of agriculture, urbanization, industrialization, the demographic transition, immigration, slavery, and the westward movement" with the inflow of millions of immigrants": *Women in the United States*, 5; see also Funk, "The Best and the Worst of Times," 171.

with marriage into this prominent Brownsville family, the local economy dramatically dropped. Henry's and Hannah's future, and ultimately Fannie's, would be influenced by the economic downturn in what had been until then a thriving community. The extension of the railroad, making it possible to bypass the water traffic on which the Brownsville economy depended, would, in effect, eliminate the centre as a major connecting place in the immigration west. With his proximity to the hub, and his father's place at the bank, Henry must have seen the decline coming; the town's prominence dramatically ended with "travel by stage, wagon and steamboat" giving way to the railroad.[40]

Meanwhile two years into his life with Hannah, Henry was ordained. Settling into the tiny Fayette County River Brethren community is puzzling; his father and his father-in-law served as ministers in the much larger United Brethren in Christ denomination; his grandfather had been ordained in the Presbyterian church.[41] Perhaps Henry's mother's Lancaster County connections brought him into contact with the River Brethren; they did hold similar values and practices as the United Brethren in Christ, including the Anabaptist influence manifested in their common pacifism and strong communities. As the United Brethren in Christ had become preoccupied with institutions and structures, he may well have been drawn to the less formal and more enthusiastic worship and warm spiritual expression of the River Brethren. Whatever the reason, in this time of "extraordinary mobility in the United States," as Henkin has named it, the push of a declining economy in Brownsville, and the pull of a call by the small group of River Brethren in Ohio, found Henry and Hannah immigrating west.[42]

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[40] "Brownsville Northside Historic District;" Brechbill, "Ancestry," 55; Sider, *Nine Portraits,* 159.

[41] Henry Davidson's obituaries disagree on the denomination of his father Jacob's ministry. In "Elder Henry Davidson," *Evangelical Visitor*, April 1, 1903, 3, editor George Detweiler, put Jacob Davidson in the Brethren in Christ Church; "Many Years in Ministry: Death and Funeral of Rev. Henry Davidson," *Wooster Weekly Republican*, March 25, 1903, 4, described Jacob as a Presbyterian minister. It is more likely that the family genealogy and Westmoreland County local history are correct that Jacob was a United Brethren in Christ minister: Brechbill, "Ancestry," 53, 55, 56; John M. Gresham, *Biographical and Historical Cyclopedia of Westmoreland County*, *Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Gresham and Co., 1890), 78; Sider, *Nine Portraits*, 159; and D. Ray Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul: The Life and Times of Dr. W.O. Baker 1827-1916* (Grantham, PA: Brethren in Christ History Society, 2004), 208.

[42] Henkin, *The Postal Age*, 27; see also "German Baptist Church Annual Council," *Wayne County Democrat*, May 22, 1872, cited in Hochstettler, *Celebrating 150 Years*, 19; see also 22-23; "Obituaries," *Evangelical Visitor,* April 1, 1903, 15-16; and Brechbill, "Ancestry," 53-55.

In that environment Henry would develop as a leader, holding significant influence in his chosen denomination, and when Hannah died an untimely death, Fannie's and Henry's lives would come together.

Westward to Summit County, Ohio

W. O. Baker's reflections on his conversion into the River Brethren community at Paradise, at the time of the Davidsons' immigration to Ohio, give a glimpse into Henry's early ministry. Baker recalled how after completing his teacher training in nearby Wooster, he went out to Paradise, Ohio to teach and heard several Brethren preach in the Benner home:

> In the winter of 1851 to 1852 in a series of meetings held at the Paradise church I was convicted of sin and made a public start in the service of God. I did not surrender myself fully to Christ, hence I was not saved then. In the latter part of the year 1853 I was again convicted, more powerfully, by God's Spirit, at the same place, and making the entire sacrifice, God exercised his great mercy toward me in the pardon of my sins. Praises unto his holy name![43]

Having settled his family in Bath among folks he described as Yankees, Henry would travel monthly with other preachers from Stark and Summit Counties to serve the tiny Wayne County group; he would take his turn preaching at their services in the solid brick union meetinghouse built in 1841 by the Paradise Church of the Brethren on a corner of Cyrus Hoover's farm.[44] Baker's description of his conversion illustrates the piety that the River Brethren shared with their sister community: "[I] was again convicted, more powerfully, by God's Spirit, at the same place, and making the entire sacrifice, God exercised his great mercy toward me in the pardon of my sins." Reflecting further, Baker described the perceptions of the River Brethren by the local community where he lived and taught: "[I]t was said that these brethren claimed to be possessed of the Holy Ghost. This seemed to me a high attainment. But from what I know of the word of God I

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[43] "My Recollections of the Early Wayne Co. Church," *Evangelical Visitor*, August 1, 1887, 9.

[44] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 56; Hochstettler, *Celebrating 150 Years,* 2-3; Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul,* 22-23.

believe that it ought to be so. I learned that they were generally accounted as Christians in the neighbourhood." Henry Davidson witnessed Baker's joy in his baptism in late February 1855, when Jacob Hoffman baptized him in the cold waters of Sugar Creek into the tiny fellowship of River Brethren. As Baker expressed it, "[t]hat evening I almost felt as if I had entered the Land of Beulah. From this time I was numbered with the little flock."[45]

Although Baker would move on to Ashland to take up a career in medicine, Davidson would re-locate to Wayne County, where he established his growing family on the highly arable land once farmed by an indigenous population. For the next 25 years, he made his life among the Pennsylvania German immigrants with such names as Zimmerman, Harzler, Amstutz, Conrad, Martin, Yoder, Myers, and Stuckey who were establishing communities of Amish, Church of the Brethren, and Henry's denomination of origin, United Brethren in Christ.[46] From Ashland County where William Baker would make his life as a family doctor, he and Henry Davidson would become fast friends and colleagues, working together amidst the difficulties that life brought them, to help build the community of River Brethren that was emerging in Ohio.

Three years after settling in Ohio, tragedy struck the Davidson household. As it did in so many homes of the era, the spectre of death came in the form of typhoid fever. On May 31, 1855, 31-year-old Hannah succumbed to the disease, leaving five children motherless. Bereft as a young father, farmer, and preacher, Henry needed a wife. It would be no easy task to find someone to fill in for a beloved companion, a woman who could capably mother five small children, all the while managing a farm household, and fulfilling the demanding expectations of a minister's wife. And yet there was little option, for in that era marriage was key to a man's success.[47]

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[45] "My Recollections," *Evangelical Visitor*, August 1, 1887, 9. In *Healing Body and Soul*, Heisey has recalled Baker's telling of his conversion story; see also Wittlinger, *Quest*, 24.

[46] Hochstetler, 34; Waldfogel, "The Church Takes a Name," 105; Funk, "The Best and the Worst of Times," 173; Wayne County History Book Committee, "A History of Wayne County, Ohio," (Dallas, TX: Taylor Publishing Co., 1987), 34; Henkin, *The Postal Age*, 29; and Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, ed. Harold Simonson (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1963), 31.

[47] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 55-56; Rosowski, *Birthing a Nation*, 37; and Errington, *Wives and Mothers,* 82.

As Kleinberg has explained, it was common for widowers to advertise for people to provide household help who had "an 'unsullied reputation' who would manage the 'female concerns of country business.'" In her words, "[t]he list of jobs included '[raising] small stock, dairying, marketing, combing, carding, spinning, knitting, sewing, pickling, preserving, etc.' and occasionally instructing the daughters of the household in the domestic economy."[48] But for a young man, love was also important. As Errington has put it, in the nineteenth century "[a] woman and man, it was believed, should marry for love and their subsequent relationship should be based on mutual trust and affection. . . . [A] family was . . . expected to be a haven and a place of solace and strength for all its members."[49] In Henry's case there was even more at stake. As father to five small children, and a minister, he sought more than conjugal love; his wife would need to embody love for his family, and equally important, for his calling. His next wife would need to be someone who would be willing to commit in obedience and submission to the church he served.[50]

With these considerations, and newly settled among Ohio Yankees with only a tiny River Brethren community, it comes as no surprise that Henry returned to Pennsylvania to the United Brethren in Christ community in which he and Hannah had been married to search for a wife. By spring, just 10 months after Hannah's demise, a letter to her parents indicated that he had met with success. On March 1, 1856, Henry gently informed the Crafts that during a visit with friends near Mount Pleasant, he had "formed an attachment for a young lady of about twenty-five years of age, of respectable parents, and I suppose I may say, wealthy parents, and which from every appearance now will likely result in a marriage before long." The Davidson and Rice connection was a long one, Henry assured his former parents-in-law;[51] and it was strong, as the recent marriage of Henry's niece Mary to Fannie's elder brother John implies.[52]

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[48] Kleinberg, *Women in the United States*, 16-17.
[49] Errington, *Wives and Mothers,* 26.
[50] Funk, "The Best and the Worst of Times," 197.
[51] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 56.
[52] Ancestry.ca, http://person.ancestry.ca/tree/84863155/person/40517204644/facts.

With this close relationship, it is safe to assume that Hannah's parents also would have known the Rices as part of the United Brethren in Christ ministry circle. Emphasizing Fannie's suitability as a mother for their grandchildren, Henry stressed that she also had been a close friend of Hannah's. As was typical for young women of the era, she had travelled out to Ohio and stayed with the family several times. In his words,

> I have, I may say, been intimately acquainted with her since I have lived out here. She has been in our family often and lived with us a week or two at a time during Hannah's lifetime and has been here once or twice since Hannah's death.[53]

According to family lore, Fannie was less enthusiastic than Henry about the arrangement. As historians of women have noted, "marriage was a defining event in a woman's life," determining "where she lived," and "her social and economic status."[54] Young men had more control over their destiny, even after marriage. A woman's life was lived out in the home, with "a future shaped by marriage, child-bearing and family responsibilities."[55] Henry's optimistic "from every appearance" overlooked one thing: Fannie's uncertainty about taking on responsibility for five young children.[56]

At the same time, by age 25, Fannie had reached what was considered spinsterhood in the mid-nineteenth century.[57] It was a difficult decision for a young woman to take on the rigorous duties of a domestic situation that included raising five youngsters, including an infant. She would be living far from home, without assistance from her family, or the possibility of caring for her parents in their old age. For Fannie, as for most women of her era, in Errington's words, "[t]he question was not whether to marry, but when to marry." Mutual affection, companionship, and the independence and autonomy of running a home were important for a young woman as she came into adulthood.[58]

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[53] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 56; see also Errington, *Wives and Mothers*, 38.

[54] Errington, "Wives and Mothers," 26.

[55] Marguerite Van Die, "'A Woman's Awakening': Evangelical Belief and Female Spirituality in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada," in *Canadian Women: A Reader,* ed. Wendy Mitchinson, et al. (Toronto: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1996), 55.

[56] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 56.

[57] *In Mothers & Daughters in Nineteenth-Century America: The Biosocial Construction of Femininity* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 34, Nancy Theriot has noted that although "marriage robbed a woman of personal power," in the time that Fannie was born, spinsterhood was rare."

[58] Errington, *Wives and Mothers*, 28-89; see also 31-33.

Whatever her motivation, Henry successfully wooed Fannie. As most women of the era, she had certainly been apprenticed by her mother in what it meant to be a woman, with its central role of motherhood. She also would have learned the variety of skills necessary to run a farm home including "dairying, how to plant, weed, and harvest vegetables, care for chickens, spin, weave, and sew," with plenty of opportunity to practice as older sister to six younger siblings. Thus it was that on April 10, 1856, Fannie Rice committed to a new life that would take her to Ohio with the benefits and challenges that it implied. She and Henry Davidson would begin a life together in Summit County.[59]

Henry and Fannie Rice Davidson. This photo is cropped from a large photo of what was probably a family reunion. Photo courtesy of the Brethren in Christ Historical Library and Archives.

From Summit to Wayne County

Two years after their marriage, Henry moved his growing family that now, along with Hannah's five—Mary, Sarah, William, Carrie and Isaiah—included Fannie's new baby Lydia, to Wayne County. Having purchased a farm near Smithville, they would be closer to the little River Brethren community where W. O. Baker had been baptized two years earlier. With the growing presence of the Church of the Brethren, and a United Brethren in Christ church in the area dividing the German population, the Davidsons must have been a welcome asset to the tiny River Brethren community. According to Baker's "Recollections," when the family "moved into the church" it was still "composed of the four old members."[60] What with Henry's

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[59] Kleinberg, Women in the United States, 14; see also Brechbill, "Ancestry," 56; Errington, *Wives and Mothers,* 53, 76; and Theriot, *Mothers and Daughters*, 13, 63.

[60] "Reminiscences," 9; Brechbill, "Ancestry," 56; and Hochstetler, Celebrating 150 Years, 6-7.

vision and calm leadership style, Fannie's capability and commitment as a minister's wife, and the rapidly expanding Davidson family, the church would grow to become a significant presence in Wayne County.

Within two years of the Davidsons' 1855 move, the Paradise church found itself in the midst of the Civil War, which Ray Heisey has called "the most horrendous war in the history of the nation." The River Brethren, like other German sectarians including the United Brethren in Christ, had always eschewed slavery; living as they were in the hotbed of abolitionist and anti-slavery rhetoric that came to a head in Ohio and neighbouring Indiana, some signed up. The United Brethren in Christ long had been vocal in its stance against slavery, and recorded a large number who enlisted, including ministers. Stories tell of River Brethren also volunteering in a variety of ways. Some hired substitutes or paid the $300 commutation fee based on the annual salary of a worker; others enrolled as non-combatants. With the 30,000 volunteers that responded to "Lincoln's first call in 1861," it is unlikely that any Ohio River Brethren were drafted, but the varied responses among the pacifist sects prompted leaders to officially communicate their nonresistant stand to Washington.[61]

Wittlinger has noted that "[t]he sources are silent about the reasons why they chose to substitute" Brethren in Christ "for the familiar 'River Brethren,'" in this official communication with government.[62] Whatever the motivation, the decision must have felt familiar to Henry Davidson with his background in the United Brethren in Christ. Indeed, under Davidson's leadership, the fledgling Brethren in Christ would be ushered into the nineteenth century evangelical movement, slowly embracing print communication, mission, and education.[63]

Having grown up in a Scotch-Irish home, Davidson was a product of the long history of literacy that Arthur Herman has emphasized had

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[61] Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul*, 207-08; see also Wittlinger, *Quest*, 27; Durnbaugh, *Fruit of the Vine,* 265; Funk, *The Best and the Worst of Times*, 227-29; Heisey, *Peace and Persistence,* 29; and James O. Lehman and Steven M. Nolt (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 85, 89, 153-55.

[62] Wittlinger, *Quest*, 27.

[63] Scholars have noted the significance of communication, education, and missions in nineteenth-century evangelicalism: Noll et al., *Evangelicalism*, 12, 42, 69; Richard Mouw and Mark Noll, *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant Theology and History* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 74-76.

become, already by the late eighteenth century, "a way of life" in Scotland.[64] The United Brethren in Christ had long embraced the possibilities of the postal age, having established a denominational printing press in Ohio in 1833 when Henry was a 10-year- old boy. An avid reader, he must have seen the vocal promotion of abolition and temperance in the denominational Religious Telescope. He would have been fully apprised also of the denomination's steps towards mission; he may have followed developments that led to the founding of a Missionary Society 20 years earlier, and observed how it embodied abolitionist sentiments by sending the denomination's first missionaries to Sierra Leone in 1855. If Davidson's close association with W. O. Baker, who is thought to be the most educated person of the time among the Brethren in Christ, is any indication, he would have also followed the developments in higher education that led to the 1847 opening of a United Brethren in Christ University in Westerville, Ohio. Similar to Otterbein University, as it was called, both men held a high view of education for women. Henry Davidson's life experience and vision would greatly influence the denomination as it differentiated itself from what became the Old Order River Brethren.[65]

History makes much of such conflicts as the Civil War and the institution building so important in times of social change, but as Quaker sociologist Elise Boulding has suggested, "the missing element in social awareness of the nature of human experience through history . . . is an image of the dailiness of life—of the common round from dawn to dawn that sustains human existence."[66] For farming communities like the one that shaped the Brethren in Christ in Smithville, Ohio, their faith was sustained by the continuity of life, season after season, living out each day as it came. For women, the self-sacrifice required in bearing, nursing, and raising children was their major pre-occupation; with its dangers both for mothers and small children,

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[64] Arthur Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* (New York: Crown Publishing, 2001), 22.

[65] Wittlinger, *Quest*, 38-39; Heisey, *Peace and Persistence,* 8; Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul*, 157; Funk, "The Best and the Worst of Times," 198, 209-10, 212-14, 229; Waldfogel, "The Church takes a Name," 146, 162; Henkin, *The Postal Age*, 2; and Chukwudi Njoku, "The Missionary Factor in African Christianity, 1884-1914," 193, in *The History of Christianity in West Africa*, ed. Ogbu Kalu (London & New York: Longman, 1980).

[66] Elise Boulding, *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 15, cited in Heisey, *Peace and Persistence*, 15.

the suffering implicit in the centrality of motherhood provided a glue for kinship networks of women, and gave focus to all of the other duties of running a farm and maintaining family, including the most important task of preparing each child for eternity. It was the steady attention to the details of daily and seasonal life on the farm, and the mother's role in creating the sacred and safe space called home, that provided the foundation for faith, and for a man's public roles.[67]

The quickly multiplying Davidson family, soon to become the largest in the area, bolstered Henry's leadership, helping to make the Brethren in Christ community a visible presence. Not only did Rebecca, Frances, Emma, and twins Henry and Henrietta come in close succession, by 1866 Fannie's parents had immigrated from Pennsylvania, adding another preacher and wife with their younger children to the community. It is hardly surprising, with Fannie's heavy load, that her parents, as they approached old age, sold their property in Fayette County, and brought their family to Ohio. Women of the era and their aging parents typically counted on relatives to help them.[68]

Samuel purchased the Davidson Georgetown farm, while Henry and Fannie and the nine younger children made a new home in a large frame house on the western edge of Smithville. Despite having been "afflicted with that terrible disease, cancer" already during that time as her obituary would declare 30 years later, Fannie survived two more pregnancies, bringing her last child into a wintry Ohio world at 39 years of age. Ten days after Fannie's mother Frances drew her final breath on December 10, 1870, Ida Alice completed the family, bringing it to its final count of 13 children.[69] While Samuel would move further west, taking Cyrus and Samuel Jr. to join sons Henry and John who farmed in Illinois, the Davidsons made what would be

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[67] Theriot, *Mothers and Daughters,* 20-22, 28; Van Die, "'A Woman's Awakening,'" 55; Heisey, and , 8; Cecelia Benoit, "Mothering in a Newfoundland Community, 1900-1940," 177, in *Delivering Motherhood: Maternal Ideologies and Practices in the 19th & 20th Centuries,* ed. Katherine Arnup, Andrée Lévesque, and Ruth Roach Pearson (London & New York: Routledge Press, 1990); and Errington, *Wives and Mothers*, 65-66, 72; Sider, *Nine Portraits,* 159-60.

[68] W Baker, "My Recollections," 9; Ancestry.com, http://person.ancestry.com/tree/63206591/person/32115894734/facts; Errington, *Wives and Mothers*, 38.

[69] Samuel Zook, *Evangelical Visitor*, November 1, 1894, 336.

The children of Henry and Fannie Rice Davidson. Back row, left to right: Albert, b. 1868; H. Frances, b. 1860; Henry R., b. 1865. Front row, left to right: Lydia, b. 1857; Beckie, b. 1858; Ida, b. 1870; Emma, b. 1862; and Henrietta, b. 1865 (twin with Henry). Photo courtesy of Brethren in Christ Historical Library and Archives.

their final Ohio move to Rich Valley farm just north of the town of Easton.[70]

Fannie Davidson's devotion and deference to her husband's well-being, through ill health, pregnancies, and constant attention to children ranging from infancy to young adult, gave balance to Henry's leadership in the church, and the risks that his Scotch-Irish initiative imposed on their family

[70] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 55-57; Ancestry.com, http://person.ancestry.ca/tree/84863155/person/40517204644/facts; and 1870 United States Federal Census, Ancestry.com; Kleinberg, *Women in the United States*, 140.

life. Records are scant, but the memory remains of Sarah Davidson Coup coming home during Fannie's child-bearing years to give birth to a daughter. The household would have been full and must have taken strong managerial skills to keep it running smoothly. The buying and selling of farm properties, that gave Henry the reputation of being, in a great granddaughter's words, "the buyingest man of his time in Wayne County," was sustained by Fannie's management of the family's moves from house to house.[71] As historians of women have disclosed, a man's success depended on his wife's management abilities. Fannie's long-suffering presence nourished their home, especially during the frequent absences that his ministry demanded. Indeed, Fannie was the centre; she held the power required to create a home in the best of times, and demonstrated a formidable strength that sustained family life amidst upheaval practically unheard of among the quiet farmers in the largely German community where they lived.[72]

The last farm Henry Davidson purchased during their time in Ohio would be among those lauded in a spring 1872 edition of the *Wayne County Democrat*, in "a county noted for its pleasant places, and in which the many beautiful and well cultivated farms and fine residences give ample evidence of the industry, thrift and consequent wealth of its farming communities."[73] History is silent regarding Henry's financial resources, but he may have received an inheritance from his father; records do show that like Jacob, who had passed away within days of Henry's marriage to Fannie, Henry was wealthy in property and held prominence in his community.[74]

An 1873 map of Wayne County delineating farm properties confirms that the Davidsons were counted among these wealthy citizens. With the purchase of additional land, the Davidson property was 50 percent larger than any other in the neighbourhood, and triple the size of many. With the brick house built on the property, the Federal Census of 1870 gave Henry a real estate value of $23,500 with a personal estate of $2500, well above what neighbouring farmers were worth; for instance, the farm of his closest

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[71] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 57.
[72] Errington, *Wives and Mothers*, 34-36, 134.
[73] "German Baptist Church," 18.
[74] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 56.

neighbour, Jacob Doner, was evaluated by the assessor at $12,800 with a personal estate of $1800. Similar to other farmers who supplemented their family living by working as butchers, blacksmiths, ditch diggers, tanners, carpenters, stone workers and threshers, further remuneration from the cheese factory Henry ran in Easton for a time would have also helped feed the many mouths in the household and provide them with an education.

If the Davidsons are any indication, the Brethren in Christ community must have been viewed by the surrounding community in as positive a light as their sister denomination immortalized by a glowing report on the Church of the Brethren (German Baptist) council published on May 22, 1872 in the *Wayne County Democrat*: "Despite their peculiarities of Faith, which they consider nothing without Works, the reporter described them as thrifty, economical, industrious and the best, wealthiest and mildest of citizens." Railroads crisscrossing the country brought no less than 5,000 German Baptists to the Hoover farm in Paradise where Henry's friend and colleague W. O. Baker had been baptized into the River Brethren community some 15 years earlier. Delegates to this Church of the Brethren council included six hundred preachers, arriving from Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee, Missouri, Kansas, New Jersey, Minnesota, and Michigan, along with the editor of the denomination's *Gospel Visitor.*[75] Although history is silent on Brethren in Christ involvement with this particular council, according to Wittlinger, with the closeness in their belief and practice, the two denominations had considered merging.[76] Indeed, 15 years later, the Brethren in Christ were ready to launch their own publication with a strikingly similar name.

From Wayne County to White Pigeon, Michigan

From an office in his home on the Michigan frontier, Henry led the Brethren in Christ into the world of communication so important to

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[71] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 57.
[72] Errington, *Wives and Mothers*, 34-36, 134.
[73] "German Baptist Church," 18.
[74] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 56.
[75] "German Baptist Church," 18-19; see also Durnbaugh, *Fruit of the Vine*, 320; Martin Marty, *Pilgrims in their own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 310.
[76] Quest, 24.

the shaping of nineteenth-century institutions and movements.[77] In the summer of 1887, 15 years after the large Church of the Brethren gathering had left its mark on Smithville, Ohio, Henry Davidson sat in his office in the family's large frame home in White Pigeon, Michigan, and carefully penned his first editorial for the Brethren in Christ *Evangelical Visitor*:

> We have long since felt the necessity of just such a church paper, and now, since it has been established through the action of our last General Conference, we will state here that we desire and by the help of the Board of Publication and the cooperation of the church in general expect to give all our energies to the work. . . . [78]

In 1874, two years after the noteworthy Church of the Brethren presence in Smithville, certain Michigan members had petitioned the Brethren in Christ General Conference for their own church paper. Had the prominent presence of the former's *Gospel Visitor* editor James Quinter in Wayne County made an impact? Perhaps. Whatever the case, it had taken 13 years of careful deliberations at church conferences and councils for the Brethren in Christ to come to a common mind regarding the potential of a denominational paper.[79]

In 1851 when the *Gospel Visitor* had entered "the enterprising and entrepreneurial spirit of the times" to follow the evangelical lead and establish a church paper, it was with the explicit purpose of bringing unity to the church. Skeptics among the Brethren in Christ may well have observed how the Brethren church press had, in fact, given voice to the unrest expressed, most vocally, in South West Ohio. Indeed, vociferously divisive writings had contributed to the three-way split that rent the denomination in 1879. In Durnbaugh's words, "[t]he columns of the papers gave those discontented with any aspect of the church a vehicle for expressing their grievances and attracting support for their causes."[80]

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[77] Fannie Davidson, "Our First Editor," 7; Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul*, 150-51; Wittlinger, *Quest*, 258-59; Henkin, *The Postal Age*, 172; and Fetters, *Trials and Triumphs*, 2; see also David Paul Nord, *Communities of Journalism: A History of American Newspapers and Their Readers* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 2-3.

[78] "Salutatory," *Evangelical Visitor,* August 1, 1887, 1.

[79] Wittlinger, *Quest*, 258; Brickner, "One of God's Avenues," 323; and Heisey, *Peace and Persistence*, 150.

[80] Durnbaugh, *Fruit of the Vine*, 228-29; see also 219, 292; Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 441.

The Davidson family was affected directly by the tensions that threatened unity in the Church of the Brethren, particularly because education was such a high priority in the Davidson household. One of his daughters described her father as "a great reader" whose self-education made him appear "to be a better educated man than he really was."[81] He and his family read widely. The *Christian Herald*, an American weekly that focused on evangelical concerns of the day, came regularly to their home, as did the *New York Weekly Witness*. "[A] safe family paper," as he put it in his May 1888 editorial, the Witness "treated the various questions of the day, . . . generally on the right side of all moral issues."[82] Despite his lack of formal education, as these periodicals suggest, Henry was a thinker. His attraction to W. O. Baker, as he disclosed in an 1893 editorial, was at least in part for "'his reasoning powers which make his sermons 'needed and appreciated.'"[83]

Census data and family lore indicate that at a time when only slightly over half of white children benefited from public education, the Davidson offspring attended school, some continuing as teachers. For instance, Emma would be remembered by the chronicler of Dekalb County where she settled after her marriage as having "received a splendid education." She had taught school before her marriage to John Diehl, and in 1914 as owners of a 200-acre sheep farm the family moved "in the best social circles of the community where they have long been numbered among the best citizens."[84] Twins Henrietta and Henry also received good educations. The former's daughter Pearl recalled later in life:

> Mother was not only an educated person; she was extremely wise. Her children were not commanded, they were guided. The word "don't" was not uttered. Every child felt his or her importance, and was aware of Mother's great love for them and for her God.[85]

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[81] Fannie Davidson, "Our First Editor," *Evangelical Visitor*, August 28-29, 1937, 17; Wittlinger, *Quest*, 260; in "One of God's Avenues," 329, Brickner also underscores this.

[82] *Evangelical Visitor*, May 1, 1888, 136; Wikipedia,"Christian Herald," accessed June 27, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian_Herald; see Kleinberg, *Women in the United States*, 71, on the more than a hundred papers being published in the United States at the time.

[83] *Evangelical Visitor*, June 15, 1893, 184, quoted in Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul*, 243.

[84] *History of DeKalb County*, 732; see also 787; 1870 United States Federal Census, Ancestry.com.; Kleinberg, *Women in the United States*, 63, 152; and Brechbill, "Ancestry," 34.

[85] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 34.

By 1881 Henry's and Fannie's natal church, the United Brethren in Christ, held 14 educational institutions, including a theological seminary. Even with the Brethren in Christ legislation passed in 1878 denying women the privilege of preaching, in the spirit of their more progressive co-religionists, Davidson and his friend Baker advocated publicly for women's roles in the church.[86] With the similarity in Church of the Brethren doctrine and practice to the Brethren in Christ, Ashland College held more appeal to the Davidsons than the United Brethren in Christ college at Otterbein. With her parents' encouragement, 19-year-old Frances resigned from the teaching post she held for three years in Wayne County to follow W. O. Baker's daughter Anna's lead in enrolling at the newly-established Church of the Brethren College in Ashland, Ohio. They would be the first in the constituency to seek a college education.[87]

By the time Anna Baker Hixon, newly wed to professor Frank Hixon, graduated in 1882, Frances had withdrawn from school and was living in White Pigeon, Michigan with her family. Frances's disillusionment had mounted as she observed the similarities with the Brethren in Christ diminish as the powerful progressive wing came to dominate; by 1881, as the Church of the Brethren fractured into three smaller groups, Frances had retreated to the warm familiarity of the Brethren in Christ community.[88]

With Frances's return home, Henry Davidson sold his Ohio farm; with his five older children settled—four in Ohio, and Carrie in Abilene, Kansas—he moved Fannie and their eight children from their large brick home in Smithville.[89] The family, now ranging from 23-year-old Lydia to Ida, just nine, re-configured itself in a frame homestead in White Pigeon, Michigan. Approaching 60, Henry devoted himself to mission on the American frontier, while he waited in anticipation for the fruition of his

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[86] Funk, 198, 212-14; Heisey, *Healing of Body and Soul*, 275, 279. The Church of the Brethren and the United Brethren in Christ were among the 20 percent in the United States to give women equal privileges to men: Kleinberg, *Women of the United States*, 156.

[87] Brickner, "One of God's Avenues," 329; Sider, *Nine Portraits*, 160-61; and Heisey, *Healing of Body and Soul,* 312-33.

[88] Heisey, *Peace and Persistence*, 348, 29; Sider, *Nine Portraits*, 161; Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul,* 318; Sharp, *Educational History*, 100; Durnbaugh, *Fruit of the Vine*, 258; and Marr, "Conflict," 341.

[89] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 57.

vision for a denominational paper.[90] In the meantime, Frances continued her education at the Baptist College in nearby Kalamazoo; in 1884, three years after the family's move to White Pigeon, Frances achieved a Master's degree, the first in the denomination.[91] Her literary skills would prove invaluable during the paper's first year.

In Michigan, Henry continued the pattern set during the family's Wayne County years. He preached regularly, his evangelistic ministry extending to Ohio and Indiana. He also travelled regularly to church meetings, including the annual General Conference held in various parts of the constituency. Ordained as bishop, he was known for his calm manner and was often called upon to moderate sessions. In her brief biography, Fannie Davidson, a granddaughter known to *Visitor* readers for her poetry, recalled:

> on several occasions when the discussions as to various problems of the Church became overly warm Bishop Davidson would stand and say, "Now, Brethren. . . ." and then proceed to lay the foundation for a peaceable settlement of the discussion.

A particularly contentious conference earned him the moniker "Peacemaker of the Church."[92] As his daughter Frances would later recollect in a letter to her sister Ida, "when the council was in Indiana one of the Progressive Dunkards said Elder Davidson was the Henry Clay of the assembly."[93]

On the home front, Henry was committed to finding Brethren in Christ spouses for at least some of his children. To be sure, the United Brethren in Christ mission endeavours had resulted in growth in Michigan, but it was Brethren in Christ connections that Henry sought;[94] his evangelistic and preaching trips provided the opportunity. With the social limitations of the small Brethren in Christ presence in Michigan, the long-term relationship with Jacob and Sarah Brechbill in Auburn, Indiana, dating from their Stark County days, provided for marriages for twins Henry Jr. and Henrietta.

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[90] Turner, *Significance of the Frontier*, 32.

[91] Durnbaugh, *Fruit of the Vine*, 313; Sider, *Nine Portraits,* 161; Wikipedia, "Kalamazoo College," accessed February 2016, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kalamazoo College#History.

[92] Fannie Davidson, "Our First Editor," 17; Brechbill, "Ancestry," 57.

[93] Davidson to Hoffman, May 3, 1903; on Henry Clay see Wikipedia, "Henry Clay," accessed July 25, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Clay.

[94] Funk, "The Best and Worst of Times," 175.

In September 1886, a wedding took place in the Davidson home. Henrietta married John Brechbill and the young couple immediately settled in DeKalb County in the log cabin on the property they obtained from his parents. By January 1887, Henry Jr. had married John's sister Elizabeth. It would be up to Henrietta to teach her sociable husband the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic, so they could succeed in their farm enterprise. A few years later John would build a brick home large enough to accommodate their growing family. Meanwhile, Henry Jr. and Elizabeth pioneered in Kansas, farming the 160 acres that his father had claimed on the basis of the 1862 Homestead Act. The increased opportunities that the late nineteenth-century afforded women allowed for financial support for the family. Frances and three of her sisters, who were among the 13 percent of women in their generation who remained single in that generation, taught school; they also ran the household in Fannie's stead as her cancer progressed.[95]

It must have been a difficult period for Henry Davidson, his friend W. O. Baker, and the small handful who supported the idea of a church paper. Discussion languished for years, only to be revived and opposed again. After 13 years of careful consideration, at the landmark 1887 General Conference held on Cyrus Lenhart's Pennsylvania farm, the church responded positively to Michigan district's petitions: the Brethren in Christ were finally ready to risk a new mode of communication. A committee of five, with Davidson and Baker at the helm, was given a four-year mandate to test the waters. Henry enthusiastically took on the mantle of first editor and in just over three months, he had the first issue to press. The words, "Devoted to the spread of evangelical truths and the unity of the church," as proclaimed the *Evangelical Visitor*'s mast-head, described his vision.

From White Pigeon to Abilene, Kansas

Fifty years later, in the gold-embossed covered anniversary issue of the *Evangelical Visitor*, one of Fannie's namesake granddaughters lovingly sketched the first years of production, as it was inscribed in family memory:

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[95] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 26, 34; *History of DeKalb County*, 681-82, 733; Earl Brechbill to the author, July 12, 1999; Kleinberg, *Women in the United States*, 133; and Theriot, *Mothers and Daughters*, 117, 120.

> . . . remember this was undertaken in horse and buggy days and at a time when mail-carriers and telephones were unknown. A daughter says, "All the material for publication was first sent to our home and we prepared it for the printers, then it was mailed to the printer and set, then he returned the pages for proof-reading, we proof-read them and then they were mailed to the printer again."[96]

Frances played a large part in the production of the first issues. She proofread, did mailings, and, according to historian Morris Sider, "rewrote most of the scarcely readable articles that the well-meaning but poorly educated Brethren submitted."[97] As Wittlinger has noted, "Miss Davidson slyly observed that some contributors may have had considerably (sic) difficulty recognizing what they had written."[98]

Initially, Henry sent the material to Elkhart, Indiana, not far from where Henrietta had settled, for publishing; later he found a printer that was able to offer a better price near W. O. Baker's home in Ashland, Ohio. All of this required much travel by rail, until at the church's request the family moved once more, this time to Abilene, Kansas. Here far removed from the centre, and with the flow of Brethren in Christ who had joined the westward immigration, there was a broader base of support to help them feel connected. With the impetus to establish institutions in a land still in flux, the Brethren in Christ would establish their own printing house.[99]

By the *Visitor*'s first anniversary, Frances had accepted the invitation of Ashland College's former President S. Z. Sharp to teach at the school the Church of the Brethren had invited him to start in McPherson, Kansas. In September 1888, Frances cast her lot with the increasing numbers of Brethren in Christ who were responding to the boom colonizing the west. Her affiliation with MacPherson College brought her within 40 miles of Abilene, where Henry had set up Henry Jr. some months earlier.[100] On Henry's and Fannie's part, the impact of this double loss can be seen in the

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[96] Fannie Davidson, "Our First Editor," 18.

[97] Sider, *Nine Portraits*, 161.

[98] Wittlinger, *Quest*, 260.

[99] Fannie Davidson, "Our First Editor," 18; Turner, *Significance of the Frontier*, 28, 55.

[100] Sharp, *Educational History*, 96, 146, 154; Sider, *Nine Portraits,* 162; Durnbaugh, *Fruit of the Vine,* 260; and Brechbill, "Ancestry," 58.

distress call in the guise of an advertisement in the *Visitor* six months later:

> "Farm for Sale"
>
> I desire to sell my farm of 145 acres. It is a beautiful home, good building, near to R.R., level land, easy to cultivate, and in a healthy country. It is necessary that I should sell the farm, or give the publication of the *Evangelical Visitor* into other hands. For particulars address the undersigned.
>
> Henry Davidson,
> White Pidgeon, Mich.[101]

By November, the "store of good and suitable matter" for publication had become "nearly exhausted." Readers had responded well to his earlier request for material that would spell out various points of doctrine. Now, as he indicated to *Visitor* readers, he could fill out pages by drawing from other publications such as the United Brethren *Telescope* and the Church of the Brethren *Gospel Messenger*, both of which he had recommended to readers a few months earlier.[102] But the point of publishing a denominational paper was to hear the voices and perspectives of the Brethren in Christ themselves: "We do not wish to dictate," he apologized, "but . . . so far as refers to the ordinances we are pretty well supplied. . . ." Encouraging theological reflection, he requested potential writers to submit pieces that would promote unity, not dissension and division. "There is no subject so inexhaustible as the 'attributes of God'," he declared:

> . . . while much that is said . . on this subject is probably speculation, yet it will undoubtedly do us all good to dwell largely on his loving kindness shown toward the human family; but whatever the subject is that you may desire to write on, let us hear from you soon.[103]

Davidson believed that a typewriter would help production, but the negative reaction to his well-meaning featuring of the Odell Typewriter Company in January 1891, with its promise of a typewriter in exchange for advertising was immediate, and strong. With his survey of a variety of

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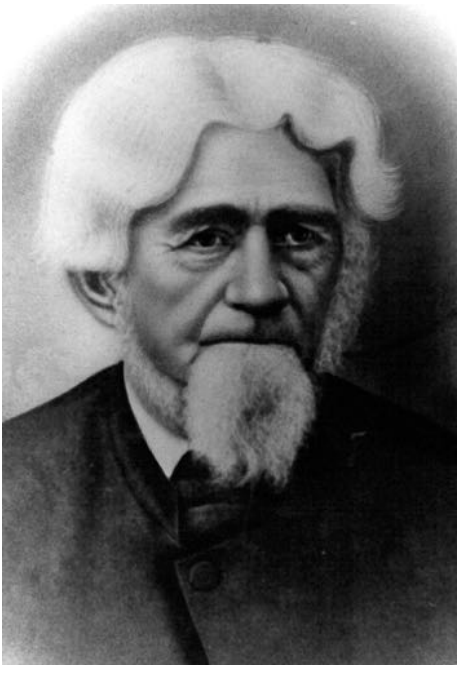
[101] *Evangelical Visitor*, March 1, 1889, 88.
[102] *Evangelical Visitor*, March 1, 1889, 88.
[103] *Evangelical Visitor*, November 1, 1889, 24.

papers, Henry would have seen the shift in the previous decades, where advertising had reached equal proportions to editorial material.[104] His sensitivity to the denomination's standards on such publicity made his task more difficult. As this minor controversy illustrates, and Wittlinger has phrased so well, "[o]nly a man with common sense, fortitude, and spiritual dedication could have coped with the many problems that arose during the early years of the *Visitor*. Henry Davidson proved to be such a man."[105]

It must have been a long four years for Henry and his family. In May 1891 when the long anticipated referendum arrived, Henry was 68 years old, with Fannie, now 60, continuing to weaken with cancer. Having Lydia, Emma, Albert, and Ida still at home must have eased things on the home front. Wittlinger has discussed at length the "four-year referendum" which the church had agreed to hold before committing to the paper. General Conference of 1891 assembled at Mastersonville meetinghouse in Lancaster County, where the opposition to the *Visitor* was the strongest. The gathering was quite likely the largest in the denomination's history. A spirited debate, where emotions ran high, gave no indication which way the



Henry Davidson. Photo courtesy of Brethren in Christ Historical Library and Archives where a framed version of this portrait hangs prominently.

[104] Davidson, *Evangelical Visitor*, January 15, 1891, 25; Wittlinger, *Quest*, 259.
[105] Wittlinger, *Quest*, 262.

vote would come down. The mood was expectant, if subdued, as ballots were cast; although the result was uncomfortably close, in his steady way, Henry saw the potential for the future, and accepted the challenge of continuing his mission. He left that conference of 1891 committed to continuing to spread "evangelical truths and the unity of the church" through his work as editor of the *Visitor*.[106]

Two months later, the family was re-settled in Abilene, Kansas. Only Henry's brief word of apology in the July 15 issue gave readers a glimpse of what this upheaval meant for him and his family: "the Visitor is a little late this month, which is due to the hindrances that came through the change of residence, and the extra labor connected with changing from one place to another has interfered with our editorial work." As they accompanied their worldly possessions on a train heading west, the Davidsons joined the flood of immigrants who were benefiting from the 1887 Dawes Act that destroyed indigenous traditional communal agriculture by dividing it into farms. The contemporary view—that resettlement was essential to the church's mission—bolstered their vision. Once re-settled, Henry quickly got back on task, ensuring readers in his practical, calm way, "in a short time we expect to be going forward as usual."[107]

For Henry, the "harmony and good-will" that had "prevailed" at the Masterson meeting house was key to his ministry, as his appointment to one of the three moderator positions at most conferences from this time until his death in 1903 underscores.[108] Under his editorship, the *Visitor* strengthened the connection for the geographically diverse community. In the larger society, the press had taken on the significant function of building diverse and far-flung communities, in Nord's words, as "conversation, connection, and common action." For people far from the centre, the paper

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[106] Wittlinger, *Quest*, 263-64; The Editor, "When... Why... How...," *Evangelical Visitor,* August 28-29, 1937, 7; Eli M. Engle, "Personal Reminiscences of the Introduction of the Evangelical Visitor," *Evangelical Visitor*, August 28-29, 1937, 29; Brickner, "One of God's Avenues," 323-24; and Davidson, "The Annual Conference," *Evangelical Visitor*, June 1, 1891, 168.

[107] *Evangelical Visitor*, July 15, 1891, 216; see also Durnbaugh, *Fruit of the Vine,* 324; Kleinberg, *Women in the United States,* 133-34, 136; and Brechbill, "Ancestry," 57.

[108] Brechbill, "Ancestry," 58. The three positions were moderator, first assistant, and second assistant: Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul*, 156.

shortened the great distances that separated family and friends, giving them some experience of home, as the very name *Visitor* evokes.[109]

Under Davidson's leadership, the paper provided a forum for teaching with its doctrinal expositions; it reached shut-ins and folks far from the centre with sermons and evangelical exhortations on a large range of topics including the ordinances of baptism, communion and foot washing, peace and nonresistance, and separation from the world. Morals told through story and poetry provided a literary component, often explicitly aimed at youth. Detailed reminiscences created historical memory. And for many, opportunities to write, and to read the experiences of others, provided the sense of home that papers had long given a mobile American population, many of whom found themselves far from family and community.[110]

Henry's editorial wisdom helped the *Visitor* quietly bring the Brethren in Christ into the evangelical mood of the time. Pieces selected from other papers subtly introduced the denomination to the large communication networks that were key to giving the nineteenth century evangelical movement shape[111] More explicitly, the paper gave expression to Davidson's vision of moving the denomination out from its insulated farm communities to broaden the denominational perspective through education and mission.

Frances Davidson's two-part piece on "Education and the Prophets" that appeared amidst experience stories and doctrinal expositions during the *Visitor*'s first year heralded her departure for McPherson College, and set the tone for the paper's educational mission. Through thoughtful discussion taking readers from the Old Testament Schools of the Prophets, to Jesus' preparation for his ministry, to Paul's instruction of Timothy, she challenged doubtful readers to consider the benefits of an education well-used in pursuing "the cause of our Blessed Redeemer."[112]

From the outset, Henry's heart for mission was reflected in articles written by members who shared his concern. Strategies ranged from Indian

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[109] In *Communities of Journalism*, 3-7, David Paul Nord, has discussed this significant potential held by periodical editors; see also Henkin, *The Postal Age*, 43; Heisey, Peace and Persistence, 6; and Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Gossip* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 22.

[110] Henkin, *The Postal Age*, 43; Kleinberg, *Women in the United States*, 81.

[111] Noll et al., *Evangelicalism*, 6, 9.

[112] *Evangelical Visitor*, April 1, 1888, 115-16; May 1, 1888, 135.

mission, to moving even further west, to sending workers into areas where the denomination had not yet reached. The underlying goal was to help readers look beyond their comfortable farm communities. [113] His June 1891 report on the ground-breaking conference decision to continue the paper, for instance, highlighted pieces from those already engaged in mission that, in his words, "cheered the hearts of the friends of mission work." As he put it, the steady stream of informational pieces attempted to assuage the "grief" in "the great want of laborers in the vineyard of the Lord," and to challenge the church to proclaim the gospel at home and overseas.[114]

Meanwhile, the Kansas family grew smaller. Shortly after the senior Davidsons came west, Henry Jr. and Elizabeth re-joined Henrietta and John in Indiana, leaving a tiny grave on the Kansas prairie.[115] Emma married John Diehl, making it three Davidson siblings who would raise their families in DeKalb County. Both Henry's and Fannie's legacies would continue in that community, with twins Henry and Henrietta each naming a daughter Fannie.[116] These changes transpired as pioneers to the west struggled with conditions brought on by drought. At McPherson, declining student numbers would see Frances resign from her teaching position; by fall 1894, she had returned home to help Lydia and Ida care for their mother during her last days.[117]

Barely two and a half years after their move to Kansas, on October 14, 1894, Fannie Rice Davidson succumbed to the cancer that had plagued her for 30 years. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich has found that nineteenth-century women "became legitimately visible in only three ways. They married, they gave birth, they died."[118] As we have seen, what we know about Fannie's life illustrates this truism. Her obituary published in the *Visitor* with "Our

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[113] C. Stoner, "Gospel Missions," *Evangelical Visitor*, February 1, 1888; Editor, "When …," 7.

[114] "The Annual Conference," *Evangelical Visitor*, June 1, 1891, 168.

[115] On May 14, 1891, seven day old Lottie Pearl died, *Evangelical Visitor*, June 1, 1891, 176.

[112] *History of DeKalb County,* 731, 733-34. The author's grandmother Fannie Ruth Brechbill (Heise) was born May 27, 1894, five months before her grandmother Fannie Rice Davidson's death; Fannie Davidson was the daughter of Henry Jr. and Elizabeth Brechbill Davidson: Brechbill, "Ancestry," 34.

[117] Sharp, *Educational History*, 188; Sider, *Nine Portraits*, 162; and Brechbill, "Ancestry," 56.

[118] "Virtuous Women Found: New England Ministerial Literature, 1668-1735," in *Women in American Religion*, ed. Janet Wilson James (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 68.

Dead" in November 1894, vividly depicts the last days and final moments of her life. Minister Samuel Zook described her:

> she met the final change in a glorious triumph of faith in her Redeemer. The writer of this notice frequently visited her during her affliction and always found her resigned to the will of the Lord; but the last visit a few days before her death was especially encouraging. While in conversation, she all at once cast her eyes upward and shouted while clapping her hands: 'Oh, praise the Lord – Glory! - Oh, I am so happy in the Lord.' She continued in that ecstasy of mind until she became unconscious, and she calmly and peacefully passed away.

Zook continued, noting that local businesses closed their doors in her honour and that "the Brethren meeting house . . . was crowded to its utmost capacity, and many that were there could not find admittance."[119]

Anyone who has accompanied a loved one in the last stages of cancer will know something of the anguish that Frances felt. Close to the end, she had shouldered the expense required to take her mother on an excursion to the Rockies, but there was nothing more she or anyone else could do. As she lamented in her journal, without her mother's presence, home was no more:

> Now I can do no more for her and my eyes overflow as I think of the broken home. What is home without a mother? No home! None! True dear father still lives and I do think of him, but the link that keeps the family together is broken.[120]

From Kansas, east again

The family would scatter still further, as Fannie's death propelled Lydia and Frances to became feet for their father's vision of mission. At the time of her mother's death, Lydia was nearly 40 and still single. Testing her father's belief shaped by his own United Brethren background that women had a particular capacity for mission, Lydia would relocate to Chicago; there she would work for a time with Sarah Bert at the recently established Brethren

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[119] *Evangelical Visitor*, November 1, 1894, 336.

[120] Davidson, personal diary, March 2, 1895, HFD Diaries 2.

in Christ mission.[121] Frances's response to the invitation of Fannie's brother Cyrus to come to University of Chicago for studies would set the stage for the awakening that would precipitate her call to overseas mission.[122]

In spring 1896, Henry suffered another blow. He was unable to understand why the opposition to a church paper, voiced most loudly in far away Pennsylvania, removed him from his role as editor. In the weeks leading up to that fateful decision, testimonials pouring into his office, he had devoted no less than six articles reminding the church of "The Blessedness of Christian Union."[123] When the General Conference that convened that year in Greencastle, Pennsylvania appointed a new Board of Publication, Henry was given only four months more to serve as editor of the *Visitor*. [124]

Well past the biblical three score and ten, widowed, stripped of his editorial privileges, and Lydia's and Ida's marriages leaving him alone at the Davidson home in Abilene, Henry would re-invent himself once more. Taking seriously the responsibility conference did allow him as chair of the committee appointed "to formulate a plan for Foreign Mission work," Henry arranged to return east. His marriage to Kate Brenneman, two decades his junior, would give him a practical outlet for mission. During his final years of ministry, along with the responsibilities of bishop bestowed by the West Milton Brethren in Christ Church in Southwestern Ohio, Henry explored the potential of mission, both at home and overseas.[125]

Having come full circle, he would live out his final years in Pennsylvania, in the heart of the Brethren in Christ community. He shared with his new wife a vision of mission that served the aging in the Brethren in

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[121] "Notes on the Work of Conference," Evangelical Visitor, June 15, 1890, 184-85; and HFD Diaries 2, March 11, 1895; see also Wittlinger, *Quest*, 169; Sider, "Sara Hoover Bert," 24-25; and Funk, "The Best and the Worst," 198-99.

[122] HFD Diaries 2, March 2, 1895; see also the author's "Conflict."

[123] *Evangelical Visitor,* January 1, 1896, 1-2; January 15, 1896, 17-18; February 1, 1896, 33-35; February 15, 1896, 49-51; March 1, 1896, 65-67; March 15, 1896.

[124] Wittlinger, *Quest*, 265; Davidson, *Evangelical Visitor,* October 1, 1896, 296.

[125] Minutes of the General Conference of the Brethren in Christ, accessed May 14, 2018, bicarchives.messiah.edu/files/Document 1/minutes pdf.; see also Kansas Census 1895, Ancestry.ca, accessed May 21, 2018, www.ancestry.ca; Brechbill, "Ancestry," 58; Ray Zercher, *To Have a Home: The Centennial History of Messiah Village* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Messiah Village, 1995), 33, 89; and George Detweiler, "Elder Henry Davidson," *Evangelical Visitor,* April 1, 1903, 3.

Christ community, with their work at Messiah Home for the Aged [now Messiah Lifeways] that she had co-founded in Harrisburg. His legacy also reached far beyond the cradle of the denomination. Just months after his marriage, his daughter Frances responded to a dramatic call to volunteer for overseas mission. Expressing his fear that she had failed to count the cost, he reluctantly gave his permission: "It is painful to say yes, but how can I say no?"[126] The cost implied in that "yes" illustrates his reputation, in Brickner's words, of being "[o]ne of the strongest mission advocates."[127] Indeed, on his death six years later, Frances grieved the loss of one who was more than beloved father. As she expressed in a letter to her family, "I have written him everything." Indeed, she declared, a recent 19-page letter from him confirmed that he knew better than most the particular needs of those working in overseas mission.[128]

Known as "The Peacemaker" for his calm handling of discussion, Henry Davidson served as moderator of international conference sessions up until his death in 1903.[129] With vision, openness to change, and his willingness to accept the personal sacrifices that such leadership demands, Henry Davidson served the Brethren in Christ as minister and bishop (or elder) for over 50 years. He left a heritage of a space where a far-flung people could encourage one another, and gain the benefits of community through writing and reading the words of others. He aided the process of putting doctrine and belief in print, and he promoted a vision that created a more unified North American denomination, one that gained confidence as it embraced the tools of evangelicalism, especially education and mission. The words of George Detwiler, editor of the *Visitor* at the time of Henry Davidson's death, said it well:

> He had his share of sorrows and hardships and struggles. We need not think, occupying the prominent place he did, that he had the praise of everybody. The Apostle Paul makes use of the expression,

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[126] Anita Brechbill, telephone conversation with author, July 24, 2013.
[127] Brickner, "One of God's Avenues," 328.
[128] Davidson to Hoffman, May 3, 1903.
[129] Brechbill, "Ancestry"; Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul*, 156.

> "men of like passions" and we know that Elder Davidson did not claim for himself perfection. He had his weaknesses and no doubt made many mistakes, (and who would undertake to throw the first stone!) but we believe that throughout his long career there was an honest purpose to serve the Master whose servant he had become, and to the extent of his ability, given him by God, to work for the unity, and prosperity of the church. He now rests from his labors.[130]

Henry Davidson also left a legacy as a father and husband. In her letter to the sisters still living in Kansas, Frances expressed the grief left on the departure of a much-loved father:

> His was truly a life of activity in the service of the Master. From our earliest recollection I can remember his prayers, and his sermons always moved me more than those of any one else before I was converted and wherever the church or work called, he was ready to go, bad weather could not keep him from filling his appointments, and then for nine years was the laborious task of editing the Visitor and he was chiefly instrumental in getting it started. Then in his later years was deeply interested in the mission work and all his life active in the councils . . . since I was in the mission work and he President of the Board as well as my father, I have written him everything and consulted him about everything and I can never more say "I must write and ask Father about that." He seemed to understand the needs of the work so well for one so far away. . . . [131]

Assumed but unspoken was the support of his wives, none more than his partner of nearly 40 years, Fannie Rice Davidson. Her labour and contributions to his ministry are summed up in Frances's lament on her mother's death: "what is a home without a mother? No home." Few words survive that would help today's reader understand Fannie's part in Henry's ministry, but we can read something of Fannie's character from what we

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[130] "Elder Henry Davidson," *Evangelical Visitor*, April 1, 1903, 3.

[131] Davidson to Hoffman, May 3, 1903.

know of her daughters. We can be sure that Fannie's intelligence, wisdom, and strength, passed on to her children, not least her namesake H. Frances Davidson, were crucial to the success of Henry's ministry and legacy.[132] Although few of their descendants remain within the Brethren in Christ denomination, the Davidson vision that brought the denomination into the nineteenth-century evangelical world of communication, education and global mission has inspired the church for well over a century.

[132] Theriot has suggested that we need to move beyond reading texts as reflecting reality and read them rather as ways people were attempting to make meaning of their lives: *Mothers and Daughter*s, 5.

On the Frontlines of Conscience: An Account of Four Hutterites Sentenced to Hard Labor at Alcatraz during World War I

By Duane Stoltzfus*

The story of the three Hofer brothers and a brother-in-law, Jacob Wipf, begins in community and is best told in community. The four men were members of the Rockport Colony in South Dakota when the war in Europe began to cast a darkening shadow across the United States. They were Hutterites, a hard-working, law-abiding, and God-fearing people who practiced the Christian community of goods, sharing all possessions in the manner of the early believers in Acts. When the Hutterites read in Acts 2 that the early believers held everything in common, they took that as a true directive for their lives. At Rockport, 25 families together shared ownership of 4,000 acres, 500 head of cattle, 130 horses, and 1,500 sheep. When the Hutterites read in Matthew 5 that we should love our enemies and pray for those who persecute us, they took Jesus at his word, literally.

I had never been to a Hutterite colony and scarcely heard about the Hofer brothers and Jacob Wipf in 2005 when I was walking across the Goshen College campus one day. Joe Springer, the curator of the Mennonite Historical Library at the college, was headed in the same direction. Searching for something to talk about, I said, "Joe, I just finished my dissertation book project. What I should I research next?" I didn't expect a serious reply to that offhand question, but he said, "What about the Hofer brothers?" I was embarrassed to admit that I didn't really know much about the Hofer brothers, but in the weeks and months that followed I began to do some preliminary research. I learned that all four men had been sentenced

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* *Duane Stoltzfus is professor of communication at Goshen College, Goshen, IN.* *This article is adapted from the 2018 Schrag Lecture he presented at Messiah College in February 2018. All photos courtesy of the author.*

to 20 years of hard labor during World War I, that they ended up standing in chains in the dungeon at Alcatraz, and that two of the men, the brothers Joseph and Michael Hofer, later died while imprisoned at Fort Leavenworth. I also learned that published accounts of the story were brief, a page or two or three.[1]

During a trip to San Francisco for a conference two years later, in 2007, I had a chance to visit Alcatraz and met up with a guide for the National Park Service, which manages the former prison site on the island. We broke away from the regular tour, following the 14 steps that the four Hutterites took down into the dungeon, or the hole as it was called. I saw the cells in which they were kept in solitary confinement, 6 feet high by 6.5 feet wide by 8 feet deep. This was the place where a guard would leave them with no more than bread and water and a warning: "If you don't conform, you'll stay here 'till you give up the ghost like the four we carried out yesterday.'"[2] What a powerful story. But how to tell it? The historical record seemed threadbare. I set the story aside for over a year as my family and I went to Peru to direct Goshen College's Study-Service Term there. We came back in the fall of 2008, and I resumed teaching.

Four days after Christmas I received an email from John Roth, saying, "I thought you might find this note from Dan Hochstetler of mild interest, given the reference to the Hofer/Kleinsasser family."[3] John is a professor of history at the college and editor of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* (and also a former Schrag lecturer). He had thoughtfully forwarded a note from Dan Hochstetler, who had served as a teacher on a Hutterite colony many years earlier. Dan wrote: "We just had our annual lengthy phone call from Sarah Kleinsasser from Miller Colony in Montana . . . Sarah is the daughter of Maria Kleinsasser, born in 1918, who was the infant daughter of the 'martyr' Michael Hofer who died in prison during World War I. At

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[1] For example, one source often cited is a short account by A.J.F. Zieglschmid, *Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder* (Philadelphia: Carl Shurz Foundation, 1947), 482-486. A more recent account is found in *American Mennonites and the Great War: 1914-1918*, by Gerlof Homan (Waterloo, ON. and Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1994), 152-155.

[2] Francis J. Clauss, *Alcatraz: Island of Many Mistakes* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Briarcliff Press, 1981), 27.

[3] John D. Roth, email message to author, Dec. 29, 2008.

age 90, [Maria] is still quite well."[4] Suddenly, I had a contact in the Hutterite community who might be able to provide firsthand information on the Hofer brothers and Jacob Wipf. I called Sarah Kleinsasser. Our conversation was brief and timed and on a landline, as they generally are for Hutterites. The critical moment came when I asked whether the family had letters from the men. Yes, she said, they did. I paused. Would they be willing to share the letters? They might, she said, but she would have to check with her brothers and the community.

A couple months later, I flew to Montana for what seemed like an interview—which I passed after explaining that I was not the Stoltzfus who had caused consternation by apparently trying to convert Hutterites to his branch of Christianity—and they did share a packet of letters. They introduced me to descendants of both David Hofer and Joseph Hofer, who likewise shared letters. It would take months to appreciate the full value of the letters, as they were in a handwritten Hutterite German dialect. John Roth and Gerhard Reimer, a former German professor at Goshen, eventually provided a translation. So, as I said in the beginning, this is a story that was born in community and could only be told in community.

The story

Soldiering was never in the Hutterite DNA. The communal church to which they belonged had been resolutely set against all warfare for 400 years. They would travel halfway around the world before they would take up arms. In the 1870s, the Hutterites prepared to leave their farms in Russia, all to avoid having their men drafted into a newly expanded Russian military. They sent a delegation to the United States, to scout out land opportunities.[5]

At the time, the United States was eager for settlers, especially skillful farmers. President Ulysses S. Grant personally wooed the representatives for the Hutterites at his summer home on Long Island. It was a striking scene: a Civil War hero and president engaged in conversation with German-

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[4] Dan Hochstetler, email message to John D. Roth et al., Dec. 26, 2008.

[5] The telling of the story here draws heavily from my book, *Pacifists in Chains: The Persecution of Hutterites during the Great War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

speaking farmers from Russia. The Hutterites explained their commitment to nonresistance. Would the president grant them exemption from military service? On this point they wanted assurance.

While the president said that he couldn't promise they would be free of military service in the United States, he made the prospect of a draft sound highly unlikely—they could count on at least 50 untroubled years, he assured them. On that word, and the quality of land they had found in South Dakota, they moved to the United States, and in the decades that followed, the Hutterites flourished. Their farms were among the largest and richest in the state.

Well short of the anticipated 50 years of peace, on April 2, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson asked Congress to declare war. On June 5, the U.S. government required all physically able men between the ages of 21 and 30, including the Hutterites, to prepare for duty.

The Hutterites had three strikes against them. They were German-speaking people. They spoke the language of the enemy nation; suspicions ran high that they secretly supported Germany. They practiced community of goods in a country that prized competition and bootstraps gumption. And they were nonresistant pacifists. Their neighbors called them slackers and Russian cloonies.

In the spring of 1918, well short of the 50-year mark President Grant envisioned, the U.S. Army summoned the four Hutterites to train for war. They went by train. We know from the letters that a group of rowdy young men barged into their compartment and hauled the men away, one by one, to roughly shave their beards and cut their hair short, army style. The men jokingly called it a free barbering. The Hutterites called it an assault. Michael Hofer wrote to his wife, Maria:

> Our savior has indeed said that they will come to us in sheep's clothing, but in truth they are ravenous wolves. . . When we arrived in Judith Basin in Montana they came to us . . . they cut my beard and hair off completely. . . . Our savior has gone before us as an example that we should follow after him in his footsteps, for we have come into such a great suffering. . . It's now 11:30 and time to go to sleep. We are going here so fast through the mountains and beside the mountains. If one thinks back how we have come here from our dear community, one could cry bitterly. Especially if one

reflects on where we are being taken. It is deplorable. But God has promised us that he will stand and go before us if we only will trust in him.
Your never-forgetting spouse, Michael Hofer[6]

The best way to picture the importance of Camp Lewis to the nation during World War I, according to a magazine writer, was to stand in the Texas panhandle and face north, drawing an imaginary line through the middle of the country—through Oklahoma, then Kansas, and Nebraska and the Dakotas, right up to the Canadian border.[7]

If you looked east from that line, you would have seen 15 national army training camps. If you looked west, you would have seen one: Camp Lewis, at American Lake, Washington. The recruits from Alaska, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming, and many more from Minnesota and the Dakotas, all headed to Camp Lewis, with some, like the Hutterites, traveling as far as 2,000 miles.

Stretching across about 70,000 acres, Camp Lewis was the largest of the Army's camps. It was, in many respects, an ideal place in which to train for battle. Few of the other training sites could compete with the vista at Camp Lewis. The barracks were arrayed in two curving arcs, which opened toward Mount Rainier, capped in white.

The camp was bursting at the seams, with tens of thousands of men shoehorned into the officially designated company barracks. To accommodate the overflow, hay sheds were turned into barracks for at least 1,000 others. Some men slept outdoors in tents.

Meals were served at six in the morning, twelve noon, and six in the evening each day in the mess hall. For breakfast, the cooks piled metal plates with steak, potatoes, and rice, and filled cups with coffee, as the men filed by. The other meals were even larger, ending with pie. The army's daily ration was an impressive 4,761 calories.

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[6] Michael Hofer, letter to Maria Hofer, May 26, 1918.

[7] William Slavens McNutt, "Camp Lewis as Eastern Magazine Writer Sees It," *Collier's Weekly*, April 11, 1918.

Of course, the men had to work off the food. The recruits were being readied to ship out as infantrymen to the front lines in France. You can hear the excitement in their letters home and later memoirs. A young Mennonite from California, David Janzen, was eager to put on a uniform as a noncombatant: "After thirty days of such drilling it was easily seen how a fat pouch began to slide off a roly-poly man or how the spindly bank teller set his feet down firm and solid and a swing came to the men as they marched to and from the drill ground."[8]

In sending all drafted men to military camps (with no option for civilian service), President Woodrow Wilson and Newton Baker, the secretary of war, were confident that they could persuade everyone, including members of the historic peace churches, like the Hutterites, to do their part for the Army and the nation. Men who didn't want to carry a gun might, as soldiers, drive an ambulance or cook in the kitchen. The Army needed everyone. Wilson and Baker also envisioned the Army as a melting pot. At the time of the war, one third of Americans were born overseas or were the children of immigrants.

Secretary Baker spoke about how men of every religious group and every immigrant stream and every political view would be welded into one body: "For when, on some moonlight night, on the fields of France, some American boy's face is upturned, some boy who has made the grand and final sacrifice in this cause, no passerby nor no imagination that reaches him will be able to discern whether he came from a blacksmith's forge or a merchant's counter or a banker's counting room. He will simply be an American."[9]

But the Hutterites were committed to their own worldview in which two kingdoms, one of God and one of the world, stood in conflict. They believed they could not contribute to the nation if it meant having to wear a uniform and serve in the army. The Hofer brothers and Jacob Wipf had the misfortune of arriving at Camp Lewis just as commanders across the

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[8] David A. Janzen, "My Experiences as a Young Man of Mennonite Faith in World War I," Mennonite Library and Archives, Bethel College, KS.

[9] Newton D. Baker, "The Embattled Democracy," Dec. 12, 1917, *Frontiers of Freedom* (New York: Doran, 1918). Also in Daniel R. Beaver, *Newton D. Baker and the American War Effort* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966).

country appeared intent on using trials to send a message to conscientious objectors like them and just before Secretary Baker opened the way for farm furloughs.

Less than 24 hours after their arrival, the Hofer brothers and Jacob Wipf found themselves not on the parade ground, but instead in Guardhouse No. 54. The officers had pressed the men to line up in formation and to fill out the enlistment and assignment cards, but the men were steadfast in their refusal. The card required each recruit to list his hometown, age, and basic information, but on top of the card it said "Statement of Soldier." The Hutterites insisted that they were not soldiers, and so could not complete the card. They said they could not line up with other men as soldiers. They could not head to the parade ground to drill.

At the court martial they were permitted to affirm to speak the truth.

Then the Hutterites were called to the witness stand. Jacob Wipf spoke first. All four men were found guilty of all charges. They were sentenced to 20 years of hard labor, to be served at Alcatraz.

At the end of July 1918, the Hofer brothers and Jacob Wipf, chained together in pairs and escorted by four armed lieutenants, traveled down the coast by train to Alcatraz. The island was formally designated the United States Disciplinary Barracks, Pacific Branch, but it was better known as Alcatraz, or simply "The Rock." From the San Francisco mainland, the ride to Alcatraz on a prison launch took roughly 20 minutes, heading into the wind that blew through the strait known as the Golden Gate.

From the dock they climbed a steep path, with one switchback after another, to reach the massive cellhouse at the top of island. Gnarled trees marked the way, bending and twisting in the wind.

On arrival, each prisoner was instructed to take a bath and put on prison dress. When the men refused to put on the army clothing, they were led down a flight of 14 stairs to the basement of the prison, a place of solitary confinement known as "the hole."

Alcatraz, which after the war would become a federal prison known for its high-profile inmates like "Machine Gun" Kelly and Al Capone, was always a fearsome place, windswept and cut off by cold currents.

For the first four and a half days the Hutterites received half a glass of water each day, but no food. At night the men slept without blankets on the cement floor that was wet from water that oozed through the walls;

there were no beds in the dungeons. There were also no toilet facilities beyond a pail assigned to each man. On the floor beside them were soldiers' uniforms, promising some warmth if they relented.

Stairs to dungeon cells at Alcatraz.

The prison officials were determined to break the resistance of the Hofer brothers and Jacob Wipf during their first week in the dungeon. During the last 36-hour period underground, each man's hands were crossed one over the other and chained to bars in the door. The chains were drawn up so that only their toes touched the floor, a technique known as "high cuffing."

Their arms became swollen and were covered in a ghastly rash. Only on Sunday were they permitted to leave the dungeon and walk around outside with the other prisoners, some of whom were moved to tears of sympathy. "It is a shame to treat human beings that way," one said.[10]

As members of a communal group, the Hutterites must have felt the isolation with an extra burden, but the men are silent in their letters, except to suggest that death is in the offing.

Dear Anna,

My dear spouse and children, I'm sure you'll be anxious to hear how things are going during these dark days. We're all quite well,

[10] David Hofer, letter to J.S. Hartzler, Jan. 10, 1919.

Dungeon cells at Alcatraz.

> temporally and spiritually, and wish you the same. . . . It seems that we're supposed to stay here in this misery. But we have to pray to God that he will lead us on the right path. We all do not expect to see each other in this world anymore, the way it seems now, but we should not despair, with God's strength we hope to overcome, as we have promised God, we trust in him. He's the only one who can help us, as he did in olden days.
> David Hofer[11]

San Francisco celebrated the armistice with a human chain of 5,000 people, who gathered at the Civic Center, still wearing flu masks as a precaution. Like so much of the rest of the country, the city was just

[11] David Hofer, letter to Anna Hofer and children, Aug. 18, 1918.

emerging from the worst of an influenza epidemic when war, at least on paper, came to end on November 11, 1918.

Three days after the armistice, the Hutterites left Alcatraz, still in chains. Under overcast skies that threatened a chilly rain, they boarded a train for the Army's main disciplinary barracks at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, guarded by six sergeants.

Alcatraz presented itself as a school of second chances; Fort Leavenworth intended to be a model of an efficient factory. By 1918, the Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth was a self-supporting hub of productivity, with prisoners fanning out across the property to their respective jobs, not unlike a Hutterite colony in some ways. The agriculture unit, which was even called the farm colony, included dairy, poultry, and hog operations; a canner; a garden; and a greenhouse. That year, Fort Leavenworth manufactured 1,866 brooms. The corn for the brooms came from 16 acres of land. A tailor's shop produced almost 22,000 civilian and military garments that year.

Secretary Baker made clear his intention that every prisoner should be put to work: "The farm will help to develop the physical side of prisoners, which appears to be very important. . . . The success of the post lies in the efforts that are made to develop men and to keep them from going to waste, and to make useful citizens of them."[12]

The Hofer brothers and Jacob Wipf arrived at Fort Leavenworth in the evening, and officers compelled them up the incline to the prison, goading them with bayonet prods amid loud shouts. At the top they were ordered to wait outside for their prison attire to arrive. When this finally happened at one o'clock, they were almost too stiff with cold to put them on. At five in the morning they had to be up, waiting at the office door in an icy wind.

By this time, Joseph and Michael suffered severe pains and had to be hospitalized. Jacob Wipf and David Hofer were placed in solitary confinement; again, for nine hours daily, their hands were chained together through the iron bars of their cells. This continued for two weeks during which their diet was bread and water.

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[12] Newton D. Baker, letter to Sedgwick Rice, Oct. 24, 1918.

A guard offered to help David send a telegram informing their home community about Joseph and Michael's illness. Several days later, their wives arrived, accompanied by the minister and another brother.

During a meal in a local restaurant, they received from a stranger advice and encouragement, which enabled them to enter the prison next morning and state their request to the commander to see their husbands. He told Maria she was too late, that Joseph had died. Insisting on seeing her husband, she walked past his desk until she reached a coffin, where she found that he had been dressed in a military uniform.

Two days later, David was permitted to go to the bedside of his brother Michael and was with him when he died. Returning to his cell, he spent the following day with his hands chained above him as usual, with tears streaming down his face.

Later, he requested of a guard to be placed in the cell next to Jacob Wipf, his brother-in-law. The guard returned to escort David, with his personal belongings, to see the commander. After signing a release form, David was led to the prison gates to make his way back to the colony.

To the Hutterites, the men were martyrs who died because of mistreatment at the hands of the state while remaining true to their religious beliefs. The army listed the official cause of death as pneumonia, brought on by influenza.

A miscarriage of justice

Several days after Joseph and Michael Hofer died, the secretary of war, Newton Baker, ordered that prisoners no longer be chained standing to the bars of cells.

In Washington the highest officials in the land set in motion a series of actions, carried out by subordinates, which in isolation may have seemed measured and appropriate. The cumulative effect was a miscarriage of justice. Four men who sought to neither harm nor injure anyone at any turn ended up hanging in chains, a treatment President Wilson himself later described as "barbarous or mediaeval." [13]

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[13] Louisa Thomas, *Conscience: Two Soldiers, Two Pacifists, One Family—A Test of Will and Faith in World War I* (New York: Penguin Press, 2011), 244-245.

The Hutterites were part of a stream of Americans in World War I who were punished for remaining true to their convictions. They could have fallen in line on the broad path. By insisting on taking the narrow path, the Hutterites and other dissenters forced the nation to confront the most essential of questions: Is this the meager freedom that we wish to share in the United States, that someone will be imprisoned for refusing to fight or for criticizing the war or for speaking ill of the nation's leaders? And over time, the answer came back from lawmakers in Congress, from justices on the Supreme Court, from military leaders, and, most importantly, from neighbors, that we can do better.

As just one example, in World War II, negotiations between government officials and church leaders led to the creation of Civilian Public Service camps in which conscientious objectors carried out what the government described as "work of national importance," including service in mental health hospitals, in soil conservation and reforestation, and under direct management of church officials.

Meanwhile, back in South Dakota, a hometown weekly paper, the *Freeman Courier,* printed the briefest of reports about the deaths of Joseph and Michael Hofer, not even including their names. A one-sentence notice appeared on page 8 as part of a series of dispatches from the Wolf Creek region: "The two sons of Jacob Hofer of Rockport died in a Wash. Camp [sic] and were buried at home."[14] The next item in the column read: "The Neu Hutterthal church decided to buy a paper cutter for Bartel of China"; and below that, "Sam K. Hofer is building a kitchen and auto shed."

All the grave markers in the cemetery in Rockport are the size of a shoebox and identical, save two. On the grave markers for Joseph and Michael Hofer, a single word has been added: martyr.

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[14] "Wolf Creek," *Freeman Courier*, Dec. 5, 1918.

A History of Sikalongo Mission
Part 4: Sikalongo During the Emergence of the Zambian Church, 1978-2017[1]

By Dwight Thomas*

Introduction

The transition from a missionary bishop (Frank Kipe) to a national bishop (William Silungwe) marked an important milestone in the history of the Zambian Brethren in Christ Church. Sikalongo's history is bound up with that larger development but is also distinctive. A 1978 report painted an optimistic picture of the situation in the Zambian church at the time, noting the following:

- Bishop William Silungwe is in his first year of leading the church.
- The medical programs at Macha Hospital and Sikalongo continue to minister to a large community that would be seriously handicapped without the Mission's presence.
- Two secondary schools, at Choma and Macha, have unlimited opportunities to teach tomorrow's church and its leaders during a crucial period in their lives.

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[1] I want to acknowledge the many people who contributed significant advice and information about this period of Sikalongo's history. Especially important were my interviews with Stephen Muleya, Jonathan Mwaalu, Enoch Shampanani, Thuma Hamukangandu, Dennis Mweetwa, Charles and Keziah Nseemani, and Rachel Copenhaver Kibler.

- The Sikalongo Bible Institute is growing in its ministry of preparing pastors for the challenge of leading the church into new dimensions of faithfulness and outreach.
- More than 30 expatriates from the United States and Canada are working alongside their Zambian partners to exploit opportunities for Christ in this young nation.
- An unstable economy and the explosive political climate in and around Zambia breeds uncertainty for the days ahead.[2]

This list suggests the atmosphere at the time: optimism, activity, some uncertainty, and indications of a shift away from missionary leadership to a more collaborative approach.

Denominational, national, and global contexts in 1978

The period from 1978 to the present is a long one. Moreover, it is recent history. These two factors make it especially difficult to document. And, despite the optimism described above, the newness of the situation seems to have created a degree of anxiety and uncertainty. National and global circumstances contributed to this challenging situation.

By 1978, most of the long-term mid-century missionary leadership had stepped aside, changed roles, or left the country. In the decade leading up to the transition, Anna Graybill, Frank and Blanche (Pat) Kipe, Graybill and Ethel Brubaker, Dave and Leona Brubaker, Anna Kettering, George and Rachel Kibler, Fred and Grace Holland, Virginia Kauffman, Mary Heisey, and others returned to North America. Additionally, the host of short-term workers, which had become the norm, dwindled to less than a score. A few noteworthy Americans stayed for longer terms in Zambia after the transition, but the years of a large missionary presence were gone. One could argue that this was necessary in order to foster an independent national leadership, but the shift led to some unintended instability.

Moreover, the first generation of Zambian leadership was being replaced by younger Brethren in Christ leaders. Thankfully, some of the newer institutions of the church such as Choma Secondary School, Macha Girls School, and Sikalongo Bible Institute were firmly established and

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[2] "Mutuality in Zambia," *Therefore,* July 28, 1975, 3.

1972 Executive Board of the Zambian Brethren in Christ Church. Left to right: ***First row:*** *Deacon Paul Muleya, Overseer William Silungwe, Bishop H. Frank Kipe, Rev. Sampson M. Mudenda, Mr. Hezekiah H. Kwamanakweenda;* ***Second row:*** *Mr. Ammon S. Mweetwa, Stephen P. Muleya, Rev. George K. Kibler, Mr. Frey S.C. Mweetwa, Mr. Andrea H. Munkombwe;* ***Third row:*** *Treasurer Jonah C. Munsanje, Rev. A Graybill Brubaker, Mr. Simon M. Ntabeni, Secretary Jonah R. Moyo.*

functioning well. However, many of the long time pillars of the church—Peter Munsaka, Davidson Mushala, Mizinga, Kalaluka, and Mafulo—were no longer actively involved in leadership roles. Their replacements were gifted, enthusiastic, and well-trained, but relatively inexperienced. The changing nature of denominational leadership was already evident in the membership of the 1972 Executive Board.

Zambian church members were aware of the implications of these shifts in leadership. The selection of William Silungwe as bishop (the first native-born Zambian chosen for the role) was an especially important landmark in the life of the church. Bishop H. Frank Kipe championed the change, but

some Zambian church members had reservations.[3] When writing about the choice of the first national bishop and overseer, Daniel Mwaanga noted: "Although we are a simple minded people, the significance of the office of bishop and church overseer in being instrumental to church growth caused some apprehension in some of us."[4] Mwaanga's apprehension was undoubtedly shared by others in the Zambian church.

1976 General Conference officers. Left to right: Marshall Poe, secretary; William T. Silungwe, assistant chair; H. Frank Kipe, bishop; and Jonah C. Munsanje, treasurer. Photo by George Bundy.

A changing denominational scene in North America contributed to developments on the mission field. The rhetoric of the two hundredth anniversary General Conference in 1978 reflected the shift in thinking of the North American Brethren in Christ at the time. The introspective spirit of the moment—"where we have been and where we're going…"—begged for new denominational directions.

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[3] "Mutuality in Zambia," 3.

[4] Daniel C. Mwaanga, "What a Responsibility!," *Evangelical Visitor*, November 10, 1976, 8.

The inward look resulted in a shift in mission priorities. Most obvious was the draw-down of missionaries. In an editorial following the anniversary, John Zercher noted the trend and the accompanying ambivalence:

> The last decade has seen a reduction in a missionary presence overseas. This has been especially true in India and in Rhodesia. The missionary role in Zambia is changing. Although these changes, for the most part, were part of the maturing of the national church, they appeared to the observer to reduce the need for North America involvement. There was also considerable uncertainty as to the nature of this future involvement.[5]

Relatedly, *Evangelical Visitor* articles applauded the shift to a national bishop in Zambia while suggesting new directions for the future. The 1978 Handbook of Missions proclaimed:

> In Zambia, the year 1978 represents a major step on the road to that Brethren in Christ fellowship becoming a self-propagating body. The consecration of Bishop William Silungwe on January 8 signals an era of new partnership relationships with the North American church.[6]

The implication of this rhetoric is clear: the era of colonialistic leadership from North America is over; the national churches must take control of their own destinies; and the relationship between the North American church and the national churches is different.

J. Wilmer Heisey's 1979 article clearly stated that a new sense of relationship was assumed by the North American church:

> The Board for Missions has been acting upon the resolves of General Conference. It is launching new initiatives in existing fields of labor in response to the counsel and urging of the overseas churches. It is exploring with those churches new fields/ministries we can enter together. Mutuality requires the support of each according to his means.[7]

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[5] John Zercher, "Rhetoric and Reality," *Evangelical Visitor,* August 10, 1978.

[6] "Rapid Growth of African Mission Program," in *Brethren in Christ Missions: 1871-1978* (Mount Joy, PA: Brethren in Christ Missions, 1978), 29.

[7] J. Wilmer Heisey, "Mutuality in Mission: Task for the International Fellowship of the Brethren in Christ," *Evangelical Visitor*, October 10, 1979, 8.

It is not clear to me that the national churches understood things in the same way. In the end, the North American desire for "mutuality" was itself an idea constructed by North Americans and may not have fully reflected the desires of the Zambian church.

It seems that there was also some ambivalence within missionary ranks regarding shifting emphases. Esther and John Spurrier, recently assigned to Macha Mission Hospital, raised a cautionary note in an article in the *Evangelical Visitor* entitled, "Medical Missions in Zambia: End of an Era?" The article essentially rebuts the idea that institutional mission work is no longer needed or appropriate, and it appears to be a direct response to the criticisms of Glenn Schwartz and others who suggested that mission work should not include institutions such as hospitals, schools, and farms.[8]

Lastly, changes in North American leadership and a new administrative approach had an impact on the Zambian church in the years after 1978. Roy Sider's new role as secretary of foreign missions and his vision for Brethren in Christ missions resulted in major shifts of philosophy and emphasis. Sider's administrative role during the early 1980s was particularly important. Wilmer Heisey's 1979 comment about "new fields/ministries" points to one shift in mission emphasis.[9] To the discomfort of some and the approval of others, Brethren in Christ missions appeared to be moving away from older work in favor of newer fields. This aspect of change became increasingly important in the ensuing years. Under Roy Sider's leadership, foreign mission work expanded in several urban areas around the world, notably Venezuela (Caracas), Colombia (Bogota), Mexico (Mexico City), the UK (London) and Japan (Tokyo and Nagoya). Sider aggressively promoted his vision for an expanded urban ministry in *Evangelical Visitor* articles: "The Cities of the World: New Frontier for Missions" and "Mission to the Cities: God's Business and Ours."[10] Changes in North American denominational structures also influenced the direction of mission work. Sider wrote about

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[8] Esther Spurrier, "End of an Era?" *Evangelical Visitor*, September, 1978, 8; Glenn J. Schwartz, "Crucial Issues of the Brethren in Christ Church in Zambia" (master's thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1974).

[9] Heisey, "Mutuality in Mission," 8.

[10] Roy V. Sider, "The Cities of the World: New Frontier for Missions," *Evangelical Visitor,* June 10, 1980, 8-10; Sider, "Mission to the Cities: God's Business and Ours," *Evangelical Visitor*, April 10, 1982, 8-9.

these structural changes in 1980.[11]

Changes in the Zambian church and the American church ultimately had an impact on work at Sikalongo Mission. While earlier missionaries might have eagerly helped to create a secondary school at Sikalongo by providing financial support and personnel, the winds of American missiological thought had shifted away from such institutional development. Comparatively little such support was offered by the North American church.

Changes on the global and national scene also had an impact on mission work in the Zambian Brethren in Christ Church. This period of Sikalongo's history saw seven Zambian presidencies: Kenneth Kaunda (1978-1991), Frederick Chiluba (1991-2001), Levy Mwanawasa (2001-2008), Rupia Banda (2008-2011), Michael Sata (2001-2014), Guy Scott, (acting president, 2014-2015), and Edgar Lungu (2015-2017). Kaunda initiated a "one-party" system in 1972, which resulted in a degree of stability, but multi-party rule ultimately won the day. Unfortunately, the transitions between these presidencies were not smooth and charges of fraud or harmful political maneuvering accompanied nearly every election.

In 1978, after 14 years of independence, Zambia was under increasing economic pressure. The external financial support that Zambia enjoyed during Kaunda's early years diminished during the 1970s as the world economy struggled under the weight of high interest rates. The recession of the early 1980s created even more economic stress (see Seshamani, 1992).[12] These macro economic pressures, coupled with the philosophical shifts in Brethren in Christ mission strategy, contributed to the uncertainty of the time in the Zambian church.

During the late 1970s, economic pressures were exacerbated by political turmoil in neighboring Southern Rhodesia. Kaunda allowed rebels to establish Zambian bases near the border, a policy that was strongly condemned by some countries. Some of the effects of these economic

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[11] "Renewal . . . 2000! Restructuring for Another 25 Years," *Evangelical Visitor*, May 10, 1980, 3.

[12] Venkatesh Seshamani, "The Economic Policies of Zambia in the 1980s: Towards Structural Transformation with a Human Focus?," in *Africa's Recovery in the 1990s: From Stagnation and Adjustment to Human Development*, ed. Giovanni Andrea Cornia, Rolph van der Hoeven, Thandika Mkandawire (New York: St. Martin's Press,1992), 116-134.

and political dynamics lingered for the remainder of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century, and echoes can still be heard today. Denominational changes in Zambia, changes in North American mission strategy, and national political and economic pressures in Zambia contributed to a degree of uncertainty at Brethren in Christ mission stations, with Sikalongo Mission particularly affected.

The situation at Sikalongo

At the local level, the situation at Sikalongo in 1978 was changing: very few North American personnel remained at the Mission during the 1980s; their terms of stay were generally three years or less; and an intentional transition from expatriate to national leadership was in process. The missionary presence at Sikalongo in 1982 illustrates this point. Fannie Longenecker and Mary Heisey were there, but were soon to retire. The Shellys had come only for a year. The Books arrived in August but were expected to stay for only three years and intended to work themselves out of a job. And, Rachel Copenhaver was newly assigned to the clinic so she had little connection to the community. Moreover, no one from the North

Missionaries assigned to Sikalongo Mission in 1982.

American church had been assigned to help establish Sikalongo's long-desired secondary school. By contrast, missionaries had been assigned to establish Macha Girls Secondary School and Choma Secondary School. Additionally, Macha Mission had 10 American nurses, two doctors and several other American staff. Choma Secondary School had four North Americans serving as teachers. The drawdown at Sikalongo continued. By the 1990s, North American staffing was largely limited to Rachel Copenhaver, Mary Olive Lady, and Lois Jean Sider, with the occasional short-term helper. Given these circumstances, it is not surprising that some in the Sikalongo community harbored resentment toward the Brethren in Christ, believing that the church was biased in favor of Macha and Choma.

The history of Sikalongo from 1978 to 2016 is best described through the institutions that make up the mission: Sikalongo Bible Institute, Sikalongo Clinic, Sikalongo Secondary School, Sikalongo Primary School and Sikalongo Mission Church. For the remainder of this article, I rely heavily on interviews with those who served in these institutions.

Sikalongo Bible Institute

Background

From the beginnings of Brethren in Christ mission work in Africa, there was broad agreement that Zimbabwean and Zambian nationals should be educated in biblical knowledge and trained to spread the gospel. It was also assumed that local congregations would need national pastors. Initially, local leadership was bi-vocational. Head teachers at denominationally-created schools also served as the pastor of the local Brethren in Christ church. John Muchimba, for example, was both the head teacher at Mboole School and the pastor of the congregation in the 1930s. During the middle of the twentieth century, Brethren in Christ pastors from Northern Rhodesia went to Southern Rhodesia for training. However, in the aftermath of Zambia's independence and Southern Rhodesia's continued resistance to independence, it became obvious that Zambia needed its own pastoral training school. Sikalongo Bible Institute began in 1968 for these reasons.[13]

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[13] Fred Holland, "From Here and There: Zambia Bible School Gets Going," *Evangelical Visitor,* April 8, 1968, 6; Interview with Jonathan and Wife Mwalu, July 16, 2014.

By 1978, specialization had become the norm for the Zambian church and larger churches expected pastors whose primary role was leading the congregation. It was increasingly clear that the Bible institute was an essential element in pastoral training for the Zambian Brethren in Christ.

The Zambian government takeover of mission schools accelerated the separation of schools from churches, thus requiring more trained pastors. As was pointed out in Part 3 of this series, other educational policies changed after independence, forcing the closure of Sikalongo Boys School, thus making it difficult to establish a secondary school in its place.

As a result of these and other issues, the Brethren in Christ World Missions board decided that the emphasis at Sikalongo should shift from general education toward pastoral training. This decision made Sikalongo Bible Institute the focal point in the minds of the North American leadership. Whether the Zambian church saw things the same way is unclear.

A detailed description of Sikalongo Bible Institute (SBI) appeared in the July-August 1979 issue of *Therefore*.[14] The optimistic title, "A Church Comes of Age," proclaimed the idea that the Zambian church was finally autonomous and in control of its own future, no longer a child dependent on its parent. The article highlighted the role of SBI as a training ground for church leaders:

> The growing, strengthening church in Zambia is turning to SBI graduates for positions of responsibility. The list is impressive: Bishop William Silungwe; overseer - Jonathan Mwaalu; youth director - Joseph Munsaka; (pastors) Choma - George Hansumo, Livingstone - Ross Mudenda, Monze - Lameck Chikashi, Macha - Andreah Moono, Nahumba - Charle Mubelesi; Macha Hospital chaplain - Lazarus Muleya; members of General Conference committees and pastors throughout the church. To date, three SBI graduates have been ordained and two more are scheduled for ordination this year.[15]

Programs, activities and curriculum

Since its inception in 1968, SBI's programs and activities have revolved around its core purpose of training pastors, evangelists, and lay leaders.

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[14] "Zambia: A Church Comes of Age," *Therefore*, July 28, 1979, 3-5.
[15] "Zambia: A Church Comes of Age.

Each term includes a range of courses in theology, Bible knowledge, church history and practical ministry skills—all taught from a distinctive Brethren in Christ perspective. Resident students are assigned to a local congregation where they help with weekly ministry activities such as Sunday worship, Bible study, and village visitation. The specifics of SBI's program changed from time to time, but the essence has remained the same.

Fannie Longenecker singing with SBI students.

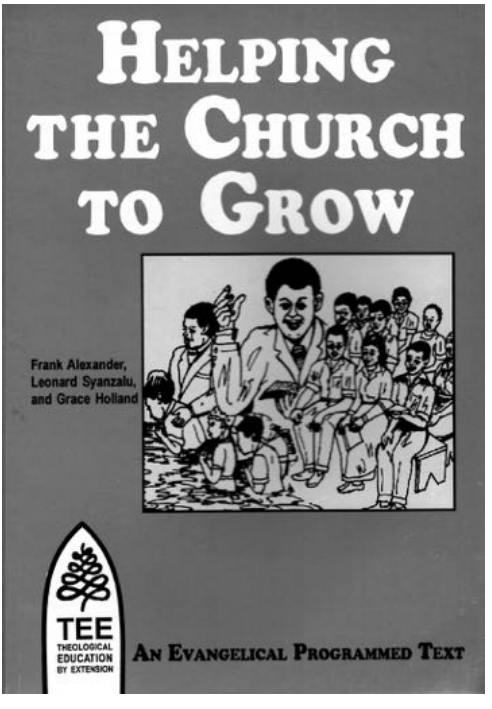
Over the years, SBI has also offered short-term workshops or courses for pastors and lay leaders in order to enhance the ministry of the church. Currently, Sikalongo hosts the annual Pastors Retreat, a four-day conference with special sessions on a variety of ministry-related topics. Pastors discuss issues and renew old connections, many of which began when they were students together at SBI.

During the 1970s and 80s, Sikalongo was also the administrative hub for the Theological Education by Extension program (TEE), which was the brainchild of Fred and Grace Holland.[16] The aim of the program was

[16] Fred Holland and Grace Holland, "Teachers on Wheels," *Evangelical Visitor*, November 10, 1971, 8-11; "Fred and Grace Holland," in *My Story, My Song: Life Stories by Brethren in Christ Missionaries,* ed. E. Morris Sider ([Mount Joy, Pa.]: Brethren in Christ World Missions, 1989), 209-222. Grace Herr Holland, "Planting Seeds: A Missionary Story," *Brethren in Christ History & Life* 39, no. 2 (August 2016).

to produce self-study materials which could be distributed to interested individuals in remote locations and to also supplement these materials with regular on-site training sessions. The Hollands' permanent residence was at Sikalongo, but they traveled between numerous different teaching points in the Southern Province. Although one might think that an extension program of this sort would weaken the residential program, informants claim that it actually encouraged many prospective students to enroll in SBI.[17] In one form or another, the TEE program continued for almost two decades.[18] In its later years, Mary Olive Lady supervised and helped produce materials for the program.

Discussions over entrance requirements and calls to "upgrade" the institution have surfaced periodically. The school began as a two-year certificate program. At one point in time, an attempt was made to expand it to four years. Ultimately, the program settled on a three-year diploma structure, which has been retained to the present. It has also been suggested that the school should have a so-called "Tonga stream" for students whose English is not strong. This idea never materialized, perhaps because most students are eager to improve their English.



One of the TEE books used by the Zambian Brethren in Christ Church. Cover photo courtesy of Grace Holland's collection of books.

Facilities

Because the government had

[17] Interview with Leonard Hamaseele, August 27, 2017; Interview with Thuma Hamukagnandu, August 26, 2017.

[18] Esther Spurrier, "TEE in Zambia," *Evangelical Visitor*, July 25, 1982, 10; "TEE Course Takes Off in Zambia," *Therefore*, January/February, 1982, 8.

Janet and Dave Kipe with son, Brian, at Sikalongo.

resisted the establishment of a secondary school at Sikalongo, the Zambian church began its pastoral training school in the facilities that had previously housed the Sikalongo Boys School. These facilities were used for over 10 years; however, church members and the local community continued to push for a full-fledged secondary school at Sikalongo. With that ultimate goal in mind, in the early 1980s the American church agreed to provide funds for an entirely new set of buildings to house the Bible school, thus making room for a secondary school in the older facilities.

The North American Brethren in Christ World Missions raised $275,000 to fund a building program for SBI, and assigned Dave Kipe the task of overseeing the building.[19] Arriving in 1978, Kipe immediately began the process of designing and building new SBI student housing and classroom space.[20] The building program finished in 1982, opening the door for Sikalongo Secondary School to be established. Although there may be truth to the assertion that Brethren in Christ World Missions did not contribute

[19] "1980 Missions Budget," *Therefore*, September-October, 1980, 7.
[20] Interview with Janet Musser Kipe, September 25, 2017..

Building the sewage system.

significant finances to the secondary school, by building SBI the church was able to make the older buildings available for the secondary school to begin.

Principals and teachers

The American goal of indigenization continued to move steadily ahead during the 1980s. A 1984 article in *Therefore* stated:

> "Zambianization is the emphasis of BICM's work both in education and medical areas. Over 20 BICM personnel are serving in hospitals and clinics in Zambia. BICM is working toward the careful transfer of responsibility for these institutions to qualified Zambian personnel. Our medical missionaries have made appeals to students in the Zambian Christian Nurses Association for them to work at mission hospitals rather than government hospitals. The response has been excellent."[21]

A similar aim was envisioned for SBI, and by the late 1980s, SBI was largely indigenized. From 1988 to the present (except for a brief transitional

[21] "BICM 1984: A Comprehensive Overview," *Therefore,* March-April, 1984, 3.

year), the position of principal has been held by a Zambian-born Brethren in Christ member. The list of principals below shows the steady move from missionary leadership to national leadership. Naturally, each person brought his or her own gifts to the role. Rev. Leonard Hamaseele, an SBI student from 1980-81, noted a key difference between national and expatriate teachers when describing the teaching style of Sampson Mudenda:

> He was [a good teacher]. You know there is a big difference between an African teacher and a white teacher. The difference is that the African teacher does it in a way that he knows that the people may not understand this term or that term. Maybe he would switch to the local language and explain it in the way he understands it. … That language [i.e., knowing the language], and knowing the culture, would maybe [reveal] some of those issues that pertain to our own culture.[22]

SBI principals included: A. Graybill Brubaker, Fred Holland, Marshall Poe, Samspon Mudenda, Fannie Longenecker, Philip C. Mudenda, Yotham Samwangala, Steve Ginder, Dennis Mweetwa, Thuma Hamukangandu, Dwight W. Thomas, and Charles Nseemani. Choosing who to highlight from this list is difficult. The period from 1993-2002 enjoyed the most stable staffing. Rev. Thuma Hamukangandu served as principal during these years, and Lois Jean Sider served as Bible teacher and librarian.[23] Rev. Dennis Mweetwa also deserves mention. He first served as principal from 1988-92, attended seminary in Kenya for a decade and returned to assume leadership at SBI in 2003.[24] Rev. Charles Nseemani was the most recent principal, holding that position from 2011-2017.[25] He had served as a teacher at SBI in the late 1990s and in 2017 he was chosen as bishop of the Zambian church, succeeding Rev. Thuma Hamukangandu.

Current role and future of SBI

SBI continues to serve the Brethren in Christ Church well, providing three to five new pastors each year. Most pastors are placed in rural contexts.

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[22] Hamaseele, interview.
[23] Interview with Thuma Hamukangandu, August 26, 2017
[24] Interview with Dennis Mweetwa, September 20, 2017.
[25] Interview with Charles Nseemani and Keziah Nseemani, September 3, 2017.

Their congregations cannot afford a generous salary so many graduates must earn additional income through agriculture or other work. The financial stresses of supplying basic needs and providing for their children's education have led a few pastors to leave the ministry. In recent years, there has been increasing pressure for pastors to have more advanced training. In response to this sentiment, a number of SBI graduates have continued their religious training at TCCA (Theological College of Central Africa) and returned to serve the church in larger urban or peri-urban churches.

Toward the end of the twentieth century, North American mission thinking continued to change. One consequence was an intentional shift of resources from so-called "established fields" to other places. This eventually led to diminishing financial support for SBI from the North American Brethren in Christ World Missions office. Subsidies for pastoral student costs were gradually reduced and finally ended altogether, placing enormous strain on the institution. Currently, SBI receives partial support from individual donors and a few North American congregations. However, it struggles to have adequate funds to keep up with operational costs. In order to continue to operate, a number of experienced and trained Zambians and Americans volunteer time to teach and help at the school.

Rev. Nseemani with the five 2013 SBI graduates. From left to right: Shystar Sinakatongo, Abel Simangolwa, Rev. Charles Nseemani, Georg Mainga, Charles Sinabbuyu, Addie Mungo (Macha Hospital chaplain).

The belief that SBI could be self-sustaining was ill-conceived at best. It is unlikely that any pastoral-training school in Africa could run on revenues from students, and it was overly idealistic to believe that contributions from the Zambian church could adequately support the school over the long term.

Despite financial and structural challenges, SBI's results speak for themselves. The school has provided the majority of leadership for the Zambian Brethren in Christ church since 1968 and continues to do so. Almost 90 percent of the denomination's pastors obtained their training at SBI. Four of the five current overseers trained at SBI, and the school provides nearly all of the pastors who go into difficult rural situations.

Sikalongo Hospital (Clinic)

Medical work has played an important, though limited, role at Sikalongo from the inception of the mission. Although never as robust as Macha Hospital, Sikalongo Clinic has given significant service to the community. Previous articles of this series noted the importance of people such as Esther Mann, Mary Heisey, and others in developing and operating the clinic (or "Sikalongo Hospital" as it was often called). During the latter half of the twentieth century, the clinic functioned as a key outpost for health care, serving as a regional hub and treating people as far away as Siazwela and Siabunkulu to the south and Nakempa to the west.[26] Although it has never had extensive facilities or staff, records show that in some years the clinic treated large numbers of patients. Despite its small size, in 1984 Sikalongo treated 17,477 outpatients. By contrast, Macha Hospital with its considerably larger staff and facilities treated 36,306.[27]

The history of the clinic during the last four decades can easily be divided into two periods: 1978-2001 (the Sister Copenhaver era) and 2001-2018 (the post-Copenhaver era of indigenous leadership). The clinic continues to provide health services to thousands of Zambians.

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[26] Interview with Rachel Copenhaver Kibler, September 14, 2017.

[27] People Reached by Brethren in Christ Medical Ministries in 1984," *Therefore*, October/November, 1985, 5.

Staff at Sikalongo Clinic

Many people have given service at Sikalongo Clinic. In the decades preceding 1978, missionary staffing at the clinic shifted frequently. It seems that Sikalongo was perceived to be an undesirable posting for Brethren in Christ medical personnel and the mission board consequently had a hard time recruiting people to serve there. However, from 1981-2001, Rachel Copenhaver's name was synonymous with Sikalongo Clinic.[28] For the last two decades of the twentieth century, "Sister Rachel" was the only foreign staff person at the clinic; she was assisted by a number of skilled Zambian nurses and clinical personnel during her tenure. The first Zambian clinical officer was Fines Mayoba. He was followed by Mike Kasoka, Josias Lungu, Austin Muntanga, Charles Hachobe, and Christopher Njovu. Zambian nurses and nurses-in-charge have included Mutinta Mwaanga (the first Zambian RN at Sikalongo),[29] Jane Mweetwa, Linah Mweetwa, and Diana Mapepula; chaplains John Mweetwa (Manchisi Mukonka), Kennedy Chabakola, Teresea Muntanya, and Nelson Malao; and other helpers, such as drivers Paul Muleya and Kennedy Chabakola.[30] Many short-term workers also volunteered to help at Sikalongo during the last 40 years; Chester and Mildred Sollenberger made especially valuable contributions to the building program at the clinic, supervising work on several projects. Others, such as the Bathursts, stayed for a year or more, helping in various ways.

Rachel Copenhaver Kibler

Although many people have contributed to the history of Sikalongo Clinic, Rachel Copenhaver was one of the most important. Everyone in the Sikalongo area simply called her "Sister Rachel." She first came to Zambia in 1976 and was stationed at Macha Hospital.[31] After her first furlough, she agreed to be transferred to Sikalongo from Macha. According to her, Sikalongo was considered one of the least desirable postings for medical personnel at the time, but she felt called to serve there.

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[28] Copenhaver Kibler, interview.
[29] Copenhaver Kibler, interview.
[30] Interview with Moses Munsaka, July 2, 2018; Copenhaver Kibler, interview.
[31] Copenhaver Kibler, interview.

> Going to Sikalongo was not my choice, but I said I would go there because I knew that the nurses at Macha were not interested in going and I knew that somebody needed to go there. I thought, 'At least we have electricity in the evening — we have a generator.' I was not there more than two months and the generator gave out. I think the Lord was teaching me that you don't need to depend on the generator . . . So we worked with candles. We worked with candles; we worked with kerosene lanterns. And kerosene lanterns, when you had a delivery and you had a tear and you had to suture, it was awful.[32]

For most of her 20 years, she was the only expatriate medical person at Sikalongo. During the 1970s, 80s and 90s, physicians from Macha visited Sikalongo regularly to examine the most serious medical cases. However, as a result of the expanding network of "rural health clinics" and other changes in Zambia's medical system, patient loads at Sikalongo declined. Consequently, Macha doctors gradually reduced their visits, eventually eliminating visits completely.[33]

Sister Rachel at the clinic with mothers and babies. Photo courtesy of Martha Copenhaver.

Sister Rachel's status as the most highly trained medical staff person at Sikalongo put her in a unique position. Daily encounters with inpatients and outpatients and her monthly "under five" village visits (children under five years of age) gave her opportunities to develop intimate ties to a wide spectrum of people. In addition to their "under five" visits, she and other clinic staff held regular health education initiatives, explaining various aspects of good health care practices. During the height of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Zambia, Sister Rachel helped to supervise remediation and education efforts in the Sikalongo area, working

[32] Copenhaver Kibler, interview.
[33] Copenhaver Kibler, interview.

Women and children at an "under five" visitation.

closely with regional health authorities in this and other areas.

Copenhaver's community service occasionally went beyond conventional patient treatment. During the 1992 drought, she functioned as the regional point person for the distribution of food aid.[34] Working with local headmen, regional government officials, and American food donors, Sister Rachel helped supervise transport and delivery of thousands of bags of maize to needy villagers. The program was called "Food for Work" and was funded by Mennonite Central Committee (MCC)[35] Harriet Bicksler described the program:

Zambia's food relief program has been a cooperative effort between the government and non-governmental organizations, including the church. The Program for the Prevention of Malnutrition (PPM) developed the Food for Work concept, organized in local community catchment areas, as

[34] Copenhaver Kibler, interview.
[35] Harriet Bicksler, "Food Relief That Worked," *Therefore*, June/September, 1993, 3-4.

a way to equitably distribute food to those who needed it most. At Macha and Sikalongo Missions, Food for Work committees were formed which administered work projects and food and seed distribution. The work projects benefitted local communities in tasks such as repairing roads,

Food for Work road repair project at Sikalongo Mission.

building schools, and making bricks.[36]

Infrequent visits by fully-trained physicians also meant that Sister Rachel sometimes fulfilled functions far beyond the scope of a typical nurse. In effect, she approached what we now call a "nurse practitioner." One incident poignantly illustrates the point. Copenhaver was called to the clinic in the middle of the night for an emergency. A pregnant woman had delivered a baby but the placenta remained in the uterus—a very serious situation. The mother was bleeding and her life was in imminent danger. This sort of situation generally required a trained physician to remove the placenta. It was rainy season, the streams were swollen, and the roads were impassable. There was no way to reach Choma or Macha for help.

At the time, Brethren in Christ missionaries communicated via radio phone, but the signal was limited so Sikalongo missionaries had to call the missionary at Nahumba and ask them to relay any message meant for

[36] Bicksler, "Food Relief That Worked," 3

Macha. It was very rare for Sikalongo to be able to speak directly to someone at Macha. Desperate for help or advice, Sister Rachel called Nahumba via the radio phone, hoping to relay her situation to doctors at Macha. To her surprise, Dr. Phil Thuma answered from Macha. He had just returned in the middle of the night from the hospital and heard her call. In Sister Rachel's words,

> I had never done this. He [Dr. Thuma] said to me, 'Go in and put on your longest gloves and reach in and try to cup the placenta and remove it.' But, he said, 'Be careful not to poke too much or you'll poke through the uterus.' . . . And, he said, 'Do not give too much, you do not want to kill her.' So, to me it was very frightening. I just prayed, 'Lord, you going to have to help me through this.' It was like three or four o'clock in the morning. I am saying this because, at that point, the radio phone was there. God put that there. And Phil [Dr. Thuma] heard me and came through. And, I was able to get the placenta out. [I would not normally have done this operation], but we could not get out. She would have bled to death. She stopped bleeding. And she was able to go home and was okay.[37]

Sister Rachel emphasized that this was an exceptional situation and she only acted on this occasion because she had no alternative. In other similar instances, she referred patients to a regional hospital. Nevertheless, the story illustrates her unique role at Sikalongo.

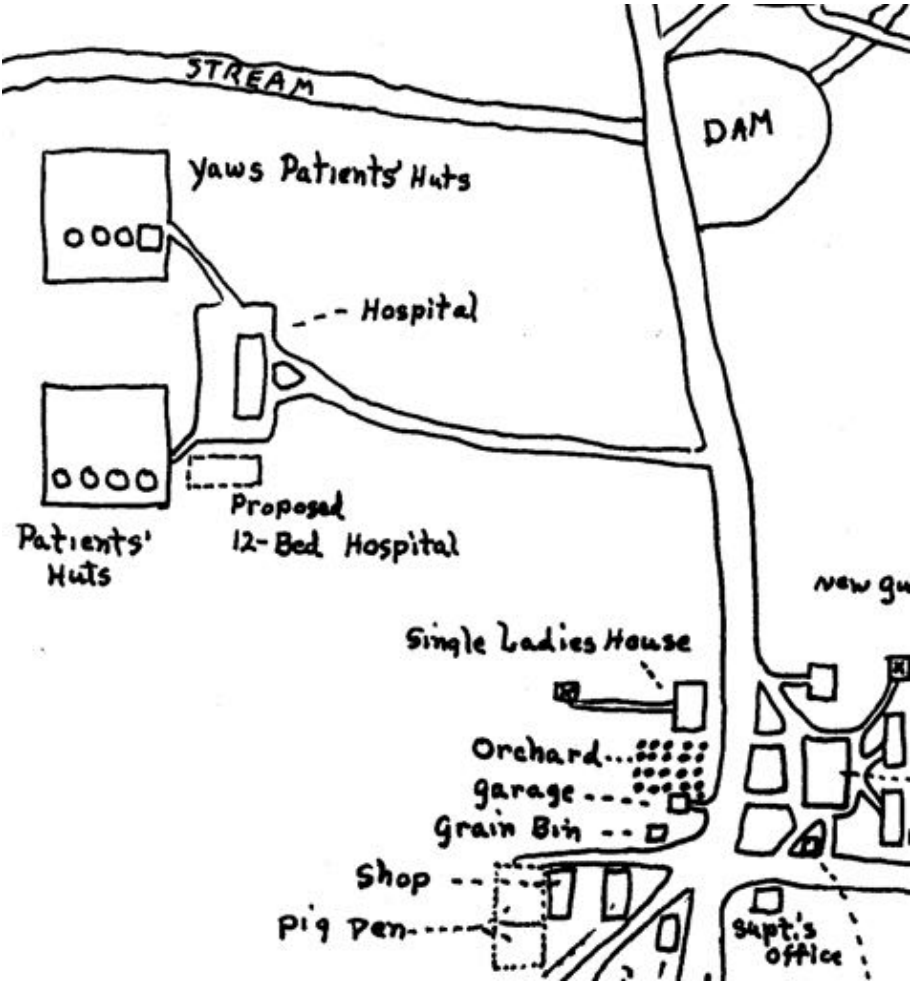
Facilities and improvements

Facilities at Sikalongo Clinic have never matched those at Macha Mission, but periodic enhancements were made during the last 40 years. Anna Graybill's map of Sikalongo indicated the extent of the clinic in 1951. The location indicated on her map remains essentially the same today. Note the proposed 12-bed building and the use of the term, "hospital."

The photographs that follow the dispensary in 1950 and the improved version of the same building two decades later.

In the 40 years from 1978-2018, various improvements were made. American donors gave money for new housing for clinic personnel; they

[37] Copenhaver Kibler, interview.



Map of Sikalongo in 1951 as drawn by Anna Graybill.

added a well and water pump house; new patient blocks were built; and in 1992-93, Chester Sollenberger oversaw construction of a larger office block in the center of the compound.[38]

Sister Rachel noted that a trend toward autonomy from other mission institutions was evident as early as the 1980s. This situation continues to the

[38] Copenhaver Kibler, interview.

Sikalongo Clinic in about 1950.

Sikalongo Clinic in about 1975.

present. Although a mission committee exists to encourage communication between the institutions, a high degree of independence is evident. Relatedly, identification with the denomination has waned in recent years. Currently, the clinic has no permanent Brethren in Christ chaplain to hold regular chapels. Thankfully, the current nurse-in-charge is a Brethren in Christ member, but the clinical officer is not. This, along with the unpredictable nature of time demands for health workers, results in uneven church attendance for some staff members.

Post-Copenhaver (2001-2018): An era of indigenization

During the last 40 years, Sikalongo Clinic has been increasingly indigenized. The clinical officers, nurses-in-charge, and chaplains mentioned above are illustrations of this trend. Currently, all the staff at Sikalongo Clinic were born and trained in Zambia. The current staff include Mr. Njovu (clinical officer) and Mr. Katambo (nurse-in-charge) along with others. Nearing her retirement, Mrs. Mweetwa has worked at Sikalongo Clinic for almost 35 years, occupying key roles of responsibility during her time there.[39]

The clinic continues to serve the community in many of the same ways it has always done. By all accounts, it is still very busy. Local people from five to 10 miles in every direction continue to rely on Sikalongo Clinic for medical services. To reach it, most must often walk two hours or more to receive treatment. During rainy season, it is almost impossible for some to reach the clinic because of swollen streams. Like Sister Rachel, the current staff provides day-to-day medical services, village health checkups, and periodic health educational programs. Serious cases are referred to Choma General Hospital, Macha Hospital, or Monze Hospital.

The Ministry of Health cooperates with the clinic and local headmen to offer health training for village representatives. Rosa and Chrispine Muleya, for example, were chosen by their village headman to attend meetings to learn how to counsel people who are HIV/AIDS positive.[40] According to Mrs. Muleya, the clinic is still always busy, testing for and treating malaria

[39] Copenhaver Kibler, interview.
[40] Interview with Linah Mweetwa, July 4, 2018.

and tending to minor injuries (cuts, sprains, etc.). And, naturally, the usual cases of measles, mumps, and influenza are common. Sikalongo Clinic remains the main regional location for mothers to deliver their babies. Their challenge is the long walk necessary to reach the clinic. Consequently, Sikalongo nurses recommend that expectant mothers come and stay at the clinic when they near their due dates.

Sikalongo Secondary School

Background (1950s-1980)

For nearly two decades, Brethren in Christ leaders tried to establish a secondary school at Sikalongo. At every turn, they were frustrated by governmental obstacles. Despite valiant efforts during the 1960s and 1970s, most people had all but given up by 1976. Appendix A of the 1976 minutes reported that the government had told the denomination that any plans for a secondary school at Sikalongo were on hold.

> Appendix.A – Education.
>
> Item.7 – Sikalongo Secondary School
>
> It was reported that all considerations for increased educational facilities in Southern Region which were to have come under the Third National Development Plan have been shelved- for the time being. The application for a secondary school in the Sikalongo area still remains No. 5 on the provincial priority list.[41]

However, several people continued to press the government to allow Sikalongo to develop a secondary school. Frey Mweetwa and Stephen Muleya were among those who worked to accomplish the goal. Mweetwa became Brethren in Christ Education Secretary in 1982, replacing Ira M. Stern. In his autobiography, Mweetwa claims some credit for establishing both Sikalongo Secondary School and Frances Davidson Secondary School.[42] It is clear that his long tenure as a civil servant in educational affairs gave him some leverage with government authorities. Others have noted that the local community and Chief Singani also pushed hard to

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[41] Minutes of Executive Board of the Brethren in Christ Church in Zambia, Appendix a, Item 7, Sikalongo Secondary School, November 26, 1976.

[42] Frey Sinankupa Chizongo Mweetwa, "The Autobiography of Frey Sinankupa Chizongo Mweetwa," *Brethren in Christ History and Life* 31, no. 3 (December 2008): 397-425.

convince the government to allow Sikalongo to establish a co-educational secondary school.[43]

1980s: Ambitious and ambiguous beginnings

As noted above, North American Brethren in Christ World Missions raised $275,000 to fund new buildings for Sikalongo Bible Institute. While the SBI building program opened the door for the introduction of a secondary school, beginning the new school was demanding. By all accounts, Musa Siachingili was one of the key people involved in developing the school. Siachingili came from Pilgrim Wesleyan background, was trained as a teacher and assigned the role of headmaster. With a single-minded view to succeed and with help from others, the school began operating in 1983 with a single Grade Eight class. In each subsequent year, Siachingili added an additional Grade Eight class until 1987, when the school had a full five grades from 8-12. Initially, most students were day students, but once SBI had completely shifted to its new facilities, the secondary school was able to accommodate boarding students as well.

Although Siachingili's contributions in the early phases of the work were critical, the community also played an important role in establishing Sikalongo Secondary School. Local villagers provided bricks and labor for existing and new buildings. Solomon Muleya, the headman for Sikalongo Village and Ezra Muchimba from Segonde worked tirelessly to improve the school and enhance the facilities.[44] With help from Chief Singani, Muleya helped to organize the making of bricks for the new classroom blocks and for the girls dormitory.[45]

Initially, the secondary school occupied the buildings that had been used by Sikalongo Boys School and later by SBI. These buildings were adequate for a start, but it soon became necessary to build additional classrooms, a dormitory for girls, and housing for teachers. In recent years, the school constructed a new dining hall, shifted its administrative offices to a new building, and enhanced classrooms with laboratory equipment

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[43] Interview with Enoch Shamapani, September 20, 2017; Hamukangandu, interview.
[44] Interview with William Siayula, July 2012; Copenhaver Kibler, interview.
[45] Copenhaver Kibler, interview.

Sikalongo Secondary School sign.

and computers. The community has done a great deal to assist this process. The Zambian Brethren in Christ Church has also helped where it could. In the early stage, the church donated a truck to help with transport needs.[46] More recently, the North American church has also helped with donations for a new water tank, dormitory repairs, and other projects.[47] Despite a somewhat rocky beginning, the school was well-established by 1990 and firmly embedded in the life of Sikalongo Mission.

1990s: Troubled times

In the early 1990s, an effort was made by some to separate the secondary school from denominational control and turn it over to the government. This effort stemmed, in part, from the belief of some people that the Brethren in Christ Church had not tried hard enough to establish the school. Enoch Shamapani, the Zambian bishop at the time, researched

[46] Hamukangandu, interview.
[47] Interview with Keith Ulery, January 27, 2016.

the approval process in order to explain the contributions of the church in starting Sikalongo Secondary School.[48] His findings confirmed Frey Mweetwa's role in gaining approval and substantiated the efforts made by the denomination to establish the school. In addition to making facilities available to begin classes and to accommodate students, the Brethren in Christ Church had donated a lorry so the school could transport materials and supplies. It also donated expensive electrical wire to provide electrical service to classrooms and dormitories. At a critical meeting held in the Sikalongo church, local education authorities, Chief Singani, denominational leaders, and traditional leaders met to discuss the issue. Bishop Shamapani presented his information. Parents from the community added to the discussion with commendations to the church for providing a positive educational environment for their children to learn. In the end, it was agreed that administration of the school should remain with the church.[49]

Sikalongo Secondary headmasters

Sikalongo Secondary has had four headmasters. Musa Siachingili was the first. As mentioned above, his major contribution was clearly his efforts to start the school, and he held the post from 1983-1990. Siachingili was followed by George Chazangwe, who assumed the role in 1990. Chazangwe was a member of the Brethren in Christ Church with strong local roots. His family came from Mboole, just eight kilometers from Sikalongo. He was chosen for the position during Frey Mweetwa's tenure as education secretary and remained in the role for 14 years, retiring in 2004. After retiring from educational work, Chazangwe successfully ran for parliament and served a term as the local Member of Parliament (MP) from the Choma District. He had a farm near Kasikili, approximately 15 kilometers from Sikalongo and died in 2015. While headmaster, he strengthened the school and gave it a sense of local identity. Samuel Mudenda succeeded Chazangwe as headmaster, retaining the position until 2010. A staunch church member with strong denominational loyalties, Mudenda strengthened ties between

[48] Hamukangandu, interview.
[49] Interview with Keith Ulery, January 27, 2016.

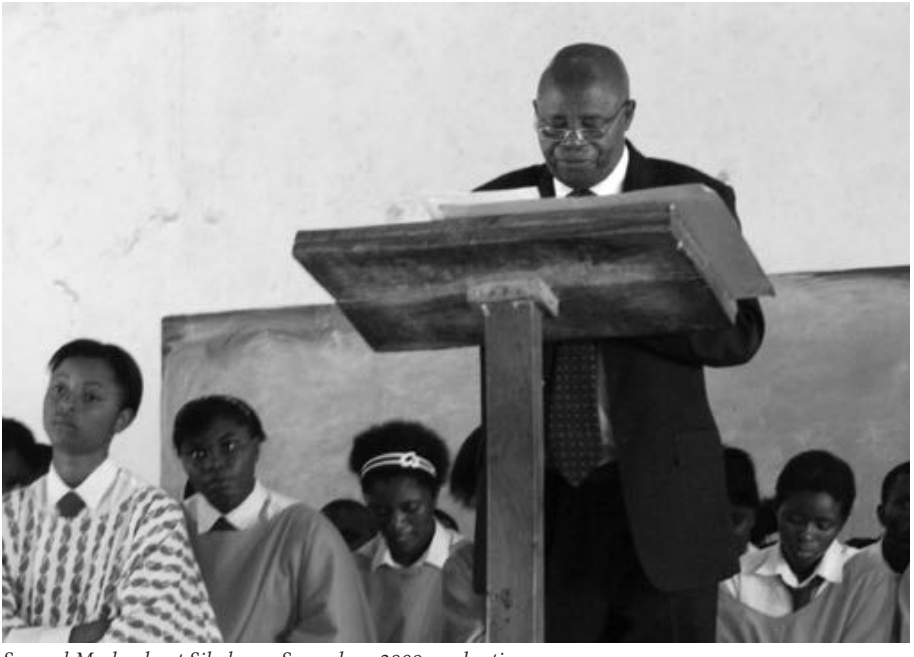
the secondary school and the church, establishing a sense of stability. Under his leadership, the school also expanded its facilities, enhancing those begun by Chazangwe. Gabbs Sichibbalo is the current headmaster at Sikalongo Secondary School. He served as the deputy under Mudenda and took over in 2010.[50] Like his predecessors, Sichibbalo is working to improve the school's facilities and strengthen its educational services.[51]

George Chazangwe at Sikalongo Secondary 2009 graduation.

Shifting identity and future developments

Like the clinic, the secondary school has become increasingly autonomous in recent decades. Although the school's headmaster is chosen by the church and ties to the denomination remain, the overt Brethren in Christ character of the school is not as strong as the earlier Sikalongo Boys School. Many of the teachers are Brethren in Christ, but a significant number are not. Because they are paid directly by the government, any ties

[50] Interview with Gabbs Sichibbalo, May 20 2018.
[51] Interview with Samuel Mudenda, July 6, 2018; Interview with Gabbs Sichibbalo, July 4, 2018.



Samuel Mudenda at Sikalongo Secondary 2009 graduation.

Headmaster Sichibbalo in front of the new ablution block.

to the denomination come solely from their personal church membership. Additionally, the role of the school chaplain—a position held by a Brethren in Christ member that once carried significant influence—has diminished in the last two decades. Some also claim that the quality of religious activities and clubs is not as strong as it once was. A similar situation is said to be the case at other Brethren in Christ secondary schools and is a matter of concern for some people.

Despite the challenges mentioned above, Sikalongo Secondary School holds a prominent place in the life of Sikalongo Mission and strives to fulfill its mission of providing quality education in a Christian environment. The current student body works hard in all academic areas, from English and Math to Science and Civics. The photos below show Sikalongo Secondary students busy trying to master cooking skills in the home economics class.

Sikalongo Primary School (Grades 1-7)

The first schools at Sikalongo were primary schools. In addition to Christian education, early missionaries attempted to teach basic knowledge

A Sikalongo Secondary student preparing fritters in Home Economics class.

Cooking food on a charcoal stove.

and skills as part of their ministry to the community. The first school was simply called "Sikalongo School." Existing primary school records indicate the beginning of the school as 1937, but that is not completely accurate; early primary education at Sikalongo began long before that date. One historical source reported that Sikalongo had a school as early as 1922 which included both children and adults:

> At this writing we are just at the close of a nine months term of school. We have 41 enrolled and living at the mission and a number were turned away, for we felt we have as many as we can possibly

> feed under present conditions. We are in a famine district and must haul all our grain from afar besides buying it, which is no small problem, for our cart holds but eight bags and takes two and a half days to make the trip. Among those in school we have families and others begging to come. But of course it is hard for the mothers to learn and in one class we have a mother trying hard to be able to read in Book One, while her little daughter is reading readily out of the third book.[52]

Another source shows two schools in existence in 1935, one called "Sikalongo Central Day School," and the other simply called "Boarding School."[53] The confusion in current records is understandable given Sikalongo's complicated history of schools.

Currently, Sikalongo's primary school (called a "basic school" because it goes up to grade nine) is located on the hill north of the Sikalongo Mission dam. Like other Zambian basic schools, Sikalongo teaches the typical range of subjects: Mathematics, Science, Zambian language (Chitonga), English, Social Studies, etc. Students pay a small fee to attend. In the early years, all primary education at Sikalongo was conducted in Chitonga (the language of the region). In fact, the earliest Sikalongo teachers (Jesse Chikaile and Nathan Muzyamba) came from Macha where they studied in Chitonga. In the mid-twentieth century, mission schools insisted that teachers use English in the classroom in order to improve students' ability to speak the English language. In very recent years, primary teachers in Zambia have returned to using the local language as their instructional medium up to grade five, as required by the Zambian Ministry of Education. And, students are required to study their local language as a separate subject.[54]

The capacity of the school is inadequate for the number of students who need to attend, so the administration schedules two groups per day, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. The result is that most students only receive about four hours of classroom time per day. Facilities are very

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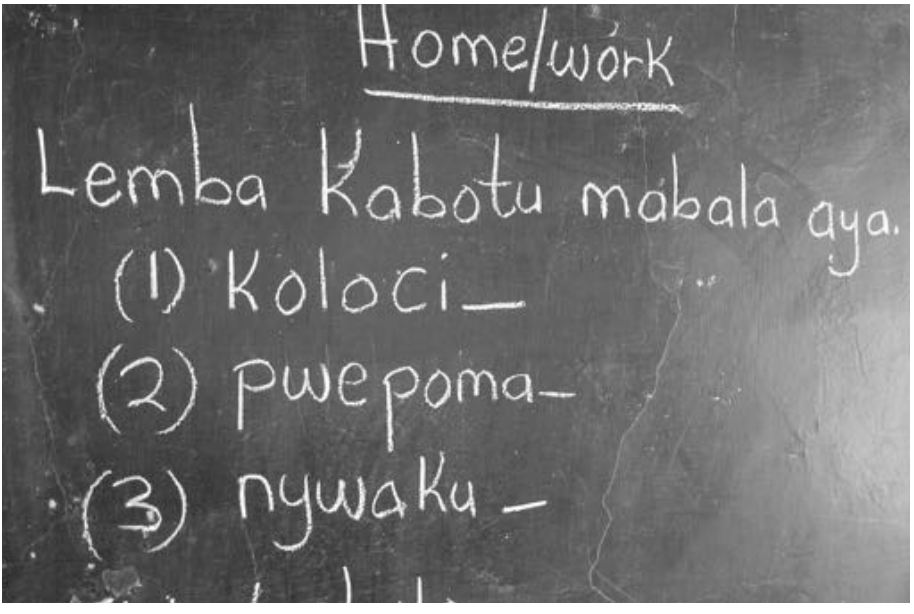
[52] Beulah Musser, "Sikalonga Mission. Sikalongo Mission, July 1, 1922," *Evangelical Visitor*, September 4, 1922, 14.
[53] Anon, "Sikalongo News Notes. Feb. 1, '35.," ibid., April 1, 1935.
[54] Interview with Liberty Silekingombe, July 7, 2018.



Zambian language (Chitonga) homework.

simple, although the school was able to build a new classroom instruction block several years ago as a result of a generous donor from Lusaka.

Sikalongo Primary (basic) continues to be administered by Brethren in Christ headmasters and many of the teachers are also members of the church. This fact lends a denominational quality to the school despite its isolated location across the dam. At one time, the Brethren in Christ supervised nearly 50 primary schools. The majority of the schools within a 30 kilometer radius of Sikalongo were founded by the denomination. However, after independence, the government took control of many denominational schools. Sikalongo is one of eight primary schools remaining under church control. David Brubaker recalls helping to build many of these schools during his years as a missionary in Zambia.[55] With help from Zambian workers and American 1-W men, Brubaker and others worked hard during the 1960s and 1970s to enhance Zambia's struggling educational system. Sikalongo was one of the communities to benefit from their efforts.

[55] Interview with David Brubaker, March 27, 2017.

Sikalongo Basic School's old block alongside the new classroom block.

Like many other present-day Zambian primary schools, educational materials are scarce and classes are overcrowded at Sikalongo. It is not uncommon for a class to have 50 students or more and have only five to 10 textbooks. Students often sit together at communal desks rather than the individual desks one might expect in North America. These conditions make learning difficult. Many observers have noted the challenges of providing quality education under these circumstances. Carolyn Thomas has written about Zambian primary schools in the Choma District, noting the many problems they face.[56]

Past headmasters at Sikalongo Primary include H. Muntanga, Jeremiah Muzyamba, Mr. Sichombo, Mark Mwaanga, Martin Kampuyu, Abraham Muchimba, and Albert Munachoonga. The current headmaster is Enmety Mugonke. He became headmaster in 2014 and has worked hard to enhance the school's appearance and educational performance. He has developed the library beyond its former status and improved academic results. Carolyn Thomas first encountered Mugonke in 2007 while doing research into

[56] Carolyn M Thomas, "Zambian School Administrators and Teachers Speak Out: 'The Challenges Are Too Many'," *International Journal of Instructional Technology and Distance Learning* 5, no. 11 (November 8, 2008): 55-60; Matthew A.M. Thomas, Carolyn M Thomas, and Elisabeth E Lefebvre, "Dissecting the Teacher Monolith: Experiences of Beginning Basic School Teachers in Zambia," *International Journal of Educational Development* 38 (September 2014): 37-46.

Zambian students at a communal desk.

Zambian Brethren in Christ elementary education. She remembers him as a dedicated Zambian educator who, in the midst of a difficult environment, used creative ideas to teach his students.[57] She described her general findings about Brethren in Christ primary school in an article in *Brethren in Christ History and Life* in 2007.[58]

Although primary education at Sikalongo Mission began as an integral part of the early ministry efforts, increasingly it has been linked more closely to the community than to the church. However, many of the headmasters, deputy head teachers, and teachers have held key positions in the Sikalongo Mission church, filling the roles of deacon, cell group leaders, treasurer, etc. In the minds of most people, Sikalongo Primary School is still one of anchors of the mission station.

Sikalongo Mission Church

The Sikalongo congregation played a central role in the life of the mission station in the early years and throughout the twentieth century. The mission

[57] Interview with Carolyn M Thomas, January 6, 2018.

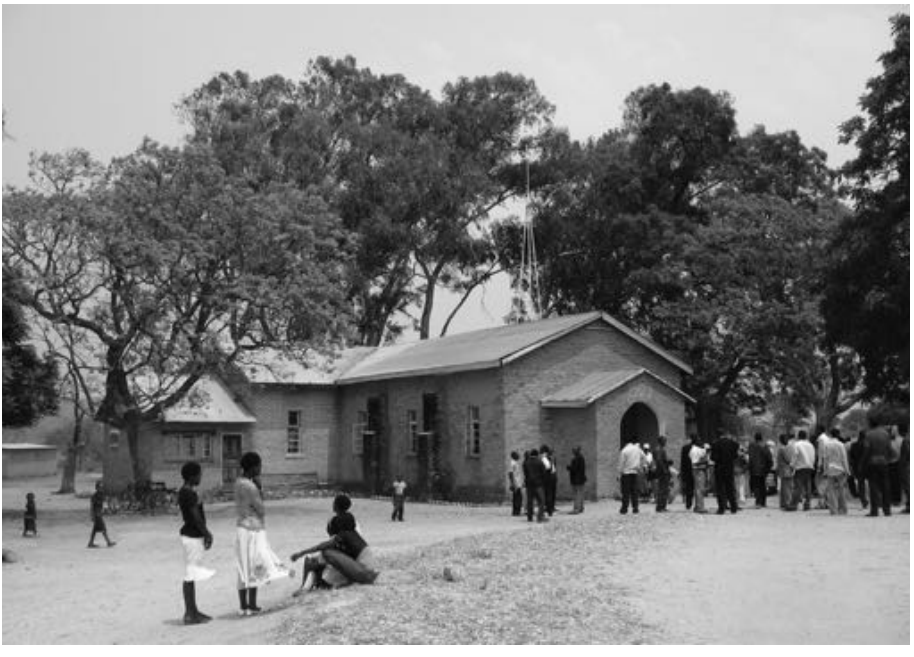
[58] Carolyn M. Thomas, "Mission Schools in Zambia: Four Cases," *Brethren in Christ History and Life* 30, no. 2 (August 2002): 193-218.

superintendent was also the congregational pastor and primary preacher. This situation remained until the mid-1970s, when pastoral leadership at the Sikalongo church shifted from missionary hands to Zambian. Marshall Poe was pastor from 1970-73, but nearly every pastor after him was a Zambian. The longest serving pastors in the last four decades were Ross Mudenda and Leonard Hamaseele. Both men held the position for more than 10 years. During his 10 years at Sikalongo, Rev. Hamaseele also functioned as the district overseer. After the decision to establish five separate districts, each having an overseer, Hamaseele moved to Sikalongo to take that position. The current pastor is Rev. Jonah Hankwa.

In recent decades, the impact of the Sikalongo congregation has changed somewhat. Although the congregation still meets in the historic building constructed by Cecil Cullen, the steady drift towards institutional autonomy has diminished the congregation's impact on mission life. Currently, the church sits within the environs of the secondary school, surrounded by classrooms, teacher housing, dormitories, and the school dining hall. Although this physical location maintains a visible denominational presence within the secondary school, it also creates some ambivalence. However, both the community and secondary school share the building every Sunday for separate services, with the students meeting prior to the community service. Despite the somewhat awkward situation, the congregation continues its ministry to local members and its outreach to the community.

The 1937 building constructed by Cecil Cullen is still largely intact, although significantly expanded. In the 1980s, the church added an extension to the north. This change also shifted the entrance of the church from west to the north. In 2016, the church expanded the sanctuary to the south, adding more platform space and two rooms behind. The expanded platform includes a baptistery and a ramp for handicapped access. These recent renovations were completed just prior to the one hundredth anniversary of the mission. In recognition of that event, the Zambian General Conference was held at Sikalongo.

The basic activities of the congregation have not changed much in the last 40 years. The congregation meets every Sunday morning for worship. The service begins at about 10:00 and goes to 12:30 or 1:00. Worship starts with an opening hymn and a welcome, followed by a period of special musical



Sikalongo Mission Church in 2009.

performances by the church's various ensembles. Like many Brethren in Christ congregations, Sikalongo church has a women's choir and a youth choir. At Sikalongo, the youth choir is also called the "BIC choir" and is comprised of Brethren in Christ students from the secondary school and is often accompanied by traditional drums. More recently, the church began a "Praise Team" which leads selected sections of the service and performs special numbers during the music time. The age of praise team members is somewhat older than the BIC choir. Both the name "Praise Team" and the makeup of the group are direct results of American influence. Moreover, Sikalongo's praise team, like those of many other Brethren in Christ congregations, now accompany themselves with an electronic keyboard. Their repertory is noticeably different from that of the BIC choir, with their songs often sung in English. For many years, the congregation had a vibrant children's choir, led by Mr. and Mrs. Albert Mushe. Sikalongo's women's choir is generally made up of five to 10 married women. Their repertory is very distinctive and noticeably different from either the praise team or

Sikalongo Church Women's Choir.

the Brethren in Christ youth choir. Unlike the other groups, the women generally sing unaccompanied. Interestingly, their songs are usually in four parts with one part being a female tenor line above the melody. The musical time is followed by announcements, offering and a sermon.

Each age group has activities outside the Sunday service. The youth meet regularly for various purposes, with Saturday afternoon music rehearsals being one of the important events of the week. Each year, many of the congregation's youth attend regional, district, and national "youth camps" organized by the denomination. Similarly, both the men and the women meet together at the congregational, regional, district, and national conferences. In recent years, the Zambian Brethren in Christ have attempted children's conferences as well. These are popular but have been more difficult to implement. The congregation also has regular Bible study groups and small support groups which meet on Sunday or during the week.

All Brethren in Christ congregations have deacons and Sikalongo is no exception. The deacons are charged with caring for widows, visiting the sick,

and helping the pastor solve congregational and personal issues. They also help to organize various aspects of congregational life. Sikalongo currently has a deacon (Mr. Silekingombe) and a deaconess (Mrs. Simanga).

Closing observations on Sikalongo, 1978-2016

One hundred years is a long time for any institution to exist. The history of Sikalongo Mission includes a faltering though promising beginning, a tragic missionary death, and a series of successes and failures. At the same time, one can easily see a legacy of service, a history of ministry and a heritage of commitment. Myron and Adda Taylor's dream of a Christian outstation in a remote African location was realized.

A number of general developments are evident. During the last 40 years, there has undoubtedly been a trend toward institutional independence at

Mrs. Mushe singing with the Sikalongo children.

Sikalongo. One can also see a drift toward professionalization in every sphere (educational, ministerial, and clinical). Throughout the entire one hundred years, missionaries and nationals have all worked to enhance facilities and expand services. Some things have been negative. The memory of Macha-Sikalongo inequities continues to surface periodically. Financial struggles nag every institution at the mission. And a troublesome search for identity has dogged Sikalongo for many decades.

However, lasting consequences triumph over troubled circumstances. SBI has trained an entire generation of pastors and denominational leaders. Sikalongo Clinic has given medical aid to hundreds of thousands of local people. Tens of thousands of children were educated at both primary and secondary levels. And, the ongoing Christian witness of Sikalongo Mission shines brightly throughout the region. One cannot know the future. But Sikalongo's legacy is one for which we can be thankful.

Book Reviews

ANTONIO GONZALEZ. *God's Reign and the End of Empires. Miami: Convivium Press, 2012. Pp. 365. $26 (US). Translated from Spanish by Joseph V. Owens. Revised by Doris and Tom Strieter.*

Reviewed by Leonard J. Chester*

Gonzalez presents a comprehensive biblical study, from Genesis to the Revelation, of what it means to be in the Kingdom of God *now*. As God was the actual and only king in early Israel living in Canaan, so Jesus is the actual and only ruler in the current reign of God. Jesus reigns *right now*, not just in some future time and place. The author frequently repeats the phrase "there where," to indicate that Jesus' lordship is vital in the present. (I checked with a Spanish speaker, and was advised that there is one word in Spanish that means "there where.") Individual salvation is not the whole story.

Empires have followed the Adamic-Babel logic, with its correspondence of actions and results or consequences: the bad are punished, and the good are rewarded or left in peace. Gonzalez allows that the main function of the state is to limit violence or retribution. Christ-followers are not to take over the state, as this requires participation in violence and retribution. Our kingdom citizenship has precedence over every other loyalty or priority.

Empires, including dictatorships, live by domination, maintaining societies where inequality, injustice, poverty, and oppression are normative, whether based on capitalism or on various forms of socialism. Gonzalez addresses globalization, ecology, paternalism, charity and violence. In many cases, the poor are blamed for their circumstances, instead of having the causes of their plight addressed by the dominant cultures or economies.

In contrast to the rule of self-justification (Adam) and retribution are God's gratuitous interventions. "Gratuitous" is the word the translators from Gonzalez's original Spanish text used, instead of gracious or grace-

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filled. I quite like their approach, as the word's root is *gratia* = grace, and it is more contemporary. With Adam and Eve, Noah, Babel, Abraham, the children of Israel in Egypt, God intervenes with words and actions of grace. The ultimate, gratuitous initiative by God is the incarnation of part of the God-community, the Messiah Jesus, who is Lord of all. Through his death and resurrection, the Messiah has cancelled the schema of retribution (2 Corinthians 5).

The communities of Jesus-followers are called to live *now* under the reign of Messiah Jesus; the Sermon on the Mount forms the basis for the new society in his kingdom. Gonzalez appeals for a new social order within this realm, with cooperation/connection among the communities, as the witness to their vitality. This new order grows from *down below*, from "there where" the followers of Messiah are living out his teaching and example, in a community of equals. No state or empire is expected to enact this new social order. As for the community-of-equals ideal, I read Gonzalez as a comment on the Brethren in Christ/Be in Christ movement away from this perspective through the "Vision Planning" processes of the late 1980s into the 1990s, becoming even more hierarchical than previously.

Those living under the current reign of Jesus, by faith, are members of the latter-day Israel. Thus, restoring Israel as a state has lost its meaning (192-193). The current nation of Israel is just another empire to be ended.

Gonzalez' appeal for "economic democracy" (19) is difficult to envision; he actually grants this by allowing that we would still need some groups with "executive powers with global reach" (325). He fails to address the deep, human tendency toward greed. He does not propose that every member of the kingdom give all personal property into the hands of the community, which would move the communities of Jesus toward economic equality. In contemporary culture, we expect good Christians to provide for themselves for their "old age," instead of expecting their families or church communities to support the elderly. If I give *all* to the church, may I go back to each congregation where I served as a pastor to ask for an annual allotment in their budget? Economic democracy is a stretch!

The translator and revisers have delivered an English work worthy of group study toward applications of his thoroughly Anabaptist perspectives. In our individualistic, evangelical church culture, this

would require baby steps of change. Even such baby steps would meet with a lot of resistance, and probable reduction in our attendances. That would not fit well with the Brethren in Christ or Be in Christ denominations. Perhaps Anabaptism is too radical for us.

An extensive bibliography concludes the book. There are no indices, but the book is very accurate in presentation.

JANNEKEN SMUCKER. *Amish Quilts: Crafting an American Icon.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013. Pp. 270. $22.00 (U.S.)

Reviewed by Geoffrey Isley*

Published by the Young Center Books in Anabaptist and Pietist Studies, with Donald L. Kraybill, as the series editor, this book sets itself up to be the official history of Amish quilting in America. And to a large extent it succeeds. Author Janneken Smucker has clearly done her research. In the acknowledgements chapter, she relates how this project began as an academic thesis (hence the long title with a colon), and with the help of a long list of historians, quilt dealers, and crafts experts, she has pieced together a fairly comprehensive volume. At 270 pages you might at first be taken back by its daunting size, but a quick scan reveals hundreds of large beautiful photographs that not only help tell the story but put into one volume some of the most important Amish quilts of the last half of the twentieth century.

If I had a complaint about the book, it is more about the "idea" of Amish quilts and less about the historical creation, development, or creative process of quilt making by Amish persons. If you are hoping to read about other Anabaptist groups and their quilting traditions, that book likely hasn't been written yet. Mennonites are mentioned sparingly, and not altogether favorably. The book reads like a collection of short essays, arranged historically to tell this amazing narrative. I was glad it

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* *Geoffrey Isley is a quilt maker and artist located in Grantham, Pa. He and his wife Dawn attend the Grantham (PA) Brethren in Christ Church. As a freelance graphic artist since 1996, he has designed publications for the denomination, the Brethren in Christ Historical Society and the Archives, Messiah Lifeways, and other local nonprofits. He has served many years in the church on the worship commission with a keen interest in the visual arts, helping to start an art gallery at Grantham Church, and an art exhibition at the 2015 Mennonite World Conference in Harrisburg. .*

didn't feel too much like an academic thesis, but there are several dozen pages of end notes with lots of sources and links to further reading on a variety of related fields.

Smucker generally uses a chronological approach to talk about the quilts, and the quilt makers. But to understand her book, one must first come to terms with the Amish Quilt "craze" of the late 1960s and 1970s. When treated as a proper noun in this way, "Amish Quilt" becomes a fetish of fashion, an art world "Label," and a solid gold investment for the lucky person with one in his or her collection. An Amish Quilt is an ersatz brand, an icon, and even a political statement. Amish quilts in the trendiest art galleries in Manhattan, hung on clean white walls, their bold graphic colors declare something like, "I'm cool (and rich) enough to own one of these beautiful old bed coverings! I'm for empowering women. I value the good old days when things were simpler and cozier!"

The cultural landscape of the last quarter of the twentieth century was characterized by mass-produced everything, increasingly imported from other countries where cheap labor costs were still exploitable, and a sense of we-can-do-anything. America was all about mass-produced plastic everything, convenience foods, and a sense that women were taking on new roles. Women were working outside the home like no nation had ever seen, and the skies were the limit.

Paradoxically, at the same general time in the arts, there was a new push to appreciate the handmade. Traditional crafts resurged in popularity. Craft shows, craft festivals, and quilt auctions could be counted on to raise tens of thousands of dollars for the institutions that were hosting them. Our homes were decorated with colonial style furniture, antiques, and in demand were natural colors, and materials like wood, brick, and jute (remember those macramé plant hangings?).

Smucker pulls together these disparate threads of our common story to explain the unique place in this shared history that Amish quilts held in this cultural conversation. Just as women were entering the work force in huge numbers, the art world was screaming, "remember when women were stuck at home and making these beautiful household items for their families?" When we might buy new bedding at Sears in dozens of styles and colors, the fashionable celebrities and uber-rich would display a slightly tattered (antique) Amish color-block quilt in their Manhattan loft next to a Pop Art lithograph by Lichtenstein, and the sophisticate would see a shrewd investment and an almost prophetic cry

for sanity. Quilting became the embodiment of the power of the female. Quilting was a woman's art.

Meanwhile back in Lancaster County, word went around that rich people in big cities would pay big time for old quilts (which Smucker notes were not even in fashion for the Amish themselves at the time), and the real craze truly began to spread. Families scoured their hope chests for "gold," quilters got busy finishing quilt tops that had sat unfinished for decades, and the less-than-scrupulous were putting together old scraps they found to create new "antique" quilts for the fancy city slickers who didn't know the difference.

Smucker researched some of these quilt dealers extensively, uncovering their travel habits, the networks of Amish quilters they had cultivated. Some were trusted and invited into Amish homes to see their treasures. Some were barred from the community due to their shady dealings. It didn't take long for the word to reach even separatist ears that the $25 given for an old quilt had fetched $1,500 in a reputable gallery.

Amish and Mennonite quilters were making new quilts too. There were new colors, patterns (Amish tended to go for solids), new trends in patchwork, appliqué and now sized for modern beds and bedrooms. Prices never reached the levels that Amish and antiques had brought, but a new industry sprang up all over the Anabaptist world. For 20 years or so tourists to Lancaster County could find dozens of quilt shops that sold new quilts to visitors from "outside" who wanted desperately to take a little of the "old-fashioned simpler life" home with them. Lancaster had found its place on the tourism map by branding itself as a place where you could see the Amish on their farms with their quirky anti-modern lifestyle. All this seemed to distill itself neatly and symbolically into the Amish quilt.

It all unraveled somewhere around the end of the twentieth century when Hmong immigrant labor (from Laos) in Lancaster County created a cottage industry that traditional Anabaptists just couldn't compete with. Hmong women arrived in central Pennsylvania with a rich cultural heritage in sewing and stitching. It was a simple matter of learning quickly about American tastes, and they were making quilts that mirrored the best of Amish quilting. The other factor was a new wave of imports of "hand-made" quilts from Asia. Even retailer Lands End, in 1989, featured a limited edition "Amish quilt" on the cover of

their Christmas catalog (in very non-Amish prints and calicoes) for just $250. It sold out quickly, but it was only possible because they were "hand-quilted" in China.

Almost overnight, the savvy consumer wouldn't pay $1,200 for a double bed quilt for a daughter's wedding gift. They could order something stylistically similar for under $300 from a local department store and it was guaranteed washable (and not too precious to actually use).

If you have your own 1980s-era quilt dealer story—like I do—you will find parts of this book very intriguing. There's sparse mention of anything Mennonite, and certainly nothing about the Brethren in Christ. But discovering how your own quilt story fits into its proper historical context can be both challenging and rewarding.

STEPHEN P. MILLER. *The Age of Evangelicalism: America's Born-Again Years.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. 221. $19.95 (U.S.).

Reviewed by Devin C. Manzullo-Thomas*

For historians of American religion, it has become common practice—even a professional necessity—to begin any study of American evangelicalism with the admission that it is almost impossible to succinctly and objectively define this segment of Christianity. Interpreters have devised a number of definitional approaches—theological, denominational, sociological. One of the most persistent is the cultural approach: Scholars have argued that evangelicalism functioned and continues to function as one of many subcultures vying for power within American society. In this book, the historian Stephen P. Miller takes issue with this persistent characterization of born-again Christianity. Since the late twentieth century and into the twenty-first, he argues, evangelicals have not been cultural outsiders or marginalized voices but rather have resided "at the very center of recent American history" (7).

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Miller characterizes the current period of American history as the "age of evangelicalism," a nearly 40-year era in which "born-again Christianity provided alternatively a language, a medium, and a foil by which millions of Americans came to terms with political and cultural changes" (5). Evangelical standard-bearers influenced late twentieth century history as politicians, activists, entrepreneurs, culture-makers, pundits, and pariahs; but evangelicals themselves often hotly debate who actually counted as a member of their tribe. At the same time, non-evangelicals sometimes participated in evangelical popular culture, sometimes railed against evangelicals in emotionally pitched "culture wars," and often framed their own politics in opposition to the public agenda of the evangelical-led Christian Right. "Such was the nature of evangelicalism's impact on late twentieth-century American culture," Miller explains. "It was pervasive enough that no one expression of evangelicalism could lay sole claim to it, and it involved more than just avowed born-again Christians" (8).

In this sense, Miller's book is much more than a recent history of evangelicals in America. Other scholars have provided such surveys. Rather, Miller narrates a history of America itself, illustrating how the nation evolved in parallel with a complex, contested, and constantly transforming evangelicalism.

Miller divides his book into six short, readable, but densely researched chapters that narrate this all-encompassing story of evangelical influence. Much of his narrative focuses on the political sphere. It begins in the 1970s, during a period in which America desperately sought an opportunity to be "born again" after the Watergate scandal and the devastation of the Vietnam War. This decade also witnessed the political ascendancy of America's first evangelical president, the Georgia-born, Sunday-school-teaching Southern Baptist Democrat Jimmy Carter. His brand of born-again politics emphasized personal integrity and moral cleanliness. Yet this vision of evangelical America rather quickly fell out of favor, replaced by Ronald Reagan's brand of faith-based nationalism and social conservatism. This approach, along with the meteoric rise of the Christian Right, quickly drove evangelicals into the waiting arms of the Republican Party in the 1980s.

Though not an evangelical himself, Reagan successfully courted the evangelical vote and cultivated a public image as a defender of religious faith. Reagan's legacy, claimed by the GOP for at least a

decade afterward, cemented in the minds of Americans across the political spectrum that Christian Right–style Republicanism was "the public expression of born-again Christianity" in the United States (60, emphasis mine). The presidency of George W. Bush represented both the apogee of this evangelical political ascendancy, and its nadir. The scandal that embroiled the Colorado megachurch pastor Ted Haggard, the controversy swirling around Regent University–educated Monica Goodling during her tenure at the Justice Department—these events and others contributed to a backlash against evangelical influence on American public life. During the 2008 election, the Democratic candidate Barack Obama renewed his party's religious vision; his public overtures to evangelical left leaders such as Jim Wallis helped give new visibility to a more progressive brand of born-again politics.

Miller's political narrative is convincingly argued, but the most interesting sections of The Age of Evangelicalism involve detours into intellectual history and popular culture. Miller successfully demonstrates that evangelicalism influenced both highbrow cultural discourse and popular music, therapeutic bestsellers, and even vacation destinations. For instance, he shows that evangelicalism "was woven into the interpretive metaphors" that defined discussions of faith and public life in the 1980s and 1990s: The "naked public square" and the "culture wars," he rightly contends, were products of evangelical influence. Moreover, he shows how an "evangelical chic" captured a mainstream market share in these decades: The genre of contemporary Christian music, the Left Behind series of novels, "purpose driven" self-help guides, Thomas Kinkade paintings, and the family-friendly tourist destination of Branson, Missouri all emerged from within evangelicalism even though their cultural footprint eventually extended beyond those religious roots.

Throughout The Age of Evangelicalism, Miller makes good on his provocative thesis: Evangelicalism was hardly a subculture but rather "a language, a medium, and a foil" that Christians and non-Christians used to make sense of social, political, and cultural changes during the last three decades of the twentieth and the first decade of the twenty-first centuries. In making his argument he deftly draws on the numerous histories of evangelicalism written over the last thirty-plus years, weaving together their individual arguments, while also building on those previous studies through his own extensive work with

primary sources from evangelical archives. The result is a persuasive study that gives popular readers and scholars alike a new way to view evangelicalism and its role in the United States since the 1970s.

One does wonder, though, how this study—published in 2015—would conclude if written today. Miller ends his narrative with the election of 2012, arguing that this event represented "the waning salience of evangelical politics as a whole" (162) because it was the first election in nearly 40 years that featured no evangelical candidates nor any overt courting of evangelicals as a singular political bloc. While true on its surface, this conclusion now seems premature. In the wake of the 2016 election, pundits and demographers proclaimed that a staggering 80 percent of white evangelicals voted for Donald Trump—a thrice-married casino mogul who previously appeared on the cover of *Playboy* magazine and seems to have few qualms about using foul language. Meanwhile, evangelicals continued to influence American forms of entertainment and self-help: One need look no further than the success of evangelical-produced films such as God's Not Dead and prosperity preachers such as Joel Osteen—and the backlash against them—to see that evangelicalism still functions as a vehicle for and a foil against quintessentially American cultural values. Miller's narrative feels too neat and tidy in light of these recent developments and ongoing permutations. The evangelical decline that Miller observed five years ago has not come to pass. Instead, it seems that the "age of evangelicalism" that began in the 1970s has simply entered into a new phase in the early twenty-first century.

RONALD J. SIDER and BEN LOWE. *The Future of Our Faith: An Intergenerational Conversation on Critical Issues Facing the Church.* Brazos Press, 2016. Pp. 240. $12 (US)

Reviewed by Rod White and Jonny Rashid*

Ron Sider and Ben Lowe demonstrate their admirable ambition for the life of the church throughout *The Future of our Faith,* the latest of Sider's more than 30 books. When some of us read it, we may feel

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pale in comparison as they marshal their experiences, drop names, and demonstrate their points with great acumen. Ron, especially, has amassed a wealth of knowledge and connections during his stimulating intellectual, ecumenical, and literary life. He's had quite a journey out of a little Brethren in Christ church in southern Ontario! *The Future of Our Faith* is an extravagant title but don't let it intimidate you. It is really about two caring people who deserve attention by demonstrating the kind of dialogue that might stem the American church's decline as it meets the next generation.

When I (Rod) was asked to write this review, I immediately thought it would be good to write it with Jonny Rashid. The book is trying to bridge differences between young and old and is interested in crossing over the divides that societal labels reinforce. Ron appreciates the multicultural Oxford Circle Mennonite Church in Philadelphia, where we live. Ben's church, the Wheaton Chinese Church, is consciously working at a multicultural oneness. Jonny and I also represent the ambition, the age difference, and the discipline of connecting people in the love of Jesus who might normally be at odds.

This book gravitates toward getting involved in the bigger issues on which both men have been concentrating. Both authors engage their concerns primarily through parachurch organizations, driven largely by their personal energy. Jonny and I have been concentrating on the same issues in our community context, relying on our mutuality to take us where we need to go. I think we are the church they are looking for when they keep pointing out how lost the evangelical church has been since it first started hearing from Ron in the 1970s.

Ron Sider is concerned about evangelism surviving as millennials embrace social action and post-modern understandings of truth. He wonders about the survival of marriage where its foundations are deteriorating, while having a gracious debate on the many contemporary questions about sexual identity. Ben Lowe is concerned about lifestyles that reflect faith, good political engagement, reconciling divisions in the church, and caring for creation. There is little disagreement between them. Ron sounds like an engaging and aware 70-something who will die trying to make a difference. Ben sounds like an orthodox, been-burned 30-something who likes to push the boundaries of his background in order to do good.

Jonny and I do not disagree with each other much either, if at all.

We agree to agree. But our agreement is forged in the fires of dialogue, which is mostly missing in our church. The Brethren in Christ Church has spent a decade eradicating meaningful dialogue from their General and Regional Conferences (now more accurately labeled "assemblies") as well as in general principle and practice. If this book has any wisdom to share, it is that such a move is entirely the wrong direction for the future of our faith.

Jonny and I have modeled the structure of the book, each choosing a point to share and then responding to what the other said.

Rod on the authors' assumptions: This book might be a bit hard to read for people less aware of evangelical organizations; the authors are steeped in the subculture and in evangelical academia. But they are good writers who break it down well. They want to talk about key issues and they succeed in doing that.

I see the problem in their approach within their assumptions. They are right about an intergenerational tension in the family of God over what it means to be faithful today, and how we need to find a better way to sort these things out. But evangelicals (and church people in general) can't stop talking about ourselves. This book assumes people can talk to each other in the church about the intergenerational tension, when one generation is quickly exiting the building.

Robert P. Jones' *The End of White Christian America* summarizes what Sider and Lowe are combatting. According to Jones, the proportion of Americans who are white mainline Protestants and white evangelicals today is 32 percent, down from 51 percent in 1993. The reason for this change? More and more Americans are leaving organized religion, with 20 percent today considering themselves religiously unaffiliated. Many of the unaffiliated are young adults, who are less than half as likely as seniors to identify with a church. This rejection of organized religion by youth, Jones says, is a 'major force of change in the religious landscape.'

At Circle of Hope, we started working on this crisis of faith 20 years ago and most of our church members are millennials. It is not easy to evangelize among them when the vast majority of what is left of the evangelicals vote for President Trump, who epitomizes what Lowe laments as faith without lifestyle. And Vice President Pence represents the narrow agenda of the religious right while climate change action is

rolled back and people who are minorities are targeted for police action. Sider and Lowe may be talking to a church that ceased to exist 10 years ago.

Jonny: I also do not find much issue with the text and I am grateful for Ron and Ben's contribution. I think it will be good for those who need to read it. I agree with Rod that their assumptions are too vague. I'm not sure the audience of the text is listed specifically enough, and at times I think the strokes the authors paint with are too broad.

Jonny's thoughts on priorities: As a 31-year-old pastor, I found it very interesting to hear Sider and Lowe speak to me about my priorities. As it turns out, Sider wasn't far from the truth when he listed what my generation thinks is important, but across race, class, and regions, young Christians have a myriad of priorities. The generalizations the authors made about millennials might be germane to a city-dwelling transplant in the Northeast U.S., but they would likely not translate well to black people, suburban folks, or even millennials I know in the Midwest and the South. Since Jason Fileta wrote a sidebar in the text, I will note that millennial Egyptian immigrants like him and me would likely "side" with Ron on many of his issues, and might need to learn something from Ben's chapters.

Rod and I have had many robust discussions over the years in which I was on the side of the "older" generation and he the "younger." Many millennials I know are not interested in politics, race, or the environment. At the same time, many of my older acquaintances are progressive on issues like gay marriage, steeped in postmodernism, and on the front lines of our political witness. Bifurcating the audience may cement them in their stereotyped places (or create more conflict between the groups).

As a millennial, the main thing that develops my faith is being taken seriously by my elders, especially in the congregation I helped to plant six and a half years ago at age 24! When older leaders took me seriously, I took them seriously too. Our divisions, if any existed, were erased by working toward a common vision.

Still, I think this book does a service to the church by undoing many of the stereotypes unbelievers from every generation have about it. Like Rod noted, the loudest Christians in our country are making it hard for us to share the gospel and preach the truth, as well as to debunk

misunderstandings about how Christians see the environment and U.S. race relations.

Rod: Jonny points out what might be a flaw in the book's premise and in evangelical thinking. That being said, it is good to know that Ben Lowe is working hard at bridging the divisions. He even ran for Congress as a pro-life Democrat! *His book Doing Good Without Giving Up* reminds us, as C. S. Lewis put it, that we don't get second things by placing them first; we get second things by keeping first things first. Ron Sider also has an impressive history of not giving up—even writing this book in his 70s! Ben Lowe is similarly inspirational (as is Jonny Rashid!)

Jonny and Rod: We are glad to share with the authors an inspiring conclusion: "We come from different contexts and perspectives, and often struggle to understand or relate to one another. Overcoming this involves intentionally reaching out, opening up, and being vulnerable. It takes humility, patience, and sacrificial love. It may often be hard, and sometimes we'll get hurt. But it's still both possible and worthwhile. We all have weaknesses, prejudices and blind spots, both as individuals and as generations, often it's our differences that help draw these out into the light where we can deal with and grow from them….The reality is that what separates us is far less significant than what binds us together. Or rather, who binds us together" (215).

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Martin H. Schrag, *Christian Lesher: Nineteenth-Century Brethren in Christ Bishop,* 2003. 175 pages. $4.00.

Morris N. Sherk, *In the World but Not of the World: Rapho District [1872–1957]*, 2009. 289 pages. $5.00.

Written or edited by E. Morris Sider

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Fire in the Mountains: The Story of a Revival Movement in Central Pennsylvania, 1996, re-edited and reprinted in 2010. 144 pages. $6.00 ($4.00 for each additional copy).

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Called to Evangelism: The Life and Ministry of John L. Rosenberry, 1988. 160 pages. $4.00.

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Canadian Portraits: Brethren in Christ Biographical Sketches, 2001. 416 pages. $6.00 (contains sixteen biographies).

Faithful Witnesses: Canadian Brethren in Christ Biographical Sketches, 2006. 423 pages. $6.00 (contains 24 biographies).

Windows to the Church, 2003. 373 pages. $5.00 (twenty articles from Brethren in Christ History and Life).

Sider, Rebecca Ebersole, and Dorcas Steckbeck, eds., *Celebrating Women's Stories: Faith Through Life's Seasons,* 2004. 336 pages. $7.00 (twenty-one biographies of Brethren in Christ women in the United States and Canada).

A Living and Growing Ministry: The Story of Roxbury Holiness Camp, 2010. 319 pages. $15.00 (hard covers, $25.00). (Written for the Camp's 75th anniversary. Income from sales goes to the Camp.)