RELIGION IN THE CREATION AND PRESERVATION OF SECTARIAN CULTURE AREAS: A MENNONITE EXAMPLE

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.
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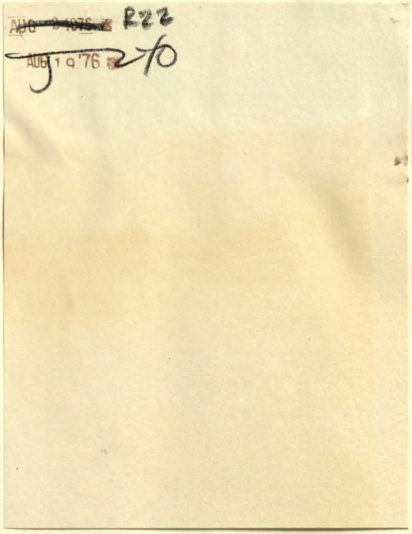
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ABSTRACT

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By

Charles A. Heatwole

Several geographical studies have indicated that religion is a significant element in the creation and preservation of certain sectarian culture areas in the United States. However, the question of religious mechanism has been virtually ignored. How does religion operate to produce and preserve such areas? Providing tentative answers to this question is the major goal of this dissertation.

As a case study, the dissertation focuses upon the Mennonites, a group which has fostered several culture areas in the United States. An historical overview of this group is followed by examination of part of the Mennonite population in Rockingham County, Virginia, where a Mennonite culture area has developed. The historical section seeks mainly to understand the factors and forces which have led to the creation of Mennonite culture areas.

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The study of the Rockingham County population is largely concerned with the preservation of a contemporary sectarian culture area.

A key conceptual premise (which is substantiated) is that the fundamental traits which differentiate sectarian culture areas from surrounding territory are a result of religion-permeated values, or ideology, adhered to by the particular group in question. Hence, by understanding said ideology, one can not only explain the phenomena which characterize their culture area, but also gain valuable perspectives on the role of religion in its creation and preservation.

The historical component not only traces the origin and development of Mennonite life, but also reveals intimate links between group ideology and the traits which have characterized traditional Mennonite culture areas. As part of a sanguinary persecution experience in sixteenth century Europe, Mennonites were excluded from the cities, denied formal education and non-agricultural work, and largely isolated by and from the broader society. In response to this hostile treatment, a Scripturally imbedded value system was devised which not only justified imposed conditions but also sanctioned aversion to the culture of the broader society. Of overriding cultural importance were values (ideology) which endorsed (a) rural, agrarian life; (b) separation from and nonconformity with the

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non-Mennonite world; (c) "simple" life-style; and (d) brotherhood among group members. Specific culture area traits which these eventually helped foster include (a) rural, agriculturally-based homesteads; (b) clustered residential distributions; (c) relatively small farms (resulting from subdivision to allow maximal conformity with the agricultural ideal); (d) separate group language ("Pennsylvania Dutch"); (e) anachronistic modes of dress and transportation (horse-and-buggy); and (f) simplistic church architecture. Guarding against change were a series of behavioral mechanisms (also an outgrowth of ideology) maximizing within-group bonds while minimizing external contacts and influence.

The study of the contemporary Mennonite population in Rockingham County, Virginia, involves a comparison of conservative Old Order Mennonites and progressive Virginia Conference Mennonites. As is implied by the terms conservative and progressive, the former group has been more prone than the latter to preserve traditional values and traits. Analysis is facilitated by a series of hypotheses designed to divulge the status of the traditional ideology and culture area characteristics among the two groups. These hypotheses are not ends in themselves but means towards understanding why and how the culture area is being preserved by one group, and deteriorated by the other.

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For the Old Orders, the traditional ideology emerges as relatively intact and continuing to foster and justify the aforementioned culture area traits. Concomitantly, maximization of within-group bonds remains strong; and while in modern times it is no longer possible or feasible to completely nullify external contacts and influences, these possible vectors of change are sufficiently minimized.

A different picture is presented by the progressive faction. The traditional ideology has not been abandoned, but rather adapted to their philosophy of controlled change. As a result of this philosophy, progressive life is more and more reflecting the culture of the broader society. The traits which have historically denoted Mennonite culture areas have virtually disappeared. Within-group bonds are still stressed, but this is normally operationalized by intercourse with similarly minded Mennonites. Contact minimization with the outside world is itself rather minimal.

After a recapitulation, with emphasis on Rockingham County's Old Order Mennonites, brief reference is made to three other American religious bodies (the Amish, Mormons and Dutch-Reformed) which have also produced and preserved culture areas. This short detour demonstrates broad congruence with the Mennonite (particularly the Old Order Mennonite) experience, and facilitates the

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listing of several tentative conclusions as to how religion in general operates to produce and preserve sectarian culture areas. These suggest that religion facilitates creation of sectarian culture areas by:

(1) differentiating a group of people to an extent that precipitates oppression and ostracism by elements of the broader society;

(2) justifying the distinctive nature of group culture extant after persecution, while disdaining that of the broader society, and;

(3) endorsing separation from the broader society in the physical as well as the cultural sense.

Religion operates to preserve sectarian culture areas by:

(1) attaching transcendental meaning to the distinctive values and culture of the group while condemning the alternatives offered by the broader society;

(2) sanctioning maximization of within-group bonds; and

(3) endorsing minimal contact with the larger world.

The dissertation is concluded with implications and suggestions for future research.

RELIGION IN THE CREATION AND PRESERVATION OF SECTARIAN CULTURE AREAS: A MENNONITE EXAMPLE

By

Charles A. Heatwole

A DISSERTATION

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Many people have contributed towards transforming a nebulous idea to the finished product contained herein. The author wishes to take this opportunity to acknowledge these ladies and gentlemen and express gratitude for their assistance.

In Memory of Miss Susan Wood

Sincere appreciation is first extended to the Old Order and Virginia Conference Mennonites in Rockingham County (Virginia) who constitute the sample population. The crucial interview data they supplied is surpassed, if not surpassed, in the author's memory by their hospitality and graciousness.

Other Rockingham County residents, both Mennonites and non-Mennonites, provided critical information. A note of appreciation is accordingly extended to the following people: Bishop Glendon Blosser; Mr. and Mrs. Roy Bowman; Mr. and Mrs. Wade Bowman; Professor Harry Brunk; Mr. Roy Burkholder; Mr. E. E. Crawn; Professor Ernest Gehman; Reverend Samuel Jantzen; Reverend Alvin Kanagy; Mr. Wilmer Landis; Mr. Gilbert Miller; Mr. and Mrs. Reuben S. Rhodes; Bishop and Mrs. Justus Showalter; Professor Grant Stoltzfus; and Bishop and Mrs. Paul Wenger.

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Dr. Daniel Jacobson, chairman of the author's Doctoral Guidance Committee, provided unceasing encouragement during the course of the project now completed. While the author's period of degree candidacy was stimulating and fulfilling, it was not without occasional turmoil. Dr. Jacobson's counsel during these episodes in particular will be long remembered.

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Miss Grace Showalter, head librarian at the Menno Simons Historical Library and Archives, Eastern Mennonite College, provided countless services, suggestions and data, or access thereto. Her assistance, which time and again went well beyond the call of her professional responsibilities, is gratefully acknowledged.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Geography and Religion

It has been observed that "among the phenomena forming or reflecting the areal differences in culture with which [geographers] are so intimately concerned, few are as potent and sensitive as religion."[1] This statement, offered by a Past-President of the Association of American Geographers, would seem to command the endorsement of many of his fellow professionals. For in recent years a substantial and growing number of geographers have directed their scholarly attention to the stimulating interface between their discipline and religion.

Geography has been defined as the "description and explanation of the areal differentiation of the earth's

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[1]Wilbur Zelinsky, "An Approach to the Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LI (June, 1961), 139.

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surface."[2] Religion has been succinctly defined as "the experience of the supernatural,"[3] and more fully as

> that part of culture composed of shared beliefs and practices which not only identify or define the supernatural and the sacred and man's relationship thereto, but which also relate them to the known world in such a way that the group is provided with moral definitions as to what is good and what is bad.[4]

In combination, then, one may speak of the "geography of religion" as the description and explanation of religious phenomena which characterize and differentiate the earth's surface. This academic niche is entirely compatible with the general fabric of geographical research. For, as noted by Zelinsky,

> of central importance to geographers is the fact that religious institutions seek out, accentuate, and preserve differences among men and that differences, not only in the land but in the people who occupy it, whether they be real or imagined, are the meat and drink of geographers.[5]

As religion is a cultural phenomenon, it follows that the geography of religion falls under the general rubric of cultural geography. While this latter field is rather broad, one might generally define it as the study of the

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[2]David Harvey, Explanation in Geography (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969), p. 3.

[3]Erich Isaac, "Religion, Landscape and Space," Landscape, IX (Winter, 1959-60), 14.

[4]Glenn M. Vernon, Sociology of Religion (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), pp. 55-56.

[5]Zelinsky, "An Approach," p. 166.

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origin, diffusion, distribution and impact of cultural phenomena from a geographical perspective.

Streng has emphasized that "the religious and the cultural aspects of man's existence are not two separate realms, but rather are in each other."[6] The importance of this statement to geographers is the implication that any facet of culture (besides religion itself) which gives character to an area might be explainable to some degree by religion. Many research efforts from the geographical literature could be cited in support of this notion. A few, reflecting four aspects of culture, should suffice.

Tuan has shown that land use in Europe and China has historically reflected environmental attitudes fostered by Christianity and Eastern Religions respectively.[7] For the Middle East, de Planhol has linked aversion to sedentary agriculture with Islamic proscriptions.[8]

In the area of settlement, Sopher has pointed to the grid pattern of Mormon towns as a terrestrial

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[6]Frederick J. Streng, Understanding Religious Man (Belmont, Calif." Dickenson Publishing Company, Inc., 1969), p. 82.

[7]Yi-Fu Tuan, "Discrepancies Between Environmental Attitude and Behavior: Examples from Europe and China," Canadian Geographer, XII (1968), 176-91.

[8]Xavier de Planhol, The World of Islam (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959), pp. 42-43.

implantation of the sacred City of Zion.[9] The compactness of Dutch-Reformed and Amish communities has been associated with a desire to remain separate from the "sinful" influences of the outside world.[10] Fickeler has demonstrated that in many parts of the world the coloring and orientation of certain buildings reflect religious notions.[11] In what may be taken as a summary statement, Deffontaines has even gone so far as to write, "It is probably rare that a system of settlement lacks any intimate association with a religious regime."[12]

The distribution of languages may also reflect the influence of religion. The relationship between Arabic and Islam is perhaps the most notable example. Somewhat more subtle is the connection between the Romance

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[9]David E. Sopher, Geography of Religions (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 32.

[10]Elaine M. Bjorklund, "Ideology and Culture Exemplified in Southwestern Michigan," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LIV (June, 1964), 227-41; and Alice T. M. Rechlin, "The Utilization of Space by the Nappanee, Indiana Old Order Amish: A Minority Group Study" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Michigan, 1970).

[11]Paul Fickeler, "Fundamental Questions in the Geography of Religions," in Readings in Cultural Geography, ed. by Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 98-103.

[12]Pierre Deffontaines, "The Religious Factor in Human Geography: Its Force and Limits," Diogenes, II (Spring, 1953), 29.

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languages and the sanctification of Latin as a liturgical language by the Roman Catholic Church.[13]

The geography of plant and animal domestication has had an especially intimate relationship with religious ideas. Sopher, for example, has linked the distribution of tumeric in Southeastern Asia and the Pacific with notions of magic and fertility.[14] Isaac has coupled the geography of various types of cattle with ancient cultic practices.[15] He has also associated the historical geography of the citron with Jewish ritual needs.[16] On the other side of the domestication coin, an entire book has been devoted to the geography of food avoidances.[17] From this perspective, too, religion emerges as a driving force.

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[13]Sopher, Geography of Religions, p. 71.

[14]David E. Sopher, "Tumeric: A Geographical Investigation of Cultural Relations in Southeast Asia," Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, XII (1950), 11-15.

[15]Erich Isaac, "Religious Factors in the Geography of Animal Husbandry," Diogenes, XLIV (Winter, 1963), 59-80.

[16]Erich Isaac, "The Citron in the Mediterranean: A Study in Religious Influences," Economic Geography, XXXV (January, 1959), 71-78.

[17]Frederick J. Simoons, Eat Not This Flesh: Food Avoidances in the Old World (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961).

The above is by no means intended as a review of the literature on the geography of religion. In fact the examples given merely scratch the surface.[18] But what has been demonstrated is that religion, acting through the medium of mankind, may animate many aspects of culture which give character to the earth's surface. The researches in this area have both attested to this fact and established the geography of religion as a legitimate and worthy concern of cultural geographers.

Background to the Study

The inspiration for the present study was largely derived from Zelinsky's 1961 article dealing with patterns of church membership in the United States.[19] In the concluding section of his report he offers the following statement:

> From the scanty evidence available, we have reasonable grounds for proposing the hypothesis that religion is a significant element in the population geography of the United States, in the geography of a number of economic, social and cultural phenomena, and in the genesis and persistence of general cultural regions; but we have too little knowledge of the precise ways in which religion operates in these various

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[18] For a more detailed literature review, see Sopher, Geography of Religions, and Jack Licate, "The Geographic Study of Religion: A Review of the Literature" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1967).

[19] Wilbur Zelinsky, "An Approach to the Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LI (June, 1961), 139-93.

> directions. Devising ways to collect and interpret information for testing this hypothesis may prove to be one of . . . the most rewarding tasks awaiting the student of American cultural geography.[20]

Let us focus on the reference to cultural regions. Wagner and Mikesell have labeled the concept of culture area (synonymous with culture region) as one of the major themes which form the core of cultural geography.[21] They define such areas as "territories inhabited at any given period by human communities characterized by particular cultures."[22] Implicit is the notion that particular culture groups, in the act of exercising their culture, impart a relative homogeneity to the area they occupy and thus differentiate it from other areas.

Relevant to this concept are two questions intimated in the Zelinsky passage. Does religion play a significant role in the creation and preservation of certain culture areas in the United States? If so, how? Zelinsky provides no answers to these questions. He does, however, suggest "avenues of research" by which a cultural geographer might gain valuable perspectives on the role religion plays in shaping the individuality of peoples and

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[20] Ibid., p. 166.

[21] Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell, eds., Readings in Cultural Geography (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 1.

[22] Ibid., p. 5.

regions. Among them are (1) intensive local studies, and (2) detailed study of the historical geography of individual denominations.[23]

The literature on the geography of religion has grown appreciably since 1961; and within the context of the United States, various denominations have been studied by cultural geographers. Certain studies of the Mormons,[24] Amish,[25] and Dutch-Reformed[26] have shown that these are peoples whose particular cultures have, at varying times and degrees, served to differentiate the areas they occupy from other parts of the country. As these groups are distinguished from their fellow countrymen primarily on

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[23]Zelinsky, "An Approach," p. 167.

[24]Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Mormon Landscape: Definition of an Image in the American West," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers, II (1970), 59-61; Donald W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LV (June, 1965), 191-220.

[25]Alice T. M. Rechlin, "The Utilization of Space by the Nappanee, Indiana Old Order Amish: A Minority Group Study" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Michigan, 1970); James E. Landing, "Organization of an Old Order Amish - Beachy Amish Settlement: Nappanee, Indiana" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Geography, The Pennsylvania State University, 1967); and Charles Lee Hopple, "Spatial Development and Internal Spatial Organization of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Community" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Geography, The Pennsylvania State University, 1971).

[26]Elaine M. Bjorklund, "Ideology and Culture Exemplified in Southwestern Michigan," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LIV (June, 1964), 227-41.

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religious grounds, they would seem to provide evidence that religion does, in fact, play a significant role in the creation and preservation of certain culture areas in the United States.

But the question of mechanism still remains. How does religion operate to create and preserve such areas? Evidence from the geographical literature is as scant today as when Zelinsky raised the question.

Statement of Problem

This dissertation will examine a religious group (the Mennonites) which has traditionally produced culture areas. The research will include both a study of the historical geography of the denomination, plus an intensive local study of a community of believers (a contemporary culture area). The research has three purposes. First, it seeks to describe how the Mennonites originated and how their culture has been manifested over time. Second, it will examine a contemporary Mennonite culture area and investigate the role religion has played in its creation and preservation. Third, and based on the foregoing, the research will propose some tentative conclusions as to how religion in general acts to produce and preserve sectarian culture areas.

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Problem Framework

In approaching these questions the study will broadly mesh with the framework enunciated by Bjorklund.[27] In this framework it is asserted that a given social group possesses an ideology which "stems from the mental and spiritual life of man."[28] She states that

> ideology refers to the set of ideas, concepts, values, attitudes, and goals accepted by a group of people. Ideology constitutes the bases for making decisions and choices affecting the ways of life and works.[29]

It is a mental construct providing a model for behavior. Putting this in a geographical context, the application of a particular ideology at a particular place is seen as a means by which an area may acquire certain cultural characteristics.

That a religion-imbued ideology may correspond with these notions is demonstrated by Bjorklund's reference group, the Dutch-Reformed people of southwestern Michigan. She notes, for example, that the Dutch-Reformed attitude of the basic sinfulness of the outside world (ideology) has resulted in an avoidance of contact with outsiders except when necessary to gain a living. The result is an area devoid of taverns, "worldly" forms of entertainment,

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid., p. 227.

[29] Ibid.

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non-Dutch-Reformed homesteads and churches, as well as facilities for outsiders.[30]

Choice of Denomination

Three criteria were considered in choosing a religious group for study. First, while all religious groups possess an ideology, some appear more likely than others to produce multi-faceted culture areas. It is doubtful, for example, that Bjorklund would have found such an impressive relationship between ideology and culture area if her study population had been Episcopalian rather than Dutch-Reformed. Hence, it was desirable to single out a group whose ideology would likely give rise to culture areas. Second, in light of the historical dimension of the study, it was important to choose a sect or denomination which possesses an appropriate literature. Third, the chosen people needed to be amenable to field observation. Considering these criteria, the Mennonites were chosen.

Why the Mennonites? Zelinsky has noted that

> on a miniature scale, there are scattered about the nation a number of small pietistic church members--most notably those within the Mennonite fold--who have gone to some lengths to shun the worldly ways of their neighbors and have created microregions strikingly different in form and function from the encompassing culture.[31]

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[30] Ibid., p. 231.

[31] Zelinsky, "An Approach," p. 162.

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While the term microregion is not synonymous with culture area, equivalence does obtain when a microregion exhibits such cultural characteristics as to make it "strikingly different in form and function from the encompassing culture."[32] With the Mennonites, then, we have a religious group which has fostered culture areas. A short discourse is in order to place these people within the context of the problem framework.

Included in traditional Mennonite ideology are the following principles: believer's (adult) baptism; separation of church and state; rejection of "worldly" education and innovation; abstinence from involvement in politics; refusal of military service; nonresistance; and freedom of conscience.

There are four additional elements of traditional Mennonite ideology worthy of special mention. They have historically seemed uppermost in producing the distinctiveness of Mennonite areas and will often be referred to throughout the dissertation. Briefly, these include:

(1) The church as a brotherhood of believers. This has fostered strong within-group bonds and has contributed

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[32]Neither Zelinsky nor Wagner and Mikesell address the question of scale: i.e., how much land is necessary before one can speak of a culture area? Reluctance to dictate a threshold is probably advisable; for to engage in specifics--one square mile, for example--would likely open a methodological Pandora's box. The definition given on page 7 suggests the amount of land may range from the massive to the minute. Moreover, it implies that the prime concern should be the degree of cultural homogeneity, not scale.

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(2) Separation from and nonconformity with the non-Mennonite world. This has lent itself to a traditional philosophy of noninteraction with "outsiders," establishment of compact communities, rejection of "worldly" innovations, and preservation of anachronistic styles of dress.

(3) Sanctification of the rural, agricultural way of life. This has resulted in the Mennonites' being a traditionally rural-based people. It has also limited economic pursuits.

(4) A life-style which condemns signs of ostentation or a prideful appearance. This is an ideological factor which says, in effect, "We are a simple people." It has had a profound impact on Mennonite styles of dress, church architecture, and the continued use by some Mennonite groups of the horse-and-buggy.

It seems hardly surprising that the presence of microregions "strikingly different in form and function from the encompassing culture" could be associated with people possessing such an ideology.

Regarding the literary criterion, the American Mennonites are the subject of a literature whose volume is out of all proportion to the population it describes. Credit for this situation goes to the several Mennonite

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colleges, historical societies and publishing houses. The quantity of books, magazines and journals produced under these auspices is matched only by their scholarly reputation.

Finally, on amenability to observation, the distribution of Mennonites exhibits a clustering in parts of several Eastern and Midwestern states where the author has close personal contacts.

Choice of Study Area

The Mennonite population chosen for the intensive local study is found in Rockingham County, Virginia. Rockingham, one of Virginia's larger counties, is located in the center of the Shenandoah Valley (Fig. 1). This area was chosen for several reasons. First, the author's surname has its American hearth in this area and is intimately related to local Mennonite history.[33] It was reasoned that this factor alone would be of inestimable value in facilitating access to the local population. Second, the size of the Mennonite population in Rockingham County is about 3,000 persons, which suggested amenability to detailed study. Third, the presence of Eastern Mennonite College in Harrisonburg, the county seat, promised a rich and readily available repository of material relevant

[33] Harry A. Brunk, "Heatwole," The Mennonite Encyclopedia, Vol. II (Scottdale, Pa.: The Mennonite Publishing House, 1956), p. 683.


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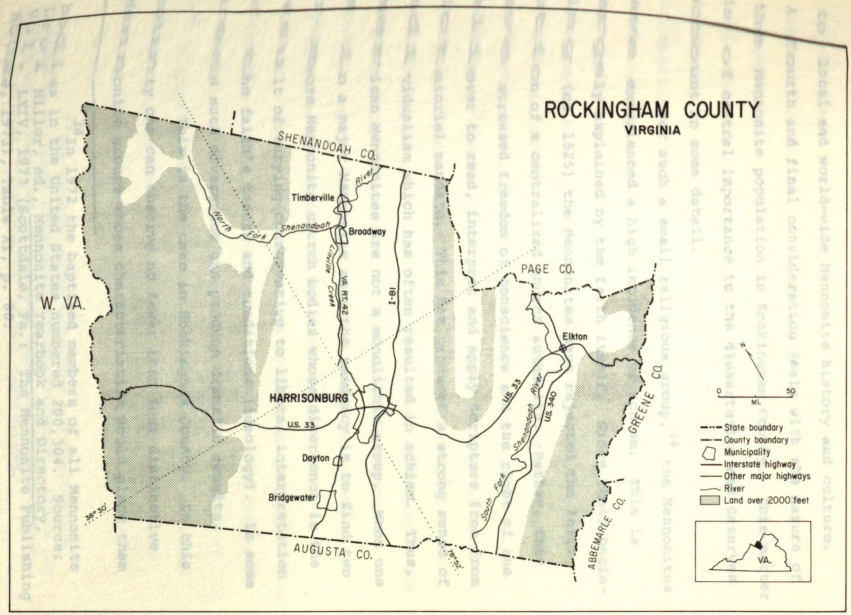
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to local and world-wide Mennonite history and culture. A fourth and final consideration deals with the nature of the Mennonite population in Rockingham County. This matter is of central importance to the dissertation and deserves account in some detail.

For such a small religious group,[34] the Mennonites have experienced a high incidence of schism. This is largely explained by the faith itself. Since their beginning (ca. 1525) the Mennonites have rejected the institution of a centralized church authority. Rather, they have stressed freedom of conscience and the right of the believer to read, interpret and apply Scripture free from dictatorial mandate. This has produced a strong sense of individualism which has often resulted in schism. Thus, American Mennonites are not a monolithic group. When one is in a major Mennonite area the tendency is to find two or more Mennonite church bodies whose divergence is the result of varying conservative to liberal interpretation of the faith's tenets and traditions (ideology). In some areas such divergence can produce dramatic results.

This is the case in Rockingham County. In this county one can observe no fewer than four distinctive Mennonite groups whose characteristics would place them

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[34] In 1972 the baptized members of all Mennonite bodies in the United States numbered 200,304. Source: Levi Miller, ed., Mennonite Yearbook and Directory, Vol. LXIV, 1973 (Scottdale, Pa.: The Mennonite Publishing House, 1973), Table XI, p. 80.

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at different points along a theoretical conservative-to-liberal continuum. At the conservative end are two congregations of "Old Order" Mennonites. By definition the Old Orders (as they are locally called) exhibit a very strict, if not fundamentalistic, interpretation of traditional Mennonite ideology. Their interpretation of nonconformity and simplicity, for example, finds expression in a style of dress similar to that of the Amish, as well as the continued use of the horse-and-buggy as the prime form of transportation. At the other end of the spectrum are the Virginia Conference Mennonites, often called "progressives."[35] These people, in comparison to the Old Orders, hold a liberal attitude towards traditional values, and have adopted many indices of modern American culture. The automobile, for example, is the prime mode of transportation, and the only peculiarity of dress is a white prayer covering worn by many of the women.

The local study portion of the present project will involve a comparison of these two groups. This promises to offer an excellent opportunity to study the role of religion in the creation and preservation of a sectarian culture area. For at the beginning of this century the forefathers of the present Old Orders and progressives

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[35]The generic terms Old Order and progressive will be utilized throughout the dissertation. While the former is regarded as a proper name, the latter is not. Accordingly, "progressive" is not capitalized.

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were joint members of a single Mennonite group. The present pluralism is the result of a church schism that occurred in 1900-01. At that time the forefathers of the present Old Orders broke away from the Mennonite main body which they felt "was becoming too progressive and similar to the world . . . whereas they were . . . in favor of maintaining the past and resisting change of any kind."[36] In the interim the rift between the Old Orders and progressives has widened. At the same time both groups have been in increasingly intimate contact with mainstream American culture. As a result of this juxtaposition, the opportunity for cultural borrowing and change has been present. One group has resisted change; the other has accepted it. One group tenaciously seeks to preserve traditional Mennonite ideology; the other, while not necessarily abandoning it, has at least sought ideological adaptation to modern times. Not surprisingly, the Old Orders appear to be associated with a distinctive culture area. The same cannot be said of the progressives. Why is this? What specifically has resulted from these differing applications of ideology? And what are the broader implications for the role of religion as a creator and preserver of sectarian culture areas? An excellent

[36] Elmer Lewis Smith, John G. Stewart and M. Ellsworth Kyger, "The Pennsylvania Germans of the Shenandoah Valley," The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, Vol. XXVI (1962), p. 81.

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opportunity to study these questions is present in Rockingham County.

Organization and Data Sources

The organization of this study reflects its temporal dimension. It will cover: (1) the European origin of the Mennonites with emphasis on the formulation of ideological and cultural characteristics; (2) the migration to North America and establishment of the first true Mennonite culture area in southeastern Pennsylvania; (3) movement of Mennonites southward from Pennsylvania to what is now Rockingham County, Virginia; (4) the nature of the present-day progressive and Old Order communities in Rockingham County; and (5) concluding remarks with special reference to the role of religion as a creator and preserver of sectarian culture areas.

Two chapters of an historical nature will be presented. These will respectively treat of (1) the European experience (1500-1700) and (2) the development of Mennonite culture areas in Pennsylvania from 1700 to 1750, and in Virginia from 1750 to 1950. The rationale for the magnitude of the temporal component is that we shall be dealing with a sect that has historically been very tradition oriented. Hence, understanding the present should be facilitated by, and contingent upon, an understanding of the past. A third chapter will concentrate on the characteristics of the current Old Order and progressive

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populations in Rockingham County. Central to this section are two sets of hypotheses discussed below. A final chapter will present conclusions on the historical and local studies and address itself to the broader questions previously noted.

Literary resources garnered from the Menno Simons Historical Library and Archives, Eastern Mennonite College, form the backbone of the two historical chapters. Data for the local study are derived from aerial photography, the Rockingham County Appraiser's Office, field mapping and observation, relevant literature, and, most importantly, interviews.

Hypotheses

The chapter dealing with the contemporary Old Order and progressive Mennonite communities in Rockingham County will focus on two sets of hypotheses. The first deals with values and attitudes (ideology) exhibited by the two groups, and the second with characteristics associated with traditional Mennonite culture areas.

Relative to ideology, the following general hypothesis is offered.

1. Old Order Mennonites exhibit a more conservative interpretation of traditional Mennonite ideology than progressive Mennonites.

Specific sub-hypotheses designed to operationalize and test this general hypothesis include the following.

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1a. As opposed to progressive Mennonites, Old Orders place higher value on the agricultural walk of life.

Obviously, this hypothesis relates to the agricultural ideal. Data will be provided by the interviews and chi square analysis will test for a significant difference.[37]

1b. As opposed to progressives, Old Order Mennonites place higher value on living in rural areas and are more inclined to view urban encroachment as a threat to the 'Mennonite way of life.'

This hypothesis relates to the idealization of rural life and separation from the world. Chi square will again be utilized to test for a significant difference. The interviews will provide the data.

1c. Old Order Mennonites desire less education for their children than progressive Mennonites.

This pertains to separation from the world and maintenance of the rural and agricultural ideals. Interview data and chi square will again be utilized to test the hypothesis.

1d. Relative to progressives, Old Order Mennonites' residential preferences exhibit greater inclination towards states having the largest populations of fellow believers.

"Residential preferences" were determined by asking interviewees to identify two states (Virginia excluded) in which they would most like to live. The hypothesis will

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[37] A brief explanation of chi square is provided in Appendix A.

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be tested via cartographic means, comparing state preferences for each group with a map showing national Mennonite distribution. Individual Mennonite families have seldom lived in isolation from other Mennonites. The presence of fellow believers is important. Hence, the hypothesis will, to some extent, measure the ideals of brotherhood and separation from the non-Mennonite world.

le. Old Order farmers are less innovative than progressive farmers.

The ideals of nonconformity and simplicity have often been operationalized by an aversion to the innovations and changing styles of the broader society. The measuring of innovativeness will provide some indication of the status of these ideals. The hypothesis will be operationalized by examining adoption of no-tillage corn (a recent farming innovation). The interviews will provide the data, and, again, chi square will test the existence of a significant difference.

lf. Old Order Mennonites place more emphasis on preserving the traditional style of dress than progressive Mennonites.

This hypothesis, like the last, is related to the ideals of nonconformity and simplicity. Interview data and chi square will be utilized to test the hypothesis.

It might be argued that the foregoing general and specific hypotheses are somewhat shallow since Old Orders by definition are more traditional and conservative-minded

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than their progressive counterparts. This point is readily acknowledged. However, it is felt that these hypotheses will facilitate an understanding of the values and culture of the two groups. Moreover, the characteristics of a traditional Mennonite culture area do not, in and of themselves, reveal the value system which produces them.

Before proceeding to the hypotheses on traditional Mennonite culture area characteristics, two comments are in order. The first concerns the word "traditional." This does not imply a gamut of traits which has remained virtually unaltered over the centuries; for the culture of even the most conservative Mennonites, like that of mainstream American society, has been dynamic rather than fossilized. What this does attest to and acknowledge is the fact that Mennonites are not a monolithic group. Accordingly, some Mennonite bodies have shown greater propensity than others to perpetuate certain long-standing values, traits and customs with a comparatively small degree of change. In this sense, the cultural characteristics and areas associated with such Mennonites may be termed traditional.

The second matter is the specific characteristics of traditional Mennonite culture areas. While this topic has not been directly addressed up to now, most of the features have been mentioned. In their totality, these

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features include: (a) rural, agriculturally based homesteads, (b) clustered residential distribution, (c) relatively small farms, (d) separate group language ("Pennsylvania Dutch"), (e) anachronistic modes of dress and transportation (horse-and-buggy), and (f) distinctive church architecture.[38]

Relative to traditional culture area characteristics, the following general hypothesis is offered.

2. As compared with progressive Mennonites, Old Order Mennonites exhibit more indices of a traditional Mennonite culture area.

Specific sub-hypotheses designed to operationalize and test this general hypothesis include the following.

2a. Old Order Mennonites exhibit a significantly greater proportion of both rural and farm based homesteads than progressive Mennonites.

This hypothesis will be tested by means of both chi square and cartographic analysis. Data will be provided by field observation and interviews.

2b. The distribution of Old Order homesteads is more clustered than that of progressive Mennonite homesteads.

This hypothesis will be tested by comparing two maps depicting homestead locations of respective group members. Data will be provided by field observation.

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[38]The specific characteristics of traditional dress and church architecture will be described in future chapters.

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2c. Old Order Mennonite farm sizes are significantly smaller than those of progressive Mennonites.

Data will be garnered from aerial photography as well as acreage statistics made available by the Rockingham County Appraiser. Chi square will be applied to these data to test for a significant difference.

2d. As opposed to progressive Mennonites, Old Order macro travel behavior exhibits a lesser degree of contact with the non-Mennonite world.

Interview data will be used to test this hypothesis. Map comparison will constitute the basic means of analysis. While travel behavior per se is not an overt, visual characteristic of traditional Mennonite culture areas, we will see that minimization of contacts with the non-Mennonite world has been a traditional behavioral mechanism facilitating cultural survival.

2e. Old Order Mennonites possess a greater degree of proficiency in "Pennsylvania Dutch" than progressives.

Interview data and chi square will again be utilized to test this hypothesis.

2f. The Old Order Mennonites are perpetuating the traditional styles of church architecture, dress, and mode of transportation to a greater degree than are the progressive Mennonites.

This hypothesis will be tested by means of photography and reports based on the author's field observations. While it would be possible to test the degree of difference with

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chi square, said photography and observations will prove sufficient.

To reiterate, these hypotheses are not ends in themselves but rather means to an end. For if cause and effect links can be established between the religion-permeated ideology and culture area characteristics in question, then we will not only be able to comment on the role the Mennonite faith has played in creating and preserving the case study culture area, but also have grounds for proposing some tentative answers as to how religion in general acts to produce and preserve sectarian culture areas.

Interview data, again, will be instrumental in testing many of these hypotheses. Specific information on the interview procedure and sample design is given at the beginning of Chapter IV, which addresses the above hypotheses. A facsimile of the questionnaire is presented in Appendix B.

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CHAPTER II

THE MENNONITES IN EUROPE: 1500-1700

Temporally, this chapter deals with the period 1500-1700. Geographically, it concerns those states and territories which then bordered the middle and upper stretches of the Rhine River. These time and space coordinates define a place and period which stands as a watershed in the history of Western Man. This was the era of Luther and Zwingli, Reformation and Counter-Reformation, religious persecution and warfare. Each deeply affected the origin and development of the Mennonites.

The Reformation

The Mennonites are one of several Protestant groups born of the Reformation. The beginning of the Reformation is usually dated 1517, the year Martin Luther (1483-1546) presented his Ninety-five Theses for discussion. This was a recognized procedure of the day, and Luther's intent at the time was not to found a new church but rather to reform the old one.[1] To Luther, the Roman

[1] Harold S. Bender and C. Henry Smith, Mennonites and Their Heritage (revised ed.; Scottdale, Pa.: The Herald Press, 1964), p. 11.

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Catholic Church's top-heavy administration and the sale of indulgences were two factors which invited serious questioning. His outspokenness on these and other matters eventually resulted in a papal condemnation for heresy and excommunication from the church.

This latter action led Luther to found a separate religious movement, which in turn provided a model for other reformers. Like Luther, these men, such as John Calvin, Ulrich Zwingli and John Knox, rejected the medieval Church's roles of intercessor between God and man, and dictator of ultimate religious truth. Rather, they felt man could communicate directly with God through Christ, with Scripture being available to all and serving as the final source of authority.

The Mennonites originated as indirect products of the pioneering work of Luther and Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531). Following his excommunication, Luther established what has since became known as the Lutheran Church, or the Evangelical Church of Germany. Within a few years following 1525, this movement spread throughout most of northern and central Germany, plus all of Scandinavia. Luther's positions on church membership and church-state relations are of some importance to the present discussion. Apparently, Luther's original ideal was a church of believers only, modeled after the early Christian Church.

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> But when he saw the low state of spirituality and morals among the masses of people, he feared that by so doing most of the people would be left outside of the evangelistic church, and would thus be left to the Catholic Church.[2]

Accordingly, Lutheranism was established as a universal state church. The medieval right of the secular ruler of a territory to determine the religion of the ruled was retained. Moreover, universal infant baptism was decreed, and the use of force sanctioned to persecute those who failed to accept the state religion.

As previously noted, other reformers followed Luther's lead. In northern Switzerland, Reformed Protestantism became dominant. The key figure was Ulrich Zwingli, who preached in Zurich from 1519 to 1531. Zwingli and his followers were in general agreement with the Lutherans. However, the parties differed on two matters. First, as opposed to the Lutherans, the Zwinglians felt that the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper were only symbolic, carrying no connotation of the "Real Presence" of Christ. Second, the Zwinglians tended to have a much stricter policy towards righteous living. These divergences were sufficient to keep Lutherans and Zwinglians somewhat apart.

The Early Swiss "Mennonites"

One of Zwingli's most ardent followers was Conrad Grebel (1498-1526). Born in Zurich of a wealthy and

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[2] Ibid., p. 15.

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influential family, Grebel received an education that few men of his time could afford or indulge in. Following six years' study at the universities of Basel, Vienna and Paris, Grebel returned to his native city in 1520. There he came under the influence of Zwingli, was converted by him, and enthusiastically devoted himself to the cause of church reform.

But Grebel eventually found himself at odds with Zwingli on several points. Particularly, Grebel could not accept the idea of an established Protestant state church. He also felt that the church should be a brotherhood of believers only, as was the case in the first century A.D. Moreover, Grebel rejected the practice of infant baptism, believing that only adults should be baptized upon confession of faith. This latter principle carried the connotation of re-baptism of those who had received this sacrament in infancy. Hence, Grebel and people of similar persuasion on this matter were called "Anabaptists," which, literally interpreted, means "re-baptizers." Grebel formally broke his ties with Zwingli in 1524 and soon attracted his own following under the co-leadership of Felix Manz (1498-1527) and Georg Blaurock (1490-1529). Like Grebel, Manz and Blaurock had received formal education.[3]

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[3]Christian Neff and Harold S. Bender, "Manz, Felix," The Mennonite Encyclopedia, Vol. III (Scottdale, Pa.: The Mennonite Publishing House, 1957), pp. 472-74; and Christian Neff, "Blaurock, Georg," The Mennonite Encyclopedia, Vol. I (Scottdale, Pa.: The Mennonite Publishing House, 1955), pp. 354-59.

These men, Grebel in particular, were among the founders of the Mennonite Church. The term "Mennonite," however, did not come into usage until about 1545. And when it did it was not immediately applied to these people in Switzerland. The appellation stems from Menno Simons (1496-1561), a converted Catholic priest who played a central organizational role in the church's other (and slightly later) center of development, The Netherlands.[4] The Swiss group in the early years simply referred to themselves as "brethren," or by the proper name, "The Swiss Brethren." Though divergent in name, they were synonymous in faith with the Dutch group and may justifiably be placed within the Mennonite fold.[5]

(Though the story of the faithful in the lower Rhineland and northern Germany is of importance to general Mennonite history, it need not concern us here. The vast majority of the people we shall be dealing with in the following chapters trace their ancestry and cultural heritage back to the Swiss group.)

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[4]For a brief overview of Mennonite history in this locale see Bender and Smith, Mennonites and Their Heritage, pp. 31-39 and 63-66.

[5]C. Henry Smith, "The Mennonites in Europe," in Mennonite Church History, ed. by J. S. Hartzler and Daniel Kauffman (Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Book and Tract Society, 1905), pp. 97-98.

The new movement rapidly gained converts; and with the aid of an active lay missionary effort it spread throughout much of the German-speaking world. Special strength in numbers obtained in the northern Swiss cantons. "By 1527 there were thirty-eight congregations in the canton of Zurich alone, and nearly as many in Berne."[6] Urban areas, as centers of intellectual activity, became foci of the movement. The Brethren drew converts from all levels of society. All occupations were represented with those associated with urban life being most numerous. The results of one vocational study suggest that no more than 6 percent of the early Swiss Brethren were farmers.[7] But the spectacular growth of the Swiss Brethren was short-lived.[8] In 1525 the first omen of difficult times surfaced in Zurich.

While the theological differences between the Zwinglians and the Swiss Brethren may impress us as no major cause for alarm, the opposite was the case in Zurich in the early sixteenth century. To the pro-Zwingli City Council the Swiss Brethren were a serious threat to the

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[6]C. Henry Smith, The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century (Norristown, Pa.: The Norristown Press, 1929), p. 14.

[7]Robert Kreider, "Vocations of Swiss and South German Anabaptists," Mennonite Life, VIII (January, 1953), 41.

[8]Unfortunately, reliable Mennonite population figures for this and other periods in Europe are not available.

established order. In 1525 the Council formally condemned Grebel and his followers, forbidding them to meet, teach, or have fellowship together.[9] Grebel and others were later expelled from the city.

Why should the Swiss Brethren have so aroused the ire of the local authorities? The theological points previously mentioned provide a partial answer. But the Brethren's beliefs in the literal interpretation and ultimate truth of Scripture led to the adoption of other friction-producing principles. For example, the Brethren entertained a firm belief in nonresistance in accordance with Christ's precepts against violence and war. This, by extension, meant they were opposed to conscription. They also refrained from oath-taking, which in those days normally included affirmation of allegiance to secular authority. Moreover, The Swiss Brethren emphasized nonconformity with "the world." This satisfied the injunction of Romans 12:2 ("Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God."). Application of this principle would eventually assume several rather interesting manifestations. In the late 1520's, however, it generally meant that members should dress very plainly. A contemporary wrote of the Brethren, "They shun costly clothing . . ., clothe

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[9]Bender and Smith, Mennonites and Their Heritage, p. 21.

themselves with coarse cloth and cover their heads with broad felt hats."[10] So attired, they were easily recognized. "Their lack of weapons also made them easily identifiable."[11]

Recalling that religious fervency ran high in that era, and that church and state were intimately linked, the status of the Swiss Brethren in the eyes of the Zurich authorities becomes clearer. The Brethren's views on baptism and church membership were very much at odds with the established religion. Additionally, the notions of separation of church and state, nonresistance (refusal of conscription), and rejection of oath-taking were easily interpreted as indices of treason.

Persecution and Flight from the Cities

These conditions were not limited to Zurich. Wherever they lived the Swiss Brethren had become anathematized. Disloyalty to the established church was heresy; disloyalty to the state was treason. Both offenses were punishable by death.[12]

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[10]John C. Wenger, "Dress," The Mennonite Encyclopedia, Vol. II (Scottdale, Pa.: The Mennonite Publishing House, 1959), p. 101.

[11]John C. Wenger, "The History of Non-Conformity in the Mennonite Church," Proceedings of the Third Annual Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems (North Newton, Kansas: Bethel College Press, 1944), p. 46.

[12]C. Henry Smith, "Mennonites and Culture," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XII (April, 1938), 72.

Thus began one of the severest stories of persecution in recorded history. By 1535 over five thousand of the Brethren had been executed in Switzerland and adjacent areas, Austria and the Tyrol in particular.[13] Persecution was especially rampant in the cities, where the unarmed, simple-dressed Brethren were easily identified and dealt with. Needless to say, their philosophy of nonresistance hardly mitigated the onslaught. Nor were they spared by living in Roman Catholic cantons and territories. There the Swiss Brethren were executed "simply as Protestants, rather than specifically as Anabaptists."[14]

These conditions persisted for nearly a century. Eventual cessation was the result of both a change in official policy plus the near total elimination of the perceived menace. Thousands had been killed or imprisoned while many others had been "persuaded" to accept the state religion. Extermination in central and southern Germany, as well as Austria, was complete by 1600, when "only a handful of Brethren were left in the back valleys and mountains of the Swiss Alps and surrounding Swiss territory."[15]

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[13]Bender and Smith, Mennonites and Their Heritage, p. 47.

[14]Cornelius J. Dyck, ed., An Introduction to Mennonite History (Scottdale, Pa.: The Herald Press, 1967), p. 39.

[15]Bender and Smith, Mennonites and Their Heritage, p. 49.

The reference to back valleys and mountains is indicative of one of the major results of the persecution experience: the beginning of a rural, agrarian way of life.

> The first Anabaptist congregations were all found in the big cities. It was only after the Brethren were driven under cover by persecution that they forsook the cities, and found refuge in remote country places and mountain fastnesses.[16]

This shift in residency is partially explained by forced urban-rural migration, but more importantly by the extermination of city folk, which left mostly the rural elements to carry on the faith. In some locales the change was cemented by decrees which forbade the Swiss Brethren from engaging in non-agricultural activities.[17] Thus by the middle of the seventeenth century, a movement that had begun and blossomed in the cities, and been led by educated, urbane people, found itself relegated to a rural environment and composed almost entirely of uneducated, lower class agriculturalists.

The Swiss Brethren in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries

All available evidence suggests that the Brethren took to the agrarian way of life with a zeal surpassed only

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[16] C. Henry Smith, The Story of the Mennonites (3rd ed., revised and enlarged by Cornelius Krahn; Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Publication Office, 1950), p. 16.

[17] Walter M. Kollmorgen, "The Agricultural Stability of the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania," American Journal of Sociology, XLIX (1943), 238.

by the practice of their religious beliefs. Forced to seek sustenance from poor mountain soils, traditional farming methods had to be discarded and better techniques devised.

> As a result the persecuted Brethren were among the first in central Europe to experiment with new methods of fertilizing the land, of feeding cattle, and of planting new crops. When seclusion was no longer necessary, many of them removed to better farming sections, mainly the Rhineland of Germany, where they applied with remarkable results what they had learned in the poorer farming sections. Their diligence was soon noted, as were their improved techniques of farming. In time they were sought out as tenants, particularly by owners of large estates.[18]

Though resettlement took place in Hesse, Baden-Wurttemberg, Bavaria, and Alsace, the major emigration was directed towards the Palatinate (Fig. 2). This resulted from the invitation of the Protestant Count Palatine who was seeking proven agriculturalists to rejuvenate those districts laid waste by the Thirty Years War.[19] Though some Brethren had sought refuge there as early as 1527,[20] the major emigration began in 1664 and continued for several decades. Some 700 arrived in 1671.[21] "Through their industry and sober and steady habits of life [the

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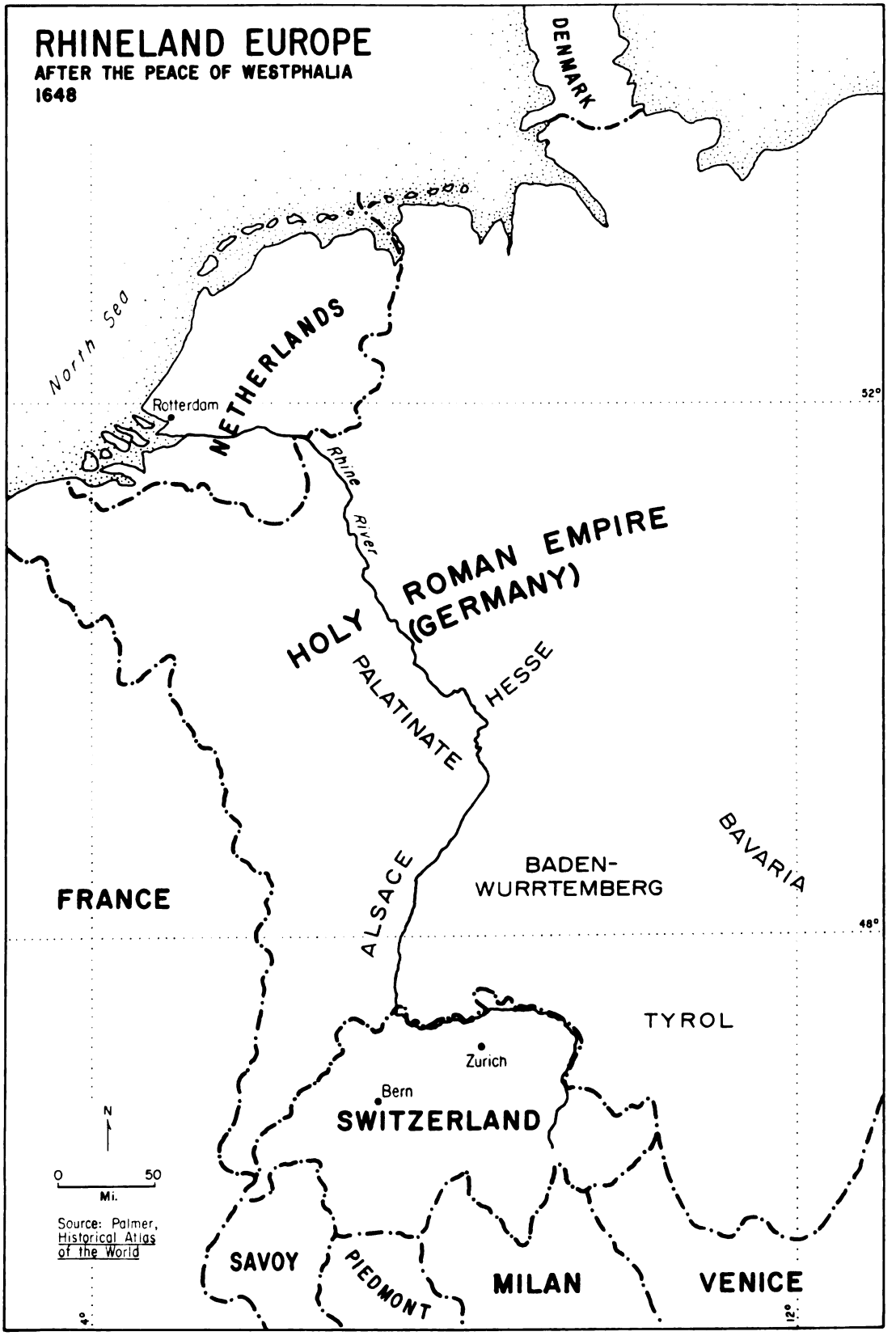
[18] Ibid., pp. 238-39.

[19] The war was ended by the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648.

[20] H. Frank Eshleman, Historic Background and Annals of the Swiss and German Pioneer Settlers of Southeastern Pennsylvania, and of Their Remote Ancestors, from the Middle Ages, Down to the Time of the Revolutionary War (Lancaster, Pa.: 1917), p. 111.

[21] Bender and Smith, Mennonites and Their Heritage, p. 60.


RHINELAND EUROPE
AFTER THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA
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North Sea
METHERLANDS
Rotterdam
Rhine River
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HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
(GERMANY)
PALATINATE
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Figure 2

Brethren] soon transformed what had been a desolate wilderness to a garden of plenty."[22]

But this is not to suggest that life in the Palatinate represented an earthly paradise for the Swiss Brethren. Though bloody persecution was non-existent, certain restrictions remained to be coped with. They were forbidden by the church-state authorities to proselytize, accept outsiders into the church, or marry non-Brethren.[23] Educational opportunities were curtailed as the young people were banned from the universities and denied vocational training in the guilds.[24] They were prohibited from living in the cities without special permission, and were normally banned from the villages.[25] Again, in some areas they were expressly forbidden to engage in non-agricultural activities. Thus a rural, agrarian existence, which persecution had previously imposed on the Brethren in Switzerland, was continued in the German Rhineland.

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[22]Smith, "The Mennonites in Europe," p. 103.

[23]Walter M. Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, Rural Life Studies No. 4, 1942), p. 17.

[24]E. Gordon Alderfer, "The Pioneer Culture of the Plain People," Mennonite Life, V (October, 1950), 30; and Smith, The Mennonite Immigration, p. 48.

[25]Smith, The Mennonite Immigration, p. 36; and Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, p. 18.

Because they were banned from village life the Brethren tended to live on separate farm units, oftentimes estates. This has a positive effect on their pursuit of agriculture. As tenants on large estates they were provided further opportunities to experiment with new farming techniques. By comparison the average peasant of the day lived in an agricultural village where farming practices were strictly regimented and experimentation discouraged. Equally important in explaining the Swiss Brethren's agricultural superiority is the communication that was maintained between the scattered groups of this religious brotherhood. Through correspondence and visits between settlements in the Rhineland and in other parts of Europe, the Brethren learned of farming practices in many areas. Visits made to distant communities for the primary purpose of finding a mate served the secondary purpose of spreading knowledge of better farming methods. The net result was a greater store of agricultural information than the average village peasant who rarely if ever journeyed far from his home.[26]

But this period of relative peace and prosperity for the Swiss Brethren was rather short-lived. For reasons with which we need not concern ourselves, the Palatinate again became embroiled in religious (Catholic-Protestant) warfare during the period 1689-1697. The

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[26]Kollmorgen, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, pp. 18-19.

suffering of the inhabitants was intense.[27] At the termination of hostilities Protestantism in the Palatinate was in ruins; a Roman Catholic Elector assumed control of the territory even though most of the inhabitants were Reformed or Lutheran.[28] For a brief period it appeared that a policy of general religious tolerance would be instituted. But such hopes soon evaporated. The Swiss Brethren (along with other Palatinate Protestants) were again subjected to persecution. This time the oppression was not sanguinary but rather took the form of extreme harassment. Land rights were jeopardized and

> other oppressive measures were enforced. The Protestants were required to bend the knee at the passing of the Host, and to furnish flowers for the church festivals of their rivals; while the work of proselyting was carried on publicly by the Jesuits, who had been called in for that purpose. The Swiss [Brethren], . . . who for many years had found a refuge in the Palatinate, were now driven from the land.[29]

A diaspora was precipitated with emigration from the Rhineland commencing in the late seventeenth century and continuing throughout much of the eighteenth. The distances involved in these moves were much greater than the one previously mentioned; and in time the descendants

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[27] A rather vivid description is given in Oscar Kuhns, The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania: A Study of the So-Called Pennsylvania Dutch (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1901), pp. 12-18.

[28] Ibid., pp. 15 and 17.

[29] Ibid., p. 17.

of the Swiss Brethren would find themselves in such far-flung territories as the Ukraine, Canada, Mexico and Paraguay.[30] Few would remain in the hearth areas.

Our major concern, of course, is the emigration to North America, particularly colonial Pennsylvania. Several stimuli led to this movement. William Penn himself visited the Lower Rhineland around 1679. He "preached in many Mennonite congregations and influenced large numbers of them to emigrate with him to Pennsylvania."[31] Though warfare temporarily impeded emigration, the human outpouring began again in the early decades of the eighteenth century. Penn's pamphlet describing his "Holy Experiment," along with promotional publications sanctioned by Queen Anne and George II, provided additional stimulants for migration. Speculation, too, played a role as "shipowners saw the large sources of profit in thus transporting emigrants

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[30]For information on Mennonite settlement in these locales, see: Bender and Smith, Mennonites and Their Heritage, pp. 67-72; John Horsch, Mennonites in Europe, Vol. I of Mennonite History (2nd ed.; Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1950), pp. 271-89; John Warkentin, "Mennonite Agricultural Settlements of Southern Manitoba," Geographical Review, XLIX (1959), 342-68; L. J. Burkholder, "The Early Mennonite Settlements in Ontario," Mennonite Quarterly Review, VIII (July, 1934), 103-22; Harry L. Sawatsky, They Sought a Colony: Mennonite Colonization in Mexico (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); J. Winfield Fretz, Pilgrims in Paraguay (Scottdale, Pa.: The Herald Press, 1953); and Annemarie E. Krause, "Mennonite Settlement in the Paraguayan Chaco" (Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography Research Paper No. 25, 1952).

[31]Smith, "The Mennonites in Europe," p. 96.

[and] employed every means of attracting them."[32] An estimated 5,000 made the trip to Pennsylvania between 1683 and 1750.[33]

The major port of embarkation for the New World was Rotterdam, a logical point of departure for the Rhinelanders. Their co-religionists in The Netherlands went to great lengths to assist them. These Dutchmen had called themselves "Mennonites" for many years, and in the process of transshipment and resettling the name was extended to those of Swiss stock. Thus with migration to America the appellation "Swiss Brethren" was discarded and the term "Mennonite" adopted.

Ideology and Culture in the European Hearth: A Summary

The Swiss Brethren exhibited a transitory existence in Europe. Numbers were relatively small while members were scattered over a fairly large area. The only agglomerations to speak of were small groups acting as tenants on the estates of noblemen. These circumstances negated the creation of Mennonite culture areas in the Rhineland. They did not, however, negate the formation of cultural

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[32]Kuhns, The German and Swiss Settlements, p. 27; see also Ira D. Landis, "England Invited Mennonites to America in 1717," Mennonite Historical Bulletin, XV (July, 1954), 5-6.

[33]L. J. Burkholder, "The Early Mennonite Settlements in Ontario," Mennonite Quarterly Review, VIII (July, 1934), 103-32.

characteristics which would become central elements of Mennonite life. In fact, such characteristics were only encouraged by the chain of events. But specific aspects of Mennonite culture which evolved cannot be discussed independently of ideological formulation. The two were intimately related and reinforced one another.

In reviewing the development of Mennonite ideology we encounter a curious fact: not all of the principles which would constitute the traditional ideology were exhibited by the Swiss Brethren when they first came into being. True, the Brethren then valued adult baptism, separation of church and state, nonresistance, freedom of conscience, brotherhood, nonconformity and simplicity. But what of rejection of formal education, separation from the world, or sanctification of the rural, agrarian way of life? If anything, in the incipient years the Brethren were characterized by the very opposite. The original leaders were among the intelligentsia while the occupations of most rank-and-file members suggest some degree of formal or vocational training. Far from being separate, these people were very much a part of the world they lived in. Most were found in the cities; only a small minority were agriculturalists. Change occurred only after persecution; after the educated leadership had been killed off; after the Brethren were hunted down in the cities and banned therefrom; after non-farm occupations were denied them; after they were forced into a rural existence.

These latter values were not among the original Mennonite principles. Rather, after lack of education, isolation from the world, and agrarian life had been forced upon them, religion was used to justify and legitimize the new conditions. It was only then that they became ideological components.

Rationalization was found in Scripture. Separation was bolstered by the passage, "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers, for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness, and what communion hath light with darkness?"[34] Lack of education was sanctioned by "the wisdom of the world is folly with God;" and agrarian life by "God said to them, 'Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth.'"[35] Parenthetically, the standard histories of the Mennonite church allude to such rationalization but seem unwilling to categorically state that religion was used in this manner. Yet this conclusion is inescapable and has been endorsed by several contemporary scholars.[36] In any event,

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[34] II Corinthians 6:14.

[35] Respectively, I Corinthians 3:19 and Genesis 1:28.

[36] S. Floyd Pannabecker, "Environmental Factors Influencing Mennonites," Proceedings of the Second Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems (North Newton, Kansas: Bethel College Press, 1943), pp. 82-84; Prof. Grant Stoltzfus, personal interview at Eastern Mennonite

with religious endorsement of separation from the world, rural, agrarian life, and rejection of education (not to mention the forced imposition of these conditions), contact with the larger world was minimized and conditions created for the establishment of a relatively static culture.

By the beginning of emigration to North America, several aspects of Mennonite culture (aside from the religious element per se) had made their appearance. Rural homesteads, pursuit of agriculture, and rejection of education had been adopted. Plain dress was also maintained as a means of stressing nonconformity. This too found Biblical sanction in the passages, "Let not yours be the outward adorning with braiding of hair, decoration of gold, and wearing of robes, but let it be in the hidden person of the heart with the imperishable jewel of a gentle and quiet spirit, which in God's sight is very precious;" and, again, "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God."[37] Additionally, High German, spoken by the Brethren in Switzerland and the Rhineland, was the common language. Though not a distinguishing factor in Europe, the language

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College, Harrisonburg, Va., Sept. 12, 1972; and Prof. James O. Lehman, personal interview at Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Va., July 25, 1973.

[37]Respectively, I Peter 3:3-4, and Romans 12:2.

would assume great cultural importance in North America. Finally, extensive intra-fellowship travel and communication, coupled with the doctrine of separation, produced a vital binding function. The importance of this function cannot be understated. For with the cessation of persecution and advent of religious liberty in eighteenth century Europe, the opportunity to mingle more freely with the non-Mennonite world obtained. This was hardly beneficial to the remaining European Mennonites. Indeed religious freedom proved as detrimental as religious persecution. Before the century ended, an estimated 80 percent of the European membership left the Mennonite fold to join other churches.[38] This defection, and the circumstances that produced it, would not be lost on the faithful who settled in Pennsylvania.

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[38]Smith, "The Mennonites in Europe," p. 94.

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CHAPTER III

MENNONITE SETTLEMENT OF SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA AND ROCKINGHAM COUNTY, VIRGINIA

The Pennsylvania Settlement

The promise of religious freedom central to Penn's "Holy Experiment" attracted many oppressed sectarian groups to southeastern Pennsylvania. The influx of these people is strongly evidenced to this day, particularly by the much-described Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites of Lancaster and adjacent counties. An in-depth treatment of this settlement process is beyond the scope of the present chapter. It has been fully documented elsewhere with several works being found in the geographical literature.[1] Yet some statements on Mennonite life in colonial Pennsylvania are necessary. For it was here that the faith was first permanently implanted on American soil--here that the first true Mennonite culture area came

[1]Two notable examples are Lee Charles Hopple, "Spatial Development and Internal Spatial Organization of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Community" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Geography, The Pennsylvania State University, 1971), and James T. Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1972).

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into existence. And it was from this place, people and experience that the Rockingham Mennonites devolved. (In 1905 Bishop L. J. Heatwole of Rockingham County wrote of his fellow Mennonites: ". . . all our people trace their lineage back to the congregations previously established in Pennsylvania," adding they could claim descent from the original immigrants.[2]) Understanding of the present settlement in Rockingham County requires some knowledge of these antecedents.

The earliest known record of Mennonites in North America is a letter, dated 1643, noting a number of Dutch "Menists" in New Netherlands (i.e., New York).[3] This group did not thrive. Permanent Mennonite occupation of New World lands had to wait another century-and-a-half, and was coincident with the heavy immigration of Rhinelanders.

The first viable Mennonite population arrived in Philadelphia sometime around the turn of the eighteenth century. Germantown, six miles to the west, served as the initial focus of development. At least one Mennonite is

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[2]Lewis J. Heatwole, "The Virginia Conference," in Mennonite Church History, ed. by J. S. Hartzler and Daniel Kauffman (Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Book and Tract Society, 1905), pp. 203-4.

[3]C. Henry Smith, The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century (Norristown, Pa.: The Norristown Press, 1929), p. 26.

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known to have lived there as early as 1683.[4] By 1708 the number had risen to 45 and become the first permanent Mennonite settlement in America.[5] While some of these folk were displaced Palatines, the major influx from this Old World locale began in 1709-10. This immigration, of course, was part of a far broader population movement. By 1785 an estimated 100,000 Germans had settled in Pennsylvania.[6] No more than 5 percent of these were Mennonites.

The Mennonite immigrants of 1709-10 forsook the twenty-five years old Germantown settlement and passed some miles to the west to what is now Lancaster County (Fig. 3). There they acquired a 6,400 acre tract in the initial year.[7] In 1717 their agents acquired a patent on an additional 5,000 acres "to be sold to Mennonites only."[8] Thus began the Mennonite stronghold in Lancaster County, which to this day contains more Mennonites than any other county in the United States. Population figures

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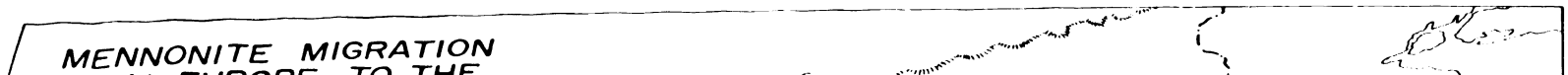
[4]Harold S. Bender, "The Founding of the Mennonite Church in America at Germantown, 1683-1708," Mennonite Quarterly Review, VII (October, 1933), 250.

[5]Ibid., p. 229.

[6]C. Henry Smith, The Mennonites of America (Goshen, Ind.: By the Author, 1909), p. 134.

[7]Ira D. Landis, "Mennonite Agriculture in Colonial Lancaster County, Pennsylvania," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XIX (October, 1945), 259.

[8]Ibid.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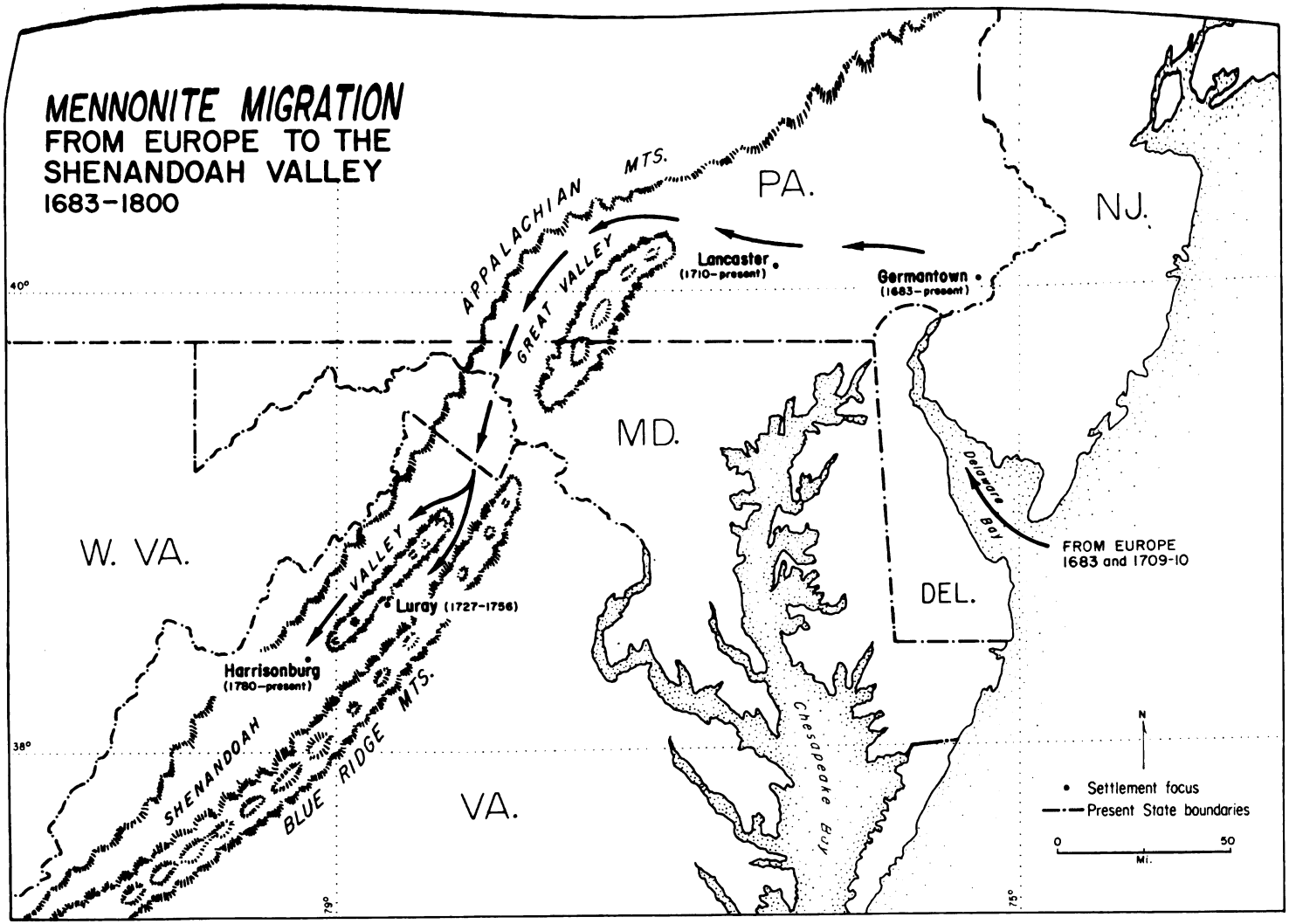
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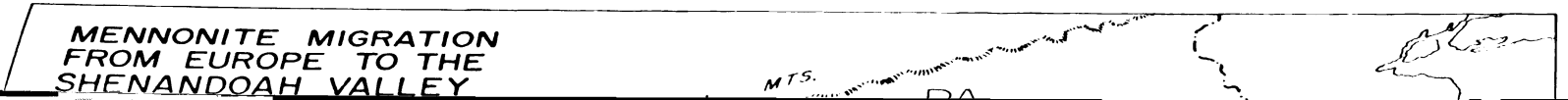
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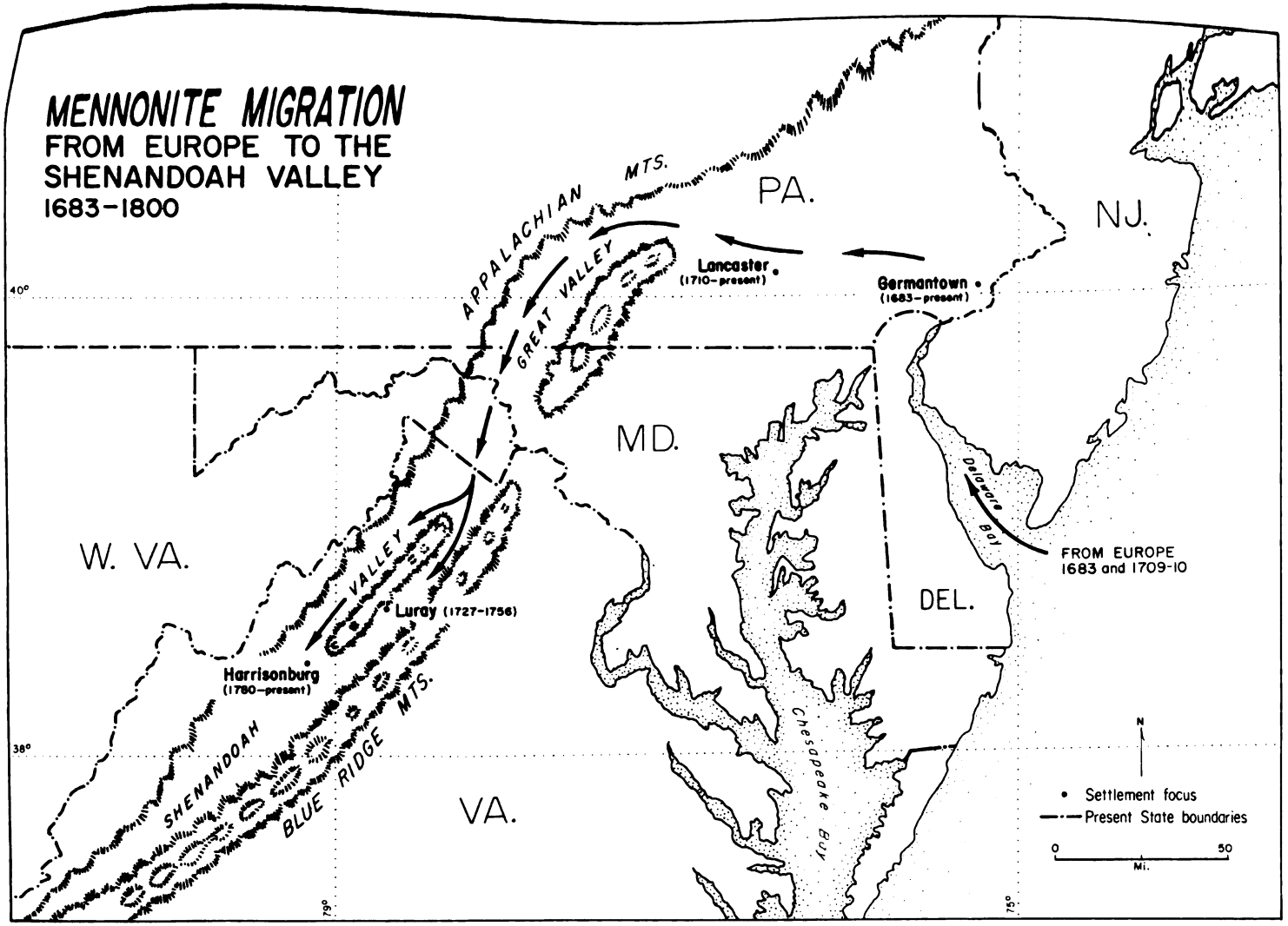
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for those early years are lacking, though some 500 Mennonite families are reported to have lived there in 1735.[9]

The reference to Mennonite land agents selling acreage to Mennonites only suggests a certain exclusiveness. In one sense this was not atypical of the early immigrant groups in Pennsylvania.

> The distributional patterns of nationalities and religious denominations seem to indicate that settlers were strongly attracted by their own cultural groups. Extensive areas were occupied exclusively by people from one country, and religious groups as well showed some clustering.[10]

But for the Mennonites there were special incentives which encouraged isolation. Religious principles played a big role as did historical experience. Generations of harassment in Europe had made them distrustful of government as well as other religious groups. In Pennsylvania such wariness was largely unfounded, but fears nonetheless persisted and led to a desire for isolation.

Accordingly, the principle of separation was implemented quite early. Despite acquisition of large tracts of land, juxtaposition still obtained with other immigrant peoples. Most numerous were English, Irish, Scotch-Irish and German groups (the latter mostly of the Lutheran

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[9]Christian Herr, "The Mennonites," in An Original History of the Religious Denominations at Present Existing in the United States, by Israel D. Rupp (Philadelphia, Pa.: J. Y. Humphreys; Harrisburg: Clyde and Williams, 1844), p. 488.

[10]James T. Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1972), p. 43.

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faith). If the general process implicit in the concept of the "American Melting Pot" was then beginning, the Mennonites were loathe to participate. The ideological duality between the church and world was easily extended to counter acculturation with the emerging American identity.[11] The result was increasing exclusiveness. This process became an overt strategy with implementation involving establishment of a large rural stronghold, maximization of within-group bonds, and minimization of external influence.

Reference to the incipient rural Lancaster stronghold has already been made. Application of superior agricultural technology coupled with modest living and thrift (in accord with the ideal of simplicity) resulted in substantial monetary surpluses. These monies were used to increase the extent of Mennonite holdings. Thus, the presence of non-Mennonites in rural Lancaster County gradually waned. Although Benjamin Franklin claimed the English left certain areas because of offensive German manners, the demise of the British in rural Lancaster was probably more the result of Mennonite propensity to outbid them for available farm land.[12]

It might be added that the eighteenth century Mennonites generally avoided city life. Because of their

[11]Paul Peachy, "Identity Crisis Among American Mennonites," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XLII (October, 1968), 252.

[12]Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country, p. 43.

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European farm background and religious legitimization of rural, agrarian life "it was taken for granted that everyone would either farm or work for another farmer."[13] Former persecution and harassment in European urban centers also helped mold this attitude, as did the feeling that their particular ideals could best be maintained in a rural setting. The experiences of the few Pennsylvania Mennonites who left the farm for the cities and towns only served to reinforce the growing anti-urban sentiment. "Finding no church of their own [in the cities], all left the faith of their fathers, an act no doubt which greatly increased the conviction that the people of the cities were of the world."[14] The original Germantown settlement excluded, there was not a single Mennonite congregation in an urban area until well into the nineteenth century.[15]

Other actions besides establishment of the rural stronghold served to ensure separation. Perceiving Anabaptism as the true Christian faith and outsiders as sinful, "contact with the surrounding world was not encouraged and Mennonites communicated as seldom as possible with

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[13]John C. Wenger, "The Mennonites Establish Themselves in Pennsylvania," Mennonite Life, II (July, 1947), 28.

[14]Smith, The Mennonite Immigration, p. 377.

[15]Ibid., p. 411.

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[non-Anabaptists] of southeastern Pennsylvania."[16] Frequency of contact with other Anabaptists largely depended upon similarity of tenets. Accordingly, some interaction, though limited, transpired with Amish and Dunkard groups.[17] Outside the Anabaptist stream, the main contacts were with Lutheran and Reformed folk, who, like the Mennonites, were of German Rhineland background.[18] But for the most part the Mennonites appear to have kept to themselves. For example, there is no evidence of proselytizing. Prohibited by external authority in Europe, the practice was discouraged from within in Pennsylvania. Wenger states, "There was no thought of evangelistic work," while Smith says a few people converted from other churches though the Mennonites "were not a proselytizing people."[19]

> The effect of the above-described interaction pattern, of course, was to minimize . . . dependence upon the surrounding world and to intensify the conservatism of the Mennonite community.[20]

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[16]Lee Charles Hopple, "Spatial Development and Internal Spatial Organization of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Community" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Geography, The Pennsylvania State University, 1971), p. 121.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Wenger, "The Mennonites Establish Themselves in Pennsylvania," p. 28.

[19]Ibid., p. 28; and Smith, The Mennonites of America, p. 181.

[20]Hopple, "Spatial Development," p. 122.

Two other possible means of outside influence, higher education and political involvement, were also generally avoided. These, too, constitute opportunities which were negated by external authority in Europe, and from within in Pennsylvania.

> The Palatine Mennonites of Europe, being a plain farmer folk at the time of the immigration, had little interest in higher education. There were no university graduates among them; even their ministers having no more schooling than the average small farmer of the day . . . and in Switzerland and south Germany at least its membership for several centuries was confined almost entirely to the realm of the common folk.
>
> The Pennsylvania immigrants, retaining all the traditions of their European forefathers against an educated . . . ministry, had no interest here in higher education for either ministry or laity. They were favorable, however, toward elementary schooling, and from the start elementary schools were provided for the purpose of instructing their children in the elements of the traditional 'Three R's' to which was added a fourth, Religion. The state of Pennsylvania had no public school system during the eighteenth century; and so the matter of education was left entirely with each community or local church.[21]

Thus the education of Mennonite youngsters was in the hands of Mennonite elders. Learning in areas other than essential skills was avoided.

With regard to politics, the early Pennsylvania Mennonite Conference prohibited members from seeking political offices. With the exception of the Germantown group, "the early Mennonites never held office, nor participated in political affairs even when they were in the

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[21]Smith, The Mennonite Immigration, pp. 400-401.

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majority."[22] Apparently it was only around mid-century that they ever began to exercise their right to vote. In the election campaign of 1755 they even became somewhat articulate in opposition to the Governor's Party, which they perceived as militaristic. But when the Quaker candidates they supported were defeated,

> the Mennonites rationalized that participation in political matters was wrong, and perhaps admitting that the defeat . . . was a judgement of God, they returned to their former aloofness from political affairs.[23]

Hence, in politics as well as in education, the opportunities for external influence were generally curtailed.

A final though extremely important factor which encouraged exclusiveness was language. Though immigrating from scattered Rhineland locales, High German was the universal language of the original Lancaster Mennonites. Undiluted in the early American years, several alterations gradually occurred (addition of English terms, grammatical changes), resulting in a new dialect, "Pennsylvania Dutch." "Dutch" in this case is from Deutsch (German) and not the language of Holland. Once formulated, "Pennsylvania Dutch" became something more than a common language for

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[22]C. Henry Smith, The Story of the Mennonites (3rd ed.; revised and enlarged by Cornelius Krahn; Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Publishing Office, 1950), p. 749.

[23]Glen Weaver, "The Mennonites During the French and Indian War," Mennonite Historical Bulletin, XVI (April, 1955), 2.

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the Mennonites. It "served as an essential vehicle to perpetuate old values and patterns, and became in itself not only an index of cultural survival but also a cherished tool to be preserved."[24]

These factors, which served to buffer the Lancaster Mennonites from the outside world, also provide cultural insight. But the cultural elements they represent are abstract in nature and lend no visual impressions of the Lancaster stronghold. Account of tangible traits is required not only to complete the picture of the southeastern Pennsylvania culture area, but also round out an understanding of the "cultural baggage" that was eventually carried southward to Virginia. Four characteristics which beg brief consideration are settlement, farming, dress styles and church architecture.

The apparent intent of the first Mennonite pioneers was to purchase large jointly owned tracts of land and organize them after the model of the European agricultural village.[25] However,

> since no large tracts of land were available in southeastern Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century [aside from the original grants], the members of each group of immigrants decided to procure small privately-owned tracts in as close proximity to each

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[24]Walter M. Kollmorgen, "The Agricultural Stability of the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania," American Journal of Sociology, XLIX (1943), 235.

[25]Hopple, "Spatial Development," p. 118.

> other as possible. Thus, over the decades, the territorial organization of the southeastern Pennsylvania Mennonite community . . . developed into a pattern of many dispersed farm clusters.[26]

Invariably situated on the best available soil, it was through the auspices of these individually owned farms that the forested wilderness was transformed into a veritable garden spot. In 1738 the Governor of Pennsylvania wrote of rural Lancaster,

> This province has been for some years the asylum of distressed Protestants of the Palatinate and other parts of Germany, and I believe it may truthfully be said that the present flourishing condition of it is in a great measure owing to the industry of this people.[27]

In 1744 another observer noted, "There is no agriculture in the United States like that of the Germans of Pennsylvania, there is none superior."[28]

Farmsteads were accentuated by expansive facilities, most notably the fore-bay (or "Switzer") barns, which have a chalet-like appearance. Immaculately kept gardens were found adjacent to the house. Primarily serving to produce truck crops, the gardens were always festooned with flowers and formed "the one bright touch of poetry in the otherwise hard routine of farm-life."[29] Central to this

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[26] Ibid.

[27] Landis, "Mennonite Agriculture," p. 261.

[28] Ibid., p. 260.

[29] Oscar Kuhns, The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania: A Study of the So-Called Pennsylvania Dutch (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1901), p. 100.

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routine was intensive agriculture. Crop rotation without fallowing and preservation of barnyard manures were fundamental from the start.[30] High returns were the goal, and it is reported that the Mennonites sowed more acres of wheat and possessed more livestock on the average than other denominational groups.[31] Specialized agriculture never caught on. General farming was the rule. Whether by accident or design, this served to produce a high degree of self-sufficiency which further curtailed interaction with non-Mennonites.[32]

The people themselves lent further visual distinctiveness to their home area by their clothing. This practice too had historical roots in Europe.

> Centuries of persecution of their Anabaptist forefathers had convinced the Mennonites that an unfriendly society around them had different standards from their own . . . To be the salt of the earth required the maintenance of strict standards and high ideals in all areas of life, including the clothes they wore. The people of God were to be a separate people that could be distinguished from those conforming their lives to the standards of secularism. They therefore believed a Christian should look different from the non-Christian.[33]

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[30]Landis, "Mennonite Agriculture," p. 271.

[31]Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country, p. 261.

[32]For a more complete agricultural picture, see Kuhns, The German and Swiss Settlements, pp. 83-114.

[33]Melvin Gingerich, Mennonite Attire Through Four Centuries (Breinigsville, Pa.: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1970), p. 148.

In pursuit of this goal, the early Pennsylvania male,

> when dressed in his best, wore a black hat, . . . a neckcloth, a plain-collared frock coat and knee-breeches. He probably differed from the non-Mennonite of that era mainly in eliminating such items as lace collars and in rejecting new styles like outside coat-pockets. He was certainly plainly dressed and non-conformed.[34]

Characteristic feminine attire is more difficult to clarify. An anonymous source (1710) noted their dress was "quite plain, and of coarse material, after an old fashion of their own."[35] Full-length dresses and cloaks were standard. A bonnet was also worn. Whatever the specifics, the dress of both men and women was sufficient to render a distinctive appearance. In 1727 the Governor of Pennsylvania received a delegation of Mennonites who, he noted, were "peculiar in their dress."[36]

Finally, there is the matter of church architecture. Unlike the foregoing tangible and intangible aspects of Mennonite culture, there was no Old World model to provide guidance in the New. The reason, once again, was the mandate of external authority. Their European

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[34]John C. Wenger, "The History of Non-Conformity in the Mennonite Church," Proceedings of the Third Annual Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems (North Newton, Kansas: Bethel College Press, 1944), p. 49.

[35]Quoted in Martin G. Weaver, Mennonites of the Lancaster Conference (Scottdale, Pa.: The Mennonite Publishing House, 1931), p. 10.

[36]Quoted in Ira D. Landis, "The Plain Dutch," Mennonite Research Journal, IX (April, 1968), 19.

forefathers had been forbidden to have houses for worship. Services were therefore conducted in private homes. This practice was initially continued in Pennsylvania. But with the absence of church-building restrictions in the new setting, houses for worship soon appeared. Nissley, in a critique of church architecture, notes there are two extremes in this area. "One is ornate, superficial and sensuous and the other is barren, cold and uninviting."[37] Mennonite churches have traditionally followed the second extreme "in an effort to be plain and simple."[38] The style that evolved was not distinctively Mennonite in origin but rather seems to have been closely patterned after the Quaker meetinghouse.[39] This consists of a one-storied wooden structure with a rectangular floor-plan. Roof design is a simple inverted V minus steeple or other obviously religious ornamentation. Eaves are short and gables plain. Windows consist of plain (rather than tinted) glass. The main entrance is through one of the gabled walls. At first there was a single door. But following implementation of segregation by sex during

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[37]Lowell Nissley, "What Kind of Architecture for Mennonite Churches?," The Mennonite Community, IV (January, 1950), 8.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Cornelius Krahn, "Mennonite Church Architecture," Mennonite Life, XII (January, 1957), 19.

the church service a two door design (one for men, one for women) became standard.[40]

Mennonite Culture in Early Pennsylvania: A Summary

By 1750 a Mennonite culture area had developed in Lancaster and adjacent counties of southeastern Pennsylvania. Farm life, the church-dictated ideal, as well as the principle of separation, resulted in contiguous holdings that put large areas solely in Mennonite hands. Few were the faithful who lived in towns. Intensive agricultural practices placed their mode of land use in the realm of science. Yet given the visual impress of imposing farm buildings, immaculate gardens and well-used acreage, their way of life also lent a certain artistic quality to the landscape that was distinctively Mennonite. Peculiar dress and church architecture also served to differentiate Mennonite from non-Mennonite areas. Intangible characteristics not only completed the cultural fabric of Mennonite society but also served to guard it from external influence and change. Economic self-sufficiency, limited educational opportunities and stringent control thereof, lack of proselytizing and involvement in politics, separate language, limited contact with outsiders, within-group marriage--all served to accentuate Mennonite uniqueness.

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[40]Note the photograph of the present-day Pleasant View Old Order Church, Figure 24, page 161.

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And all these factors had the sanction of religion, the Mennonites' most pervasive and important cultural element.

Out-migration from Pennsylvania

Due to population pressure engendered by successive waves of immigrants and natural increase, the best lands in southeastern Pennsylvania were taken up by the middle of the eighteenth century. Thereafter it became "almost impossible to buy a farm."[41] Up to mid-century the Mennonites were fairly successful in coping with this new dilemma. To keep people on the land, subdivision of farms occurred and non-Mennonite neighbors were bought out whenever possible. Though they were not opposed to moving on in stride with the ever-advancing frontier (and were in fact among the earliest settlers in certain sections of Ohio and Indiana, as well as Virginia) the ties of brotherhood were often a strong deterrent. "Apparently they were concerned with intensifying their community life in areas they had already occupied in order to maintain their cohesion."[42] But these practices could not and did not long continue.

As a result of competition for the land on the Lancaster Plain, prices rose from about 10 shillings per

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[41]Hopple, "Spatial Development," p. 132.

[42]Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country, p. 81.

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acre in the 1730's to double that amount in the 1740's. By 1760 values had redoubled.[43] Thus by mid-century acquisition of a farm could require considerable capital. This proved a severe burden for young families; and even if financial assistance from relatives were forthcoming, there were few if any farms up for sale in a given year. Therefore, subdivision or inheritance were important means of obtaining a farm. But subdivision was only a temporary remedy. Thresholds were soon reached beyond which further division was uneconomical. Concomitantly, family sizes tended to be rather large with each household typically generating two or more sons who would eventually desire to take to the farming way of life. Thus the added possibility of inheritance likewise did not provide a lasting solution. The situation dictated that a certain number of people either emigrate or take up non-farming occupations. As the latter alternative ran counter to both tradition and church mandate, out-migration was the only recourse.

The Beginnings of Mennonite Settlement in the Shenandoah Valley

One of the first areas to receive Pennsylvania Mennonite emigrants was the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia (Fig. 3, page 51). Bordered by the Blue Ridge to the east

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[43] Ibid., pp. 87-88.

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and the Appalachians to the west, this fertile, picturesque locale was unsettled in the mid 1720's. White settlement in colonial Virginia did not then extend west of the Blue Ridge. Indians (mainly Catawba) used the valley as a hunting reserve, but had no permanent settlements there and had not effectively occupied the area for at least a century.[44]

Brunk states that the Shenandoah Valley "had a special attraction" to Mennonite settlers (who began their occupance in the late 1720's) because it was "like their native Switzerland."[45] As the prime rationale for Mennonite settlement, this notion is questionable. The land was excellent for farming, unoccupied and relatively inexpensive to obtain. (In the 1740's land prices in the Valley were one-third those in southeastern Pennsylvania.[46]) Moreover, there was a clear topographic factor. As Figure 3 suggests, the combined Great-Shenandoah Valley system represented something of a natural corridor providing an outlet for population pressure in southeastern

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[44]Robert D. Mitchell, "The Shenandoah Valley Frontier," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LXII (September, 1972), 466.

[45]Harry A. Brunk, History of Mennonites in Virginia, 1727-1900 (Staunton, Va.: McClure Printing Company, 1959), p. 10.

[46]Mitchell, "The Shenandoah Valley Frontier," p. 467.

Pennsylvania. Finally, and of over-riding importance, there was the action of the Virginia authorities in opening the Valley for settlement at the time when population pressure in Pennsylvania was becoming acute. Such action was hardly altruistic. Anglicanism enjoyed the status of an established state church east of the Blue Ridge, and the Virginia authorities had no desire to see their colony "contaminated" by the presence of other denominational groups. Non-Anglicans were accordingly dissuaded from residing there. But the unoccupied Shenandoah Valley was a different matter. Indeed, a major reason for allowing (even encouraging) non-Anglicans to settle in the Valley was to create a buffer zone between the colony proper and a putative Indian menace to the west.

The original focus of Mennonite settlement in the Valley was near the present-day town of Luray in Page County (Fig. 3). Various dates from 1727 through 1729 have been given to mark the origin of this dispersed farming community. The populace was of mixed European and denominational background with Mennonites forming the largest contingent of Rhinelanders. Thirty-nine Mennonite families reportedly lived there in the mid 1750's, though nothing of a significant nature has been recorded about their everyday life.[47] In any event the settlement did not endure for long.

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[47]H. Frank Eshleman, Historic Background and Annals of the Swiss and German Pioneer Settlers of

Two factors resulted in the demise of this colonization effort. First there was a series of bloody Indian raids in the period 1758-64 which forced a temporary return to Pennsylvania. Second, and more importantly, a serious question of land ownership arose. Whatever the reason, it appears that the Luray settlers had not acquired proper title to their lands, which were eventually awarded to Lord Fairfax as part of his mammoth "Northern Neck" claim. Thus,

> our pioneer Mennonites suddenly found themselves occupying the unwelcome and uncertain position of squatters upon an English lord's estate, and at once had to face the issues of choosing between paying an annual rental for the use of the lands they occupied or abandoning them altogether.[48]

The latter course was chosen.

By the 1770's relocation had occurred in the northern part of Rockingham County, especially along Linville Creek and adjacent stretches of the North Fork of the Shenandoah River. In 1780 Harrisonburg, a few miles to the southwest, was designated the county seat. Promising superior marketing opportunities, the town immediately fostered a second Mennonite focus in its

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Southeastern Pennsylvania, and of Their Remote Ancestors, from the Middle of the Dark Ages, Down to the Time of the Revolutionary War (Lancaster, Pa.: 1917), p. 325.

[48]Heatwole, "The Virginia Conference," p. 200.

unsettled environs. Bishop Heatwole described this Mennonite occupance in the following terms.

> With an eye to locating to better advantage, and being very naturally attracted by the large and unoccupied sections lying immediately south and west of Harrisonburg, they are said to have made frequent tours of inspection on horseback . . . and in riding over these densely wooded areas the rule was that whenever the horse's hoofs ceased to clatter against the stones and resounded only from a firm and generous soil, they made a halt, when one or more of the party sought out the owner of the land with the view of making a purchase.[49]

Thus by 1800 Mennonite settlement in Rockingham County exhibited two centers: the Linville/Shenandoah borderlands and the area immediately south and west of Harrisonburg (Fig. 4). These clusters eventually became administrative areas of the Virginia Mennonite Conference, respectively labeled the Northern and Middle District.

Mennonite Life in Rockingham County to 1900

Quite unsurprisingly, the nineteenth century Rockingham Mennonites displayed most of the cultural characteristics of their Pennsylvania forefathers. Idealization of agrarian life, coupled with the anti-urban sentiment, again led to the near-total ruralization of the membership. Maps compiled by Brunk for the period 1865-1900 reveal that three Mennonite families were then

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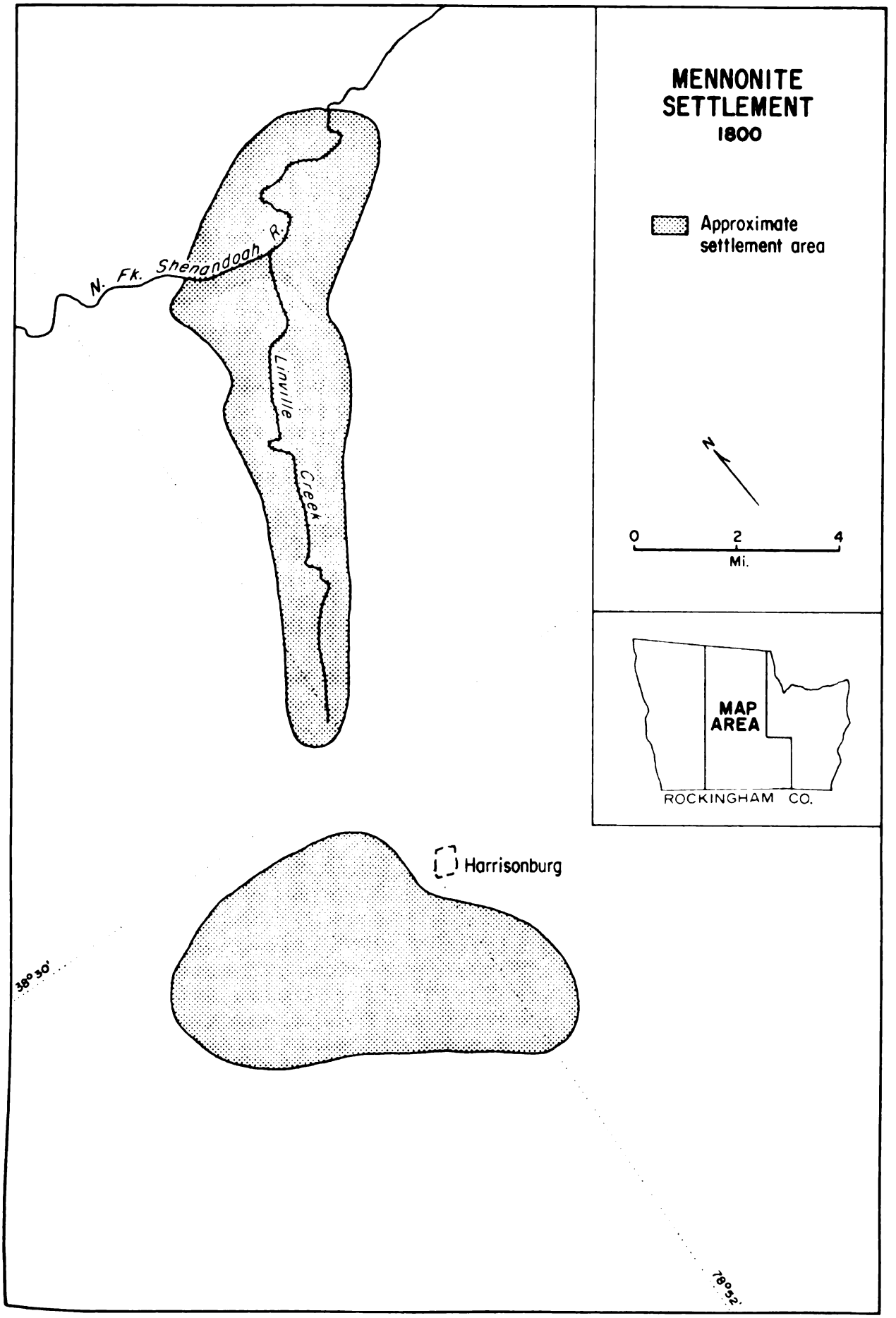
[49] A Mennonite [Lewis J. Heatwole], "The Mennonites," Rockingham Register (Harrisonburg, Va.: Friday, July 26, 1895), p. 1.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found in towns.[50] Between the same dates the Mennonite population in Rockingham County rose from about 250 to 1,000 persons.[51] Hence, only an extremely small percentage of the total population resided in towns. Church locations also suggest the same conclusion. At no time in the nineteenth century was such an edifice located in a city or town.

The prime economic venture was farming, with the characteristics previously offered for the Pennsylvania setting again appearing in Virginia. It is probably not coincidental that Rockingham became one of Virginia's leading agricultural counties or that, by the end of the century, the part of Rockingham County having the highest real estate values also possessed a majority of Mennonite farmers.[52]

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[50]Brunk, History . . . 1727-1900, pp. 249 and 302.

[51]Heatwole, "The Virginia Conference," p. 219. On the same page Heatwole suggests that the Mennonite population was 350 prior to the Civil War. The sudden drop, suggested by the 1865 figure, seems mainly the result of out-migration of males to escape conscription. Their return after hostilities, coupled with large family sizes, resulted in sharp increases leading to the 1900 population figure.

[52]John W. Wayland, A History of Rockingham County, Virginia (Dayton, Va.: Ruebush-Elkins Company, 1912; reprinted, Harrisonburg, Va.: C. J. Carrier Company, 1972), p. 177.

But despite the propensity for rural life and farming, a rural stronghold on a par with the Lancaster model never quite materialized. There were several reasons for this. The original occupants, in contrast to the Pennsylvania immigrants, were unable to acquire tracts running into the thousands of acres which could be divided up solely among group members. Moreover, their numbers were relatively small, the Rockingham Mennonite population in 1900 being less than the Pennsylvania population in 1750. At the same time the Mennonites were a small minority of the total populace which sought to occupy Rockingham County farm lands in the nineteenth century. As a net result, an extensive area occupied entirely (or almost entirely) by Mennonites never materialized. Yet by inheritance and subdivision, what lands they did possess tended to remain under Mennonite ownership. New lands were occupied when possible, with the desire to be located near fellow believers most always being evidenced by such purchases. Occasional exceptions to these generalizations occurred in northern Rockingham where abandonment was followed by relocation near Harrisonburg. Nonetheless, the two original foci of settlement were generally maintained as the century progressed. By 1900 Mennonite farmsteads were in the majority in a sixteen-square-mile block west of Harrisonburg and in a ten-square-mile area along Linville Creek. However, the sizable minority of

non-Mennonites who were also present makes questionable the labeling of these zones as Mennonite culture areas.

This juxtaposition with peoples of other faiths and European background, to a degree unknown in Lancaster County, began placing great strains on the maintenance of group standards. Court records, for instance, suggest that a substantial number of Mennonites were marrying outside the faith.[53] As before, certain religion-based strategies were employed to counter the situation. Within-group bonds were stressed. This notion found fruition not only in close contacts among Rockingham's Mennonites, but also in pronounced social interaction with co-religionists in Pennsylvania and newly developing Mennonite enclaves in the Middle West. At the same time (and the marriage situation to the contrary) contact minimization with outsiders was idealized. This desire was operationalized in several ways. For example, proselytizing was shunned until very late in the century. Such aversion to missionary outreach was in direct opposition to the revival meetings which were commonplace to people of other denominations. The Mennonite leadership generally discouraged the laity from attending such meetings.[54] Political activities were

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[53]Information courtesy of Miss Grace Showalter.

[54]Brunk, History . . . 1727-1900, pp. 194-95.

likewise generally avoided. In 1907 Wayland noted the Mennonites to that year had not

> sought any appreciable share in public or political life, partly because of their avoidance of show and display, partly because of their religious convictions in regard to formal oaths, and partly because the holding of certain offices might require them to violate their peace principles.[55]

Members were, however, allowed to vote as long as they did so "peaceably and quietly."[56]

Other characteristics which arose more specifically from the notion of nonconformity also tended to emphasize Mennonite distinctiveness. This principle was stressed on several official occasions throughout the century. Proscriptions appear to have been most often directed towards dress, divertissment and architecture.

Prior to the Civil War specific facets of the dress question are not known. "By inference, it would seem that a number in the church wore a self-prescribed or perhaps church-prescribed garb."[57] After the war, however, the Virginia Conference certainly took a directive stand on dress and personal appearance. At a conference in 1877

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[55]John W. Wayland, The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley (1907; reprinted, Bridgewater, Va.: C. J. Carrier Company, 1964), p. 130.

[56]Brunk, History . . . 1727-1900, p. 191.

[57]Ibid., p. 107.

> the wearing of finger rings, breastpins, ornamental shirt fronts, cuffs, fashionable collars, ruffles, roached or otherwise fashionable hair was considered inconsistent with the Word of God. In April, 1878, "earrings and the wearing of watch chains conspicuously" were added to the list. In 1884 the conference declared that . . . to be a separate people from the world . . . it was "very inexpedient to be constantly changing our external appearance in the form of apparel."[58]

Guidance thus took a generally negative form, stressing proscribed articles. More positively, plainness was encouraged with womens' bonnets and prayer coverings, and mens' broad-rimmed hats perhaps being the major distinguishing types of apparel.

Proscriptions were also aimed at common amusements. Questionable activities included shows, picnics, church festivals, lawn parties, debating societies, croquet and "ten-pin-alley rolling." Officially discouraged because they were "worldlike," the forbidden activities also had the desired end of limiting outside contacts.[59]

Residential injunctions stressed the ideal of simplicity. Members were to guard against "superfluous ornamentation of houses or other buildings, either in the manner of building or in decorating the walls and tables with pictures."[60] But there was no prescribed architectural

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[58] Ibid., pp. 192-93.

[59] Ibid., p. 194.

[60] Ibid., p. 193.

model. For churches, however, there was precedent--the form adopted earlier in Pennsylvania. Old photographs published by Brunk suggest that nearly all Mennonite churches in nineteenth century Rockingham County followed the previously described model.[61] The use of a single versus dual entrance provided the only occasional deviation.

But calculated application of religious principles to the contrary, it proved increasingly difficult to prohibit change. One reason, again, is found in the juxtaposition with elements of mainstream American culture occasioned by the lack of an extensive and exclusive Mennonite area. Additionally, a century's existence in a peaceful environment, free from hostile actions of government or sister denominations, seems to have fostered a generally less suspicious or paranoic attitude toward the ways of the non-Mennonite world. Whatever the prime rationale, changes began to occur.

Language is a prime example. Like other settlers of German background, an "early period of exclusive use of the German [or "Dutch"] language was followed by several decades of bilingualism in public and church affairs."[62]

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[61] See Harry A. Brunk, History of Mennonites in Virginia, 1900-1960 (Verona, Va.: McClure Printing Company, 1972), pp. 35, 39, 42, 44, 121 and 129.

[62] John Stewart and Elmer L. Smith, "The Survival of German Dialects and Customs in the Shenandoah Valley," Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, Report 31 (1963), p. 67.

> English came more and more into use. This slow but sure process, in which the English language superseded the German, was vigorously opposed by many well-meaning members, some venturing even the sad and solemn prediction that when the German language would once be gone, the Mennonite faith would also be gone.[63]

To counter the trend, next to each church a school house was built where children could be taught the German language. But the tide could not be stemmed.

> With the ordination of David Showalter, in about 1840, came the first exclusively English speaking minister, and with the death of John Weaver and Daniel Showalter in 1877-80, the last German discourses were heard by a Virginia congregation from a Virginia minister.[64]

By the end of the century exclusive use of English was wide-spread. In 1912 Wayland noted that

> a few people in Rockingham can still speak traditional German--a dialect of the "Pennsylvania Dutch;" but the number is becoming smaller every year. German has not been much used for the past fifty years, except in the home talk of certain families.[65]

Change was also evidenced in the area of education. Compulsory schooling was not instituted in Rockingham County until 1911 and it was not until 1917 that the county's first Mennonite parochial school appeared. Throughout the nineteenth century the education of most Mennonite youth was quite elementary with instruction often

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[63]Heatwole, "The Virginia Conference," p. 203.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Wayland, History of Rockingham County, p. 240.

taking place exclusively in the home. But in a society where the values of education were increasingly stressed, the traditional Mennonite attitude towards learning proved ever more difficult to maintain and justify. That times were changing is evidenced by no less a personage than the Middle District Bishop, L. J. Heatwole (1852-1932), who gained repute as a teacher, author and astronomer. From mid-century onward a number of Mennonites even opted for higher education. The majority who chose this course appear to have eventually left the church.

The general thirst for learning was such that compromise was necessary to stave off defection to other denominations. An example is provided by the "Sunday School Issue." Offered by many other local denominations at mid-century, the first such Mennonite school was begun in the spring of 1870. It lasted only a few years with its demise resulting from the objection of many prominent members that the school was an unwarranted innovation. Denied this learning opportunity by their own church, many Mennonite youngsters regularly attended the Sunday schools of other denominations. Due to the real or potential loss of membership that this situation represented, the Virginia Mennonite Conference renewed its Sunday school work in 1882.[66]

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[66]Heatwole, "The Virginia Conference," p. 215.

The foregoing paragraphs suggest that the church found it increasingly difficult to hold its membership as the nineteenth century drew to a close. As a dramatic index of this condition, it is reported that while there were 1,000 Mennonites in Rockingham County at the turn of the century, there were an additional 3,000 people of Mennonite origin there who were not affiliated with the church.[67] The major reasons for membership loss seem to have been the aforementioned cultural juxtaposition plus a general inability of the church (by desire) to adapt itself to the changing world without seriously jeopardizing internal unity.

Schism

At the beginning of the present century the Virginia Mennonite Conference found itself in a serious dilemma. Faced with the reality of a changing socio-cultural climate and loss of membership to other churches, two opposing viewpoints arose as to how the situation should be met.

First there was a majority progressive point of view which held that if the church were to survive as a viable entity some manner of controlled change was necessary. Rigid interpretation of traditional values, they felt, was tending to do the church more harm than good.

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[67] Ibid., p. 219.

Concomitantly, they viewed the vitality of sister denominations as the result of such policies as a benevolent attitude towards education, lack of excessive restrictions on individual activities, and overt efforts to gain new members from the outside. That these policies were proving fruitful was painfully obvious by the number of ex-Mennonites attending other churches. Hence, the progressive faction felt that the future of the church in Rockingham County rested in some measure on successful competition with other denominations. This, of course, meant that in some spheres of activity the Mennonite Church would have to become "more like" other churches. The re-introduction of the Sunday school was one action taken in this direction. Another unprecedented action was the beginning of local outreach work to bring converts to the Mennonite fold.

These trends tended to arouse the opposition of the second, minority, faction which espoused a conservative course of action towards church problems. This group stood for perpetuation of the "old ways" while viewing the church's liberalizing tendencies as more threatening than the factors that had caused a loss of membership to other churches. Strategies which progressives viewed as healthy for the future of the church were seen by conservatives as unwarranted compromises of beloved principles.

The strain on church unity, so produced, proved especially corrosive in the Middle District. Certain actions taken therein by Bishop Heatwole only tended to exacerbate the situation. In 1900-1901 sixty-nine Middle District members withdrew from the Virginia Conference to form a separate church group.[68]

Thus began the Old Order Mennonite community in Rockingham County. It should be noted that the problems that resulted in this schism were not unique to Virginia. In fact the Rockingham division was the last of four Old Order schisms which occurred during the three decades ending in 1900-1901. Previous schisms occurred in Ohio and Indiana in 1872, Ontario in 1889, and Lancaster County in 1893. Each episode saw a minority conservative faction break away from the local main body of the church.

> These groups recognized each other as being one brotherhood, and became known as the Old Order Mennonites, although they had no formal organization bearing this name.[69]

Old Orders and Progressives to 1950

To set the stage for the comparative analysis of the contemporary Old Order and progressive communities, the present discussion is concluded with a few salient

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[68]For a more complete account of the schism, see Brunk, History . . . 1727-1900, pp. 443-518.

[69]John C. Wenger, "Old Order Mennonites," The Mennonite Encyclopedia, Vol. IV (Scottdale, Pa.: The Mennonite Publishing House, 1959), p. 47.

comments on these respective factions in the earlier decades of this century.

Figure 5 shows Old Order and progressive Mennonite homestead locations in 1900. For the Old Orders, the key point to be grasped is their total rurality and maximum clustering west of Dayton. The distribution of progressives largely mimics the previously defined areas of original settlement, but unlike that of the Old Orders shows a few households located in urban centers. This divergence anticipates one of the major differences that would develop as the new century progressed: rising urbanization of progressives versus continued ruralization of the Old Orders.

The factors which, until the beginning of this century, contributed to general Mennonite ruralization need not be repeated. We should recall, however, that in 1900 a majority of Americans lived outside urban areas. Though gradual urbanization of progressives may be seen as part of a broader societal trend, there were four additional factors which help explain their movement to the towns.

First, the language barrier had disappeared. If utilization of "Pennsylvania Dutch" had once contributed to group exclusiveness, it also curtailed the opportunity to engage in commercial and other non-agricultural work requiring intercourse with non-Mennonites. With the

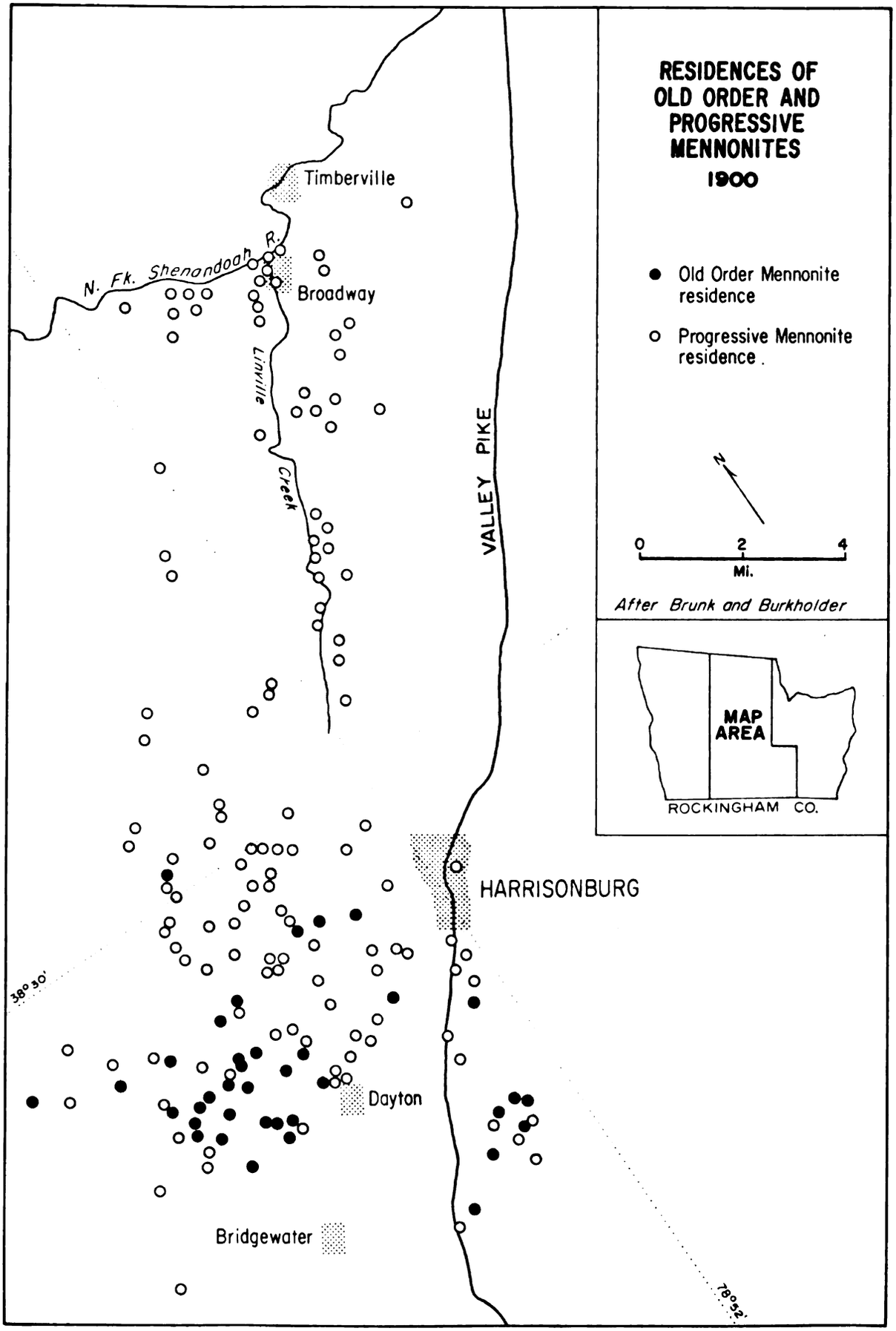
RESIDENCES OF OLD ORDER AND PROGRESSIVE MENNONITES 1900
Old Order Mennonite residence
Progressive Mennonite residence.
N
0 2 4
Mi.
After Brunk and Burkholder
MAP AREA
ROCKINGHAM CO.
Timberville
N. Fk. Shenandoah R.
Broadway
Linville Creek
VALLEY PIKE
HARRISONBURG
Dayton
Bridgewater
38° 30'
78° 52'

Figure 5

advent of English speech this situation no longer obtained. Second, with the progressives' liberalized attitude towards education, more Mennonite youngsters were completing high school and college work. The church itself provided opportunity in this matter by opening Eastern Mennonite School in 1917. Located in Park View, now a suburb just north of Harrisonburg, this institution has expanded over the years to become Eastern Mennonite College and adjacent Eastern Mennonite High School. If an explicit aim was to offer Mennonite youth an alternative to other denominational or secular schools, which often resulted in membership loss, it also prepared them for non-agricultural types of work which implicitly suggested urbanization. Third, the problem of population pressure and competition for scarce farm land was again acute. As large families were general, it had become virtually impossible for all young couples to seek sustenance from the earth. Finally, and most importantly, there was a growing liberalization in the attitude of the church towards the city and non-agricultural employment. No doubt this change was related to the above factors, and perhaps also, as Wayland suggested, a desire to emulate the founders of the Mennonite church, who were not simple, rural folk.[70] In any event, the progressive church was rescinding the traditional dictum that a rural,

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[70]Wayland, The German Element, p. 156.

agrarian existence be the sole station in life for the true Christian. Unfortunately, there are no statistical data which give exact insight into the urbanization trend. However, extrapolating from the current situation, 30 percent urbanization by 1950 seems reasonable. Though a few progressive families lived in Dayton and Broadway, most urbanized folk lived in northern Harrisonburg (Park View) where Eastern Mennonite College was beginning to give rise to a Mennonite suburb.

Old Order life exhibited opposing characteristics. Though they too were overwhelmingly Anglicized in speech, the attitude that Mennonite values and life could best be maintained in a rural setting continued to prevail. (When, around 1935, one Old Order fellow opened a store in Dayton, he was informed by his bishop that one could not be a shopkeeper and be a Mennonite.) As previously noted, this ideal was becoming somewhat difficult to uphold due to population pressure, large families, and general scarcity of available farms. To cope with the situation, family and community financial resources were brought to bear to attempt to outbid the competition for farms and occasionally buy out non-Mennonite neighbors. The most prized farm land was that peripheral to Dayton, particularly to the north and northwest of that town. By 1950 these lands were largely under Old Order ownership. But these actions did not entirely solve the problem. Subdivision of farms

was occasionally necessary. When this was uneconomical, and farms simply unavailable, young men were encouraged to pursue farm-related occupations (such as carpentry, contracting or blacksmithing) while maintaining a rural residence. Education beyond the elementary grades, a major factor in the urbanization and job diversification of progressives, was shunned by the Old Orders. Mennonites, according to the Old Orders, were to be farmers or craftsmen, and the needed skills were best learned in the home, not the school. The value of competency in reading, writing and arithmetic was clearly seen, but it was felt that elementary education would suffice. The high school years were also looked upon as a particularly delicate period when youth was most susceptible to the offerings of non-Old Order society. Accordingly, youngsters were encouraged to leave school as soon as law permitted. Most thus received no more than eight years' education. Though this learning normally occurred under public auspices, in 1943 a parochial school was instituted.[71]

Differences between Old Orders and progressives were also evidenced in the areas of communication, dress and innovativeness.

Divergence in communication was linked with changes in technology as well as interpretation of the traditional

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[71]Pat Murphy, "Old Orders Run 3 Schools," Daily News-Record (Harrisonburg, Va.: Vol. 76, No. 108, Friday, February 9, 1973), p. 2.

values of separation and nonconformity. Prior to the early years of this century the horse-and-buggy was the ubiquitous mode of transportation for all Mennonites. In 1902 the first automobile appeared in Harrisonburg and by 1912 the automotive population had risen to forty.[72] The fact that a few progressives had bought autos by 1915 prompted an official statement by the Virginia Mennonite Conference which endorsed their purchase, provided they were used for the glory of God and not display and pleasure-seeking.[73] Though data on the automobile adoption rate are lacking, it has been suggested that a majority of progressives had taken to mechanized transport by the end of the 1920's.[74] With the eventual advent of the auto, plus Conference endorsement of the use of airplane transport, progressive Mennonites, like Americans in general, were afforded new mobility potentials.

Much the opposite can again be said of the Old Orders. To them the automobile stood as an explicit manifestation of worldliness and was condemned in accordance with the principle of nonconformity. No doubt it was also seen as a challenge to the principle of separation. In this regard condemnation of the auto also had

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[72]Wayland, History of Rockingham County, p. 180.

[73]Brunk, History . . . 1900-1960, p. 431.

[74]Ibid., p. 222.

the desired effect of "keeping people close to home." Further insight into such thinking is provided by the Old Orders' adoption of the farm tractor, which occurred around 1935-40 (some 10-15 years after the progressives' adoption). When this change from horse to mechanical power occurred, members were officially enjoined to attire tractors with bare steel wheels instead of rubber wheels. One Old Order explained this by saying, "Rubber was just one more step towards the world."[75] Without necessarily arguing this rationale, it should be noted that the running of bare steel-wheeled vehicles on concrete roads was unlawful. Hence, such vehicles could only be used on the farm and not for travel.

This is not to suggest a scenario wherein Old Orders were never venturing beyond their acreage while progressives were constantly out sightseeing. Both groups exhibited macro-mobility with Old Orders (making long trips by bus or train) being only slightly more inclined to limit destinations to other like-minded Mennonite communities. But what the foregoing does, and should, infer is an expanded communication horizon for progressives versus a more traditional separationist picture for the Old Orders. Progressives were, in fact, becoming more and

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[75]All persons interviewed by the author during the course of his field work were given assurance of anonymity. Therefore, several future quotations will not carry citations.

more acquainted with the non-Mennonite world. After some church difficulties on the matter, ownership of radios and television was condoned and became widespread. Of a more interpersonal nature, marriage outside the faith, though not encouraged, had at least become tolerated by the church. Old Orders, on the other hand, tended to limit non-Mennonite contacts, held marriage outside the faith as grounds for excommunication, and vigorously condemned the radio and television.

Unsurprisingly, as progressives' contacts with the outside world increased, their attire began to acquire non-traditional characteristics. In the early part of the century members were frequently admonished to dress plainly and modestly while eschewing neckties and jewelry. Dark clothing was recommended with men to wear the collarless "plain coat" and women the bonnet. Any show of flesh, save hands, neck and head, was considered in poor taste when in social situations or at church. That dress nonetheless gradually began mimicking the styles of the broader culture is evidenced by one official's written concern (1958) "relative to the trends of both men and women wearing short sleeves to services, ministers wearing transparent shirts, [and] young men wearing tight 'western pants.'"[76] The Old Orders, viewing such change with

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[76]Brunk, History . . . 1900-1960, p. 28.

distaste, continued to insist on traditional rigid standards. The Old Order man, when best attired, was to wear black shoes and socks, dark (deep gray or black) trousers and dresscoat, white shirt, black suspenders and dark broadrimmed hat. For the women, prescribed articles included black, heel-less shoes, dark full-length dress, and black bonnet. Modifications were permissible around the house and in time of warm weather.

Old Orders and Progressives at Mid-Century: A Summation

By the fiftieth anniversary of their schism, Old Order and progressive folk exhibited divergent traits. Seeking to maintain traditional principles, Old Order life was characterized by the total ruralization of the membership. Clustering was evidenced around the town of Dayton, particularly to the north and northwest where a substantial area of near-totally Old Order owned land existed. Agriculture was the predominant as well as the prescribed occupation and occasioned pronounced subdivision of farm lands to allow the younger generations to conform to the agrarian requirement. Nonconformity with the ways of mainstream American culture found expression in peculiar dress styles and mode of transportation, limited education, and limited contacts with the outside world. In summation, the criteria characterizing a traditional Mennonite culture area were being realized.

Such was not the case with the progressive faction. Though many had become urban dwellers and left agriculture in favor of other economic pursuits, a majority still lived in rural areas. But those living in these latter locales were gravitating towards suburban and rural housing developments. Whatever clustering was evidenced had a decidedly non-farmstead character. In general, the culture of this group was more and more reflecting that of the broader society.

This is not to say that the Virginia Conference Mennonites had become "less Mennonite" than their Old Order counterparts; for there was now divergent opinion on the basic concept of Mennonitism with both viewpoints being equally valid for the respective groups of believers. A line had been clearly drawn between traditional and liberalized interpretation of centuries-old tenets. As a result, one group was seeking to maintain a relatively static folk culture while the other was adapting itself to a modern, ever-changing society.

CHAPTER IV

IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE OF THE PRESENT OLD ORDER AND PROGRESSIVE MENNONITES IN ROCKINGHAM COUNTY, VIRGINIA

The present chapter centers upon two sets of hypotheses dealing respectively with traditional Mennonite ideology and culture area characteristics as exhibited by the Old Order and progressive communities. Data for the testing of these hypotheses are derived from field mapping, photography, local (Rockingham County) agencies and, most importantly, interviews. While information garnered from the first three sources may "speak for themselves," full account should be made of the interview procedure and sample design utilized by the author.

Interview Procedure and Sample Design

Practice interviews were conducted during three trips to Rockingham County prior to the period of intensive field work (summer 1973). During these trials the respondents exhibited greatest propensity to "open up" when the interviewer, minus pad and pencil in hand, presented himself for what appeared to be little more than an

informal discussion of local topics. As a result, the questionnaire proper (see Appendix B) was limited in size to elicit only the most pertinent information. This was mainly done to facilitate its memorization by the interviewer and obviate the recording of responses while the interview was in progress. (The questionnaire was filled out by the author as soon as possible after completion of the interview.)

To facilitate access to potential respondents, meetings were first arranged with key leaders of both the Old Order and Virginia Conference factions.[1] These all resulted in promises of aid and, most importantly, the right to use the leader's name to establish credibility with potential interviewees. In the actual solicitation process, potential respondents were first contacted by telephone, given a rough idea of the project, and told that an endorsement had already been received by the appropriate church leader. An interview was then requested at a time and place convenient to the potential respondent. In the execution of the interview the author tried to "guide the conversation" toward the desired information rather than issue questions in a point-blank manner. This normally produced the desired information while creating a relaxed, informal atmosphere. It also allowed the

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[1]The aid of Miss Grace Showalter is gratefully acknowledged.

respondent the opportunity to digress into areas not anticipated by the interviewer. Normally such digressions led to interesting though extraneous talk; but occasionally they produced gems of insight that would never have been elicited had a rigid question-and-answer format been adhered to.

A random stratified sample was utilized to generate respondents. Drawing the sample, like formulation of the interview process, was contingent upon certain preliminary work. The population from which the sample was to be drawn needed clear definition. No difficulty was encountered with the Old Orders: the two congregations, respectively led by Bishops Paul Wenger and Justus Showalter, were chosen. Definition of the progressive population was not as simple. These people, as previously stated, are members of a particular affinity group, the Virginia Mennonite Conference. The Conference includes over forty congregations in Virginia, about two dozen of them in Rockingham County. Seven Virginia Conference congregations in Rockingham County were chosen to represent the progressive faction. Included are the Zion, Trissels, Lindale, Mt. Clinton, Weavers, Park View and Harrisonburg congregations (Fig. 6). These churches have the largest memberships and account for a substantial majority of the total progressive population in Rockingham County.

Acquisition of membership lists for the Old Order and progressive target congregations revealed a combined

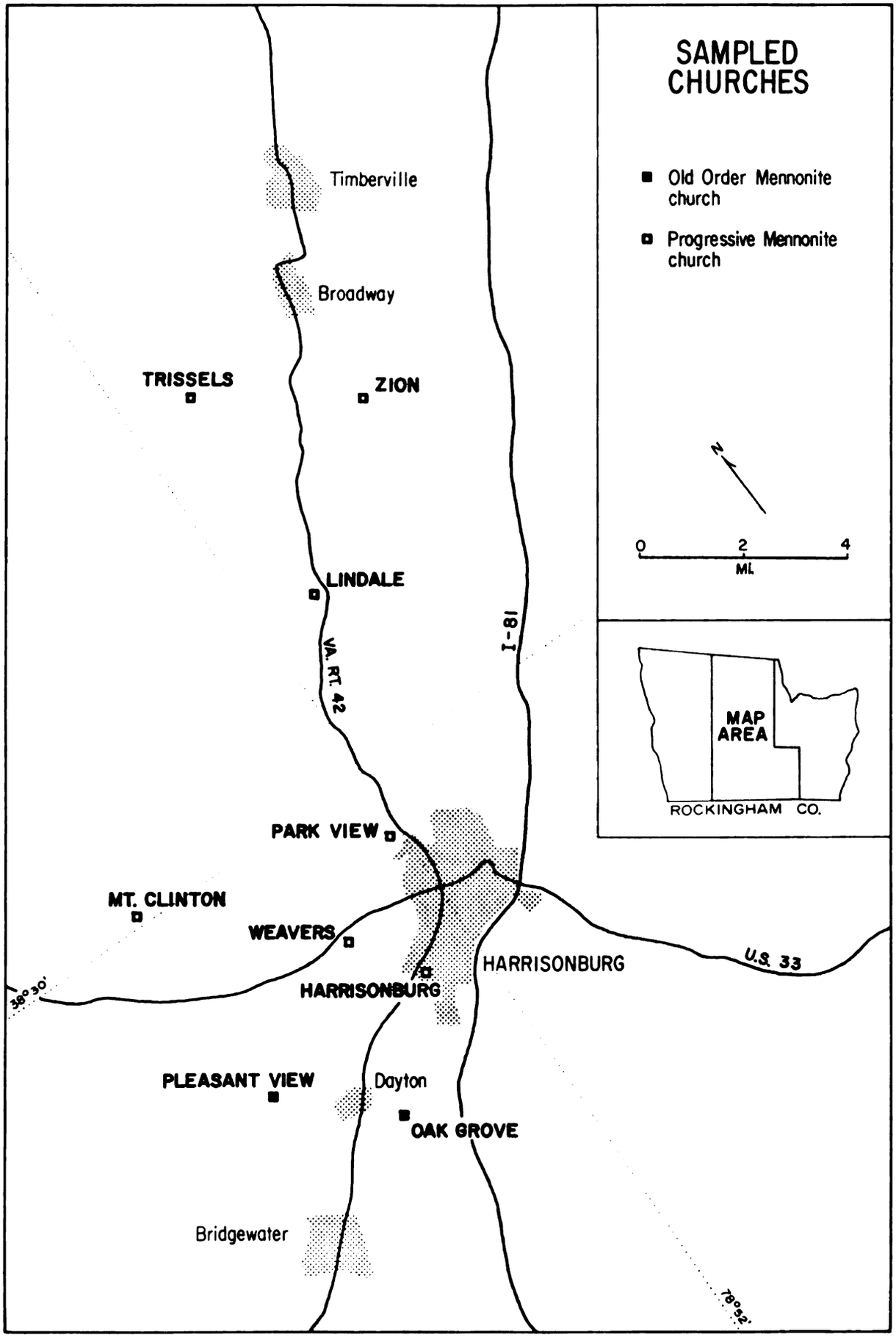
SAMPLED CHURCHES
Old Order Mennonite church
Progressive Mennonite church
N
0 2 4
MI.
MAP AREA
ROCKINGHAM CO.
Timberville
Broadway
TRISSELS
ZION
LINDALE
VA. RT. 42
I-81
PARK VIEW
MT. CLINTON
WEAVERS
HARRISONBURG
HARRISONBURG
U.S. 33
38° 30'
PLEASANT VIEW
Dayton
OAK GROVE
Bridgewater
78° 52'

Figure 6

population of 739 household/family units. Fifty-one of these were eliminated from consideration either because: (a) the family unit was composed of an extremely elderly or otherwise physically indisposed person or persons; (b) the family unit was composed of a transient student or students attending Eastern Mennonite College; or (c) the family unit was temporarily residing outside the study area. This left a sampleable population of 688 family units (154 Old Order, 534 progressive). A 20 percent sample was decided upon, involving 138 households (31 Old Order, 107 progressive).

Relative within-group homogeneity is suggested by the generic terms Old Order and progressive. However, it was soon realized that one could distinguish slight differences in conservatism or liberalism when comparing the congregations within each group. Obviously, a sampling procedure which failed to account for these differences would have produced bias. Thus it was reasoned that the sample not merely involve 20 percent of the Old Order and progressive households, but that it include 20 percent of the sampleable households of each congregation within each group.

Since certain hypotheses deal with household location and the occupation of heads of households, a further degree of stratification was felt desirable. For each congregation the number of rural and urban residences

was determined; a 20 percent sample from each category was taken. Occupationally, for each congregation the various family units were placed in one of three broad categories, determined by the head of the household. These categories included Farmer, Non-farmer, and Widowed-retired. Again, a 20 percent sample from each category was taken.

The sample did not directly consider the age of respondents even though this factor could be partially associated with liberal or conservative attitudes. The rationale for this deficiency was the added difficulty in sample selection that would have been produced by further stratification. It is noted, however, that some respect for the age factor is included in the occupational stratification.

Neither was the sample stratified by sex, though this factor too could be partially associated with liberal or conservative attitudes. Since heads of households were usually males, most interviews were conducted with males. (Six respondents, all progressives, were females.) Moreover, the Old Orders especially would have deemed it somewhat inappropriate for the author to request an extended conversation with "the lady of the house."

To generate a list of potential respondents, the number of interviews needed for each congregation was determined with due consideration to the locational and

occupational stratifications. On each membership list household heads were numbered consecutively. A table of random numbers was then used to generate an appropriate sample for each congregation. Fortunately the number of refusals was small. When one was encountered, the table of random numbers was again called upon to find a suitable replacement.

Summary statistics on the total population and sample thereof are given in Tables 1, 2 and 3. Figure 7 shows the locations of the 688 sampleable Old Order and progressive residences, and Figure 8 the households sampled.

Hypotheses Relative to Traditional Mennonite Ideology

The first set of hypotheses deals with traditional Mennonite ideology. A general hypothesis is offered, and operationalized by a series of specific sub-hypotheses.

1. Old Order Mennonites exhibit a more conservative interpretation of traditional Mennonite ideology than progressive Mennonites.

The first sub-hypothesis is realted to the agricultural ideal.

1a. As opposed to progressive Mennonites, Old Orders place higher value on the agricultural walk of life.

To obtain pertinent data, respondents were asked three questions: (a) "Would you consider farming a test of membership?;" (b) Is it best for a Mennonite to be a

TABLE 1

HOUSEHOLDS AND SAMPLE BY CONGREGATION

Congregations	Total Households	Sampleable Households	Sampled Households
Old Orders:			
Showalter	81	78	16
Wenger	79	76	15
Totals	160	154	31
Progressives:			
Harrisonburg	150	136	27
Lindale	64	58	12
Mt. Clinton	34	31	6
Park View	91	85	17
Trissels	49	46	9
Weavers	141	130	26
Zion	50	48	10
Totals	579	534	107
TOTALS	739	688	138

TABLE 2

LOCATIONAL STRATIFICATION BY CONGREGATION

Congregations	Sampleable Households			Sampled Households		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Old Orders:						
Showalter	0	78	78	0	16	16
Wenger	0	76	76	0	15	15
Totals	0	154	154	0	31	31
Progressives:						
Harrisonburg	70	66	136	14	13	27
Lindale	25	33	58	5	7	12
Mt. Clinton	5	26	31	1	5	6
Park View	76	9	85	15	2	17
Trissels	10	36	46	2	7	9
Weavers	44	86	130	9	17	26
Zion	28	20	48	6	4	10
Totals	258	276	534	52	55	107
TOTALS	258	430	688	52	86	138

TABLE 3

OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION BY CONGREGATION

Congregations	Sampleable Households				Sampled Households			
	Farmer	Non-farmer	Widowed-retired	Total	Farmer	Non-farmer	Widowed-retired	Total
Old Orders:								
Showalter	63	8	7	78	13	2	1	16
Wenger	62	8	6	76	12	2	1	15
Totals	125	16	13	154	25	4	2	31
Progressives:								
Harrisonburg	12	109	15	136	2	22	3	27
Lindale	4	36	18	58	1	7	4	12
Mt. Clinton	7	19	5	31	1	4	1	6
Park View	0	70	15	85	0	14	3	17
Trissels	21	22	3	46	4	4	1	9
Weavers	19	84	27	130	4	17	5	26
Zion	4	34	10	48	1	7	2	10
Totals	67	374	93	534	13	75	19	107
TOTALS	193	389	106	688	38	79	21	138

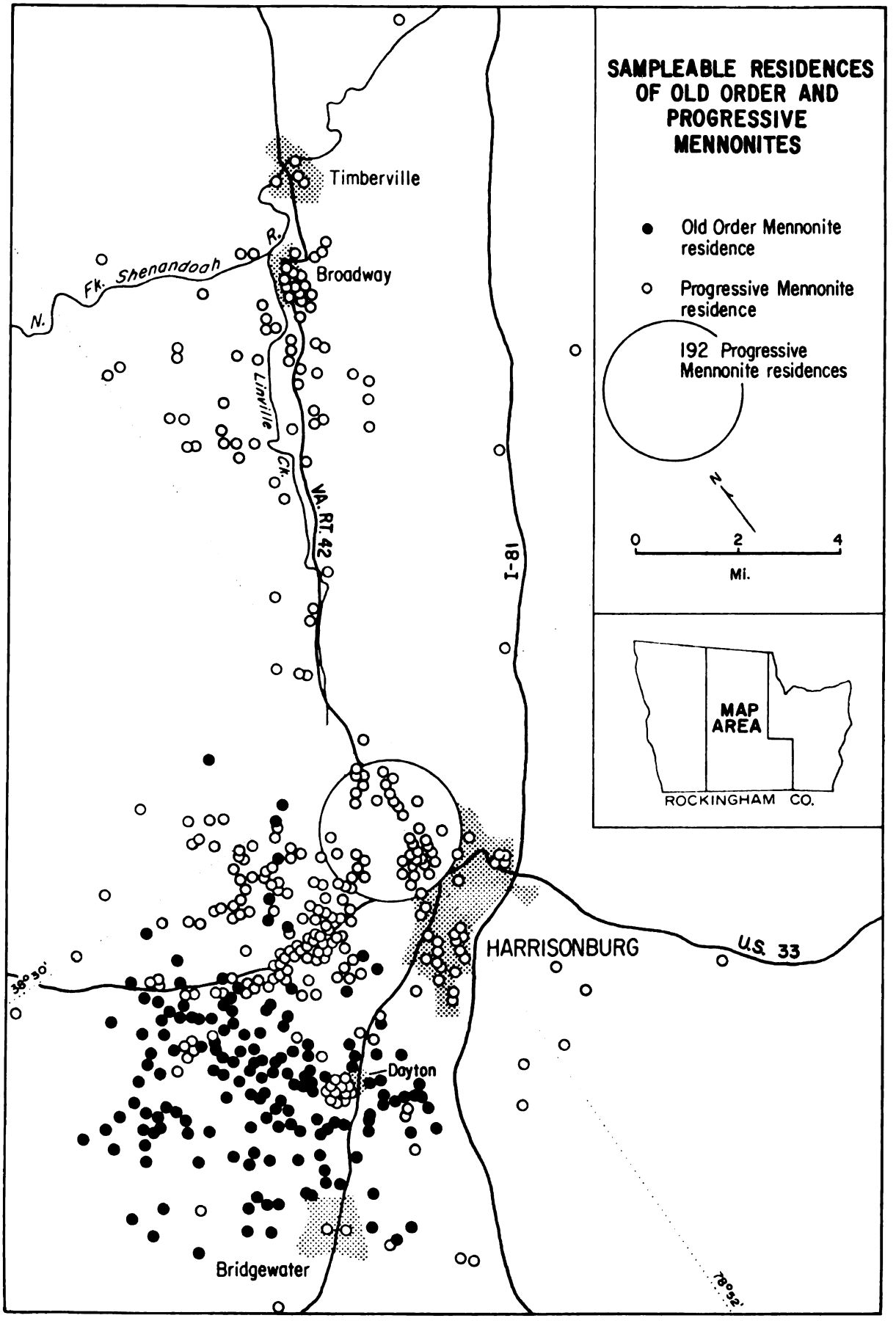
SAMPLEABLE RESIDENCES OF OLD ORDER AND PROGRESSIVE MENNONITES
Old Order Mennonite residence
Progressive Mennonite residence
192 Progressive Mennonite residences
N
0
2
4
Mi.
MAP AREA
ROCKINGHAM CO.
Timberville
N. Fk. Shenandoah R.
Broadway
Linville Ck.
VA. RT. 42
I-81
HARRISONBURG
U.S. 33
38°30'
Dayton
Bridgewater
78°52'

Figure 7

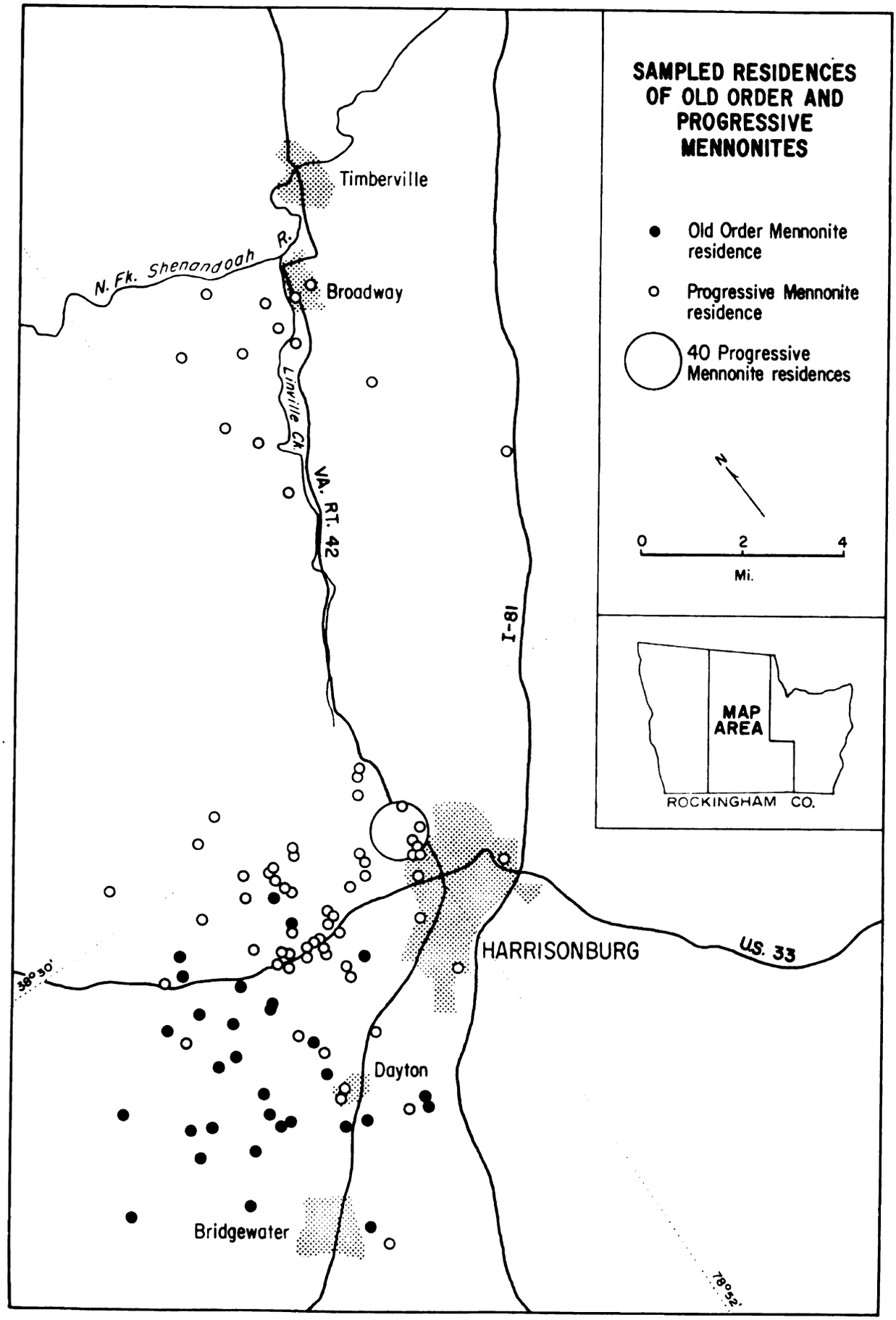
SAMPLED RESIDENCES OF OLD ORDER AND PROGRESSIVE MENNONITES
Old Order Mennonite residence
Progressive Mennonite residence
40 Progressive Mennonite residences
N
0
2
4
Mi.
MAP AREA
ROCKINGHAM CO.
Timberville
N. Fk. Shenandoah R.
Broadway
Linville Ck.
VA. RT. 42
I-81
HARRISONBURG
US. 33
38° 30'
Dayton
Bridgewater
78° 52'

Figure 8

farmer?;" and (c) "What occupation would you want your son to go into?"

For the first question, not a single respondent from either group considered farming a test of membership. For the progressives such an attitude is understandable; for the Old Orders it is perhaps surprising since farming was a church-prescribed occupation for generations. Most likely the Old Order attitude is explained more by reality than simple relaxation of a traditional principle; for as a result of large families plus lack of available farm land, a number of Old Orders have found it mandatory to take up non-farming occupations.[2]

In response to the second question ("Is it best for a Mennonite to be a farmer?), a clear attitudinal difference obtained. While every Old Order answered in the affirmative, only 20 percent (21 out of 107) of the progressives said "Yes." The difference is significant at the .01 level. Likewise, when asked to express an occupational preference for sons, all of the Old Orders indicated farming while only 9 percent (10 out of 107) of the progressives answered similarly. This difference is also significant at the .01 level. The hypothesis is therefore accepted.

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[2]The Old Order families surveyed had an average of 5.2 children. The progressives' figure was 3.2. The difference is significant at the 0.5 level.

Typical of Old Order defense of agriculture were statements like "It's in the Bible," "God commanded man to work by the sweat of his brow," "Farming keeps us close to nature," and "Mennonites have always been farmers." Progressive responses included "There is no one occupation for the true Christian" and "The notion that all Mennonites should be farmers is old-fashioned." One progressive church leader even went so far as to suggest that farming is the worst occupation for a Mennonite! His rationale stressed the need to be a witness for the Christian faith to non-Christians. "The farmer, in relative isolation, is in an inferior position to do this," he said.

The second sub-hypothesis is related to the ideals of rural life and separation from sources of worldly influence (urban areas in this case) which have traditionally threatened Mennonite cultural survival.

1b. As opposed to progressives, Old Order Mennonites place higher value on living in rural areas and are more inclined to view local urban growth as a threat to the "Mennonite way of life."

Relative to the first part of this hypothesis, respondents were asked: "Is it best for a Mennonite to live in a rural area?" Old Orders again answered with complete unanimity, all offering an affirmative response. Progressive response, while varied, was generally to the contrary. Of the 107 respondents, 58 (54%) were firmly negative while 28 (26%) answered "Yes." The remaining 21

(20%), despite some prodding, did not offer a definitive answer. These were categorized as "No opinion" and eliminated from the chi square analysis. When definitive responses were examined via a 2x2 contingency table, a difference statistically significant at the .01 level was discovered.

Typical of Old Order endorsements of rural life were "Cities are a source of worldliness," "Our way of life has always held up best in the country," and "Cities always seem to lead our people astray." Those progressives who agreed that rural life is best offered similar statements. Typical of progressives' negative rationales were "City life is just as good," "This [the city] is where the work of the church is most needed," and "You come into contact with more people in the city."

Several of these statements anticipate the second part of the hypothesis which deals with perception of urbanism. Respondents were asked: "Do you view the growth of Rockingham's cities and towns as a threat to the 'Mennonite way of life?'"[3] Of the 31 Old Orders interviewed, 27 (87%) said "Yes." For the progressives only 17 of the 107 respondents (16%) answered affirmatively.

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[3]Between 1960 and 1970, the population of Dayton grew from 930 to 978, Broadway from 646 to 887, and Harrisonburg from 10,810 to 14,605. Respective percent increases are 5.2%, 37.3% and 22.6%. Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population, Vol. I, Pt. 48 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 11.

This difference is also significant at the .01 level. The hypothesis as a whole may therefore be accepted.

1c. Old Order Mennonites desire less education for their children than progressive Mennonites.

We have seen that education has traditionally been equated with the encroachment of "worldliness." Additionally, in the previous chapter a conflict between educational attainment and maintenance of the rural, agricultural ideal was also suggested. Thus it was reasoned the question "How much education would you like your child/children to receive?" would provide insight on the ideals of separation, agrarian life, and, to some extent, nonconformity. Responses to this question are depicted in Table 4.

A stark difference emerges. Old Orders clearly desire minimal education for their children. Progressives demonstrate an opposing proclivity. While only one Old Order desired as much as a high school education for his children, not a single progressive desired anything less. Applying these tabular data to a 2x2 contingency table (with categories labeled "desires less than high school" and "desires at least high school"), a statistically significant difference at the .001 level was found. The hypothesis may therefore be accepted.

Representative of Old Order attitudes were "Too much book learning is dangerous," "The Bible says worldly

TABLE 4

AMOUNT OF EDUCATION DESIRED FOR CHILDREN
BY SAMPLED HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

Education Desired	Old Orders		Progressives	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Legal minimum (8 yrs.)	30	97	0	0
High school	1	3	1	0
At least high school	0	0	59	55
College	0	0	20	19
Would leave it up to the child	0	0	5	5
Depends on what child wants in life	0	0	22	21
Totals	31	100	107	100

wisdom is foolish," and "You can't learn to be a good farmer in school." Progressive Mennonite endorsements of education included "I think it's wonderful my children can get [educational] opportunities I never had," "We feel the schools here are excellent," and "Why shouldn't I want my son to get ahead in life?"

It is interesting that 27 progressives (26% of the sample) indicated they would leave the amount of education received (i.e., post-high school) up to the child, or that the level of education should depend on what the child wanted to do in life. Not a single Old Order offered these or analogous answers. While this situation should be interpreted cautiously, it might suggest a certain sense of individual freedom for progressives which is comparatively unknown among Old Orders. This would hardly seem out of kilter with previous statements on the character and philosophy of the two groups.

Before proceeding to the next sub-hypothesis, it might do well to cite two additional bodies of educationally related data which provide further insight on the ideal of separation.

The first deals with school preferences. Respondents were asked whether or not they were inclined to send their child/children to a parochial (Mennonite) school for at least part of their education. It was reasoned beforehand that the Old Orders, in accord with the ideal

of separation from the world, would be more inclined to do so than progressives. A significant difference (at the .05 level) was indeed discovered. However, the results were exactly opposite to those anticipated! Specifically, only a small minority of the Old Order sample expressed a desire to send their youngsters to the eight-graded Mountain View School, maintained by the Showalter congregation (see Figs. 9 and 10). On the other hand, an overwhelming majority of progressives desired their children to attend the Conference-sponsored Eastern Mennonite High School.[4] Relative Old Order reluctance to send their youth to an Old Order-run school is explained by several factors, most of which are extraneous to the present discussion. Of importance, however, is their widespread attitude that little harm results from having children attend public schools for the mandatory eight years. But anything beyond that is another matter. As already noted, the adolescent years are seen as a particularly delicate period in life when their youth is especially susceptible to the offerings of "worldly" society. It is then that great guidance and care must be directed towards one's upbringing. Accordingly, it is at this stage in life that youngsters are withdrawn from school. A roughly similar attitude prevails among progressives. But instead of

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[4]The Virginia Mennonite Conference does not sponsor an elementary school.

FIGURE 9

Mountain View School (Old Order)

Many Old Order youngsters attend this eight-graded school maintained by the Showalter congregation. While much of the curriculum mimics that of the public schools, added emphasis is given to practical crafts. (Buildings at left are an Old Order-run harness shop.)

(Author's photograph)

FIGURE 10

Partial Campus View,
Eastern Mennonite College

Facilities at Eastern Mennonite College, 7 miles from Mountain View School (Fig. 9), suggest an educational philosophy divergent from that of the Old Orders.

(Author's photograph)

Figure 9

Figure 10

Figure 1b

withdrawing their youth from school, the general strategy is to have children complete their grade school years within the relatively sheltered environment of Eastern Mennonite High School. In varying ways and degrees, then, separation from outside influence is practiced by both groups.

A clearer and more definitive difference is evidenced in the second body of data. This relates to non-sectarian information sources owned or received by respondent households. Selected popular information sources and their utilization by respective group samples are summarized in Table 5. Mention has already been made of differential attitudes towards use of radio and television. Old Order condemnation of these devices is clearly borne out in the tabular data. (The two Old Orders who possess radios keep them in the barn. Cows reportedly give more milk when music is playing!) Everyone interviewed subscribed to the most prominent local newspaper, the Harrisonburg Daily News-Record. Likewise, every farmer, and some respondents who were not, subscribed to at least one farm magazine. While some Old Orders expressed objection to occasional stories and pictures appearing in these latter sources, their usage was defended on the basis of functionalism. No objections were voiced by progressives. Utilization of Reader's Digest, National Geographic and news magazines again suggest

TABLE 5

UTILIZATION OF SELECTED INFORMATION SOURCES
BY SAMPLED HOUSEHOLDS

Information Source	Old Orders (N=31)		Progressives (N=107)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Radio	2	6	104	97
Television	0	0	78	73
Local newspaper	31	100	107	100
Farm magazine(s)	29	94	25	23
Reader's Digest	3	10	56	52
National Geographic	4	13	16	15
News magazine(s)	1	3	41	38

between-group divergence. While the Old Order authorities do not proscribe such materials, neither do they encourage their use. They are usually thought of as being "of the world" and thus devoid of any real or spiritual value. Obviously, a substantial number of progressives are not similarly inclined.

Thus, for the Old Orders, the radio and television are prohibited, the local newspaper and farm magazines permitted, and other magazines allowed, albeit with some degree of reservation. The clear desire of the Old Orders, often explicitly stressed to the author, is to "protect" the household (particularly the children) from "harmful" information. Rationale: if people (youth) acquire too much information about "the world" they may be enticed to leave the Old Order fold. Non-availability of information about the outside world therefore reinforces separation from it. Progressives, for their part, often endorsed care and guidance in regard to information coming into the house. Most of these comments were directed towards television. Rarely, however, did their statements express the degree of watchfulness suggested by the Old Orders.

ld. Relative to progressives, Old Order Mennonites' residential preferences exhibit greater inclination towards states having the largest populations of fellow believers.

"Residential preferences" were determined by asking each respondent to name two states (Virginia

excluded) in which he would most like to live. The resultant "votes" from each group were aggregated and mapped separately (Figs. 11 and 12).[5] For the sake of comparison, a third map showing the national distribution of Mennonites was also prepared (Fig. 13). Previous discussion has noted that individual Mennonite families have seldom lived in isolation from other Mennonites. Rather, the presence of other believers has traditionally been of great importance for group survival. While in varying measure this raises the whole gamut of traditional ideals, desire to live among like-minded Mennonites is most suggestive of the notions of brotherhood and separation from the non-Mennonite world. It was thus reasoned that comparison of state residential preference maps with one depicting national distribution of Mennonites would provide some degree of insight into the status of these ideals among respective group members.

While Figure 13 may largely speak for itself, two comments are in order. First, the numerical preponderance in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana should be noted. What this depicts is the predominance of the original American hearth (Pennsylvania) and states immediately to the west where large communities were later founded. Second, this

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[5]While all interviewees responded to this question, some, despite prodding by the author, would only indicate one state. Hence, the Old Order map, Figure 11, contains 58 of a possible 74 "votes." The progressive map, Figure 12, contains 150 "votes" out of a possible 214.

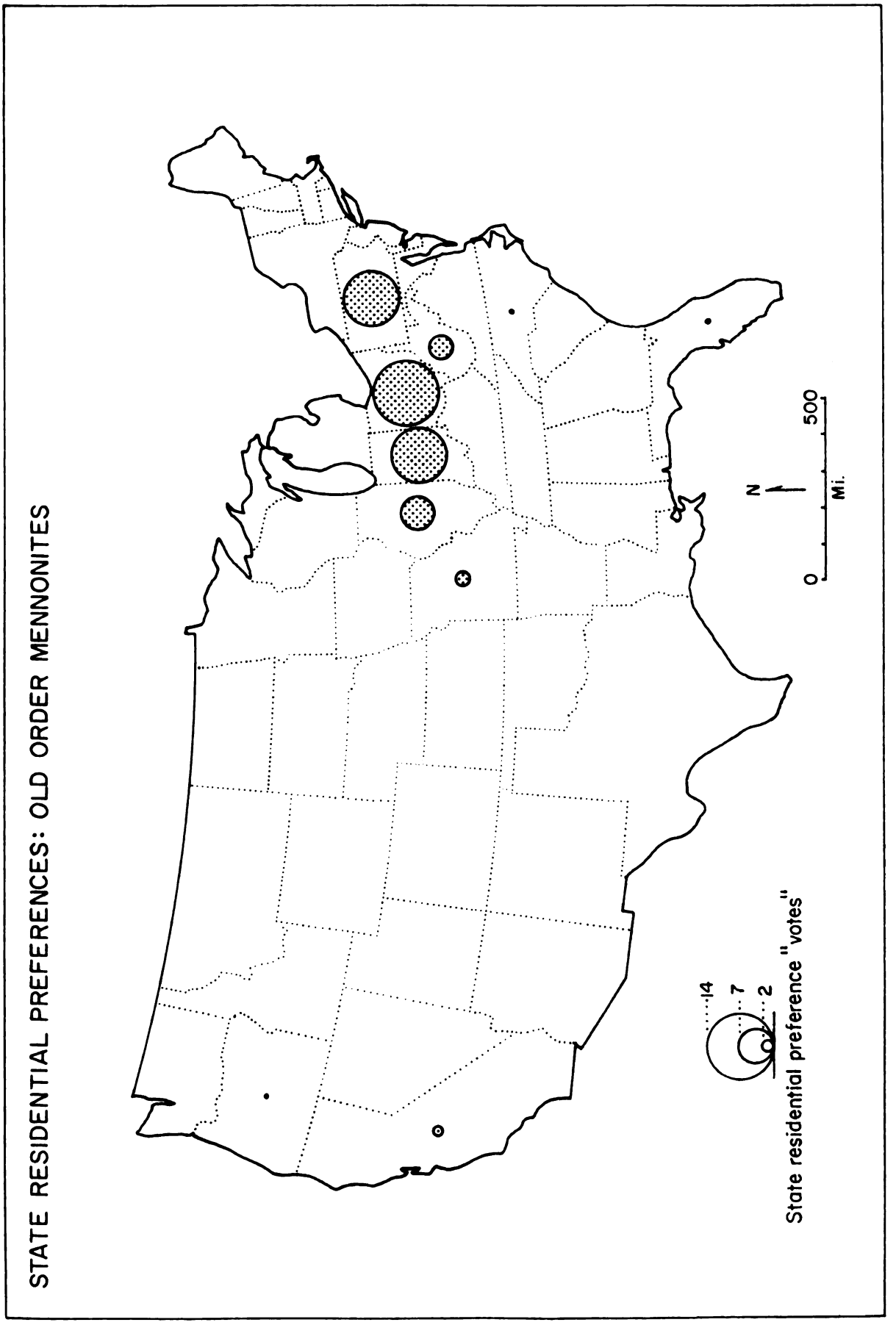
STATE RESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES: OLD ORDER MENNONITES
14
7
2
State residential preference "votes"
N
0
500
Mi.

Figure 11

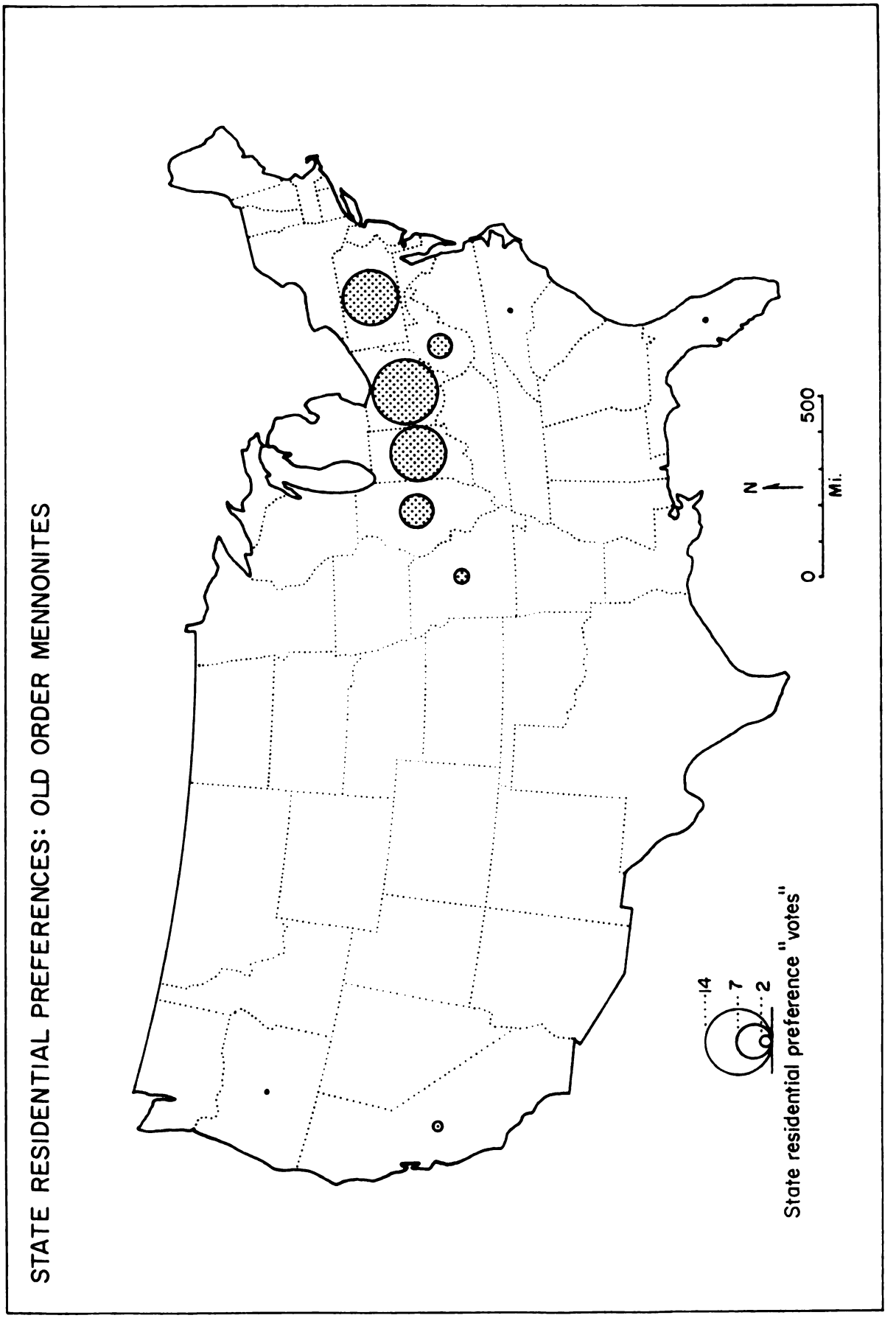
STATE RESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES: OLD ORDER MENNONITES
14
7
2
State residential preference "votes"
0
500
Mi.
N

Figure 11

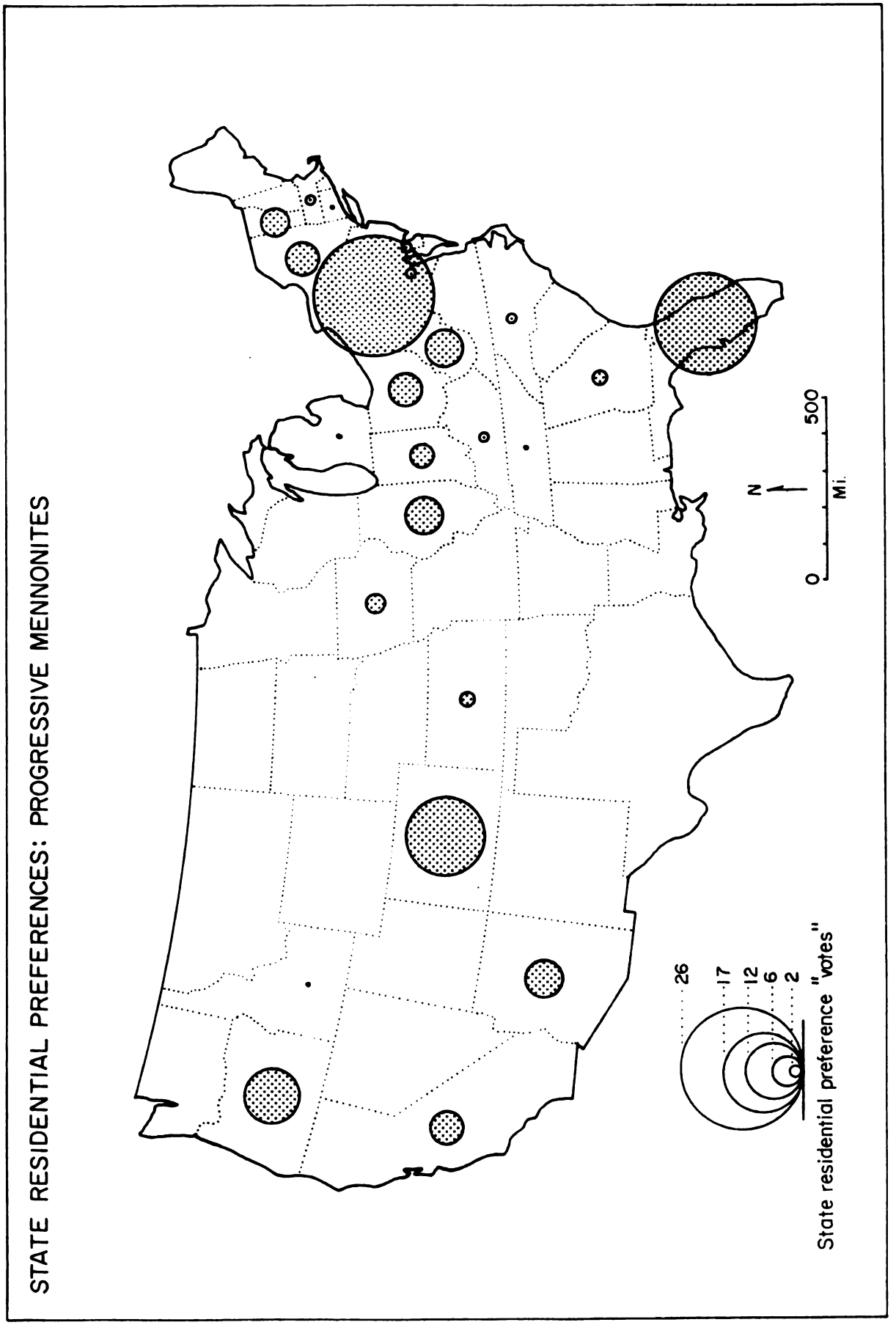
STATE RESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES: PROGRESSIVE MENNONITES
0
500
Mi.
N
26
17
12
6
2
State residential preference "votes"

Figure 12

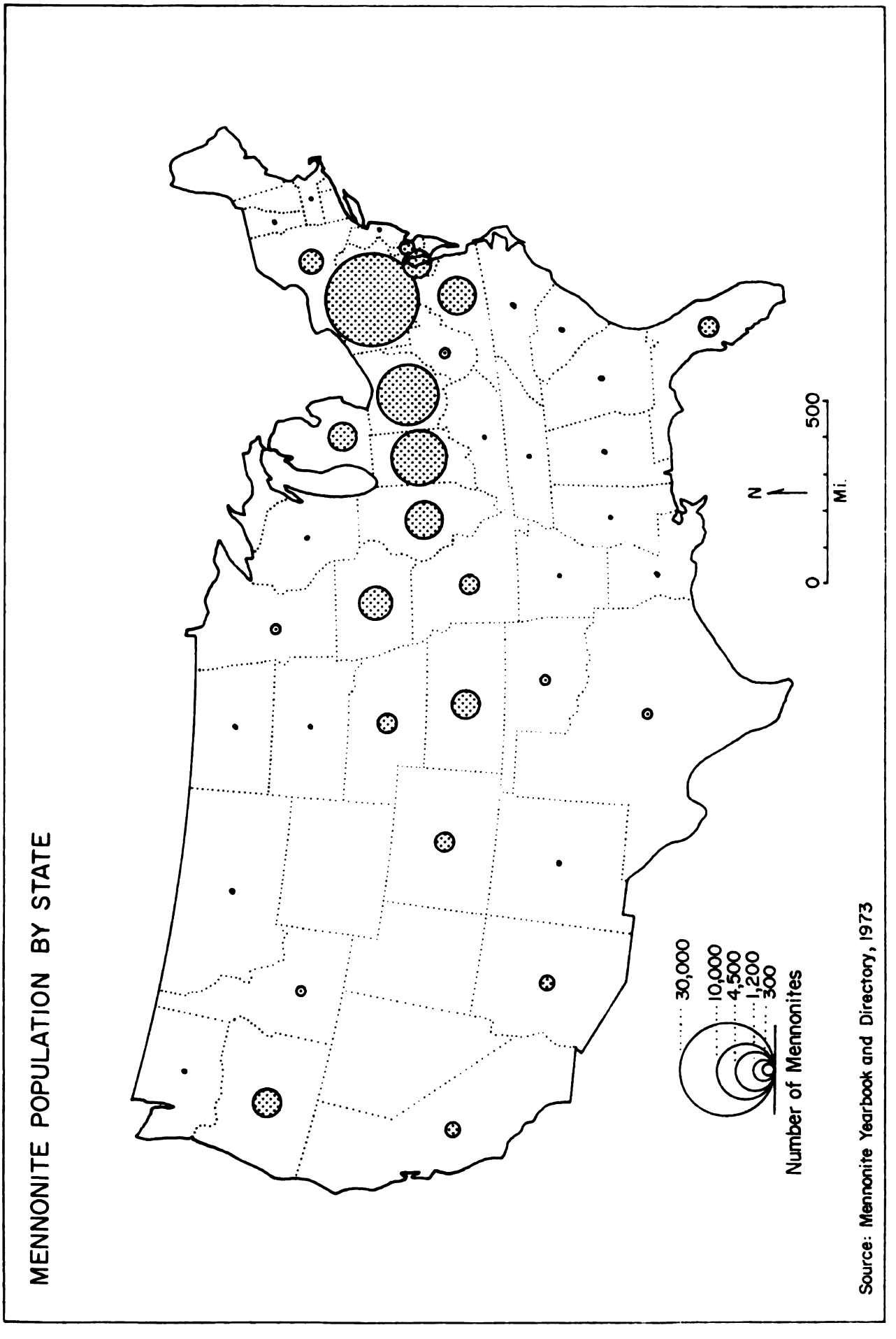
MENNONITE POPULATION BY STATE
30,000
10,000
4,500
1,200
300
Number of Mennonites
0
500
Mi.
N
Source: Mennonite Yearbook and Directory, 1973

Figure 13

map does not depict any Mennonites of Old Order persuasion. The unfortunate fact is that no data are available on Old Order population by state. It can be stated with certainty, however, that 95+ percent of all American Old Orders live in six states: Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri.[6] (There is also a fairly large group in Ontario.) Moreover, the proportionate distribution of Old Orders in each of these states largely mimics that portrayed in Figure 13.[7]

In comparing Figures 11 and 12 with Figure 13 a distinct difference emerges. Old Order residential preference (Fig. 11) is overwhelmingly directed towards the aforementioned states where their greatest numbers live. But the same cannot be said of progressives (Fig. 12). Comparing this map with Figure 13, it "makes sense" that Pennsylvania received the greatest number of progressive residential desirability "votes." But tremendous disparities between these two maps also exist. Attention is specifically directed to Vermont, New York, Florida, Colorado, Arizona, California and Oregon. For each of these states proportionate residential desirability

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[6]Source: Old Order respondents.

[7]The total population depicted in Figure 17 is 89,124. American Old Orders reportedly number 6,100. Source: Levi Miller, ed., Mennonite Yearbook and Directory, Vol. LXIV, 1973 (Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1973), pp. 12-35 and 94.

clearly outstrips proportionate progressive population. The outstanding alternative cases are Ohio and Indiana, where proportionate progressive population is much higher than proportionate residential desirability. Clearly, Old Order residential preferences exhibit greater inclination towards states having the largest populations of fellow believers. The hypothesis is therefore accepted.

In this matter also, respondents were asked to rationalize their answers. In nearly every case, Old Orders defended their state choices by citing a combination of good farm land and relatives. The latter point is especially important here, for "relatives" was invariably meant to denote other Old Orders. For progressives, the majority of rationales stressed environmental factors, most notably a pleasant climate, rolling topography and/or mountains. (The reader's knowledge of those states labeled most desirable by the progressives will bear out this reasoning.) Farm land availability was second in order of importance and relatives a distant third. Thus, while the presence of other like-minded Mennonites emerges as a prime rationale in Old Order residential desirability, the same factor is of tertiary concern for progressives.[8]

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[8]An exceptional case in both choice and rationalization is provided by West Virginia. Though this state contains only 428 Mennonites, it was rated as a fairly desirable state by both groups. West Virginia borders Rockingham County. While "close to home," it still met the criterion of being outside the state of Virginia. The proximity factor alone accounts for its popularity.

1e. Old Order farmers are less innovative than progressive farmers.

Historically, the ideals of nonconformity and simplicity have been partially manifested by an aversion to the innovations and changing styles of the broader society. Previous discussion relative to dress (to which we shall shortly return) and mode of transportation generally supports this. More specifically, it suggests a lesser degree of innovativeness on the part of the Old Orders. It was nonetheless believed that a more exact measuring of innovativeness could prove insightful.

To accomplish this it was felt desirable to single out a relatively new commodity or manner of technology common to both groups and examine respective adoption rates. Unfortunately, as life-styles and material needs were so different, it proved exceedingly difficult to single out an entity for which adoption rates could be accurately acquired. Use of no-tillage corn was finally decided upon. This technique, called an agricultural revolution by some locals, obviates tilling the soil before corn is planted. Special chemicals are used to kill the winter's cover crop, followed by disking and then direct drilling of seed into the soil. As the dead cover crop <u>in situ</u> helps retain soil moisture, space between rows may be shortened to allow more plants per acre. The technique is truly an innovation and requires

specialized machinery as well as a certain sense of re-education for a traditional farm activity. Moreover, its introduction into Rockingham County could be precisely placed in time (summer 1965) and the year of an individual's adoption easily recalled. This greatly facilitated the measuring of innovativeness. The inherent drawback, of course, is that this measure is relevant to only a small sub-set of the total sample, i.e., the farmers. Hence, our total population relative to this hypothesis is 38 (25 Old Orders, 13 progressives).

Each farmer was asked, "Do you use no-tillage corn?" If a "Yes" response followed, he was also asked, "How long ago did you start using it?" The results of this inquiry are shown in Table 6.

One easily recognized between-group difference is found in the category Never Adopted. While 7 Old Orders answered in this manner, not a single progressive responded similarly. Only slightly less dramatic is the obviously divergent situation among those farmers who were using no-tillage corn. For the 15 Old Orders to whom this pertains, the average number of years since initial usage was 3.2. For progressives, the comparative figure was 5.8 years. Application of chi square to these data revealed a statistically significant difference at the .05 level. This not only suggests acceptance of the hypothesis, but also tends to alleviate possible suspicions relative to small sample size.

TABLE 6

USE OF NO-TILLAGE CORN BY SAMPLED FARMERS

Duration of Use	Old Order Farmers		Progressive Farmers	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Never adopted	7	28	0	0
Adopted, but has since discontinued	3	12	0	0
Has used for:				
1 year	2	8	0	0
2 years	3	12	0	0
3 years	3	12	1	8.00
4 years	5	20	2	15.33
5 years	1	4	3	23.00
6 years	1	4	2	15.33
7 years	0	0	3	23.00
8 years	0	0	2	15.33
Totals	25	100	13	100

Taking a skeptical tack, one might argue that a significant difference in innovativeness on a single item should not allow the general conclusion that Old Order farmers are less innovative than their progressive counterparts. This notion has merit and was duly recognized. Farmers were accordingly asked a third question: "When a new farming technique comes along, are you generally among the first to adopt it, among the last, or 'somewhere in the middle?'" Though these categories display a certain lack of refinement and temporal definition, the aggregate responses are rather interesting (Table 7). Relative to progressives, a clearly less innovative proclivity for Old Orders again obtains. While it would be tenuous to attach significance in the statistical sense to these data, acceptance of the hypothesis is nonetheless reinforced.

Cultural insight might again be enhanced by reporting some of the statements volunteered by the farmers in response to the above questions. For no-tillage corn, typical statements by Old Order non-adopters were "The old ways have always worked for me, so why change?" and "I just don't like the idea of throwing all that chemical stuff on my fields." One opined, "The Almighty didn't mean for man to go tampering needlessly with the good earth." While progressives (all adopters) expressed initial reluctance towards no-tillage corn, they tended to be more pragmatic. Example: "The agriculture boys

TABLE 7

SELF-PERCEPTION OF INNOVATIVENESS
BY SAMPLED FARMERS

Innovativeness Categories	Old Order Farmers		Progressive Farmers	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Usually among the first to adopt	0	0	3	24
"Somewhere in the middle"	9	36	5	38
Usually among the last to adopt	16	64	5	38
Totals	25	100	13	100

[i.e., local extension service] had all the facts and figures down, so ....." Regarding self-perception of innovativeness, relatively similar attitudes prevailed. Save the 3 progressives who proclaimed themselves highly innovative, Old Orders and progressives alike generally desired that someone else play the role of innovator while reserving for themselves varying periods of time before reaching an adoption decision.

1f. Old Order Mennonites place more emphasis on preserving the traditional style of dress than do progressive Mennonites.

This sub-hypothesis, like the last, is related to the ideals of simplicity and nonconformity. Distinctive dress has also been a traditional sign of separation from "the world." In this matter, like innovativeness, previous material has suggested a more conservative stance for the Old Orders. It was again felt that a more exact measurement would produce valuable insight.

Respondents were accordingly asked: "How important is it for Mennonite dress to look different from that of non-Mennonites?" This question was left open. Structured answers such as "Very important," "Of limited importance," etc., were not provided. While this may have been desirable, it proved unnecessary since responses tended towards polar attitudes. The issue was of extreme importance to some, and of little or no importance to the rest. Unsurprisingly, the entire Old Order sample attached

great significance to distinctive dress. On the other hand, only 2 of the 107 progressives expressed a similar attitude; the rest voiced little or no concern. When these data were applied to a 2x2 contingency table, a statistically significant difference at the .001 level resulted. The hypothesis is accepted.

We again conclude with some specific examples of rationales. Typical of the Old Orders were statements like "God commanded Christians to dress plainly," "The Bible tells us not to conform to worldly styles," and "Mennonites have always been a simple people." Allusions to the traditional simplicity and nonconformity ideals are evident. On a broader philosophical note, one Old Order minister said,

> The purpose for our existence in this world is to prepare ourselves for life in the next one. Now you don't need a lot of fancy clothes or gadgets to do this. In fact, people who get involved in these material things tend to forget why they're here [i.e., on earth], and fall in love with the pleasures of this world and don't want to leave it.

Representative of progressive reasoning are "What's on the inside [of a person] is more important than how he dresses," "I agree we should dress modestly, but I'd feel strange looking like that [i.e., the Old Orders]," and "It's much easier to mix with [non-Mennonites] when you don't look 'different.'" Needless to say, these latter responses hardly suggest traditional ideals.

Traditional Ideology Among Old Order and Progressive Mennonites: A Summation

All sub-hypotheses related to ideology have been accepted. These suggest that Old Order Mennonites possess a more conservative attitude than progressive Mennonites towards the traditional values of agriculture, rural life, simplicity, brotherhood, nonconformity and separatism. The general hypothesis is thus also accepted. It remains to relate the above findings to culture area characteristics exhibited by the Rockingham County Mennonites.

Hypotheses Related to Traditional Mennonite Culture Areas

Central to this topic is the second general hypothesis.

2. As compared with progressive Mennonites, Old Order Mennonites exhibit more indices of a traditional Mennonite culture area.

It is appropriate here to recall that such indices include (a) rural, agriculturally based homesteads; (b) clustered residential distribution; (c) relatively small farms; (d) proficiency in "Pennsylvania Dutch;" and (e) anachronistic modes of dress, transportation and church architecture. Again a set of specific sub-hypotheses is offered.

2a. Old Order Mennonites exhibit a significantly greater proportion of both rural and farm based homesteads than progressive Mennonites.

Relevant data for the testing of this hypothesis have already been offered in Tables 2 and 3 (pages 100 and 101), as well as Figure 7 (page 102). Each of the 154 Old Order households has a rural location. On the other hand, of the 534 progressive households, 276 (52%) are in a rural setting while 258 (48%) are in a municipality. The difference is significant at the .01 level. A similar conclusion obtains on the proportion of farm based homesteads. While 81 percent (125 out of 154) of the Old Order homesteads meet this criterion, the same can be said of only 13 percent (67 out of 534) of the progressive homesteads. This difference is significant at the .01 level. The sub-hypothesis is thus accepted.

Previous ideological sub-hypotheses (n.b. numbers 1a and 1b) indicated that Old Orders place greater emphasis on rural life and agriculture than progressives. From the above data, we may conclude that the relative values attached to rural existence are generally mirrored in the residential patterns of the two groups. Recall the question "Is it best for a Mennonite to live in a rural area?" offered in conjunction with hypothesis 1b. While the entire Old Order sample answered "Yes," the entire Old Order population is in fact located in rural areas. For the same question, progressive response was 26 percent "Yes," 54 percent "No," and 20 percent undecided. The reaction was mixed, as is their "real world" residential

pattern. It is interesting, though, that while 26 percent of the progressive respondents endorsed life in the rural areas, 52 percent of the sampleable progressive population actually live in such areas. This does not imply a faulty sample. Rather, it means that there is a substantial number of rural progressive folk who attach no special significance to this locational factor. This is yet another index of departure from traditional values by progressive Mennonites.

Data for the present sub-hypothesis also tend to reflect attitudes relative to the agricultural ideal. We may recall that for hypothesis 1a respondents were asked "Is it best for a Mennonite to be a farmer?" While 100 percent of the Old Order sample said "Yes," only 20 percent of the progressives so answered. In reality, 81 percent of the entire Old Order population actually farm. Only 13 percent of the progressive population are engaged in agriculture (Fig. 14).

A more complete occupational picture is given in Table 8. Note that 85 percent of the Old Orders are engaged in farming or farm-related work. For progressives the figure is 19 percent. Note too that an additional 5 percent of the employed Old Orders are in the construction trades category while an additional 17 percent of the progressives are so classified. This occupational propensity also has peripheral links with the rural,

FIGURE 14

Landscape: Western Rockingham County

Rolling topography and scattered farmsteads characterize much of Rockingham County. Scenes such as this summarize Old Order settlement *in toto* but only a fairly small percentage of progressive settlement.

(Author's photograph)

Figure 14

TABLE 8

OCCUPATIONS OF HEADS OF SAMPLEABLE HOUSEHOLDS

Occupations	Old Orders		Progressives	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Farming	125	81	67	13
Farm-related[a]	6	4	31	6
Construction trades[b]	8	5	93	17
Church work[c]	0	0	40	7
Education[d]	0	0	90	17
Other work	2	1	71	13
Widowed-retired	13	9	142	27
Totals	154	100	534	100

[a]Employed in various farm supply companies.

[b]Carpenters, brick layers, plumbers and electricians.

[c]Employed by one of the 7 progressive churches or an agency sponsored by the Virginia Mennonite Conference or other Mennonite body.

[d]Instructors, administrators and supporting staff.

agricultural heritage. The interviewed tradesmen suggested that their jobs were an outgrowth of skills learned on the farm, offered farmer-like independence, and generally allowed them to work "in the country." But even if the construction trades may somewhat dubiously be grouped with agricultural and related occupations, 37 percent of the progressive heads of households are still found in other lines of work. For Old Orders the comparative figure is 1 percent (denoting a harness maker and a buggy builder/repairman). Clearly, the agricultural ideal enjoys greater vitality among Old Orders than progressives.

2b. The distribution of Old Order homesteads is more clustered than that of progressive homesteads.

It has been observed that Mennonite families have seldom lived in isolation from their fellows. Rather, the desire to perpetuate traditional values has tended to foster clustered enclaves of believers. Clustering is perhaps most indicative of the ideals of brotherhood and separation from the world. Surely, it suggests an opportunity to maximize within-group bonds and minimize external influence. As several ideological sub-hypotheses indicated that Old Orders place greater emphasis on these ideals, a correspondingly greater degree of residential clustering on their part should be expected. While a summary statistical measure, such as nearest neighbor analysis, may have proved useful, it was felt that

Figure 7 (page 102) would prove sufficient for the testing of this hypothesis. The reader is again referred to this map.

Quite clearly, the residential distribution of both populations exhibits clustering. However, the progressive distribution is much more clustered than the Old Order one. While this finding negates the hypothesis it is nonetheless rational. We may recall that Broadway and Harrisonburg, as well as certain sectors of their respective environs, were the original foci of Mennonite settlement. We might thus expect some degree of historical inertia to be operative in these areas. This is indeed strongly evidenced in Figure 7. We should recall too that this century has manifested a pronounced shift by the progressives away from the traditional means of livelihood. Increased educational attainment and job diversification have produced movement from farmsteads to the city or suburban housing developments. The high degree of rural-urban migration is made obvious by the number of progressives now residing in Dayton, Broadway and Harrisonburg, especially the latter. The relatively massive concentration of progressives in northern Harrisonburg (Park View) attests to the impact of Eastern Mennonite College on present-day progressive settlement. Secondary concentrations west of Harrisonburg and southwest of Broadway indicate recent residential developments

occupying former farm lands. Quite obviously these residencies, whether in the city or suburbia, occupy individual parcels of land significantly smaller than farms (on which nearly all Old Orders live). The greater degree of progressive residential clustering is therefore understandable.

Old Order clustering is best explained by historical inertia, rigid adherence to traditional ideals stressing within-group bonds, and mode of transportation. The importance of this latter factor should not be underestimated. Though the farm tractor is used heavily for work-related travel, use of the horse-and-buggy is dictated for social trips (visiting) and journey to church. Social intercourse and worship are of paramount importance in Old Order society. The mode of transport needed to meet these societal necessities is slow and time-consuming, and thus tends to foster a compact residential distribution.

Again, Old Order clustering is clearly evident. And while it is less so than the progressive case, it is of a more traditional variety. This is evidenced by Figures 15 and 16 which show the distribution of respective group households as a percentage of total households.[9]

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[9]Every sampleable household was located on the latest 1:24,000 scale maps of Rockingham County published by the U.S. Geological Survey. These maps were arranged in composite form with a one-square-mile grid superimposed. In each square mile, the percentage of total residencies

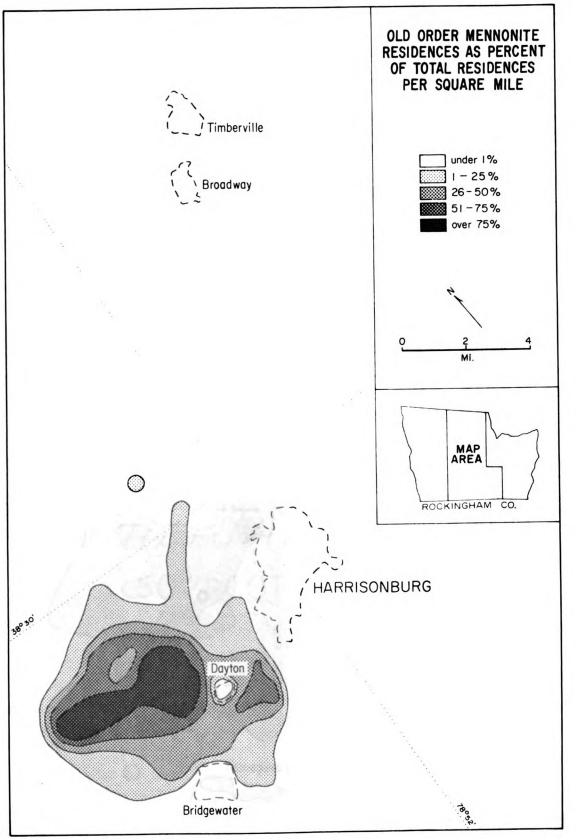
OLD ORDER MENNONITE RESIDENCES AS PERCENT OF TOTAL RESIDENCES PER SQUARE MILE
under 1%
1 - 25%
26 - 50%
51 - 75%
over 75%
N
0
2
4
MI.
MAP AREA
ROCKINGHAM CO.
Timberville
Broadway
HARRISONBURG
Dayton
Bridgewater
38° 30'
78° 52'

Figure 15

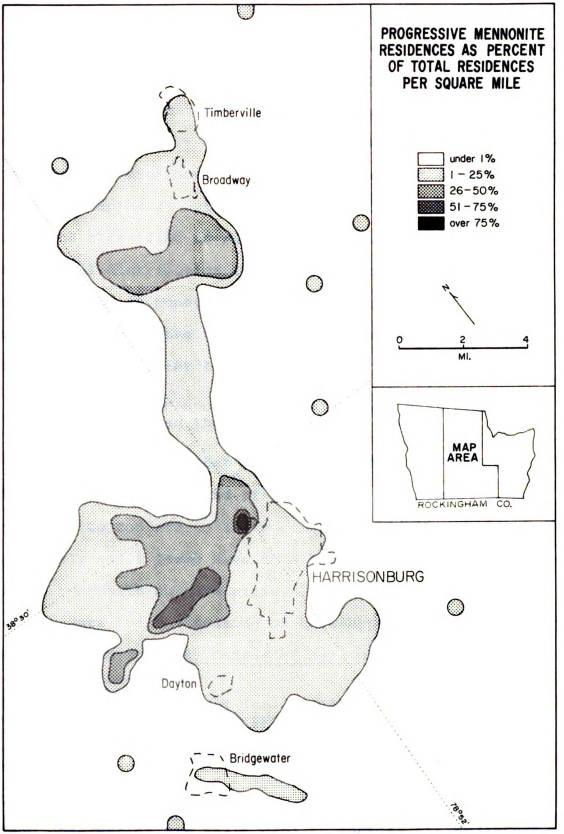
PROGRESSIVE MENNONITE RESIDENCES AS PERCENT OF TOTAL RESIDENCES PER SQUARE MILE
under 1%
1 - 25%
26-50%
51-75%
over 75%
N
0
2
4
MI.
MAP AREA
ROCKINGHAM CO.
Timberville
Broadway
HARRISONBURG
Dayton
Bridgewater
38°30'
78°52'

Figure 16

A rural stronghold is seen in the Old Order map. Though pronounced clustering of progressives is evidenced in Figure 7, it is clearly "diluted" in Figure 16. This results from close juxtaposition with a large number of non-Mennonite homes. Only in the Park View area (northernmost Harrisonburg) does something approaching a homogeneous stronghold appear. But the areal extent is small and cannot be classified as rural. Therefore, though Old Order residential distribution is less clustered than that of progressives, it nonetheless conforms much more closely to tradition. While the hypothesis as a whole cannot be accepted, this latter fact should be kept clearly in mind.

2c. Old Order Mennonite farm sizes are significantly smaller than those of progressive Mennonites.

We have seen that subdivision of farm land has historically been a means of permitting a maximum number of people to conform to the rural and agricultural ideals. Relatively small farms have thus been one facet of traditional Mennonite culture areas.

Data for the testing of this hypothesis were garnered from the 1969 Census of Agriculture and the

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inhabited by a sampleable family unit was then calculated. The only exception to this procedure relates to the towns, where buildings were too clustered to be depicted individually on the Geological Survey maps. Coverage of these areas on the author's maps represents estimations based on field observation. Additionally, several Geological Survey maps utilized were dated 1967, and thus did not account for fairly recent housing projects. Extensive field observation was again used to rectify the deficiency.

Rockingham County Appraiser's Office.[10] Utilizing the latter source, acreage statistics for each of the 192 sampleable farm households (125 Old Orders, 67 progressives) were recorded and analyzed. These indicated an average of 72.8 acres for Old Order farms and 140.5 acres for progressive farms. The progressive average is nearly twice that of the Old Orders! (The average for Rockingham County as a whole is 123.5 acres.[11]) When these data were subjected to chi square analysis, a statistically significant difference at the .01 level was discovered. The hypothesis is therefore accepted.

One should keep in mind that the 72.8 acres for Old Orders is, again, an average figure. While some farms are larger (the largest being 172 acres), others are decidedly smaller. One Old Order, in fact, maintains a viable dairy operation on a mere 31 acres. While this case is uncommon, it suggests the very intensive land use that is typical of this group (Fig. 17). Concomitantly, Old Order farmsteads tend to be attractive in appearance, expansive in the number of buildings, and bordered by a large flower-festooned truck garden. ("An untidy farm,"

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[10]The assistance of Mr. Gilbert Miller, Rockingham County Appraiser, is gratefully acknowledged.

[11]U.S., Department of Commerce, 1969 Census of Agriculture, Vol. I, Part 24 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 633.

FIGURE 17

The Old Order Mennonite Core Area

The nine square miles shown in this aerial photograph contains 52 Old Order Mennonite farmsteads (slightly more than one-third of all sampleable Old Order homesteads). The predominance of farming as a way of life is clearly suggested as are intensive agricultural practices. Dayton is just off the lower right-hand corner of the photo. The major highway cutting across the upper right-hand corner is U.S. Rt. 33.

Source: U.S., Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service. Invitation No. ASCS-3-65-DC, Item 2. Photo No. DJN-3FF-23.

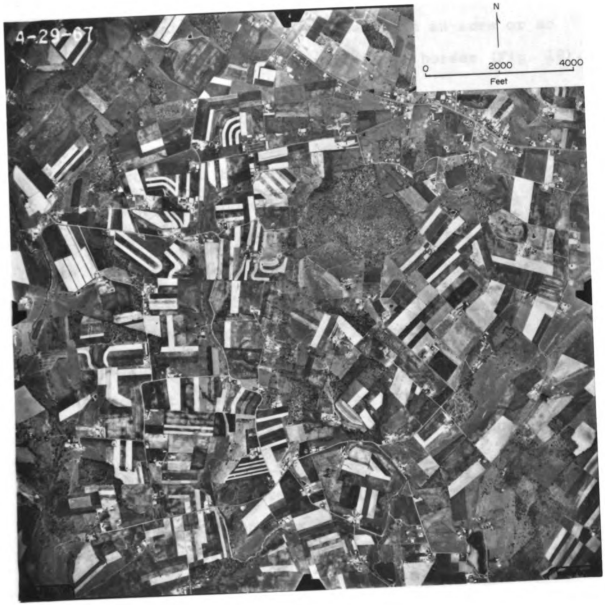

Figure 17

noted one Old Order, "is a disgrace.") These traits, however, are not exclusive to the Old Orders. Many progressive and non-Mennonite farms exhibit similar qualities. Besides diminutive acreage, the only visual characteristic strongly suggesting Old Order occupance is an acre or so by the house set aside for the grazing of horses (Fig. 18).

2d. As opposed to progressive Mennonites, Old Order macro travel behavior exhibits a lesser degree of contact with the non-Mennonite world.

Macro travel behavior was investigated by asking each respondent to report (a) the destination of his last trip outside the state of Virginia, and (b) the destination of the longest trip ever taken. An enquiry was also made as to the purpose of these trips. Data related to education and residential desirability in the previous set of hypotheses suggest that the desire for minimization of external contact is clearly stronger among the Old Orders. The present hypothesis again addresses this propensity. While travel behavior <u>per se</u> is not an overt, visual characteristic of Mennonite culture areas, we have seen that minimization of contacts with the non-Mennonite world has been a traditional strategy for cultural survival.

Figures 19 and 20 display the most recent trips for respective group members. The Old Order map shows a clear orientation towards other Old Order enclaves. (The reader may again wish to refer to the map showing national

FIGURE 18

An Old Order Farmstead

Immaculate farmsteads are characteristic of the Old Orders. Large truck gardens (extreme right) are standard. Continued use of the horse-and-buggy necessitates setting aside an acre or so of land near the house for draft-animal grazing.

(Author's photograph)

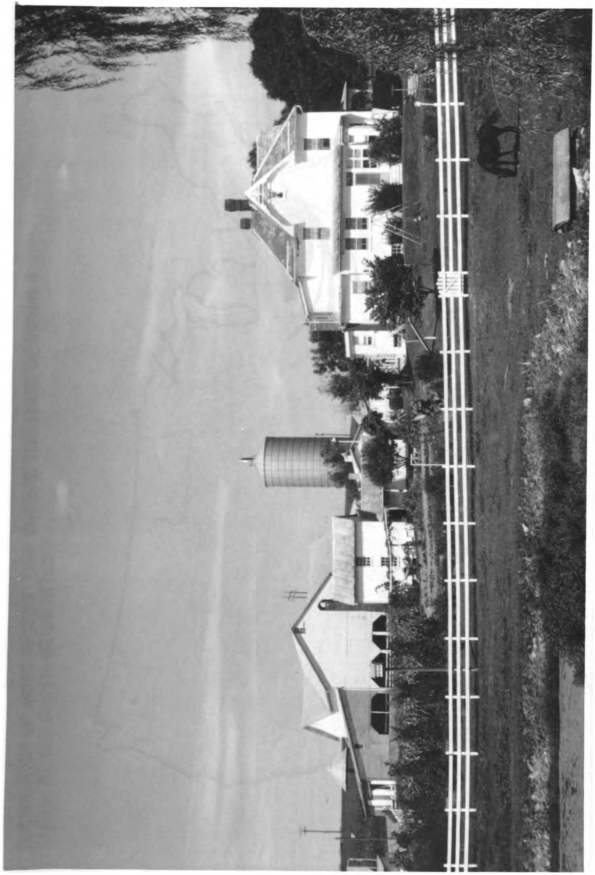

Figure 18

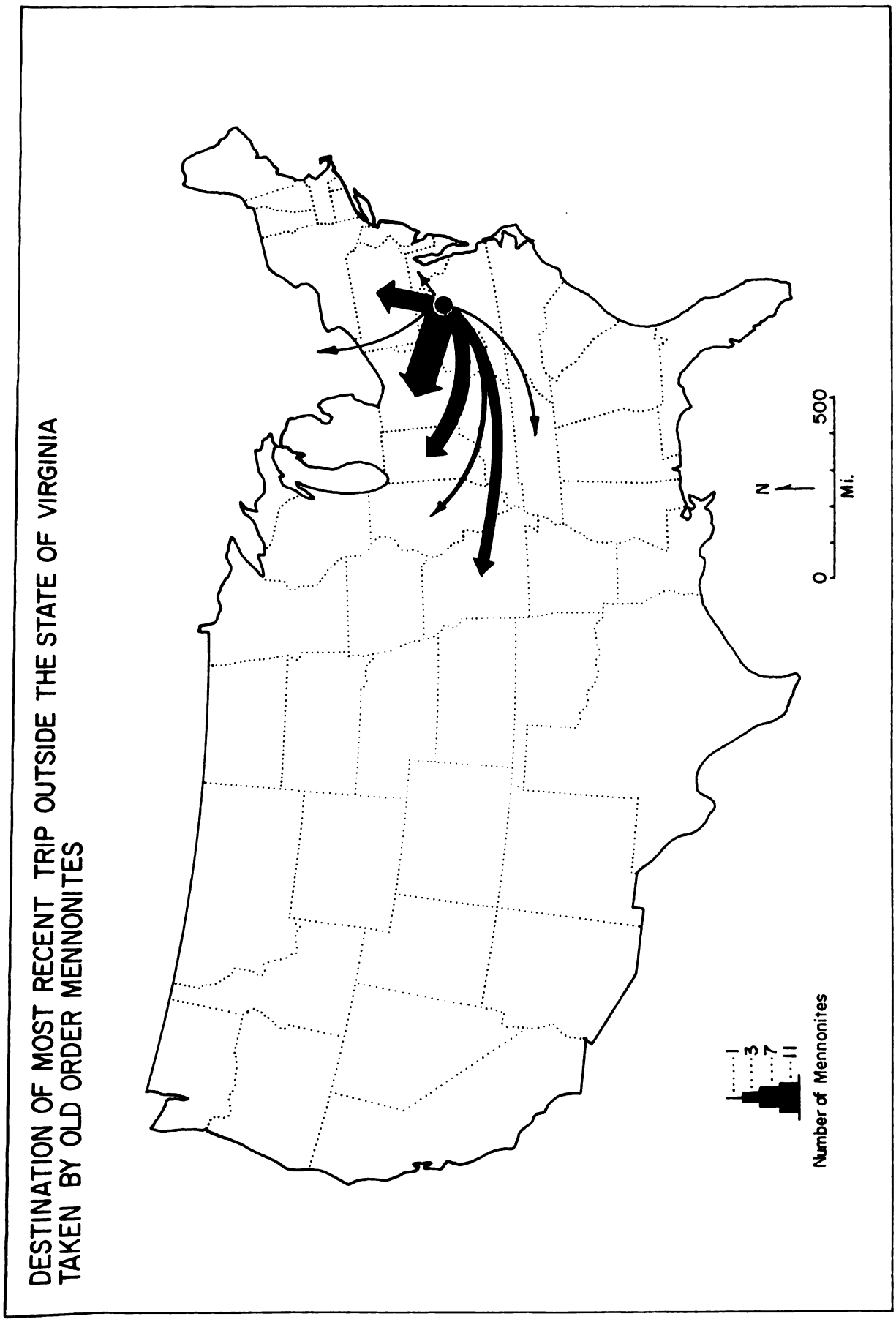
DESTINATION OF MOST RECENT TRIP OUTSIDE THE STATE OF VIRGINIA
TAKEN BY OLD ORDER MENNONITES
N
0
500
Mi.
1
3
7
11
Number of Mennonites

Figure 19

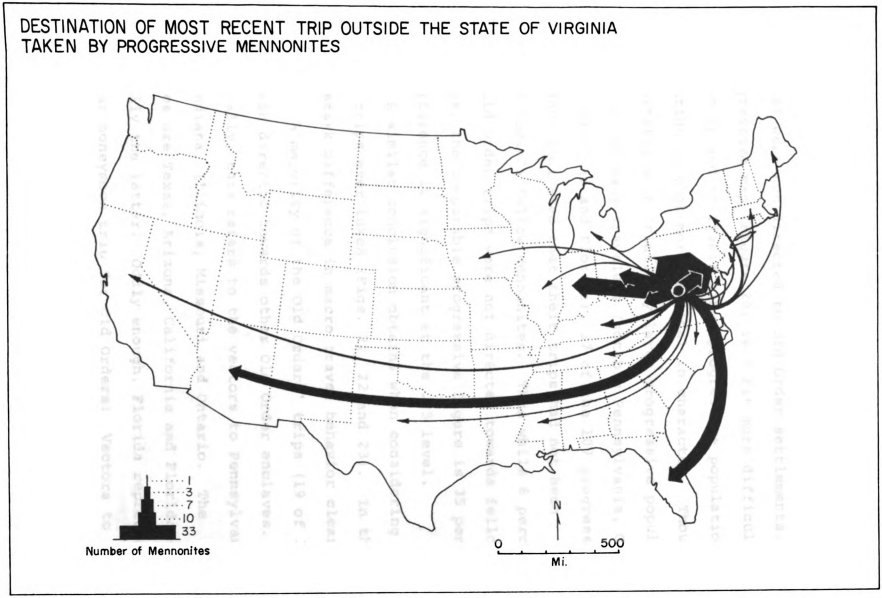
DESTINATION OF MOST RECENT TRIP OUTSIDE THE STATE OF VIRGINIA
TAKEN BY PROGRESSIVE MENNONITES
1
3
7
10
33
Number of Mennonites
N
0
500
Mi.

Figure 20

distribution of Mennonites, Figure 13, page 119). In fact only 2 of the 31 trips (the vectors to Maryland and Tennessee) were not directed to Old Order settlements. The progressive map (Figure 20) is a bit more difficult to interpret in and of itself since progressive population distribution is much more national in character. Though several states with relatively large progressive populations received many travelers (notably Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Maryland and Florida), 37 of the 107 progressive respondents indicated that their trips had not been directed towards fellow Mennonites. Thus while 6 percent of the Old Order trips were not directed towards fellow believers, the comparable progressive figure is 35 percent. This difference is significant at the .05 level.

A similar conclusion obtains when considering the longest trips ever taken (Figs. 21, 22 and 23). In these maps a stark difference in macro travel behavior clearly emerges. A majority of the Old Orders' trips (19 of 31) were again directed towards other Old Order enclaves. Specifically, this refers to the vectors to Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Ontario. The anomalies are Texas, Arizona, California and Florida--especially the latter. Oddly enough, Florida represents a popular honeymoon trip for Old Orders! Vectors to Texas, Arizona and California represent travel for Civilian Public Service (CPS) work. (Old Orders and

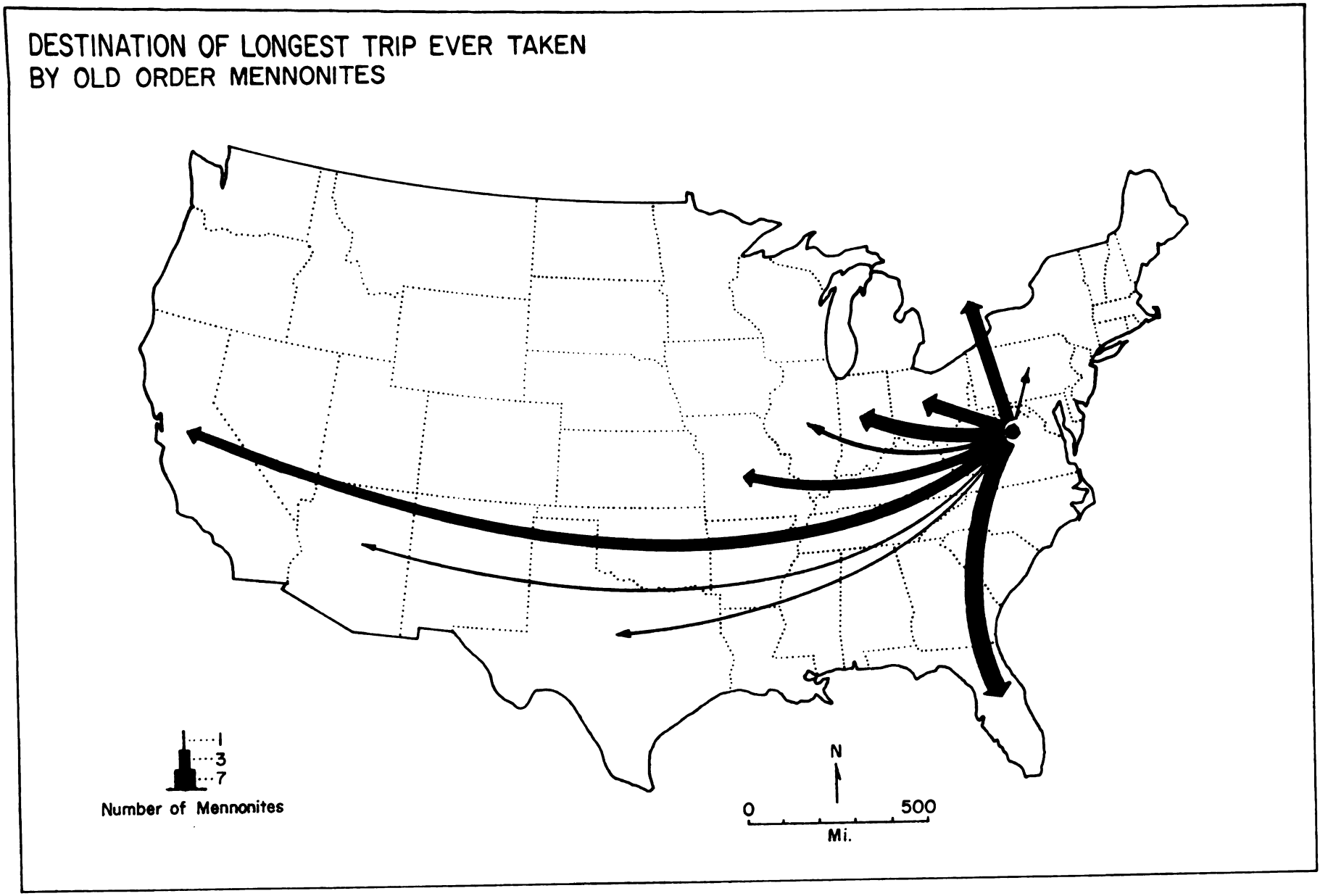
DESTINATION OF LONGEST TRIP EVER TAKEN
BY OLD ORDER MENNONITES
1
3
7
Number of Mennonites
N
0
500
Mi.

Figure 21

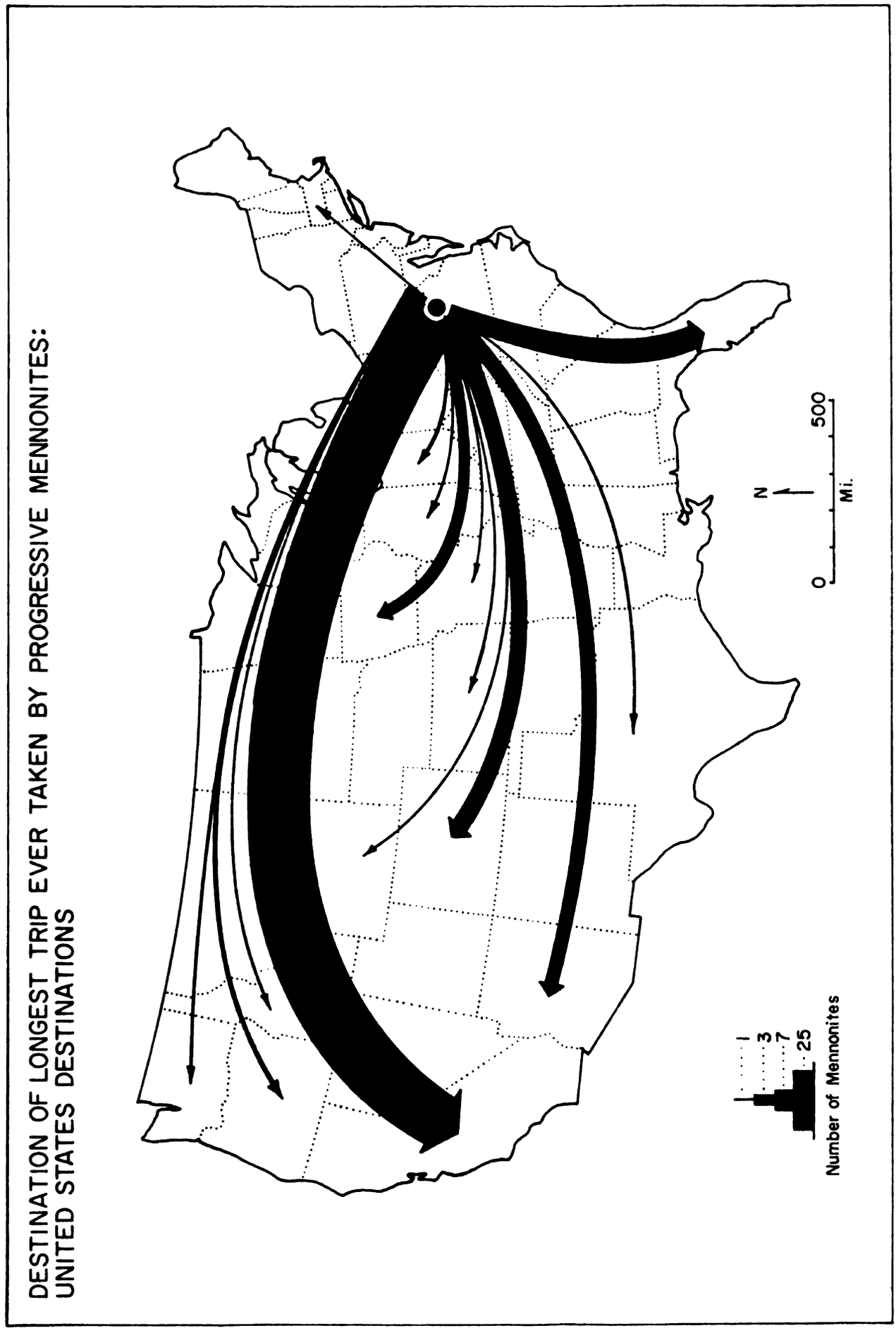
DESTINATION OF LONGEST TRIP EVER TAKEN BY PROGRESSIVE MENNONITES:
UNITED STATES DESTINATIONS
N
0
500
Mi.
1
3
7
25
Number of Mennonites

Figure 22

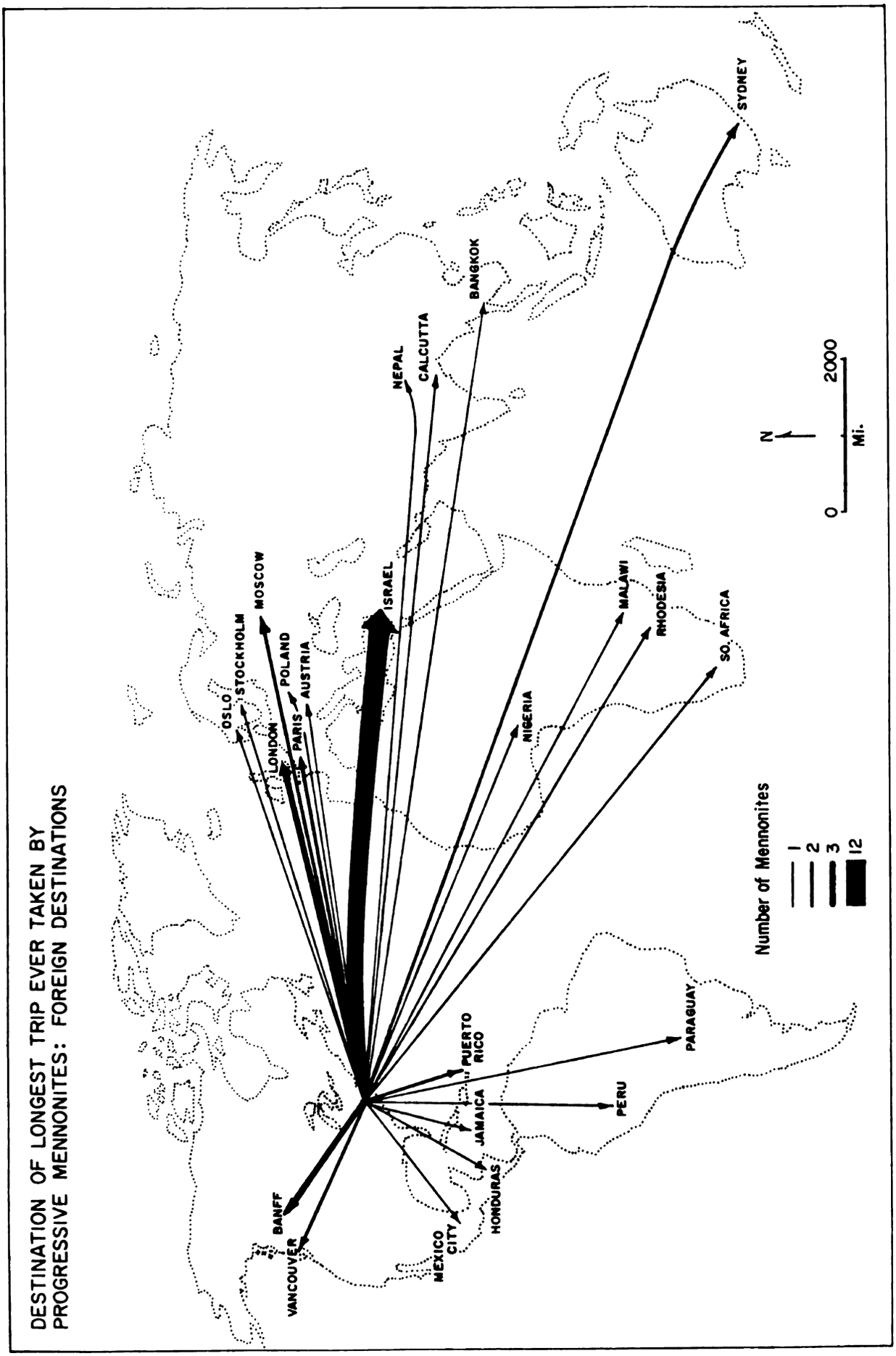
DESTINATION OF LONGEST TRIP EVER TAKEN BY PROGRESSIVE MENNONITES: FOREIGN DESTINATIONS
OSLO
STOCKHOLM
MOSCOW
LONDON
POLAND
PARIS
AUSTRIA
ISRAEL
NEPAL
CALCUTTA
BANGKOK
SYDNEY
NIGERIA
MALAWI
RHODESIA
SO. AFRICA
PUERTO RICO
JAMAICA
PERU
PARAGUAY
HONDURAS
MEXICO CITY
BANFF
VANCOUVER
N
0
2000
Mi.
Number of Mennonites
1
2
3
12

Figure 23

progressives remain staunchly opposed to military service but are amenable to some form of alternative public work. CPS, which involves such things as health, agricultural, conservation and construction work, is a common alternative.)

The progressive maps indicate less restricted travel behavior. Overseas travel is quite pronounced, and we should not be surprised at the prominence of the Holy Land in such trips (Fig. 23). Parenthetically, only one Old Order interviewee had ever traveled overseas. He had been in Poland on CPS reconstruction work after World War II. All told, 61 percent (65 out of 107) of the longest trips taken by progressives had not been directed towards fellow believers. For the Old Orders the comparable figure is 39 percent (12 out of 31). This difference is also significant at the .05 level. The hypothesis is therefore accepted.

2e. Old Order Mennonites possess a greater degree of proficiency in "Pennsylvania Dutch" than progressives.

This language, born in eighteenth century Pennsylvania, became not only a common language for generations of Mennonites, but also a general tool for cultural survival. While propensity to preserve this language can be linked with several traditional values, the ideals of separation and nonconformity are paramount. Accordingly,

one would expect greater proficiency in "Dutch" among Old Orders.

Data for the testing of this hypothesis were obtained in a straightforward manner. Each of the 138 respondents was asked to rate his/her proficiency in the dialect as either Excellent, Fair, Poor, or None. "Excellent" was used to denote fluency, "Poor" the knowledge of a few words and phrases, and "Fair" an intermediate acquaintance with the dialect. The results of this survey are shown in Table 9.

Again we have a dramatic between-group difference. While 23 percent of the Old Order sample professed no knowledge of "Pennsylvania Dutch," 61 percent of the progressives answered likewise. At the other end of the scale, 42 percent of the Old Orders rated their proficiency as Fair or Excellent. Only 15 percent of the progressives did the same. When the tabular data were analyzed by means of a 2x4 contingency table, a statistically significant difference at the .01 level was discovered. Old Orders do indeed possess a greater proficiency in "Pennsylvania Dutch" than progressives. The hypothesis is accepted.

The above suggests a certain degree of contradiction with material presented in the previous chapter, for therein the impression was given that "Pennsylvania Dutch" faced virtual extinction at the turn of the present

TABLE 9

PROFICIENCY IN "PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH" AMONG SAMPLED HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

Proficiency Level	Old Orders		Progressives	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
None	7	23	65	61
Poor	11	35	26	24
Fair	7	23	9	8
Excellent	6	19	7	7
Totals	31	100	107	100

century. Be that as it may, the dialect is far from defunct among the Old Orders and even shows some signs of resurgence. This situation deserves explanation in some detail.

We may recall that the Virginia Mennonite Church schism in 1900-01 was the last of four Old Order divisions that began as early as 1872. In each of the other so-born Old Order communities (in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Ontario) "Dutch" persists as the general language at home and worship. This is not the case in Rockingham County, where English is predominant. Why "Dutch" was preserved everywhere but Virginia is uncertain, but two possibilities come to the fore. First, the Rockingham settlement, in both area and population, is the smallest of the four locales where schism occurred, and had experienced relatively pronounced contact with the English-speaking world. Second, the Rockingham division came thirty years after the first such split. Had it occurred a generation sooner (as in Ohio and Indiana) perhaps the English-speaking tide could have been stemmed.

Nonetheless, English is the predominant language among Rockingham County's Old Orders. But again, there are signs of "Pennsylvania Dutch" resurgence. As suggested by hypotheses 1d and 2d, Old Order contact with fellow believers is quite pronounced. While this is largely explained by several traditional ideals, Old

Orders are also keenly aware of the physiological dangers of excessive inbreeding within the home community. Contact with other Old Order communities thus also serves an important mate-finding function. Since these other communities are predominantly "Dutch"-speaking, proficiency in "Pennsylvania Dutch" by the visiting Virginian assumes great importance. Accordingly, as interaction between Virginian and non-Virginian Old Orders has increased in recent years, a slight increase in "Dutch" proficiency by the Virginia group has apparently taken place. As a sidelight, during the winter of 1971-72 a group of 50 Old Orders even went so far as to hire a professor from Eastern Mennonite College to give weekly lessons in German and "Dutch."[12]

For the progressives, there is no pressing reason to preserve "Pennsylvania Dutch." In Rockingham County and other progressive Mennonite communities, English is spoken as a matter of course. Though classes in the dialect are occasionally offered at Eastern Mennonite College, it has largely fallen into the realm of nostalgia. If one may be allowed to prognosticate, progressive Mennonite "Dutch" proficiency, already low, will continue to dwindle at a fairly rapid rate. While it may or may not increase among the Old Orders, the present situation

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[12]Interview with Prof. Ernest G. Gehman, Harrisonburg, Virginia, August 20, 1973.

suggests that dialectal proficiency will be relatively alive and well in the conservative community for some time to come.

The present hypothesis, parenthetically, is the last of several which relate in part to the ideal of separation. Regarding this ideal, it would have proved useful and interesting to collect data on the number of Old Orders and progressives who had left their respective church factions to join other denominations; for the incidence of such "defection" would certainly, in some measure, suggest the relative success of each group in remaining separate from the outside world. But practice interviews demonstrated that this was a very delicate matter--so delicate, in fact, as to jeopardize the interview. The issue was accordingly avoided. However, there is some evidence that such departure has been more widespread among the progressives. Several of these folk volunteered statements like, "I've got to hand it to the Old Orders: they're certainly holding onto their youngsters [i.e., keeping them within the church group] much better than we are," or "Compared to our situation, only a few Old Orders seem to have left the church." None of the Old Order respondents offered contradictory statements. On an opposing and yet related note, the author was able to collect data on the number of people in both sampleable populations who are not Mennonite by birth. At least

35 Virginia Conference Mennonites meet this criterion. Not a single case was pointed out among the Old Orders.

2f. The Old Order Mennonites are perpetuating the traditional styles of church architecture, dress, and mode of transportation to a greater degree than are the progressive Mennonites.

These characteristics are most directly related to the ideals of simplicity and nonconformity. In a sense this hypothesis may now seem rather shallow since Old Orders, by definition, are more tradition-oriented than progressives. Nonetheless, some account of the above features is desirable as they provide the most dramatic visual clues for the existence of a traditional Mennonite culture area.

We begin with church architecture. The total Old Order and progressive populations under consideration consist of nine congregations (two of them Old Order) which worship at nine different church buildings. Four are shown in Figures 24-27 and will suffice for the present discussion.

Attention is first directed to Figure 24 which shows the Pleasant View Old Order meetinghouse. The other Old Order church (not shown), Oak Grove, is an exact duplicate. These buildings were constructed in 1901 and 1922 respectively. The design is clearly consonant with the traditional mold. Note the one-storied rectangular floor plan, wooden construction materials,

FIGURE 24

Pleasant View Mennonite Church
(Old Order)

This Old Order meetinghouse displays all of the traditional architectural features. Note the rectangular floor plan, inverted V roof, wooden construction material, twin entrances, and lack of steeple.

(Author's photograph)

FIGURE 25

Weavers Mennonite Church
(Virginia Conference)

In basic design, Weavers is strongly reminiscent of traditional Mennonite church architecture. Its expansiveness and construction material are the major points of departure.

(Author's photograph)

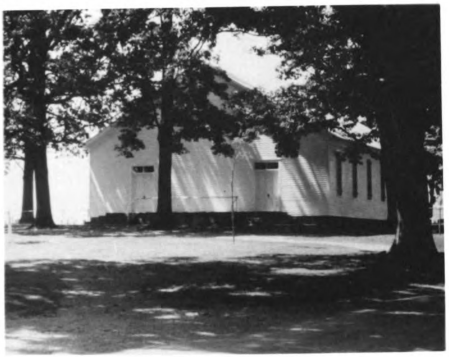

Figure 24

Figure 25

FIGURE 26

Park View Mennonite Church
(Virginia Conference)

Steeple, "bent" floor plan, and brick construction material are all departures from the traditional mold.

(Author's photograph)

FIGURE 27

Harrisonburg Mennonite Church
(Virginia Conference)

The intended tent-like appearance of the Harrisonburg Mennonite Church represents the most radical departure from traditional Mennonite church architecture in Rockingham County.

(Author's photograph)

Figure 26

Figure 27

inverted V roof minus steeple and belfry, short eaves and plain gable. Though not evident in the photograph, windows are of regular instead of tinted glass. The fact that the Pleasant View church is over seventy years old might suggest a degree of architectural anachronism even in the eyes of the Old Orders. But such is not the case. During the author's period of intensive field work (summer 1973) a third Old Order church was nearing completion. It is an exact copy of the other two.

Progressive church architectural styles have generally kept pace with the times. Of the seven progressive churches, only Weavers and Zion possess a style reminiscent of the traditional pattern. Weavers is shown in Figure 25. Its expansiveness and construction material are the major divergences from the old style. The same is true of Zion. (The present Weavers church was completed in 1943 and replaced an edifice which conformed to the primal model.) The other progressive churches have a decidedly non-traditional appearance. Most striking in their deviance are the Park View and Harrisonburg churches (Fig. 26 and 27). They are also the newest, neither being more than five years old. Note the steeple for the Park View Mennonite Church and the intended tent-like appearance of the Harrisonburg Mennonite Church. Indices of the architectural heritage are scant or nonexistent. While the other three progressive churches

(Mt. Clinton, Trissels and Lindale) do not display the modernistic styles of Park View and Harrisonburg, neither do they show the tempered traditionalism of Weavers and Zion. Rather noticeably, the traditional style of church architecture is being perpetuated much more by the Old Orders than the progressives.

An analogous conclusion is revealed in the area of dress styles. Hypothesis 1f indicated that Old Orders place more emphasis on preserving the traditional style of dress than progressives. This attitudinal difference is equally borne out in reality. Driving along the country roads in west Rockingham, it is not uncommon to see young boys attired in suspender-held black pants, girls in full wrist and ankle-length dresses, men wearing a dark "plain coat" and broad-rimmed hat, and women wearing a full black bonnet. These articles are standard. When one attends an Old Order church service, the uniformity of congregational attire suggests a prescribed uniform. In a very real sense it is.

A different impression is found among the progressives. Simplicity and moderation in dress are still idealized and signs of contemporary "modish" styles are rare. Nonetheless, styles tend to mimic those of the broader culture. For instance, the wearing of neckties, jewelry and moderately short dresses, all condemned by the Old Orders, are now worn freely by a substantial number of progressives, particularly the younger

generation. The only peculiarity of dress is the wispy white prayer covering worn by many of the women. Even this seems to be declining in popularity. At one progressive church service the author attended, nearly half the women were without the covering. Similarly, there were no indices of prescribed dress.

As a footnote to this discussion, it would have been ideal to furnish photographs depicting dress styles. To the Old Orders, however, to be photographed is a major insult. This attitude is an outgrowth of the Second Commandment: "Thou shalt not make thee any graven images."[13] Accordingly, the author kept his camera discreetly out of sight. Photographs of progressives were also eschewed, but due to lack of dress pecularity rather than personal objection. (These divergent attitudes on photography lend themselves to a discernible difference in household interiors. The typical living room of a progressive household is decorated with paintings, family and scenic photographs, religious mottoes and plants. Only the latter two, if anything, decorate such rooms in Old Order homes. Any photographs therein are on a calendar.)

The visual impress of divergence in attire is matched, if not surpassed, by mode of transportation. If the peculiarity of Old Order garb does not catch the attention of the casual observer, a passing horse-and-buggy surely will (Fig. 28). This anachronism in the

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[13]Exodus 20:4.

FIGURE 28

Horse-and-Buggy

This anachronism in the age of the automobile is a major index of the Old Orders' desire to remain a simple, nonconformed people.

(Photograph courtesy of Mr. Winston Weaver, Jr.)

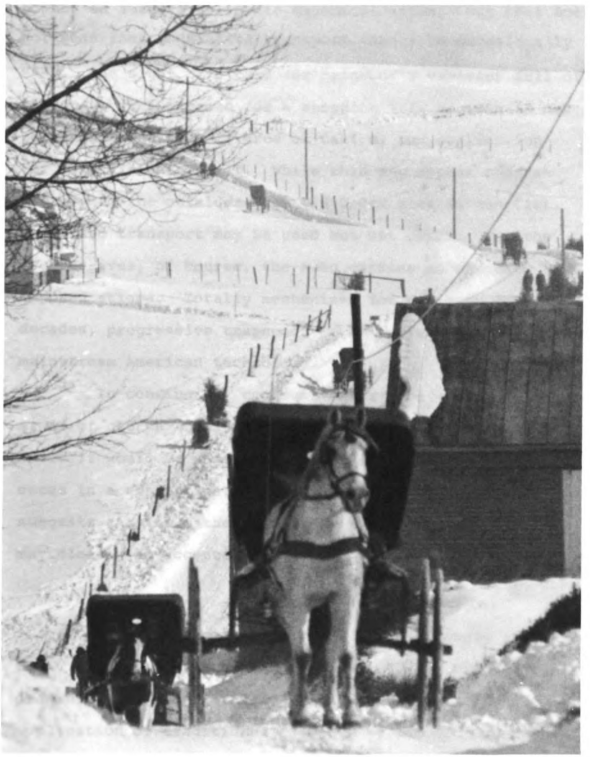

Figure 28

automobile age must rank as the most dramatic sign of Old Order traditionalism. It is also a test of membership; for to buy an auto is to invite excommunication. But this does not mean that mechanized transport cannot be occasionally used. The sight of a taxi (or neighbor's vehicle) full of Old Order women headed for a shopping trip to town is not uncommon. The same is true of taxi or bus utilization for more distant travel. While this may appear contradictory to the outsider, the Old Order sees no conflict. Motorized transport may be used but not owned. For the progressives, of course, the auto carries no church-imposed stigma. Totally mechanized for at least four decades, progressive transport is fully in tune with mainstream American technology.

In conclusion, pronounced variance exists in the areas of church architecture, dress and transportation. While it would be possible to assess respective differences in a statistical sense, the degree of divergence suggests a trite mathematical exercise. The hypothesis may clearly be accepted.

Summary

With the exception 2b, which was strongly qualified, all hypotheses have been accepted. As opposed to progressives, comparatively rigid interpretation and application of traditional ideology by the Old Orders has resulted in the creation and preservation of a traditional

Mennonite culture area in Rockingham County. Again, the specific characteristics of such an area include the following: a rural orientation with clustered household distribution; the economic predominance of agriculture, practiced on relatively small farms; anachronistic style of dress and mode of transportation; preservation of "Pennsylvania Dutch;" and distinctive church architecture. Cementing these features in time and space are authoritative church mandate, carrying the threat of excommunication for flagrant deviance, and various behavioral patterns strengthening within-group bonds while minimizing external influence.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Recapitulation

The general goal of this dissertation is an understanding of the role religion plays in creating and preserving sectarian culture areas. In summarizing the Mennonite experience, with special emphasis on religion, three major considerations emerge.

First, in the early sixteenth century, the Mennonite faith, in and of itself, served to make its adherents so threatening in the eyes of their contemporaries as to invite persecution. Had the Mennonites not been subjected to such an experience, would they have developed such a gamut of distinctive cultural characteristics or culture areas? While this question is difficult to answer categorically, the material presented suggests a negative response. Save for religion itself, plus a few matters of personal attire, the Mennonites were hardly distinguishable from other peoples in the initial years of their existence. Profound cultural distinctiveness only obtained after persecution occurred; after certain

restrictions had been placed upon them; after "the world" with all its attributes proved deleterious and worthy of avoidance.

Second, and in conjunction with this perception of the broader society, a church-world dichotomy developed with the full force of religious endorsement. St. Paul had admonished Christians, "Be not conformed to this world."[1] Christ had said, "My kingdom is not of this world."[2] To the Mennonites the message was clear: the ways of "the world" were incompatible with those of the church. Separation from and contact minimization with the broader society were dictated--a notion which the persecution experience emphasized all too clearly. The importance of this point of view to cultural distinctiveness cannot be understated; for whenever the dichotomy was relaxed--whenever Mennonites and "the world" comingled in a more than casual manner--the result was assimilation with the broader culture, normally accompanied by a decline in church membership. Several examples may be cited. We may recall that with the advent of religious liberty in eighteenth century Europe, increased interaction occurred between Mennonites and non-Mennonites. The result was not only assimilation, but an 80 percent

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[1] Romans 12:2.

[2] John 18:36.

loss in membership as well. In southeastern Pennsylvania those Mennonites who moved to the urban areas were likewise generally lost to the church. It was relaxation of this dichotomy in nineteenth century Rockingham County that produced fundamental changes in the character and philosophy of the Virginia Conference and paved the way for schism. And, finally, it would seem safe to posit that the present divergence between the Old Orders and progressives is in large measure the result of the differing status of the church-world dichotomy among the two groups. Whether or not the present trend among the progressive faction may be viewed as an attempt to recapture the original character of the Mennonite church, they have evidenced increased contact and similarity with mainstream American society. A concomitant decline in cultural distinctiveness has resulted. The opposite can be said of the Old Orders. Several quotations and other data cited in the previous chapter suggest the dichotomy is alive and thriving among Old Order society. Their continued display of distinctive traits hardly contradicts this supposition.

Third, religion has traditionally permeated every fundamental aspect of Mennonite ideology and culture. After the persecution experience, virtually every cultural characteristic (save language) which contributed to Mennonite distinctiveness, as well as the very need to be

distinctive, was given Biblical sanction. When a particular facet of behavior or general way of life are justified as being in accord with Divine Will, they may acquire not only transcendental meaning, but also longevity even when confronted with alternative choices. Regarding the Old Orders, this latter point was borne out repeatedly. Time and again, Old Orders justified their ideology and way of life with Biblical quotations or reasoning pregnant with theology. To be sure, many progressives did the same, though usually as justification of change rather than perpetuation of the "old ways." For both groups, then, religion remains a central motivating force. The major difference is that for the Old Orders religion is used to legitimatize traditions (as of old); for the progressives it often serves the somewhat novel role of sanctioning change. Thus, it facilitates cultural distinctiveness on the one hand, and cultural assimilation on the other.

Religion in the Creation and Preservation of the Old Order Mennonite Culture Area

The above considerations largely explain the role of religion in the creation and preservation of the Old Order Mennonite culture area.

Because of their religious deviance from the broader society, the Mennonites were subjected to a severe persecution experience. This was complemented by

externally authorized prohibitions against urban life, education and non-agricultural work. While these served to impose isolationism and distinctiveness from without, forces from within the group also began working towards these ends. Separation from the source of oppression (whether real or perceived) became desirable in and of itself as a safeguard for group survival. Simultaneously, a rigid church-world dichotomy evolved. (Via the non-conformity principle, this notion had been mildly operative prior to persecution.) This matter dictated that the ways of the church and the ways of the world were incompatible. Finally, though again simultaneously, religion permeated and justified every fundamental aspect of group life either imposed by or resultant from the experience of martyrdom. The values and traits of the group were sanctioned by Scripture and thus pleasing to God; "The world" was less fortunate. Religion thus served to make Mennonites a distinctive people--different from other denominational groups not only by name, but by a gamut of ideological and cultural features as well. Religion also served to make them a separate people--separate not only by these ideological and cultural considerations, but also by encouraging establishment of relatively homogeneous rural communities. Aggregating these factors, religion thus served to create Mennonite

culture areas, first in southeastern Pennsylvania, and later in the Shenandoah Valley.

If several religious considerations largely explain the creation of the Old Order culture area, so too do they account for its preservation. Explicit in the concept of culture area is a parcel of land occupied by a people who are culturally distinctive from the surrounding society. If the distinctiveness (no matter the specific trait criteria) disappears, persistance of the culture area is jeopardized. Due primarily to their religion-imbued ideals of nonconformity and separation, the prospect of such deterioration is anathema to the Old Orders. Distinctiveness is something to be preserved, not eroded.

The basic strategy for the preservation of the Old Order culture area may be referred to as the maintenance of "distance" from the broader society. Two types of distance obtain.

First, there is distance in the sense of physical separation. This interpretation recognizes that group survival has historically been jeopardized rather than facilitated by juxtaposition with the broader society. In an every-day life situation, it suggests preference for Old Order rather than non-Mennonite neighbors and says, in effect, the farther away the elements of the broader society the better. The theological rationales for this type of distance have already been noted.

Second, there is distance in the cultural sense. For a variety of previously defined religious rationales, many of the cultural traits of the broader society are viewed as incompatible with and inimical to Old Order society. Old Orders are to be "different" and their distinctiveness cherished and preserved. Distance in this cultural sense is also theologically favorable. But it is likewise beneficial on somewhat more practical grounds. For the greater the cultural distance from the broader society, the greater the degree of "culture shock" involved in one's leaving the Old Order fold. Cultural distance, then, is an important safeguard against loss of membership. Hence, whether on religious or practical grounds, cultural distance is desirable; and, generally, the greater the distance the better. The general strategy, then, is to maintain distance (both physical and cultural), and maximize it if possible.

Several specific strategies have been and are being utilized in pursuit of this goal. All are either specifically religious in nature or manifestations of religion-sanctioned ideology.

In accordance with the ideals of separation and rural, agrarian life, a relatively homogeneous farming community was created. As we have seen in Figures 7 and 15 (pages 102 and 138) most of the population now live in this rural stronghold. To maintain this situation, farms

are passed on to succeeding generations or sold to other Old Orders. At the same time, areal aggrandizement of the core area is also a group goal. Non-Old Order farms are purchased whenever possible. Such lands in or peripheral to the core area are most desirable.

Maximization of within-group bonds, an outgrowth of the ideals of separation and brotherhood, is another strategy. Marriage within the faith is given tremendous emphasis. Though travel to other Old Order communities (outside Virginia) occasionally facilitates mate-finding, most Old Order marriages in Rockingham County involve people born and raised right there. Though not previously mentioned, Old Orders shun insurance, social security, and governmental subsidies/assistance programs. All the security and insurance one needs are provided by the group, not the outside world.

In association with the ideals of separation and nonconformity, great care is taken to minimize external contact and influence. The rural stronghold, within-group marriage, and shunning of insurance or aid programs are three specific examples. Limited education and access to information sources also facilitate this strategy, as does the continued use of the horse-and-buggy. Additionally, idealization of agriculture tends to keep people on the farm and thus safe from the perceived injurious influences of the city.

The period of persecution and martyrdom is referred to occasionally in home conversation and more regularly at Sunday services. Such references serve to remind the faithful that they, like Christ, have suffered for their beliefs; and that the broader society, aside from offering undesirable influences, has at times been unfriendly if not hostile.

Over all the membership hangs the threat of excommunication for flagrant deviance from group norms. This social mechanism rather effectively curtails pronounced flirtation with the trappings of the broader society.

Finally, and most importantly, the congruence of group values and culture with Scriptural ideals is often stressed, while broader societal values and culture are equated with evil or harm. In other words, religion is used to justify every fundamental group trait and more. Without such justification the ways of the group would be devoid of either transcendental or real and immediate meaning. There would be no purpose in being a separate and distinct people. Distinctiveness--distance--would not exist. In these various ways, then, religion has served to produce and preserve the culture area evidenced by Rockingham County's Old Order Mennonites.

Examples of Other American Religious Groups Associated with Culture Areas

At the outset it was hoped that the present study would not be entirely limited in scope to one small group of people occupying a minute portion of the total American real estate; but rather that the findings of this study have broader applicability. Accordingly, a stated goal was some tentative conclusions as to how religion in general acts to produce and preserve sectarian culture areas. This section, and the one that follows, are addressed to this topic.

In the introductory chapter, studies of the Old Order Amish, Mormons and Dutch-Reformed were cited which suggest that these folk, like the Old Order Mennonites, are associated with their own particular and peculiar culture areas. The experiences and actions exhibited by these groups broadly mesh with those of the Old Order Mennonites. Full defense of this statement would ideally involve a lengthy discourse on the history, ideology and culture of each of these denominations. While this is not feasible, a few brief notations will suffice.

Like the Old Order Mennonites, each of these groups was born of that human collage labeled the broader society--the Amish in Rhineland Germany, the Mormons in New York State, and the Dutch-Reformed in The Netherlands. Following an initial period of relative peace and harmony with the broader society, each was subjected to persecution.

The Amish, whose forefathers were Mennonites, reacted in the manner of the Old Order Mennonites' forebears. The Amish are now found in scattered enclaves, most notably in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana.[3] The Mormons, following harassment in New York, Ohio and Illinois, withdrew (1847) across a thousand miles of frontier to present-day Utah. In 1846 the Dutch-Reformed, after persecution in The Netherlands, migrated to the New World and formed a colony in southwestern Michigan. In each case there was: (a) persecution, followed by; (b) imposition of and desire for separation; (c) perceived incompatibility of church (group) and world; and (d) religious justification of group values, culture and isolation. And the result in each case was the same: settlement of areas to which the group imparted relative or absolute cultural homogeneity (i.e., creation of culture areas).

In preserving these areas, the denominations again exhibited a broad consistency with the Old Order Mennonite example. Each, in varying periods and degrees, has sought to maintain and/or maximize distance, in both the physical and cultural senses, from the broader society. The Old Order Amish strategies so closely match those of their "theological cousins," the Old Order Mennonites, as

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[3]Under the leadership of Jacob Ammon (hence, Amish), these people broke away from the main body of European Mennonites in 1693.

to obviate separate discussion. The Dutch-Reformed have sought as much as possible to retain ownership of their original settlement area and add to it if feasible. Contact with the non-Dutch-Reformed world

> is avoided as much as possible except when necessary to gain a living. Outsiders have little place in the community since they do not belong to the institutions around which life revolves.[4]

Within-group bonds are also highly esteemed. As an example, education of youth by church-sponsored institutions is viewed as a desirable alternative to public education.

The Mormon case is somewhat different in that their desire for physical and cultural separation from the broader society has now largely fallen into the realm of history. Thus, relative to the other denominations, the Mormons have experienced marked acculturation. But this has only transpired in the last sixty years. The conflict between Mormon and "Gentile," which began in New York, continued in Utah throughout the nineteenth century. Minimal interaction with outsiders was a general practice. Simultaneously, the cementing of within-group bonds was given paramount importance. Among other things, this fostered a compact residential distribution. Mormons built village settlements at a time when their contemporary

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[4]Elaine M. Bjorklund, "Ideology and Culture Exemplified in Southwestern Michigan," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LIV (June, 1964), 231.

Gentile settlers established homesteads on their individual farms.[5] But the ideology and mechanisms which facilitated physical and cultural distance have now largely disappeared, as have most cases of exclusively Mormon settlements. Nevertheless, certain cultural features of the rural and village landscapes (described by Francaviglia[6]) fostered by the Mormons in that era of conflict remain to this day. The Mormon culture area is still discernible, though largely resultant from strategies operating in the past rather than the present.

Religion in the Creation and Preservation of Sectarian Culture Areas: Scenario and Conclusions

Aggregating these cases with the Mennonite example, the following scenario is suggested as an outline of the general processes involved in the creation and preservation of sectarian culture areas.

At some point in time a particular denomination is born of the broader society. Because of certain beliefs, values or customs of the smaller body, the denomination is subjected to some form of persecution by elements of the broader society. The response of the oppressed sectarians

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[5]Lowry Nelson, The Mormon Village (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952), pp. 3 and 50-51.

[6]Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Mormon Landscape: Definition of an Image in the American West," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers, II (1970), 59-61.

involves: (a) a desire to be "separate" from the source of oppression in the physical as well as the cultural sense of the word; (b) perceived incompatibility of the ways of the group and those of the larger world; and (c) religious justification of all group values and culture traits, if such did not initially exist. The net result of these responses is the creation of a culture area.

Preservation of the culture area is contingent upon maintenance of both physical and cultural distance from the broader society. While specific preservation/distance strategies may vary among different denominations, broad consistency is seen in: (a) the perceived goodness of group values and culture as opposed to those of the broader society; (b) maximization of within-group bonds; and (c) minimization of external contact and influence. Whether implicitly or explicitly, all of these strategies are given religious mandate.

Based on this scenario, one may more specifically propose some tentative conclusions as to how religion in general acts to create and preserve sectarian culture areas. Religion facilitates creation of such culture areas by:

(1) differentiating a group of people to an extent that precipitates oppression and ostracism by elements of the broader society;

(2) justifying the distinctive nature of group culture extant after persecution, while disdaining that of the broader society, and;

(3) endorsing separation from the broader society in the physical as well as the cultural sense.

Religion operates to preserve sectarian culture areas by:

(1) attaching transcendental meaning to the distinctive values and culture of the group while condemning the alternatives offered by the broader society.

(2) sanctioning maximization of within-group bonds; and

(3) endorsing minimal contact with the larger world.

Implications and Suggestions for Future Research

Major research efforts tend to raise as many questions as they answer. Accordingly, the present study is concluded with some implications and suggestions for future research.

While this dissertation is a contribution to the literature on the geography of religion, much remains to be done on the subject of culture areas. Religion is indeed a significant element in the creation and preservation of certain culture areas in the United States. But how many and where? Are the examples limited to certain Mennonite, Amish, Mormon and Dutch-Reformed

communities? Comprehensive investigation of other denominations and sects is needed.

Certain mechanistic questions also remain. How does religion operate to produce and preserve culture areas? One must remember that the above scenario and outlined conclusions are based on only four denominational examples. The conclusions are tentative and perhaps somewhat tenuous. If culture areas associated with other denominations are identified, it would prove useful to know if their creation and preservation mimic the manner previously described or suggest alternative mechanisms. A related question is, Why do some religious groups foster culture areas while others do not? Why is it, for example, that Methodists and Episcopalians are not readily distinguishable from their countrymen and have not (apparently) given birth to culture areas. Or why have the Jews, who do possess a cultural as well as an ethnic heritage, likewise not (apparently) produced culture areas? What historical and/or cultural factors associated with these groups have nullified creation of culture areas? What makes them different from those groups which have fostered culture areas? Seeking answers to these questions would be a useful and meaningful endeavor.

Questions pertaining to persecution also invite investigation. As evidenced by those groups associated with culture areas, persecution has played a key role

in fostering desire for separation from and contact minimization with the broader society. The importance of these notions for culture area creation and preservation need not be restated. But just how important is persecution? Is it merely coincidental that the four groups on whom the conclusions are based all endured such experiences; or is persecution a major if not the key factor in explaining sectarian culture areas? To what extent does the experience of persecution answer the question, Why do some religious groups foster culture areas while others do not? Or, somewhat to the opposite, can we identify cases of oppressed sectarians who have failed to produce culture areas; or of sectarians who have produced culture areas free of persecution stimuli? All of these questions are important.

Finally, what of the territorial limitations of the general conclusions? Though this study has necessitated some references to European history, the goal has been an understanding of certain phenomena which characterize the American scene. But are the conclusions only valid within the context of the United States; or can similar conclusions be garnered from foreign examples as well? English's study of the Zoroastrians of Kirman (Iran) suggests the latter may be the case.[7] These people

[7]Paul Ward English, "Nationalism, Secularism and the Zoroastrians of Kirman: The Impact of Modern Forces on an Ancient Middle Eastern Minority," in Cultural

were oppressed by a Shi'ah Muslim majority (persecution again!) much as were the European Mennonites by their fellow Christians. The response and results, too, broadly mimic the Mennonite experience and thus the processes explicit in the general conclusions. Though this Zoroastrian case is singular, the important point is that the above scenario and conclusions may have far-ranging applicability. But this too begs further research.

It is hoped that the foregoing implications and questions will not be viewed as merely rhetorical in nature. Many important questions on the role of religion in the creation and preservation of sectarian culture areas remain to be investigated. And all constitute fertile grounds for future geographical research.

Geography: Selected Readings, ed. by Fred E. Dohrs and Lawrence M. Sommers (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967), pp. 272-82.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CHI SQUARE

Chi square is used to test many of the hypotheses addressed in Chapter IV. The following is a somewhat simplistic overview of chi square with special emphasis on its utility and vocabulary. For a more detailed treatment, the reader is referred to Blalock.[1]

Chi square is a statistical test which determines whether or not frequencies, which have been empirically obtained, differ significantly. The following hypothetical example dramatizes its use.

Suppose we have a sample population of 110 farms, 45 of which belong to Mennonites and 65 to Presbyterians. We wish to know whether or not a significant difference in barn color exists between these groups. If all barns can either be red or white, then any particular barn must fall into one of four categories: it is either a red or white barn belonging to a Mennonite, or a red or white barn belonging to a Presbyterian. After all 110 barns

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[1]Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960).

have been observed and classified, our data are summarized in the following "contingency table."

Contingency Table

Barn Color	Mennonites	Presbyterians	Total
Red	$40_{(1)}$	$10_{(2)}$	50
White	$5_{(3)}$	$55_{(4)}$	60
Total	45	65	110

The above is referred to as a 2x2 contingency table (two religious groups x two barn colors), and renders four categories, or "cells." (There is no limit to contingency table size. They can be 2x3, 3x5, . . .) The cells are identified as (1) . . . (4). Obviously, the number, or "frequency," in each cell represents the number of empirically obtained data/observations falling in each category.

In the foregoing table, the raw data suggest that there is indeed a between group difference in barn color. Specifically, a majority of Mennonite barns are red, while a majority of Presbyterian barns are white. The question which chi square addresses is this: Do these frequencies differ significantly? Or, what is the probability that the frequential differences are not the result of chance?

To answer these questions we compute the chi square statistic. This is determined by the formula

$$\chi^2 = \Sigma \frac{(f_o - f_e)^2}{f_e}$$

where Σ equals "summation," and f_o and f_e respectively refer to observed and expected frequencies. The observed frequencies (f_o) refer to the raw data found in each cell of the contingency table. To determine the expected frequency (f_e) for each cell, the totals for the row and column in which a given cell appears are multiplied, and their product divided by the total sample size/number of observations. For example, determination of the expected frequency for Cell One [labeled (1) in the contingency table] involves the computation (50x45) / 110; i.e., multiplication of the totals for the row and column in which Cell One appears, and then the dividing of the product by the total sample size. For Cell Two the computation is (50x65) / 110. Appropriate computations are then carried out for each remaining cell. Having determined the observed and expected frequencies for each cell, the chi square statistic itself can be computed.

To interpret the chi square statistic, one refers to a special table, Distribution of χ^2, normally found among the appendices of any statistics book. This table contains threshold values of chi square for varying levels

of probability, or significance. The most commonly used levels of significance are the .05, .01 and .001 levels. The .05 level of significance means that the probability is 95 out of 100 that the differences in frequencies are not the result of chance. Similarly, .01 refers to a probability of 99 out of 100, and .001 a probability of 999 out of 1,000. If the computed value of χ^2 exceeds the given threshold value for a particular level of significance, then one may state that the differences in the frequencies that have been empirically obtained are significant at that particular level. If, for example, the computed value of chi square in the above hypothetical case exceeds the threshold value for the .05 level, then we may say that the between-group difference in barn color is "significant at the .05 level"--meaning that we can be "95% certain" that the difference is not the result of random chance.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Personal Data

A. Name: _____

B. Address: _____

C. Date: _____

D. Classification: _____

E. Church: _____

II. The Household

A. Number of children: _____

B. House-type: _____

C. Comments on the homestead: _____

_____

_____

III. Household Location

A. Household is located in: a rural area _____

an urban area _____

B. Is it best for a Mennonite to live in a rural area?

Yes _____ No ____

Rationale: _____

_____

C. Do you view the growth of Rockingham's cities and towns as a threat to the "Mennonite way of life?"

Yes _____ No _____

Rationale:_____

_____

IV. Livelihood

A. Occupation of head of household:_____

B. Would you consider farming a test of membership?

Yes_____ No_____

Rationale:_____

_____

C. Is it best for a Mennonite to be a farmer?

Yes_____ No_____

Rationale:_____

_____

D. What occupation would you want your son to go into?

_____

Rationale:_____

_____

V. Education of Children

A. How much education would you like your child/children to receive?_____

Rationale:_____

_____

B. Children attend (or did/will attend):

public school:_____ parochial school_____

Rationale:_____

_____

C. Selected information sources:

radio_____ television_____

local newspaper_____ farm magazine(s)_____

Reader's Digest_____ National Geographic____

news magazine(s)____

VI. Farmers Only

A. Do you use no-tillage corn? Yes____ No_____

Rationale:_____

_____

B. (If yes) How long ago did you first start using it?

_____

C. When a new farming technique comes along, are you generally among: the first to adopt it?____

among the last?_____

"somewhere in the middle"_____

Rationale:_____

_____

D. Comments on farm appearance:_____

_____

_____

VII. Dress

A. How important is it for Mennonite dress to look different from that of non-Mennonites?_____

_____

_____

B. Comments on respondent's (and family's) dress:

_____

_____

VIII. "Pennsylvania Dutch"

Would you rate your proficiency in "Pennsylvania Dutch":

Excellent?____ Fair?____ Poor?_____

None?_____

IX. Travel Behavior

A. What was the destination of your last trip outside the state of Virginia?_____

B. What was the purpose of the trip?_____

_____

C. What was the destination of the farthest trip you've ever taken?_____

D. What was the purpose of the trip?_____

_____

X. Residential Desirability

A. In which two states (Virginia excluded) would you most like to live? 1._____ 2._____

B. Reasons for these choices: _____

_____

_____

XI. **Other Personal Observations and/or Statements by Respondent**

_____

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