

Donald F. Durnbaugh

Holy Cow!: The Unlikely Development of a Highly-Recognized Voluntary Agency—Heifer International

In an episode in January 2003 the popular television drama *The West Wing* built its unfolding story around the request for a photo opportunity with the actor Martin Sheen, playing the role of President Bartlett, with a surprising guest—a live goat. The intent of the odd-seeming incident, according to the plot line, was to provide a presidential stamp of approval for the voluntary agency supplying the animal destined to be donated to a poor family overseas. It was one of thousands of animals (ranging from rabbits to water buffalo) given away annually by an ecumenical agency now named Heifer International. The name has changed over the years from the Heifer Project, to Heifer Project Incorporated, to Heifer Project International, and after 2001 to Heifer International. (Not surprisingly, at a previous juncture a consultant on fund-raising had strongly encouraged the agency to change its name completely, because so many Americans, particularly in urban areas, were unaware that the term “heifer” is given to a young cow.)

By the year 2000, HPI had helped more than 4,500,000 families in 125 nations by donating a variety of 28 food-producing animals and by providing training in animal management, environmentally sound farming, and community development. In 2003 the agency had a budget of 50 million dollars, a headquarters staff of 175 persons in Little Rock, Arkansas, and a field staff of 500 workers worldwide.¹

Curiously the widely seen television drama recapitulated an actual event of June 1986 when President Ronald Reagan presented one of the prestigious President’s Volunteer Action Awards to representatives of the Heifer Project International at a White House reception. Four years later, the organization was given another presidential citation, this time an End Hunger Award, given annually to eight individuals or agencies that have made significant contributions in easing world hunger.²

Forerunner of HPI

Although unconnected to the movement here to be described, there was a somewhat comparable initiative involving German-American farmers in the Midwest after 1918. Following the cessation of hostilities of World War I, news came to the USA of the stark food shortage in Germany and Austria that threatened the starvation of tens of thousands, especially children. Added to the inevitable strain caused by the impact of total war and the stringency of the British naval blockade of the Central

Powers (continued well after the Armistice was signed on November 11, 1918) was the effect of a clause in the Versailles Treaty. As part of the massive reparations Germans were forced to pay to the victorious Allies, 800,000 head of livestock had to be delivered to replace those said to have been destroyed during the war in Belgium and France. The results of these shortages were massive deaths among children caused by malnutrition and diseases arising therefrom.³

German-American farmers from the Plains states, primarily in Kansas and the Dakotas, but also in Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin, heard of this crisis; much information was circulated by the newspaper, the *Dakota Freie Presse*, based in New Ulm, Minnesota. The farmers responded by donating cows from their herds—in all four shipments totaling well over 2,000 animals. These were collected and sent from 1920 to 1922 to Germany, where the Red Cross took major responsibility for their distribution. Lutheran clergymen played a dominant role in the project in the United States.

Despite the humanitarian appeal of the quickly organized action, the process did not go smoothly in the Midwest. Bands of super-patriots, largely war veterans inflamed by protests issued by local American Legion posts, violently objected to sending aid to the hated citizens of Germany, their recent enemy. The mob action thus incited resulted in the stampeding of herds, and killing of some animals, waiting to be collected and shipped abroad. In some cases, government officials deputized armed farmers to protect the cows. By 1922, the collapse of the German economy forced the termination of the project because of the prohibitive costs of distribution.

The Originator of the Heifer Project

Some fifteen years after these first shipments, and quite independent of them, the concept of the current wide-scale movement was formed within the context of denominations of German-American background. The originator of the project was Dan West (1893-1971), a farm-based peace activist and staff worker for the Church of the Brethren, known as one of the three Historic Peace Churches along with the Mennonites and the Friends (Quakers). The Brethren originated in Central Germany in 1708, migrating within a few decades to North America, where they became known as one of the groups of "plain people," similar in many ways to the better-known Amish and Mennonites. They maintained their largely German ethnic identity until well into the twentieth century. Like other young men from the Historic Peace Churches, West had been dissatisfied with the uneven response of his church to the challenge of conscription during World War I. He and the others dedicated their lives to a more effective and positive response to a future military outbreak.⁴

West became known for his effective work with young people, whom he challenged to devote their lives to active peacemaking. Their "no" to prospective military demands must be matched, pro-actively, by a "yes" to disciplined work for peace. In so doing, they would be trained and ready to respond to the crushing expectations of society in the advent of another war. As West surveyed the world scene, such conflict was brewing, especially given the failure of governments to create an effective world body to keep the peace. Although proposed strongly by

Pres. Woodrow Wilson, the refusal of the U.S. Senate to ratify the arrangement fundamentally weakened the League of Nations structure he had envisioned.

In the mid-thirties, representatives of the Brethren, Mennonites, and Friends met repeatedly to discuss ways that they could strengthen their peace witness and ready their constituencies for the threatening conflict. This led to closer cooperative effort, both in rallying peace work in the United States and meeting the needs of sufferers abroad.⁵

One focus for the collaboration was, for a time, relief work in Spain, then ravaged by civil war. The socialist-inclined republic had been overthrown in July 1936 by the fascist-oriented Falangist forces marshaled by General Francisco Franco. Under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and the Friends Service Council of the United Kingdom, aid to needy civilians was mounted in Spain in 1936. Congruent with long-standing policy, this aid was to be administered evenhandedly to both sides—Republican and Nationalist.⁶

Dan West was one of the Brethren workers seconded at this time to the AFSC to distribute relief goods. Relief workers in Spain found themselves confronting massive need with insufficient food supplies and other material. Faced with these shortages, workers had to practice a tragic triage—withholding food from those children so severely malnourished or ill that they had little chance of surviving even if food were made available. Powdered milk was the basis of much of the feeding. It was in the course of such wrenching activities that West had a kind of a vision. As he later described it, he had the thought “Why not bring cows to Spain to eat the grass? The cows could give milk, and the Spanish people could feed their children.”⁷

The seeming impracticality of the scheme notwithstanding, West persisted with the dream, especially when his term of service ended. On the way back home, in England he met a Laborite editor, Geoffrey Pyke, to whom West introduced his idea of heifers for Spain. Pyke liked the concept until it became clear the West wanted to aid those suffering on both sides of the civil war. The Republic-favoring editor then withdrew his previous offer of assistance. “Then,” said West, “I’m sorry. In my world, the needs of women and children are above politics.”⁸

The Early Beginnings of the Heifer Project

Back in the United States, Dan West presented his idea to the Committee on Spain, made up of representatives from the Brethren, Friends, Mennonites, and the Federal Council of Churches. Committee members expressed interest but could offer little practical support. For some years little progress was made. In May 1942 West narrated his proposal to Brethren laymen from his home area of Northern Indiana, the location of many German-American families and congregations. They decided to form a committee to encourage the plan. One Brethren farmer, Ora Stine, made the motion that the men’s work group begin the project; Virgil Mock agreed to donate the first heifer, which was given the name “Faith”. It was cared for on the Stine farm by the teenager Claire Stine.

In June 1942 the plan was formally adopted by the Brethren Service Committee, the social action arm of the Church of the Brethren. In January 1943 a national committee was organized, called the Heifer Project Committee, and the movement took on momentum. Although need overseas was the primary motivation for the

response to the project, wartime exigencies made such delivery of animals impossible. For this reason, the first shipment of heifers was sent to Castañer, a poor community in the U.S. Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. This took place in April 1944 with the Farm Security Administration of the U.S. government providing the transportation by sea. Faith the heifer, and seventeen other animals, found homes among needy Puerto Rican farmers, who had no other livestock but had access to enough grazing land to maintain the gift. The director of the Farm Security Administration in Puerto Rico said of the distribution: "They are excellent stock and you and your colleagues are to be congratulated, not only on being humanitarians, but also for being good livestock and dairy people." Other wartime shipments went to sharecroppers in the southern United States and to Mexico.⁹

One of the most creative aspects of the Heifer Project has been the guiding principle established from the beginning by Dan West. That is the principle of "Passing on the Gift." Every recipient of a donated animal pledges to give to another needy person the first female offspring. Committees and organizations responsible for the original distribution check to see that this has been done. In this way the donation is multiplied, in what one observer has called a "chain reaction of love."

It was not solely the expansion of the gifts the sharing principle effected that Dan West had in mind in establishing this requirement. He understood that it could play an important role in renewing self-respect in the hearts and minds of recipients. Their ability to help others would be a significant step in developing positive morale in difficult situations. As a HPI brochure once put it: "'Passing on the Gift' was one of the cardinal principles he [Dan West] gave to Heifer Project. He believed that charity is degrading, but if you pass on what you receive, it is ennobling. Thousands of people have discovered the joy of sharing by 'passing on the gift' they received through Heifer Project."¹⁰

More animals were donated in the United States with the prospect of their being available when the war ended and distribution to Europe and Asia would be possible. As news of the initial shipment spread, other denominations became interested, many but not all of German-American background. It was agreed that the Brethren-run Heifer Project Committee would "provide information, assistance, and services in dealing with the United States government, administration of any money or heifers contributed to the committee, and finally the opportunity for representatives of other groups to attend the meetings of the committee and [to] receive copies of the agendas and minutes." Thus, from the beginning, an ecumenical and cooperative orientation was to be observed. In some cases at this juncture, when the waiting period before shipment was possible became too extended and there were too many donated animals, some were sold and the proceeds used for humanitarian projects.¹¹

The UNRRA Connection

A major breakthrough took place in June 1945 with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA); this large agency had been established in late 1943 to administer and coordinate world-wide relief of war sufferers. Among their pressing tasks was building up war-depleted herds of livestock in Europe, especially of horses and cattle. The agency bought up large numbers of these animals and leased shipping for sending them overseas. UNRRA was then faced with a large

problem—arranging for attendants to care for the horses and cattle on their ocean crossings.

UNRRA administrators had been made aware of the plans of the Heifer Project as early as 1944. Now they asked the Heifer Project Committee if it would take on the huge job of recruiting what came to be called “seagoing cowboys” as attendants. In return, UNRRA pledged that they would provide ocean transportation to the committee, which would be free to distribute their animals as they wished overseas. Very quickly, the deal was struck.¹²

Time magazine, which had earlier reported on the Puerto Rican shipment, ran an article on the plan in July 1945:

Baltimore stockyards rang with the impatient bellows of 337 cows, the whinnies of 396 restless mares. A ship stood empty in the harbor, ready to load. And across the water, Yugoslavia, Poland, Greece, Albania, and Czechoslovakia (with more than five million farm animals lost in the war) waited hungrily for replacements. But UNRRA was stumped. The ship was ready. The animals were ready. But there were no livestock hustlers to herd the beasts overseas.

Into the breach stepped brisk, friendly Benjamin G. Bushong, dairy farmer, cemetery owner, and chief red-tape cutter of the two-hundred-twenty-six-year-old pacifist Church of the Brethren (“Dunkers”—because they practice baptism by total immersion). For months Dunker Bushong had been pushing his church’s own overseas relief program, . . . only to strike a snag. City Dunkers had raised money for calves and feed. Country Dunkers had fed and fattened the animals into fine bulls and heifers. The Dunkers had the cattle but they had no ships.

Dunker Bushong made a suggestion: if UNRRA would provide shipping for Dunker cows and bulls, the Brethren would rustle up seagoing hustlers to herd the UNRRA animals. UNRRA was delighted and agreed to pay volunteers \$75 monthly expenses, token salaries of 1¢ daily. Expediter Bushong promptly rallied his people and submitted to volunteers what is probably the war’s shortest, most-to-the-point questionnaire: “Who are you? What can you do? He picked 100 (preachers, teachers, students, and a shrewdly chosen handful of veteran dirt farmers) as herders.

Last week UNRRA was busy fulfilling its half of the bargain. As 100 more Dunker volunteers set sail for Europe, six fat Dunker Brown Swiss bulls were safe in Greece, 150 Dunker heifers awaited passage in Poland. Said pleased Pacifist Bushong: “Perhaps shootin’ isn’t the only way out of this world mess.”¹³

In all, over 7,000 “seagoing cowboys” participated in the program, with shipments from Europe to Asia. The trips were no pleasure jaunts. Many of the horses were wild and bit the handlers in the crowded holds. Providing water and feed took most of the daylight hours, along with cleaning the stalls, all involving laborious hauling between decks in rough weather. Some voyages experienced severe storms, causing deaths among the livestock and injury to their handlers, along with seasickness. In some shipping lanes there were still floating mines, which indeed

damaged some ships. There were ship collisions, involving these lumbering Victory and Liberty cargo vessels, turned out in great numbers in the United States during World War II.¹⁴

Once arriving in Europe, in war-torn Poland and Greece especially, the volunteers were struck by the near total war damage and the poverty of the survivors. One notable result of these experiences was to heighten the consciousness of severe need in Europe among those who made the trip. A typical reaction was that of Robert Ebe, a pastor in the Church of the Brethren. After his ship reached Gdansk (Danzig) in 1946 he and his fellow attendants were given shore leave.

Among his reactions were these comments:

We had already seen the destroyed piers and heavy machinery for unloading the ship cargo, but even these are rather inanimate. Once a person gets into a war ravaged city there can be doubt of the terrible destruction war causes. . . . This scene left us deeply shocked. The following day we visited Danzig. The scene there left us almost speechless. . . . All the transportation systems were completely demolished. A full year after the fighting stopped all the streets of old Danzig were still blocked by the debris from the buildings falling down. Food warehouses were burned. Power plants were leveled. Drinking water was extremely scarce and polluted. Libraries, churches, and homes were not spared. It was called 90% destroyed. It looked to us to be total devastation.¹⁵

These experiences had a deep impact on the men involved. After they returned to the USA many became very active in programs for relief and rehabilitation. They encouraged their home congregations to become engaged in programs and projects to alleviate suffering both home and abroad. The compilers of a book relating the memories of these "seagoing cowboys" drew up a list of general observations. Among them were these: "1) The trip gave many a world-view and understanding that was entirely new to them and upon which they began to build"; 2) "The experience of the trip became a call to some to enter the Christian ministry as a full-time vocation"; . . . 5) "The cowboys developed a deep appreciation for the very poor to whom the animals were delivered"; and 6) "Whatever the cause, and the delivering of animals overseas must have played an important role, many of the cowboys have gone on to be leaders/workers in charitable and self-development mission work across the country and the world."¹⁶

The administrator of UNRRA was F. H. LaGuardia (1882-1947), best known for his charismatic leadership as mayor of New York City. In late 1946 he wrote an appreciative letter to Bushong and the Heifer Project Committee; it read:

Dear Mr. Bushong:

I am informed that your organization, the heifer-project committee of the Brethren Service Committee, has assembled a boatload of heifers which you will contribute to UNRRA for shipment from New Orleans to China in December. This will be the first boat of cattle to go to China, and is one of the most important gifts that UNRRA has received. Thousands of the cattle you have donated are now in Czechoslovakia, Greece, Italy and

Poland helping the farmers there to restore their war-torn lands and feed the populations—rural and urban—of these countries which lost 50% of their livestock in the war. The artificial insemination program in Greece, set up by UNRRA with your assistance, has materially helped to improve the depleted breeding stock of that suffering country.

The fine spirit of practical Christianity and the faith that your group has shown are examples to us all in these days when, without faith, we cannot progress. Your movement, beginning modestly as it did, has spread the spirit and its work. Transcending barriers of nationality and religious conviction, it has drawn to itself members of many denominations, and illustrated what can be accomplished when conviction and efficient enterprise and fine Christian generosity are combined.

I understand that your organization has decided to continue its work for two years after UNRRA ceases. This is further exemplification of its validity. May I congratulate and thank you in the name of those we have all been trying to help and wish you every success in the future.

Sincerely yours,
F. H. LaGuardia
Director General¹⁷

Organizational Developments

Starting as a somewhat informal committee, the Heifer Project took on more organization in January, 1946, when Benjamin B. Bushong (1898-1965) was selected as the executive director, to regularize his already active involvement. Later that year the committee took on a more elaborate form when other denominations became full-fledged members; these were besides the parent Brethren Service Committee, the Mennonite Central Committee, the Evangelical and Reformed World Service Committee, The Home Mission Society of the Northern Baptist Convention, the Rural Life Association, and the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. The last named involved the charismatic figure, Monsignor Luigi G. Ligutti (1895-1984), a close friend of M. R. Zigler, the executive secretary of the Brethren Service Committee. The first three denominations named were predominantly of German-American background, and many members of the last-named agencies named had large numbers of German ancestry among their ranks.

In time many more denominational agencies joined forces. The ecumenical arrangement was another example of the philosophy of the Brethren Service Committee. If the work of relief and rehabilitation could be enhanced by cooperation with other agencies that should by all means be done. If the combined program developed broad interest and support, Brethren were more than willing to step back from active leadership.¹⁸

As the project expanded, it was found useful to develop branch offices and centers across the country. Within a few years collection point and shipping centers were located in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin, and later in California. By 1969, offices were in place in New Windsor, Maryland; in Upper Darby, Pennsylvania; in Fayetteville, New York; in Boston, Massachusetts; in North

Manchester, Indiana; in Denver, Colorado; Portland, Oregon; and Modesto and Pasadena, California. The central office moved from North Manchester, Indiana, to St. Louis, Missouri, and finally to Little Rock, Arkansas.¹⁹

By 1954 (the tenth anniversary of the first shipment of heifers), there were eight agencies involved in the organization, and 7,000 animals had been placed. Three years later, the 10,000th heifer was distributed in Germany, where a large program had been developed following 1949 to help resettle refugees and expellees.

The expansion and growth of the project had its problems. By 1948 and 1949 there were voices raised within the ranks of the administrators (who had been carrying a tremendous load) and board members suggesting that the Heifer Project may have run its course. The worst of wartime devastation was being repaired and the suffering of the affected populations was diminishing. Should not the sponsoring denominations turn their attention to domestic needs and the many normal demands of church life?

On January 1, 1947, UNRRA had ceased its operations and with it, the free transportation of livestock. Throughout 1947 and 1948 the project had to develop alternative means of transporting the donated animals, always an expensive and complicated operation. At the same time the level of contributions was waning somewhat, as many former donors came to feel that charity begins at home. Executives within the Church of the Brethren were increasingly questioning the extreme financial and administrative burden that they had largely carried.²⁰

One way to resolve the problem was to spread more responsibility to others, to shift some of the load to other shoulders. In 1953 a major reorganization of the program came into effect. The agency was incorporated, with a logical name change to Heifer Project Incorporated; it became an independent interdenominational entity. Thurl Metzger had replaced Benjamin Bushong as executive director in 1951, serving until 1971. One of his first initiatives (in 1952) was develop a project to deliver hatching eggs to Korea, in cooperation with the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency. As early as 1947, shipments of goats had been sent to the former enemy, Japan, reaching a total of 2,200.²¹

Four years later, as a result of lengthy negotiations carried on by Metzger, it was possible to send a shipment of livestock to the Soviet Union. The cows were to be placed in orphanages and hospitals. When this proposal was presented to the HPI board, there was some hesitation. Some board members expressed the fear that the venture might alienate some supporters and hamper contributions. Dan West, founder of the Heifer Project, blocked the criticism with his statement: "A cow cannot distinguish between the hungry cries of a capitalist baby and a communist baby."²²

The attendants, two church leaders of the Church of the Brethren from Northern Indiana and a Brethren pastor from Iowa, joined Metzger in the shipment to the Soviet Union. They were well received in their travels after delivery of the livestock, despite the Cold War then raging between the Soviet Union and the United States. Reports of the unusual effort quoted M. R. Zigler's quip, "You can go anywhere on the back of a heifer."²³

It is impossible by the nature of the program to provide details on the hundreds, even thousands, of shipments around the world and the variety of animals placed. In many areas, it was felt inappropriate to deliver large animals. In those cases, other shipments were used, ranging from bees, to poultry, to rabbits, to sheep. In some

other cases, water buffalo, llamas, or camels were the best choices. Some snapshots may illustrate the impact of the Heifer Project. In 1955 it was calculated that the crossbreeding of cattle in India made possible by the insemination by HPI bulls had quadrupled milk production. One year later it was reported that the half of the chickens in Korea derived from earlier HPI shipments. In 1962 HPI contracted with the U.S. Peace Corps to support its programs in Ecuador and Bolivia. In 1967 a celebration was held in Egypt for the arrival of the one-millionth chick. In 1969, during the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of HPI they counted some 40,000 food-producing animals and several million poultry among the contributions thus far.²⁴

The year 1971 saw important changes in the organization of the Heifer Project program. The agency established a Livestock Center at the Fourche Ranch near Little Rock, Arkansas, made possible by the gift of a million-dollar herd of 2,000 pedigreed cattle. The national office was moved to St. Louis, Missouri, and a new director began work, replacing Thurl Metzger, who, however, continued to supervise overseas arrangements. The same year also marked the death of HPI founder Dan West, who had suffered from ALS (amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, often referred to as Lou Gehrig's disease). His memory is perpetuated in the Dan West Memorial Acres of 1977 and the Dan West Visitor Center, dedicated in 1981.²⁵

Recent Developments

About this time, a significant shift occurred in the program outreach of HPI. Greater efforts were taken now to ensure that all recipients had instruction in the proper care and management of their animals. Most of the poultry and livestock were being purchased locally to save shipping costs and also lessen their adjustment period. Beyond that, HPI field staff shifted much of their energies to local development of resources and training of local peoples. Special attention was paid to the empowerment of women, who, in many areas serviced by HPI, were typically relegated to lower status, with little chance for education or private income.²⁶

The Heifer Project program has continued to evolve and grow remarkably in recent years. In 1992 Joy Luck, active in Arkansas governmental and social action agencies, was made executive secretary (and later named president and CEO). By 1995 more than a million families in 110 nations had been assisted. In the same year, the agency had the unusual distinction of being given an honorary doctorate by Manchester College, Indiana, alma mater of Dan West and many of the individuals involved with HPI over the years.²⁷ After only five more years, the number of families aided had increased four-fold. As mentioned earlier, in 2003, the agency, now known simply as Heifer International, had a budget of fifty million dollars, with a headquarters staff of 175 and a field staff of 500 worldwide. In that year construction was begun on a new office center with an award-winning variety of ecologically based features.²⁸

The agency was awarded the Conrad N. Hilton Humanitarian award for 2004, valued at one million dollars. The statement accompanying the award stated, in part, referring the original concept that took on form in 1944: "Sixty years later, the gifts come in 30 species, more like Noah's Ark: agouti, alpacas, bees, earthworms, elephants, guinea pigs, silkworms, snails and yaks, to name a few cultural favorites.

The idea has spread to more than 125 countries. Today, the organization brings training in animal health and environmentally sound agriculture. It leaves behind dignity, self-sufficiency, gender equality, sense of community and something close to optimism for millions of the planet's least fortunate."²⁹

What began in the mid-1930s as the vision of a relief worker sitting under an almond tree in a Spain wracked by Civil War, has evolved into a highly-respected organization with nearly universal reach. Dan West's widow, Lucy Rupel West, recapitulated the beginning: "Hundreds in line would come past the table where they were doling out powdered milk. Dan had to say, 'What's the use.' See he started just dreaming and, really, it was very simple—not a cup, but a cow."³⁰

Juniata College

Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Notes

¹ "Taking Heifer Under Their 'Wing.'" *World Ark* (Spring, 2003): 30. The same issue of the Heifer International journal has an article describing the gift by Oprah Winfrey of fifty milk goats to an Ugandan village in September, 2002 (pp. 13-16). The quarterly journal features news of the agency's projects around the world and is the source of the statistics cited.

² "Heifer Project Garners Presidential Award," [Church of the Brethren] *Messenger* (October, 1986): 5; "News Release: Heifer Project International Receives Presidential End Hunger Award," (October 16, 1990).

³ This story is told in great detail in two articles written by La Vern J. Rippley, based primarily on contemporary newspaper accounts and personal interviews: "Gift Cows for Germany," *North Dakota History* 40 (Summer, 1973): 4-15, 39, and "American Milk Cows for Germany: A Sequel," *North Dakota History* 44 (Summer, 1977): 15-23.

⁴ The biography of West by Glee Yoder, *Passing On the Gift: The Story of Dan West* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1978), provides much information on the Heifer Project. See also: Kenneth I. Morse, "West, Daniel," in *The Brethren Encyclopedia* (Philadelphia, PA / Oak Brook, IL: Brethren Encyclopedia, Inc., 1983-1984), 2: 1330-1332; Kermit Eby, *The God in You* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), 43-54 and "Faith, Hope, and Heifers," *Gospel Messenger* (November 24, 1951): 8-11.

⁵ For information on this cooperative effort, see Donald F. Durnbaugh, "The Fight Against War of the Historic Peace Churches, 1919-1941," in *Challenge to Mars: Essays on Pacifism from 1918 to 1945*, eds. Peter Brock and Thomas F. Socknat (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 218-239.

⁶ Information on the Friends' work in Spain is found in John O. Greenwood, *Quaker Encounters: Volume 1: Friends and Relief* (York, UK: William Sessions Limited, 1975), 252-258; Howard E. Kershner, *Quaker Service in Modern War* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950); Norma Jacob, "The Spanish Civil War," in *Bio of an Ogre: The Autobiography of Piers Anthony to Age 50* (New York: Ace Books, 1988), 229-243; Sylvester Jones, *Not By Might* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Publishing House for the author, 1942).

⁷ Eby, *God in You* (1954), 45.

⁸ Eby, *God in You* (1954), 46.

⁹ Roger E. Sappington, *Brethren Social Policy, 1908-1958* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1961), 111-115. See also Thurl Metzger, "The Heifer Project," in *To Serve the Present Age: The Brethren Service Story*, ed. Donald F. Durnbaugh (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1975), 144-147, and Thurl Metzger, "Heifer Project International," in *Brethren Encyclopedia* (1983-1984), 1: 593-595. For the early days of the project, see "Heifers for Relief: A Rehabilitation Program Sponsored by the Church of the Brethren," *Gospel Messenger* (June 5, 1943) 12. Brethren work in Puerto Rico is described in Mary Sue H. Rosenberger, *Light of the Spirit: The Brethren in Puerto Rico, 1942 to 1992* (Elgin, IL: Association of Brethren Caregivers, 1992).

¹⁰ Cited in Yoder, *Passing on the Gift* (1978), 163.

¹¹ Sappington, *Brethren Social Policy* (1961), 113.

¹² Sappington, *Brethren Social Policy* (1961), 114-115.

¹³ *Time* (July 23, 1945), reprinted by permission in *Gospel Messenger* (September 1, 1945): 10. The

earlier article on the first shipment to Puerto Rico was published in *Time* (July 24, 1944), reprinted by permission in *Gospel Messenger* (August 19, 1944): 10. Later the stipend was set at \$150 per trip.

¹⁴ There are many accounts of the experiences of the attendants; many are gathered in Bill Beck and Mel West, eds., *Cowboy Memories: Published in Honor of the Seagoing Cowboys, Air Attendants, and Truckers of HPI Animals—On the Fiftieth Anniversary of Heifer Project International* (Little Rock, AR: Heifer Project International by Florida United Methodist Conference, 1994). See also Lawrence W. Shultz, *People and Places, 1890-1970: An Autobiography* (Winona Lake, IN: Life and Light Press for the author, 1971), 104-107; John C. Eller, *Wave Rider for Peace: A Diary of a Sea-going Cowboy to Poland—1946* ([n.p.]: author, 1990), and Reuel B. Pritchett and Dale Aukerman, *On the Ground Floor of Heaven* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 105-111. One of the earliest accounts was Donald Lefever, ed., *Relief for Greece: The Experiences of the Cattlemen Who Sailed with the First Shipment of UNRRA Livestock on the S. S. Virginian* ([n.p.]: 1946). The leader of the group was Orville Hersch, a dairy farmer from Manassas, VA, who became very active in support of the Heifer Project. One of the attendants was the young Bob Richards, later to become famous as an Olympic athlete. Another attendant in 1946 was Harvey Cox, later to become well-known as an author and professor at Harvard Divinity School; his autobiography was *Just As I Am* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1983), 31-34.

¹⁵ Beck and West, *Cowboy Memories* (1994), 51-53 and Robert Ebey, *Preacher Bob* ([Kendallville, IN: author,] 1990), 76-92.

¹⁶ Beck and West, *Cowboy Memories* (1994), 7-8.

¹⁷ Published in *Gospel Messenger* (January 11, 1947): 21; see also, Sappington, *Brethren Social Policy* (1961), 128, 137.

¹⁸ Detailed information on the work of Bushong is found in an essay written by a granddaughter, M. Rebecca Bushong, "Ben Bushong—Apostle of Mercy," *Brethren Life and Thought* 24 (Spring, 1979): 71-88. For the work of the Catholic farm expert, see Raymond W. Miller, *Monsignor Ligutti* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1981).

¹⁹ The work of Heifer Project on the West Coast is told in detail in Clara T. Johnson, *Milk for the World: The Heifer Project on the West Coast: A Story of Love in Action* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1971).

²⁰ This is discussed in Bushong, "Ben Bushong" (1979), 82-85.

²¹ A good overview of these years is provided in J. Kenneth Kreider, *A Cup of Cold Water: The Story of Brethren Service* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 2001), 131-149; the author was himself active in the program in Germany.

²² Kreider, *Cup of Cold Water* (2001), 144.

²³ Paul E. Miller, "A Visit to Odessa and Kiev," *Gospel Messenger* (February 2, 1957): 6-9; Yoder, *Passing on the Gift* (1978), 110.

²⁴ June Wolfe, "Heifer Project Celebration: 25 Years of Giving Life," *Messenger* (August 28, 1969): 20-22.

²⁵ Yoder, *Passing on the Gift* (1978), 110-11

²⁶ See *From Relief to Development: The Evolving Mission of Heifer Project International, Inc.* ([n.p.]: Clio Research Associates, Inc.—History 7391: Public History Seminary, 1993).

²⁷ *Manchester College Bulletin* (Summer, 1975): 9, 16-17; *News from Manchester College* 5 (February, 1995) and 6 (June, 1995).

²⁸ Roy White, "Building for a Green Future," *World Ark* (Fall, 2003): 18-19.

²⁹ *World Ark* (November-December, 2004): [17].

³⁰ Sharon Blair, "Dan West: Heifer's Founder a Prophet of Peace," *World Ark* (November-December, 2004): 23-24.

