MENNONITE LIFE

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CONTRIBUTORS

A. J. METZLER, Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, attended the World Council of Churches meeting at New Delhi, India.

C. J. DYCK, Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Indiana, is executive secretary of the Mennonite World Conference.

WILLIAM KEENEY, Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio, is MCC representative at Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

C. J. REMPEL, Kitchener, Ontario, is secretary of the Conference of Historic Peace Churches and of the Local Committee on arrangements of Mennonite World Conference.

HENRY H. EPP, pastor of the United Mennonite Church, Waterloo, Ontario, is the chairman of the Board of Directors of Conrad Grebel College.

JOHN C. SAWATSKY, professor of the University of Toronto, is department editor of *Mennonite Life*.

WILFRED ULRICH is pastor of the Stirling Avenue Mennonite Church, Kitchener, Ontario.

DOROTHY SWARTZENDRUBER, Director of Secretarial Services, Kitchener, Ontario, and archivist of Mennonite Conference in Ontario.

HARVEY TAVES is director of Canadian office of Mennonite Central Committee, Kitchener, Ontario.

ALVIN J. MILLER, professor of Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, presents the second article on experiences in revolutionary Russia.

GERHARD WIENS, professor of German, University of Oklahoma, writes second article about experiences in revolutionary Russia.

WALTER H. HOHMANN, professor emeritus at Bethel College, continues his research in Reformation and Mennonite musicology.

ROBERT FRIEDMANN, Kalamazoo, Michigan, taught in the winter of 1961-62 at Bethel College, where he presented his experiences.

HERMAN LANDSFELD, Straznice, Morava, Czechoslovakia, specialist in the ceramics and books of the Habaner, is now active in this field in Czechoslovakia.

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IN THIS ISSUE

This issue is to a large extent devoted to the Seventh Mennonite World Conference which is convening in Kitchener, Ontario, August 1-7, under the theme "The Lordship of Christ." The article by A. J. Metzler introduces the quest of Christianity for unity, and C. J. Dyck briefly summarizes the world-wide efforts Mennonites have made along these lines. William Keeney reports that over three hundred European Mennonites are on their way to attend this Conference and visit the Mennonite communities (August 8-31) in the following states: Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Illinois, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. ¶ Further articles are devoted primarily to the area in which the Mennonite World Conference will convene. Background and present conditions, including occupations, industries, businesses, education, welfare and missions, are featured in numerous articles and illustrations. The editors of *Mennonite Life* express appreciation to the many who cooperated in this project, particularly Henry H. Epp, who helped in the planning of and assisted in the production of this part of the issue. Many of the photographs were taken by the local photographer, David Hunsberger. ¶ Alvin J. Miller continues, in this issue, his reminiscences pertaining to relief work in Russia, while Gerhard Wiens shares with us his first efforts in the mastery of the English language in revolutionary days. ¶ Walter H. Hohmann presents some of his findings in his research in musicology demonstrating that Mennonites have not been completely unaware of the Christian year and have occasionally made use of it in their worship services. Robert Friedmann relates his unique story of how he found his way to the Anabaptist heritage which kindled in him a fire still burning, and how he joined the Mennonites in faith and work. Herman Landsfeld's work is closely related to that of Friedmann. Only recently we made personal contact with him through the Hutterites in South Dakota. His report about the unusual discoveries of tokens of a sixteenth century heritage crushed by Catholicism and discovered in the days of Communism is indeed unusual.

New Delhi and We

By A. J. Metzler

WHAT VOLUMES HAVE been written on the Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches which met at New Delhi, November 18 to December 6, 1961! Never was any religious gathering so completely covered by every means of modern communication. There were four hundred and fifty representatives of the secular and religious press, wire services, radio and TV in the press section. This sketch will be limited to some observations and lessons which we Mennonites may consider.

The meeting of the World Council of Churches reminds us that probably the most sorry aspect of church history is division of the church. With the twenty-three churches, including the Orthodox Church of Russia, which were received into membership in WCC, last December, there are now nearly two hundred denominations represented. Of course, one needs to remember that many of these divisions had their origin in language or national bases. However, this does not explain nearly all the divisions. Many of the denominations come from the same language or cultural areas. When one looks at the world-wide picture of the church, not only do we see the still unspanned gaps separating members in WCC, but literally hundreds of other groups professing the name of Christ. Often these churches exist in the same general areas, but have little or no fellowship with each other. Yes, probably the greatest tragedy in the history of the church has been her failure to achieve the unity the Lord intended. As we shall note later, there is no conclusive evidence that these gaps are, even now, being effectively spanned.

However, efforts, such as that of the WCC, to bring together the many groups of Christians throughout the world do indicate a new and determined desire to experience and demonstrate the unity of the body of Christ. There are many factors causing world church leaders to renew their efforts in this direction. Today's communication and transportation not only make it easier but far more necessary for a more vital realization of a one-world church community. Furthermore, the baffling problems of a sick world are not being answered by the proposals of the genii in the fields of education, finance and the military. It becomes increasingly clear that if society is to find answers, it will be from God through his church. For this colossal task there must be a more complete realization of his *one* church. Attempts to bring the many Christian groups of the world together in the WCC are motivated, no doubt, primarily by the desire to achieve that unity so essential in the fulfillment of the church's purpose and task.

Then, too, as one watched and listened to the runnings and the rumblings of so great a machine for nearly three weeks, one was impressed, not only by the possibilities, but also the limitations of union and cooperation on such a colossal scale. The planning and the administration of the assembly, only a part of the mammoth operation of WCC, involved many people, and much time and money. It was clear that scores of individuals invested much of their time during several years in planning these three weeks. This gathering represented an investment of hundreds of thousands of dollars. During the sessions, a staff of nearly three hundred was required to look after the many details. This included everyone from the presidium of six church statesmen and the General Secretary, W. A. Visser 't Hooft, on through to the operators of some thirty typewriters and duplicators working in three shifts.

One of the clearest indications of inefficiency and lost energy, came to me as I observed the work of the Division of Inter-church Aid and Service to Refugees. An urgent need for relief may occur in some remote corner of the world. First, this must be discovered and reported through various centers to the national headquarters of some church group which may relay it to WCC headquarters in Geneva. Machinery is set in motion and investigation is authorized. When Geneva gets a report on this investigation, it lays its plans for

resources and personnel. This, again, probably is communicated to the national church headquarters which in turn sets in motion the machinery to assemble the resources. When they are finally assembled and channeled through Geneva to the place of urgent need, months have passed. In other words, the gap between the need on the one hand, and the person in the city, village or farm with the resources, on the other hand, is vast in such a large organization.

I could not help but think by contrast of the short lines of communication in a simple organization such as the Mennonite Central Committee. Usually, the family or the congregation which responds to a need through giving their own young persons, funds, and prayers, feels a direct relationship and involvement that truly makes them partners in ministering "in the name of Christ." Yes, while there are some advantages of union and cooperation on a large scale, on the other hand, one does have the feeling that often a large portion of the investment of energy and funds is consumed in operating the machine.

We must also ask whether WCC or similar efforts are truly the answer to the church's divisions. In the history of the church, the present time is a period of coming together. On the national scene, denominations are merging. Most countries have their National Councils of Churches. In addition to the National Council of Churches in the United States, there are other attempts to bring church groups together. The National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) is an effort at union on the part of those more conservative, theologically. The American Council of Churches represents a smaller group working at church union. But whether it is on the national scene or on the world front through WCC, one has the feeling that it is a federation of separate and independent parts into a gigantic organization rather than effecting a genuine oneness as an organism, the body of Christ. This lack of genuine unity was dramatized by the unsuccessful attempt to bring together in a great Communion service all the participants at the WCC Assembly. Although there were several separate occasions provided for Communion services in an attempt to meet the varied desires and practices, even then there were many who could not commune with any one of the several groups. This was well stated by a writer in a recent issue of the *Expository Times*. "I shall retain always a vivid impression of two unfulfilled longings. The Assembly ached to speak a clear and prophetic word about nuclear warfare and could not, in honesty, do so. The whole atmosphere was infused by a desire for closer Christian unity but we moved no nearer to it . . . . We shared together in the service of the Lord's Supper . . . . For two hours we were in one gaily colored shemiana, a tent that became a tabernacle . . . . We began to discuss and argue again on Monday but we knew what it meant to be one in Christ that Sunday morning."

"One in Christ" for two hours out of nearly three weeks! Yes, we must ask whether all the efforts to get together are truly the answer or remedy to the church's divisions. It may be a means of building bridges over the chasms. But it is not so much bridges we need as it is a spiritual revolution from heaven that will make us one, so chasms and canyons will be gone and no bridges needed.

Finally, looking at WCC compels us to face seriously the question of what is New Testament church unity and how do we achieve and demonstrate it, if present efforts are not the answer? No truth is more clearly and emphatically taught in the New Testament than the organic union of all members of the body of Christ. This is what Christ died for. It is what he prayed for. It is the purpose for which the holy spirit was given. This union must be so simple, so perfectly clear that "the world might believe that thou hast sent me." If there is any regard for truth and logic, no present claim can be made for such unity. As long as we do not feel our way clear to join heartily in the world, national and inter-denominational efforts of others to achieve and demonstrate the unity of the church which the New Testament teaches, the burden rests upon us to find a more adequate way. What are the steps in finding such unity?

1. There must be a clear understanding of the plain New Testament teaching concerning the nature and necessity of this unity.

2. There must be realization and deep-seated holy spirit conviction regarding the tragic part we as Mennonites have had in fragmenting the body of Christ. This, together, with individual and collective penitence before God with his pardon and healing is the only means of preparing us for the successive steps in realizing the unity for which Christ so fervently prayed.

3. There must be a deep and abiding faith that the unity of the church is possible in this age. We must refuse to believe that something so clearly taught by our Lord has so many dangers and difficulties that its realization is not to be hoped for. Without this firm faith and optimism based squarely upon the Word of God, there will never be any genuine progress made in unity of God's children.

4. Only when these steps are taken in a meaningful, revolutionary, personal experience will we be ready for the long arduous road ahead in prayer and labor, in cooperatively seeking God's will and way. In some places it is considered dangerous to work, pray, and hope for unity among Mennonites. Too long we have seen only the dangers and the difficulties. Unity is his will and, therefore, can be realized. The question is whether we want it and whether we are willing to pay the price for it.

And thus, whether our attitude toward the WCC is one of criticism or approval, are we at least willing to allow God to speak to us through it?

By Cornelius J. Dyck

THE IDEA OF a Mennonite world conference was first suggested by Christian Neff, late elder of the Weierhof, Palatinate, Germany. Under his leadership the first conference was held in Basel, Switzerland, June 13-16, 1925. Though a number of European countries were represented, H. J. Krehbiel, president of the General Conference Mennonite Church, was the only North American delegate present. Particular attention was given to the 400th anniversary of the founding of the Mennonite church in 1525, but a session was also devoted to the question of "How can we improve the spiritual life of our congregations?"

Later Conferences

At the second world conference, called a World Relief Conference, held in Danzig August 31 - September 3, 1930, five or six North Americans were present, including Harold S. Bender, C. F. Klassen, and David Toews. The program was devoted exclusively to a study of the relief work of the Mennonite churches, particular attention being given to the great need of the Mennonites in Russia at that time. A special message of courage and comfort was sent to the Russian Mennonite congregations.

The program of the third world conference, held at Amsterdam and Witmarsum, June 29 - July 3, 1936, on the 400th anniversary of Menno's conversion, was strongly historical. Attention was focused upon the significance of Menno Simons for the Mennonite brotherhood. Further efforts were made to aid the Russian Mennonite brotherhood through collections for their travel debts. A relief center was established at Karls-

Some members of the Mennonite World Conference Presidium (left to right): Paul Showalter, Germany; Hendrik W. Meihuizen, Netherlands; Erland Waltner, Elkhart; Peter Wiens, Paraguay; Harold S. Bender, Goshen; Jesse B. Martin, Kitchener.

Kitchener Memorial Auditorium in which the Seventh Mennonite World Conference will convene, August 1-7, 1962.

ruhe for this purpose, under the direction of Benjamin H. Unruh. Some fifteen North Americans attended this conference, six of these coming from Canada. P. R. Schroeder, president of the General Conference, was among them.

The fourth world conference was to be held in the United States in 1940 but the coming of World War II prevented this. In 1946 the conference pioneer leader, Christian Neff, died. Thereupon the Mennonite Central Committee took the initiative, inviting the conference to Goshen, Indiana, and Newton, Kansas, from August 3-10, 1948. The program was very full; no less than 45 major addresses were delivered. Though the attendance was large, only 27 representatives were able to come from overseas, largely financed by MCC and offerings in the churches in which European ministers spoke on deputation tours. This conference set up a preparatory commission for the next world conference.

The 1952 conference, being the fifth, was held on the grounds of the St. Chrischona Seminary near Basel, Switzerland, from August 10-15. It was the first to have official delegates. The preparatory commission had

set a quota of about 200 delegates, one hundred from America and one hundred from Europe and elsewhere. Holland was to have thirty-five; Germany thirty; the French, Alsatian, and Swiss conferences ten each; other countries five. Some 200 delegates actually came, of which 112 were from America. The officers of the preparatory commission were asked to serve as the executive officers of the conference. Harold S. Bender thus became chairman. The general theme was "The Church of Christ and Her Commission." Discussion groups and special interest group meetings were held for the first time at this conference. Daily attendance averaged 600.

The sixth conference was held in Karlsruhe, Germany, from August 10-16, 1957, in the Municipal Auditorium. Attendance exceeded all the previous conferences, averaging 1000 daily, 2500 on Sunday. There were 248 delegates: United States 88, Canada 22, South America 5, Holland 42, Germany 60, France 18; Switzerland 8, Belgium and Austria each 1, Asia 3. The main theme was "The Gospel of Jesus Christ in the World." All present reported a real experience of blessing and fellowship. The warm, evangelical spirit of those conference days still speaks to the reader who sits down with the published book of conference proceedings today.

A significant development of the 1957 conference was the adoption of guiding principles (or constitution) for the continuing work of the conference. In this constitution the stated purpose of the world conference is "to bring the Mennonites of the world together in regularly recurring meetings of brotherly fellowship. It seeks thereby to strengthen for them the awareness of the world-wide brotherhood in which they stand." It was agreed further that "by its recurring sessions the Conference seeks, under the leadership of the Holy Spirit, to deepen faith and hope, and to stimulate and aid the church in its ministry to the world; that is, in greater obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the promotion of His kingdom in the world."

Structure

Organizationally, the constitution calls for the conference to consist of a presidium or general council, an executive committee, and the delegate body. The council is to consist of one representative from each participating autonomous conference or body, a second representative to be added for those groups having more than 20,000 members. This council is charged with the continuing work of the conference, acting through the executive committee which it elects from among its members. The council is responsible to the conferences which elect the members of it. Their term of office is determined by the respective conferences according to their good pleasure. The executive committee automatically becomes the executive committee of the world conference, and its officers automatically become the officers of the world conference. The delegate body is designated to meet only at the time of the conferences, to advise the general council and to give general direction to the entire proceedings, to determine the allocation of offerings, to adopt a conference message, and to discuss the continuing function and ministry of the conference.

The Seventh Conference

The Seventh Mennonite World Conference has been scheduled to convene, the Lord willing, from August 1-7, 1962, at Kitchener, Ontario. The preparations for the conference are being carried out by the presidium and the executive committee, as agreed upon at Karlsruhe. The presidium met in Kitchener during the summer of 1959, in Europe in 1960, and again in Kitchener in 1961. From these sessions the executive committee, working through the secretariat at Elkhart, Indiana, carries out the many aspects of planning for the conference and its program. A local committee on arrangements, composed of one representative appointed by each of the district conferences in Ontario, is responsible for all non-program physical arrangements. The Ontario churches have raised the funds for the rental of the large Kitchener Memorial Auditorium, comfortably seating 7,000 people with standing room for many more. Participating groups contribute .007 cents per member again this year for incidental travel expenses, stationery, printing, and other costs. Speakers' travel expenses are not normally paid by the conference treasury, nor are the travel expenses of the members of the presidium.

Program

The theme of the Seventh Mennonite World Conference is "The Lordship of Christ." At 9 o'clock each morning seven Bible study groups will convene to study the letter to the Colossians. This will be followed by one major theme address each morning, after which the delegates break up into discussion groups. An open mass meeting will be held simultaneously with the discussion groups to consider vital issues of faith and life: stewardship, wherein does the Mennonite brotherhood need strengthening, the sources of church renewal, and others. The first hour of the afternoon will be given to sub-theme presentations, followed by special interest group meetings: women, men, evangelism, missions, education, young people, historical-sociological, theological, peace, and literature. A program of music and numerous bus tours have been scheduled for Saturday afternoon. A communion service is being planned for Tuesday morning. The evening programs will consist of choir music, including an Ontario choir of 700 voices, brief descriptive and evaluative reports from the Mennonite brotherhood around the world, and a major address each evening. The speakers have been chosen to represent proportionately all participating groups and nations. The official language of the conference will be

English this time, with simultaneous translation into German for those desiring it. A contract for wireless translation equipment has been signed with Multitone of Canada, Ltd.

No less than 750 delegates are expected to attend the sessions. While only 27 were able to come to America from abroad in 1948, it is anticipated that the number of delegates and visitors from abroad will exceed 300 in 1962. Most of the younger churches will be represented by their own people. No limit has been set upon the number of delegates from abroad but the North American groups are entitled to 1 delegate for every 250 members. These delegates do not legislate, for the world conference is not a super church. It convenes basically for inspiration and discussion, or as the German and Swiss brethren say, it is a *Glaubenskonferenz*. Each of the participating groups retains its autonomy. The unity anticipated will be that of the Holy Spirit rather than organizational, but an invoking of the spirit predicates a willingness to follow where he will lead.

The conference is dedicated to the glory of God. Fellowship, growth, and inspiration are bound to occur where the people of God gather together to think, commune, and to pray. Knowledge of the world-wide brotherhood will increase through this fellowship of person with person, through the addresses, through the 1000 feet of exhibits on display, through the breaking of bread together. The Mennonite world brotherhood consists of approximately 400,000 members today, scattered over five continents and thirty countries, yet one heritage and mission unites them. The Seventh Mennonite World Conference will have fulfilled its function to the extent to which it increases and deepens Mennonite awareness of this heritage and this mission.

European Mennonites Visit America

By William Keeney

THE LEADERS OF the first Mennonite World Conference in 1925 could hardly have foreseen the growth in attendance which is expected at the seventh Mennonite World Conference in Kitchener from August 1-7, 1962. Only one American Mennonite delegate was present at that first conference. Even in 1948 at the fourth Mennonite World Conference in Goshen, Indiana, and Newton, Kansas, only twenty-seven delegates and visitors are listed from outside North America.

For the seventh Mennonite World Conference more than three hundred and fifty delegates and visitors are expected from Europe alone. This is made possible by the chartering of three DC-7 airplanes to bring delegates and family members to the conference. While final figures are not available as yet, estimates indicate that about 160 will be coming by chartered plane from Germany, 105 from Holland, 35 from Switzerland, 35 from France and five from Belgium. A few will be traveling from these countries by boat or regularly scheduled airlines.

Much organization was required to bring such a large group of Mennonites to Canada and to provide a three-week bus tour after the conference for about two hundred of the delegates and visitors. In Europe the organization effected at three central points: in Switzerland at the European Mennonite Bible School and the vacation center at Bienenberg near Basel; in Germany through German Mennonite organizations and the Mennonite Central Committee in Frankfurt; and in the Netherlands through the office of the Algemene Doopsgezinde Societeit in Amsterdam. Among the persons responsible are Liesel Widmer in Switzerland, Peter J. Dyck at Frankfurt, and R. de Zeeuw at Amsterdam.

Menno Travel Service located at Amsterdam with Marwood Dyck as director is helping with the travel for some who will be using other means than the chartered planes. Menno Travel Service will also arrange some travel for missionaries and others from outside of Europe who will be passing through Europe to or from the conference.

The Dutch Mennonites have been preparing for the coming Mennonite World Conference in several ways. Each year there is a day set aside as Brotherhood Day. The theme for October 8, 1961, was "We Dutch Mennonites and the Mennonites in Other Lands." It was consciously chosen as a preparation for the seventh Mennonite World Conference.

Over the weekend of March 3 and 4, 1962, about thirty-five people gathered for a conference arranged by the "Commission Canada" of the Amsterdam Mennonite congregation. With F. Kuiper and H. Bremer of Amsterdam and D. Shank of the (Old) Mennonite mission in Brussels as speakers and resource leaders, the group discussed the theme of the Mennonite World Conference, "The Lordship of Christ."

The Fellowship for Dutch Mennonite Brotherhood Work (Gemeenschap voor Doopsgezinde Broederschapswerk) sponsored a conference on April 28 and 29 at Schoorl, one of the Dutch Mennonite brotherhood houses. The theme was "The Church on the Way." On Saturday, April 28, with R. W. Kylstra as speaker they looked back at the assembly of the World Council of Churches in New Dehli under the title "With New Dehli in the Wake." On Sunday, April 29, with W. Keeney as speaker they looked forward to the Mennonite World Conference under the title "With Kitchener before the Bow." About two-thirds of the sixty-five participants were delegates who plan to go to Kitchener.

The Dutch Mennonites also had a meeting in June where those going to Kitchener became even better prepared to participate fully in the Mennonite World Conference. At the conference on June 16 H. W. Meihuizen, vice president of the preparatory commission for the seventh Mennonite World Conference, spoke about the manner of life and faith of the American Mennonites as well as the value of international Mennonite contacts. In the afternoon J. A. Oosterbaan discussed the theological contribution which the Dutch Mennonites can make in relation to the theme "Jesus Christ as Lord." J. P. Matthijssen spoke about the Dutch Mennonite contribution in the area of missions. Practical questions related to the travel to and after the conference were also discussed.

The Dutch brotherhood also prepared a pamphlet in Dutch and English to help their delegates interpret the work and activities of the Dutch Mennonites. Smaller groups are meeting to practice English with MCC and MTS personnel in Amsterdam. One of the two groups is also studying the book of Colossians both for the practice in English and also because it will be used as the basis for Bible studies at the conference.

The Mennonite World Conference at Kitchener is much in the attention of European Mennonites. In addition to various public meetings there are many who are preparing privately in one way or another. The conference has also been commended to the members of the churches as a subject for prayer, not only for those attending the conference, but also for those staying at home.

The European Mennonites are increasingly interested in Mennonites from other parts of the world. There is much expectation that the conference and the fellowship with Mennonites from many different places can be fruitful in enriching the total life, work and mission of the Mennonite brotherhood in the world today as it is faithful to the Lordship of Christ.

Dutch Mennonite delegates discuss approaching Mennonite World Conference, in Amsterdam Mennonite Church March 3-4, (right) Frits Kuiper, pastor of Amsterdam.

The Waterloo Mennonites

By C. J. Rempel

"Waterloo County" and "Mennonites" are synonymous in the minds of many people of Ontario. This county, lying in the southwesterly area of southern Ontario, approximately seventy miles from Toronto claims to have a greater concentration of Mennonites of various ethnic origins than any other area in Canada.

Not only were Mennonites who migrated from Pennsylvania the first white settlers, but they also played an important part in the agricultural development of the county. Farming methods such as soil care and crop rotation were recognized by government authorities. When in 1953 the British High Commissioner to Canada, Archibald Nye, expressed a desire to visit the groups in Canada which made the greatest contributions to the development of agriculture in the Dominion, he was advised to visit Waterloo County. He toured the area calling at various farms after which he paid high tribute to the resourcefulness and sincerity of the Mennonite people.

The first settlement of 1799 began on the banks of the Grand River in what was then known as Upper Canada. Joseph Schoerg and Samuel Betzner from Franklin County, Pennsylvania with their families were the first white people to claim this county as their home. They were soon joined by others of like faith from Pennsylvania.

The first years were not without "growing pains"—in fact it almost ended in discouraging failure. A dishonest land speculator by the name of Richard Beasley sold them land to which he did not have clear title. The settlement was threatened with the loss of its land holdings. Through the efforts of Joseph Schoerg and Sam Bricker who traveled back to their friends in Pennsylvania, $20,000 was raised representing one-half of the

Old Pioneer Tower, Kitchener, Ontario.

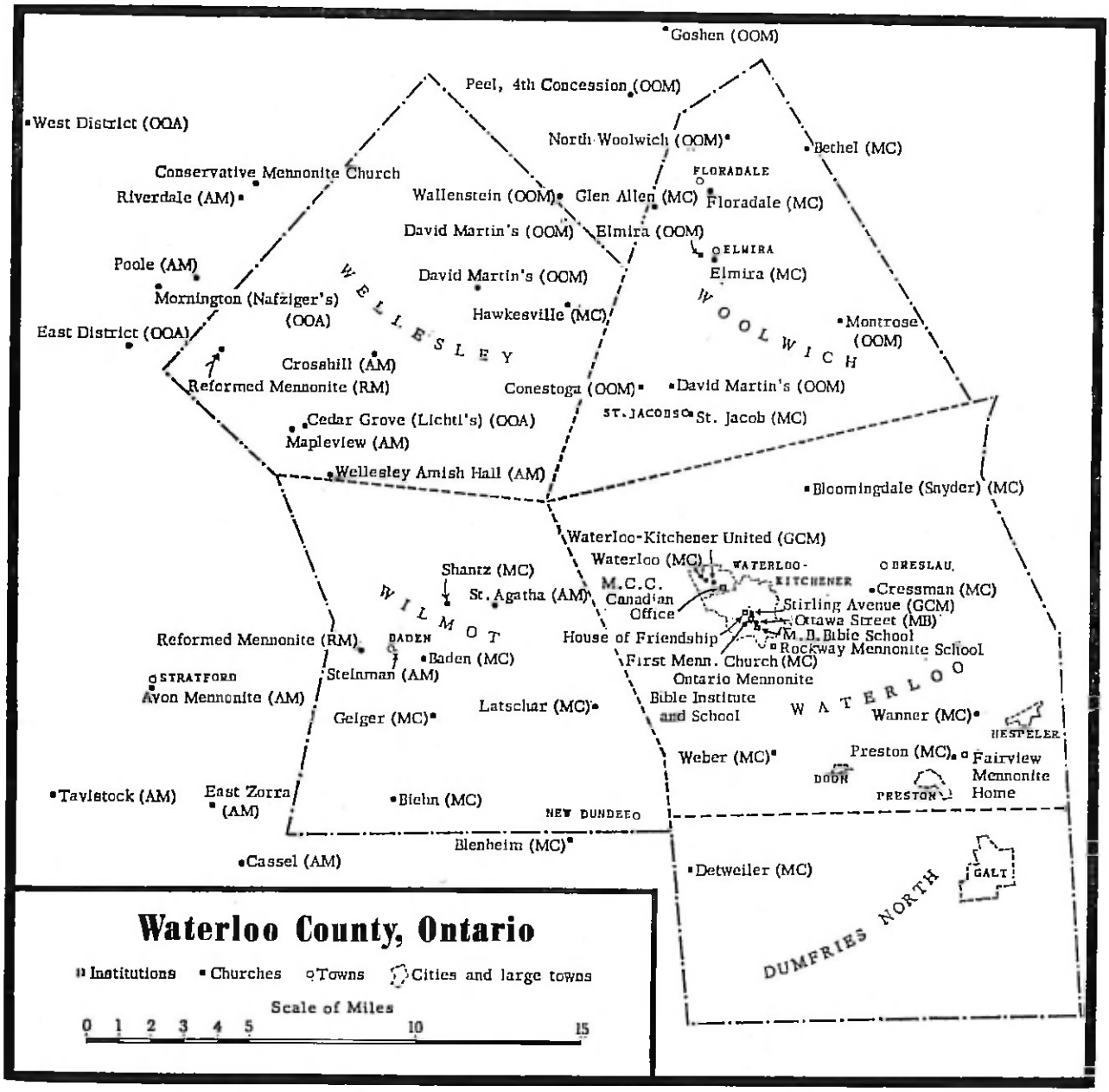
cost price of $40,000 for the whole tract of 60,000 acres. A stock company under the name of German Company was formed with the land being surveyed and divided into farms of approximately 450 acres each with lots being drawn for individual ownership.

The organization of the German Company was the beginning of a great influx of new settlers with the result that by 1828 the group numbered 1,000 church members and 2,000 adherents who came from Lancaster, Franconia and Franklin counties of Pennsylvania. Most of these early settlers organized and were called the Mennonite Conference of Ontario.

The feeling of a need for revival and prayer meetings resulted in a group leaving the parent body in 1870 and forming the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Conference. In 1948 they abandoned the name Mennonite and called themselves the United Missionary Church.

A further division took place in the late 1880's, this time a return to greater conservatism, when the Old Order (Wisler) Mennonites seceded. They in turn subdivided into three groups, the original Old Order, the Waterloo-Markham Conference and the Martin group, the difference of the groups being in the interpretation of the simple life.

Map of Waterloo County (center right) with Waterloo-Kitchener where World Conference will convene. (For Ontario map see next page).



Ontario map showing Mennonite congregations (for Waterloo-Kitchener area see p. 107). Marker of first Mennonite settlement in Ontario.

Conestoga wagon in Pioneer Village, Doon, Ontario. Plaque on first Mennonite Church, Kitchener, Ontario.

There are several other groups such as the Amish and the Reformed Mennonites. The Amish originally came from Bavaria and Alsace, having come here primarily to acquire new land and to find exemption from military service.

The second largest group comprises the so-called "Russian" Mennonites who came to the country in the years 1923 to 1929, following the Russian Revolution. Their numbers were greatly augmented by their fellow Christians who came to Canada from Russia by way of Germany after World War II. A further group originating in Poland joined them, and many came from Paraguay, Uruguay and Brazil. They are divided into two conferences—the United Mennonite (usually known as General Conference Mennonites) and the Mennonite Brethren. Their services are now conducted in both the German and English languages. The transition period from an all-German into a bilingual worship has been gradual and in most instances a natural one.

Mennonites continue to be highly regarded in the county. The agriculturalists have always been recognized as outstanding farmers and the ever increasing number of business and professional men and women are finding similar recognition in the eyes of their competitors and co-laborers. The county enjoys a good spirit of inter-Mennonite fellowship.

Mennonite Conferences in Ontario

By Henry H. Epp and Wilfred Ulrich

LATEST AVAILABLE Mennonite membership lists identify more than twenty-five conferences and unaffiliated groups. Of these at least five are peculiar to the Canadian scene. Most of the twelve branches in Ontario (not including United Missionary, Brethren in Christ, and Hutterians, the first two of which are also represented in Waterloo County) have congregations and meeting places in Waterloo County and adjoining townships. Most of the congregations are located within the four townships Wellesley, Woolwich, Waterloo and Wilmot. There are also congregations in the adjoining townships Dumfries North, Blenheim, East Zorra, Mornington, and Peel. The following are some of the larger Mennonite groups represented in the Waterloo County area.

The Ontario Mennonite Conference

The Ontario Mennonite Conference comprises the largest and oldest group of the Mennonite churches in Ontario. It has a membership of 3,966 and 42 congregations (at least 18 of these in Waterloo County). It is a member of the (Old) Mennonite General Conference.

Many of the members of this conference trace their history to the migration of Mennonites from Pennsylvania which began in 1786. They became the first permanent settlers in Waterloo County.

The Ontario Mennonite Conference has taken an active part in the Non-Resistant Relief Organization and the Conference of Historic Peace Churches.

The First Mennonite Church of Kitchener was established in 1801 by the first settlers who came from Pennsylvania and is the largest congregation in the conference.

The Reformed Mennonites

The Reformed Mennonites of Ontario have their origin in a division that took place in Pennsylvania under the leadership of John Herr in 1812.

There are six congregations in several counties of Southern Ontario with a membership of 214.

The Reformed Mennonites are quite conservative and take the position that the parent part of the church has drifted from the teachings of Menno Simons. They maintain a very strict discipline among members.

Old Order (Wisler) Mennonites

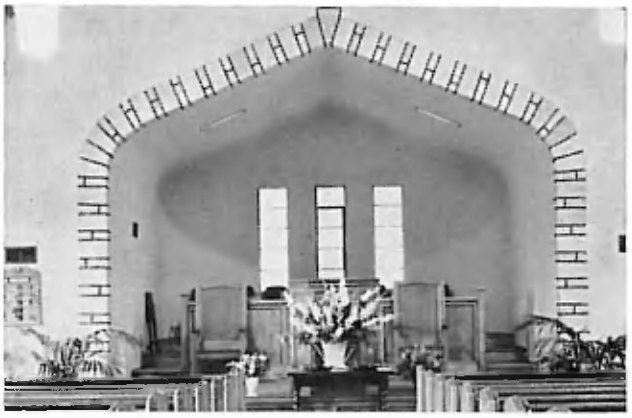
The Old Order Mennonites represent the most conservative groups of the Mennonites in Ontario. In 1889 under the leadership of Abraham Martin and Christian Reesor, a division in the Ontario Mennonite Conference took place over the question of the use of Sunday schools, evening worship services and English preaching services. These leaders opposed these newer methods and separated from those who chose to adopt the methods as useful to the church. This group is known as the Woolwich group. It is comprised of six congregations with a membership of 1,095.

Since 1939 a more progressive group within the Old Order Mennonites of Ontario has been identified as the Waterloo-Markham Mennonite group. Of their five meetinghouses in Waterloo County, three are those also in use by the Woolwich group. They meet on alternate Sundays. This group of Mennonites takes an active interest in the Non-Resistant Relief Organization and the Conference of Historic Peace Churches. They also have an awakening interest in evangelism and missions. They have eight congregations (three of these in Markham) with a membership of 805.

There is a group of three unaffiliated congregations in the vicinity of St. Jacobs and Hawkesville, Ontario, that are known as the David Martin churches. They have a membership of 116.

Old Order Mennonite meetinghouse, Elmira, Ontario.

Kitchener, Ontario, Mennonite Church (exterior and interior).



Conservative Mennonite Church

In 1960 two bishops with several ministers and deacons withdrew from the Ontario Mennonite Conference due to differences on the interpretation of Mennonite practice. They have established four congregations.

The two main congregations are at Heidelberg, Ontario and New Hamburg, Ontario. They have a membership of 137. Though unaffiliated, they maintain friendly relations with the conservative movement of Mennonites in the United States.

Old Order Amish

The Old Order Amish of Ontario maintain a pattern of simple rural life similar to that of the Old Order Mennonites.

The Amish formally separated in 1886 when several of the congregations built church buildings for worship. These now form the Amish Mennonite Conference. The Old Order Amish continue as a rural people with their services of worship held in their homes. Their way of life is similar to the Old Order Amish in the United States.

Added to the three Old Order Amish congregations in Perth County are several new Amish communities made up of families moving to Ontario from Ohio and Pennsylvania. They have established separate settlements such as the one found near Aylmer, Ontario. There is now a total of eight separate groups with a membership of 401.

Ontario Amish Mennonite Conference

The Ontario Amish Mennonite Conference traces its beginning to a migration from Alsace-Lorraine and Bavaria, which began in 1824. They settled in the Waterloo and Perth counties near the Mennonite settlement. They separated from the Old Order Amish in 1886. Their Conference now has 2,450 members and ten congregations.

The Ontario Amish Mennonite Conference maintains friendly relations with the Ontario Mennonite Conference and is active in the same international projects of publication, education and missions.

It formally joined the (Old) Mennonite General Conference in 1960. Its members have given active leadership to the Non-Resistant Relief Organization and the Conference of Historic Peace Churches.

United Mennonite Church, George Street, Waterloo.

United Mennonite Church near Virgil, Ontario. Niagara Peninsula District.

The Beachy Amish

The Beachy Amish of Ontario have two congregations. The one is at Poole, Ontario, called the Mornington congregation started in 1903. The second is near Wellesley, Ontario, called the Cedar Grove congregation started in 1911. Their affiliation with the Beachy Amish Mennonites in the United States is quite recent.

In practice of faith and life, they maintain a position midway between the Old Order Amish and the Ontario Amish Mennonites. They have participated in the work of the Non-Resistant Relief Organization and the Conference of Historic Peace Churches. Their conference has a membership of 351.

General Conference Mennonite Church

Except for the Stirling Avenue Mennonite Church and the Waters Mennonite Church listed below, the General Conference Mennonite Church in Ontario consists exclusively of Mennonites from Russia.

In addition to the congregation on George Street in Waterloo, this Conference, known provincially as the United Mennonite Conference of Ontario, has four congregations in the Leamington (Essex County) area, seven congregations in the Niagara-Hamilton-Port Rowan triangle, and city missions in Toronto, Ottawa, and Sudbury (Waters).

The Stirling Avenue Mennonite Church of Kitchener, Ontario, joined the General Conference in 1947. The congregation was started in 1924 as a result of the division of the First Mennonite Church over questions of church polity and practices. U. K. Weber was the pastor of the First Mennonite Church of Vineland and at the time of the division continued as pastor of the Stirling Avenue Mennonite Church. The present minister is Wilfred Ulrich. The total membership of the General Conference Mennonite Church in Ontario now exceeds 3,300.

Mennonite Brethren Church

The Mennonite Brethren Conference in Ontario dates its beginning to the migration from Russia in 1924. A group of migrants settled in Ontario centers, Waterloo, Essex and Lincoln counties. The new congregations formally organized as a conference in 1932 under a provincial charter. It has ten congregations with 2,180 members. The conference is a member of the Conference of Historic Peace Churches and the Non-Resistant Relief Organization.

First Mennonite Church, Kitchener, Ontario.

Poole Amish Mennonite Church, Poole, Ontario.

United Mennonite Church, Vineland, Ontario.

St. Agatha Amish Mennonite Church, St. Agatha, Ontario.

Erb Street Mennonite Church, Waterloo, Ontario.

Maple View Amish Mennonite Church, Wellesley, Ontario

Calvary Mennonite Church, Ayr, Ontario (exterior and interior)

Amish Mennonite Church, St. Jacobs, Ontario.

Zehr's Markets, Ltd., Waterloo, Ontario.

Business and Industry

By John C. Sawatsky

MANY PEOPLE HAVE difficulty believing that nearly 80 per cent of Ontario Mennonites are in non-farming vocations. Perhaps this is because the change has come about only within the past fifteen years. However, this fact was established by a 1961 provincial survey presented in the occupational table. It is interesting to note that the trend of the Ontario vocations of Mennonites is similar to the trend of the general population in North America. During the past forty years the main population of the U.S.A. and Canada has changed from rural to urban, from agriculture to industry and business.

One of the many reasons for this trend is that the technology of modern farming requires fewer people. Farming is also done on a larger scale. There are fewer farm owners today because farming is becoming a big enterprise. Many of our modern farmers are really businessmen with large investments of capital and large "plants." It could be said that the Leamington, Ontario farmer who owns acres of glass houses producing tomatoes or cucumbers all winter is really an industrialist managing a food factory. The production of milk, cheese, eggs and poultry is in many cases in a similar category. One could say then that many of our farmers have become agricultural industrialists and businessmen.

The 1961 occupational survey revealed that over half of the Mennonites in Ontario are engaged in work which is classed as professional, technical, clerical (meaning white-collar occupations in offices), trades, crafts, semi-skilled as well as unskilled work in factories or other industries. Some of the professional people, such as doctors and druggists, are self-employed. Some of the skilled tradesmen, such as machinists, carpenters and upholsterers, practice their trade in the form of small businesses. But the majority of individuals are employed by business and industrial firms in or near their community.

The survey also shows that 5.2 per cent of Mennonites in the sample are in the category of proprietors, managers and officials. Incidentally, there is a higher percentage of such people among Old Mennonites, perhaps because they have been in Ontario much longer. Of the 187 people in the sample about 80 are managers or officials employed by companies owned by non-Mennonites. These companies include almost every kind of business in the province. Some of the men have senior executive positions in automobile manufacturing, banking, insurance and other financial institutions. Some are officials in government agencies.

However, a majority of the men in the category of proprietors, managers and officials, over one hundred of them, are those who manage their own businesses. Many of them are individuals who value and wish to retain their traditional independence. They feel that the

Pyramid Canners, Leamington, Ontario, Frank J. Andres, president.

Maple syrup industry in Ontario.

modern large corporation where they might be employed would make too many demands on them. They are nonconformists who prefer to be on their own.

While many of these men are very successful financially and work hard, they are also subject to much financial risk. Many of them are in competetive fields of business. Nevertheless, during March some of them were on vacations in Florida and other sunny climates. It is noteworthy that many of the better established firms are obviously family enterprises with sons working with fathers in the business as in the farm tradition.

The enterprises owned and operated by Mennonites in Ontario can be classed and described as follows:

Construction and Manufacturing

There are at least twenty-five construction firms in the various communities. Most are engaged in building houses, apartments as well as industrial buildings. Many are general contractors but some specialize as, for example, in Vineland one firm concentrates in home roofing.

Kraemer Woodcraft in St. Jacobs makes furniture. In the Kitchener-Waterloo area, J. C. Hallman produces electric organs; David Dyck makes a range of leather and felt products; Cornelius Unruh makes quality leather luggage; Elvin Schantz and D. B. Weber manage the Superior Stone Company.

Food and Beverages

Some of the largest firms are in this category. Boese Foods Limited of St. Catharines process and can fruits and vegetables, employing one thousand workers, mainly women, during the canning season. The company was founded in 1945. Pyramid Canners in Leamington

(Bottom and p. 113) Emory Zehr (center) and sons of Zehr's Markets, Ltd. (Right) Edward Kipfer, president of Kitchener Beverages, Ltd. (below).

Maple grove in Ontario, source of Maple syrup. (Below) Dyck Leather and Felt Specialities, Kitchener, Ontario.

is a similar firm with about three hundred employees during the height of the season. Kitchener Beverages Ltd. is another large firm, rapidly expanding in the business of bottling soft drinks. There are numerous cheese-making establishments, some of which could be classed as home-industries. A great variety of home-industry products such as cheese and smoked pork sausage are offered at the Kitchener market.

Merchandising

Every Mennonite community in Ontario has retail stores, in fact this is the largest category of business establishments. Grocery stores, old as well as new styles, are the most numerous but the retail outlets include furniture, hardware, clothing, electrical appliances, automobiles, gasoline, fuel oil, drugs, fertilizers, feed grains and books (Golden Rule Book Store, Kitchener). The larger firms are again in the Kitchener-Waterloo area. H. Boehmer and Co. Ltd. sell fuels, heating equipment and building materials in five locations including Galt and Guelph. Zehr's Markets Ltd., which had their start in 1950 now operate five food markets in Kitchener-Waterloo.

Service Industries

A large variety of firms can be mentioned in this class of business establishments. Automobile service stations and repair garages exist in every community. There are also a number of restaurants and upholstery establishments. There are several machine shops such as Martin Brothers Machine Shop in St. Jacobs. The printing and publishing industry is represented by two firms, in both cases the proprietors being ministers.

Typical scene in Leamington, Ontario, during the tomato harvest.

Milton R. Good, president of H. Boehmer and Co., Kitchener, Ont.

Boese Foods, Ltd., St. Catharines, Ontario. *(Left) Management team (left to right). David Boese, John Boese, Sr., Isbrant Boese, Martin Boese (founder), and John Boese, Jr. (Extreme left) Norman Buehler and son, Murray, prominent sign painters.*

Mennonite Vocations

By Wilfred Ulrich

MENNONITES IN ONTARIO have found employment in many types of vocational activity. Though the original families came to clear land for farming, some of their children soon entered into various related basic trades and services. The Mennonite immigrants from Pennsylvania were among the early settlers to enter the Niagara Peninsula and the first to settle in Central Ontario (Waterloo County). Joseph Schoerg and Samuel Betzner came to Waterloo County in the spring of 1800 and within a few years many more settlers followed. "Upper Canada" was virgin country and the pioneers followed Indian trails to the site of their new homes along the Grand River. These men were skilled with the axe and dedicated to earning a living out of the soil. This activity laid the foundation of one of the basic vocations of the Mennonite community in Ontario namely, agriculture. As the community of "Benjamin Eby" grew, several of the basic enterprises related to pioneer life developed—the sawmill, the gristmill and cooperage. Within a few years they had also built a church, established a school and prepared materials to use in their school. From this vigorous beginning has developed the enterprising Mennonite community and church life of Ontario today.

Whether it be the beautiful rolling farm land in Central Ontario with its fine herds of cattle, swine and flocks of poultry, or the long straight rows of fruit in the Niagara Peninsula, or the carefully tilled vegetable fields of Essex County near Windsor, Ontario, the Mennonite farmer has carefully developed his art. Agriculture was the first vocational interest in Ontario and still is an important part of community life.

The development of agriculture has followed several basic patterns. In the Niagara Peninsula Mennonites have utilized the soil and weather conditions to build extensive fruit orchards. These include cherries, peaches, pears and apples. Strawberries and grapes are also an important field product. In Essex County the climate is excellent for fruit crops and market gardening. The land here in the southernmost tip of Ontario is parallel with Northern California. Many acres of tomatoes, potatoes, cucumbers, and melons are raised. Spring comes early and frost comes late to give an excellent growing season to the fruit and vegetable industry.

Central Ontario has witnessed growth in general farming. The dairy and poultry industries have been major factors in this growth. Several Mennonite farmers have gained distinction with their Holstein herds of cattle. The dairy industry has led to related industries that supply feed and distribute milk and cheese products. The Ontario Agricultural College is located at Guelph, Ontario. This school has gained national distinction for its departments of animal husbandry, poultry, and veterinary college. The Mennonite farmer has greatly benefited from the school and its extension department. Many Mennonite youth have taken regular academic courses and the short courses it offers. The cooperation between the farmer and the university has brought the farming industry to a plane of high productivity and excellence of product.

Urban development has come rapidly to southern Ontario. It has reduced the early importance of agriculture and opened the door to many vocational avenues within the industrialized community. The chart that accompanies this article outlines the various areas of vocational activity and the percentage of those of the Mennonite community who are found in each category. It is seen that in Ontario approximately 20 per cent of those employed are engaged in agriculture, the balance, nearly 80 per cent, are active in the trades, services or one of the professions. Some of the persons who are active in a trade or service operate it as a small business. The various trades and services are too numerous to mention, but they extend to all aspects of the urban community, whether it be in the construction trade, medical services, the various craftsmen in industry or in the food services. The rubber and electronic industries are prominent in the Kitchener-Waterloo area. Waterloo is known as the Hartford of Canada and thus engages many in the several head offices of insurance firms.

There is a decided interest among Mennonites in the professions. The large number of youth enrolled in

Dr. John Wiebe, engaged in pollination research on cucumbers at Vineland Agricultural Experimental Station.

Dr. and Mrs. Freeman M. Roth of Kitchener in their dental office.

Dorothy Swartzentruber, Director of Secretarial Services, Kitchener.

Ross Shantz, foreman of maintenance crew, Kitchener section of CNR.

Hedy Sawadsky, church worker of United Mennonite Church, Waterloo, Ontario.

colleges and universities is an indication of this interest. Teaching, social work, medicine, banking, estates administration and insurance, industrial research and government service are only a few of the professions followed. The student service committee of Conrad Grebel College has prepared a survey of Mennonite students in colleges and universities in Ontario. Its report indicates that there are approximately two hundred Mennonite youth studying in the university, the teacher's college and nursing schools within the province. Many are studying in schools outside the province. Such an enrollment of students in the university will increase the percentage of Mennonite people engaged in the professions. It is to be noted that in the Kitchener-Waterloo community the principal of one of the collegiate institutes is a Mennonite, another is the head of the Kitchener Children's Aid Society, one is a bank manager, another the assistant pathologist at the Kitchener-Waterloo Hospital, one is the assistant manager of the estates department of a local trust company, another is the dean of the University of Waterloo. All of these, with many others, are active in the local Mennonite churches.

Professional training has not been limited to vocations related to industry, teaching and medicine. The church has also benefited from such training. Most of the ministers of the churches in Ontario have now received college training and some have seminary training.

It is to be recognized that the development of skills in the trades, services and professions has taken many Mennonite youth out of the larger Mennonite communities. At the present time there is a growing church in the city of Ottawa where a number of Mennonite people are engaged in government service.

The relationship of vocations and congregational growth has not been the same for each city. A concern of the church for its professionally trained youth in the future will be the relation of these young people to the Mennonite churches in the various communities where they will live. The vitality of Christian faith along with technical skill is of foremost concern to our Mennonite people in the years ahead.

Table of Comparisons of Mennonites and Occupational Categories

Occupations by 12 General Categories	*Professional, technical and kindred workers*	*Farmers, owners, tenants and farm managers*	*Proprietors, managers and officials*	*Clerical and kindred workers*	*Sales workers*	*Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers*	*Operatives and kindred workers*	*Private household workers*	*Protective service workers*	*Service workers (except domestic)*	*Farm laborers, wage workers and farm foremen*	*Laborers (except farm and mine)*	
Mennonite Groups in United States and Canada													Totals
U. S. Census 1950	8.7	7.5	8.8	12.3	7.0	14.2	20.3	2.6		7.8	4.4	6.5	57 million employed
Canadian Conference 49 Churches (G.C.)	13.5	31.6	3.6	6.3	3.1	11.8	13.3	4.6	.2	5.2	1.5	5.3	5,528 employed members
Five U. S. District Conferences (G.C.)	16.8	30.7	6.1	7.2	4.2	10.2	13.2	2.4	.3	4.8	1.5	2.7	13,941 employed members
ONTARIO CHURCHES 10 G. C. Churches	11.3	20.7	4.2	8.3	3.4	15.3	15.1	2.6	.1	7.7	1.5	9.7	1878 employed members
7 Mennonite Brethren Churches	20.0	10.6	4.5	8.5	4.0	16.7	13.3	3.0	.5	3.8	2.9	11.2	624
19 (Old) Mennonite Churches	13.0	20.9	7.1	7.9	5.3	12.0	18.1	5.4	.1	4.4	3.5	2.2	1,121
Total Ontario Sample	13.5	19.0	5.2	8.2	4.1	14.5	15.8	3.6	.1	6.0	2.4	7.7	3,623

Education in Ontario

By Dorothy Swartzentruber

MENNONITES WHO PIONEERED in the Ontario wilderness at the turn of the 19th century might have been excused if they had neglected the education of their young. As it was, they established themselves as leaders in the promotion of education from the beginning.

Having no church organization or structured activities, they did have a well-grounded faith to which they held tenaciously and which they sought devotedly to preserve in their youth. Ten years after he had arrived on his homestead, that outstanding Mennonite leader, Benjamin Eby, had built a meetinghouse and added an annex to be used as a school. He, himself, at the same time minister, farmer, author, and civic leader, became the school's first teacher, a position which he held from 1818 to the early 1840's.

Mennonites played an important role in the educational pattern that evolved during the pioneer days. Schools were built and maintained on personal initiative and a community was fortunate if it had someone with a concern for education and an available teacher of some qualification. The early histories of the congregations indicate that the buildings first erected served as both churches and schools.

Sunday and Bible Schools

The *Mennonite Encyclopedia* states that the first Mennonite Sunday school in North America was held at the Wanner-Hagey Mennonite Church in 1840. Even though this Sunday school did not continue uninterruptedly, the Sunday school movement, which had entered Ontario in 1819, was by this time quite prominent and had many Mennonite students. The inevitable loss of Mennonites to other denominations through these "union" Sunday schools no doubt was an important contributing factor in the establishment of Mennonite Sunday schools—in 1848 in Vineland (permanent since 1863), in 1871 at Biehn (New Hamburg), in 1872 at Cressman (Breslau), in 1873 at Latschar (Mannheim) and in 1876 at Wideman (Markham). The First Mennonite Church in Kitchener has had an uninterrupted Sunday school since 1841.

That visionary church leader, the late S. F. Coffman of Vineland, inherited a respect for education from his father, J. S. Coffman, whose children all graduated from high school in a day when secondary education was not only unpopular, but actually frowned upon, and when there were fewer high school graduates in the church than the present percentage of Ph.D's! Coffman's interest in education was revealed by his years of work with the Mennonite Board of Education and his crowning work of establishing the Ontario Mennonite Bible School in 1907 in Kitchener. Since that time this three-month winter school has operated uninterruptedly. It has made a significant contribution in Bible training to the young people of the Ontario Mennonite Conference. In 1951 was added the Bible Institute, a five-month course, which aims to give more advanced work toward the training of church leaders. Another inspiring leader in the Bible school work was the late Oscar Burkholder of Breslau who served on the faculty for nearly half a century.

The Mennonite Brethren opened a Bible school in 1939 in the Niagara Peninsula under the direction of the Virgil-Vineland Bible School Society with an initial enrollment of thirty students. In 1957 the Bible School was relocated at the Mennonite Brethren church in Kitchener. A long-range building program to take effect in 1964 has been adopted by the 1961 conference.

The Amish Mennonite Conference of Ontario has conducted a winter Bible school ever since 1932. About six hundred students have taken these courses.

High Schools

In spite of the interest of Mennonites in education, it was not until one hundred years after their arrival in Ontario, that the church moved into the field of academic education. By 1945 34 per cent of Canada's young people were going to high schools. This fact

Board of Governors of Conrad Grebel College (seated, left to right): Milton High, Milton R. Good, Henry H. Epp, John W. Snyder; (standing) Hugo Harms, John Sawatzky, Harvey Taves, Earle Snyder, Henry Dueck, Douglas Millar, Orland Gingrich.

Norman High, dean of arts, University of Waterloo.

Albert Hunsberger (left) principal, and Arnold Berg, both of Waterloo Collegiate Institute.

aroused interest in providing a church school where Mennonite youth could get their secondary education in the context of the church. Rockway Mennonite School, operated by the Mennonite Conference of Ontario, opened in 1945, and has graduated close to three hundred students. The school is located in Kitchener.

Harold Groh was Rockway's first principal. Ross T. Bender served as principal from 1956 to 1960. Salome Bauman has served as acting principal for two years and the school will continue this fall under the principalship of Arthur Byers, of Markham, Ontario.

Rockway Mennonite School has nine teachers on a full-time basis. Student enrollment is around one-hundred fifty. Many of the graduates of Rockway are today active in various phases of the church's program at home and abroad.

Following the arrival of other Mennonite groups in the latter part of the 19th and the early 20th centuries, these also developed educational interests. The Mennonite Brethren Church added a high school curriculum to its Virgil-Vineland Bible School program and when the Bible school moved to Kitchener in 1957, the name Eden Christian College was adopted. Even though no college courses are offered, the pattern set down by early private schools in using the term "college" with its British connotation, was the basis for the adoption of this name.

The school began under the principalship of H. B. Thiessen from Kitchener with an enrollment of 36 students and grades 9 and 10. By the third year of its operation it was offering all four grades and in the fourth year 92 students registered. In 1949 the Bible School Society transferred the direction of the school to the Conference of Mennonite Brethren congregations in Ontario, largely because its increasing financial demands needed wider support. Expansion in 1947 increased student accommodation to 120.

The United Mennonite Educational Institute was started as a Bible and high school by the General Conference of Mennonites in Ontario in 1945 in the basement of the Oak Street Mennonite Church in Leamington. The following year the first buildings were erected with 61 students enrolling. The four high school grades are offered and last year 85 students were enrolled. The school has four teachers. Its principal is Peter C. Sawatzky who has served in this capacity for eleven years.

Niagara Christian College, operated by the Brethren in Christ Conference was located on the shores of beautiful Lake Erie in 1938. The school offers four grades, and anticipates adding Grade 13 this fall. Enrollment is around one hundred and close to three hundred have been graduated. Present principal is Harold Nigh.

For their church college work, Ontario students have had to enroll in church schools in the U.S.A. or Western Canada. Ontario students began enrolling in the Elkhart Institute as early as 1894 and to the present approximately 85 Ontario people have graduated from Goshen College with many graduating from Bethel College and other Mennonite schools of the U.S.A. Close to 700 Ontario people have enrolled in Mennonite colleges and numbers of others have taken post graduate work in state universities. Some 25 have graduated from the Goshen College Seminary and perhaps half that number have received B.D. degrees from E.M.C. and a similar number from the Mennonite Biblical Seminary in Elkhart.

Up until 1930 less than half a dozen Ontario Mennonites had acquired post graduate degrees. Advanced learning gained impetus slowly, but the upward trend of university training during the last decade underscores the Mennonite accent on learning. An estimated 35

now hold university degrees, among them doctors, dentists, social workers, architects, psychologists, economists and educators. The close to two hundred Mennonite students now in Ontario universities are enrolled in faculties as widely diversified as law, engineering, medicine, physics, and the sciences. A goodly number of Mennonites are on the teaching staffs of provincial high schools and others serve in positions of leadership in the affairs of the communities in which they live.

One of the leading educators among the Mennonites in Ontario is Norman High of Kitchener. Born in Vineland, High took his high school locally and graduated from teachers college in Hamilton. Following four years of rural school teaching, he enrolled in the Ontario Agricultural College and graduated with a B.S.A. degree in 1940. The following year he earned his M.S. degree and in 1950 his Ph.D. degree in Education both at Cornell University. During the years 1946 to 1959 he was associated with the Ontario Agricultural College, first as sociology professor and then as director of the diploma course. In 1959 he was made head of the new extension program. In 1961 High was appointed acting dean of arts at the University of Waterloo.

College

The most recent educational thrust and the first effort combining all the Mennonite groups in Ontario, is the development of Conrad Grebel College on the campus of the University of Waterloo. The need for a church-related college with a residence-chaplaincy program is made apparent by the large number of Mennonite students now enrolled in Ontario universities and colleges. Conrad Grebel College has been in the planning stage for four years. The program is being directed at the present time by a board of governors made up of three members of each of the five participating church groups, Mennonite Brethren Conference, Mennonite Conference, Amish Mennonite Conference, United Mennonite Conference, and the Stirling Avenue Mennonite Church.

A provincial charter has been secured and an affiliation agreement with the University of Waterloo has been completed. A suitable building site on the campus has been acquired. Current plans call for promotion in the constituent churches to support a campaign to raise $200,000 over the next five years. The response to this will determine the time-table of the eventual building program. Recruitment of administrative and teaching personnel is also being undertaken. J. Winfield Fretz of Bethel College has accepted the responsibility for the presidency of Conrad Grebel College. In the meantime, the Conrad Grebel Board initiated student services to assist in the ministry to students on the various campuses, chiefly designed to help students relate spiritual values to their academic experience.

It is gratifying to note that in this general trend toward higher education, the church has sensed its responsibility to provide a program which will give the best opportunities to its youth. Over the years the Mennonites have not lost their interest in meeting their own needs and the needs of their communities by providing Christian-oriented leaders and opportunities for learning.

United Mennonite Educational Institute, Leamington, Ontario.

WELFARE AND MISSIONS

By Harvey Taves

THE MENNONITES OF Ontario have, since their coming to this province in the early 1800's, always practiced an informal type of welfare among members of the brotherhood. Among the more conservative groups of the Pennsylvania Dutch background, this type of informal welfare is still very much alive and consists of barn raisings after a fire, assistance to the widow and orphan, and general assistance and support of the less provident brother.

The earliest formal welfare institution, if it may be called such, is the Mennonite Aid Union. This fire insurance mutual was established in 1864, and is the oldest organization of its kind in Canada. It is owned and operated by the (Old) Mennonite Conference of Ontario, and last year carried risks amounting to 43.5 millions of dollars. The Mennonite Benefit Association established in 1947, is a fund for the payment of medical and burial costs. Both the Mennonite Aid Union and Mennonite Benefit Association are also available to members of Mennonite churches not affiliated with the Mennonite Conference of Ontario.

Mennonite Mission Board of Ontario

By and large the interest in missions and in welfare developed at about the same time. This interest began in a very modest way at the beginning of the present century and became focused by the establishing of the (Old) Mennonite Mission Board of Ontario. The original motivation for the setting up of this board, according to its present chairman, was to make an attempt to give spiritual guidance to the members who had left the closely settled Mennonite communities and moved to more outlying districts.

At the present time, the Mennonite Mission Board of Ontario is divided into two sections, city and rural missions.

City Missions: It is just over fifty years ago that the Danforth Toronto Mennonite Mission was started. Presently, this church has a membership of 36, made up of local believers and of members who moved to the city from established congregations. As a result of this work, three more congregations have come into being during the past fifteen years in Toronto. These are: the Warden Park, Morningside, and Hagerman congregations having memberships of 35, 15, and 34, respectively. All maintain strong emphasis on the Sunday school program.

This board has adopted a policy of making churches self-supporting as rapidly as possible. This principle also applies to grants for church building purposes in which the local congregation becomes involved in the program and in the decisions involving financial policy which affect their own development. Since 1929 the board has operated an investment program in which funds are borrowed from Mennonite investors at 5 per cent and loaned to congregations wishing to build churches at 5½ per cent interest repayable over a ten-year period of time. This results in some variation and practice and makes for congregational form of government, but should result in a stronger and more aggressive local church.

Significantly the mission board is convinced that the gospel must be presented by personal community involvement allowing it to speak to the needs of people so that they will make their own application of Biblical principles in the cultural patterns of their community.

At present, plans call for the establishment of a new mission outreach in Toronto and the opening of a co-operative mission church in London, Ontario, together with the Amish Mennonite Conference.

Rural Missions: Eight centers with a gospel witness scattered through northeastern and southwestern Ontario are maintained by the Ontario Mennonite Mission Board. These are: Markstay, Monnetville, Minden, McArthurs Mills, Glen Allan, Ayr, Exeter, and Bothwell. These churches are also brought as rapidly as possible to the place where they can become fully indigenous.

Perhaps the most signficant welfare institution operated by the Mennonite Conference of Ontario is the Fairview Mennonite Home located at Preston. This institution was founded in 1943 as the Braeside Home and is a home for senior citizens run along modern concepts in the field of geriatrics. Besides having a bed capacity of 75, 18 persons, elderly couples who make capital investments in cottages surrounding the institution, are served by this home. By this means it is possible to secure a maximum of privacy and individual initiative while still providing the security of an institution in case of infirmity.

Amish Mennonite Missions

Mission interest among the Amish Mennonites of Ontario probably received its first impetus with the establishment of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities program in Argentina some forty years ago. Two of the pioneer missionaries, and presently the director for this area, were members of the Amish Mennonite Conference.

The awakening of the concern for missions closer to home came much later and in fact not until after World War II. This interest was very closely related to the field of welfare in general and came with the opening of the Goodwill Rescue Mission in London, Ontario, in 1948.

Ailsa Craig Boys Farm, Ontario.

Hagerman Mennonite Church, Toronto, Ontario.

Morningside Mennonite Church and Danforth Mennonite Mission, both of Toronto.

Since that time several other welfare projects, one of which was a rehabilitation center for alcoholics and known as the Hopedale Mission Farm, and several nursing homes (at Ailsa Craig, Millverton, Tavistock, and London) have been established. However, due to the lack of trained personnel the rehabilitation center for alcoholics proved to be too difficult and was discontinued in 1954, and the property donated to the Mennonite Central Committee which in that year established the Ailsa Craig Boys Farm here.

The Amish Mennonite Mission Board, besides sponsoring the Goodwill Rescue Mission in London, is cooperating with the Mennonite Mission Board of Ontario at a number of points. It also operates its own mission in the city of Stratford, the seat for the county of Perth.

General Conference Missions

The General Conference Mennonite Church is known in Ontario as the United Mennonite Conference of Ontario. This Conference originated with the coming of the Russian Mennonites in the late 1920's and grew rapidly during the war and immediate post war years with the movement of many families from western Canada.

The first mission church established by this conference was in the city of Toronto in the early 1940's. Since that time mission outreach has been extended to include a church in Hamilton and the formation of a church in Ottawa. By and large the founding of these churches was preceded by the movement of members from the country to the cities and membership consists largely of Mennonites who have transferred.

The one welfare institution operated by the United Mennonite Conference of Ontario is the Home for the Aged located at Vineland, Ontario. This is a modern home which was built in 1956 and has a bed capacity of fifty.

Mennonite Brethren Missions and Welfare

Like the United Mennonites, the Mennonite Brethren came to Ontario after the Russian Mennonite migrations to Canada in the 1920's. Their numbers were also largely augmented by the coming of members to Ontario from western Canada.

The Mennonite Brethren Conference has a strong missionary interest and has established mission churches at Hampshire, Hamilton, and in Toronto. These churches were established in 1949, 1956 and 1957 respectively and have memberships of 20, 30, and 22.

In the Niagara peninsula, the Mennonite Brethren Conference is supporting a radio broadcast, "Moments of Blessing," which seeks to place the missionary outreach on the air.

The only welfare institution operated by this Conference is the Bethesda Home at Vineland, which has a bed capacity of one hundred and takes care of mental patients from among their own brotherhood as well as from other Mennonite groups and outsiders. Bethesda is a well-equipped modern psychiatric institution, although it cares for many chronic patients as well.

Conference of Historic Peace Churches

In 1954, the C.H.P.C. invited MCC to establish an institution for emotionally disturbed boys near the village of Ailsa Craig. This was done as a witness to the people and government of the interest of Mennonites to provide a service in an area of acute social need in Canada.

This farm is supported by eight Mennonite groups located in Ontario through association with the Mennonite Central Committee office in Kitchener which provides administration.

Ailsa Craig Boys Farm offers a modern, well accepted service to emotionally disturbed and pre-delinquent boys of adolescent years. Capacity, which is at present twenty, will be increased to thirty boys this year. A building program consisting of three boys' residences is in the planning stage and is hoped to be completed before the end of 1962.

In summary it is fair to say that all the Mennonite groups in Ontario, excluding the very conservative element, have a strong interest in the missionary outreach. They have tried to express this, but have not yet learned the genius of rapid evangelization of the non-Mennonite world.

In business and welfare institutions they have done a thorough work. In some fields of welfare, Mennonites have distinguished themselves and may be listed as leaders in their fields in our province.

Fairview Mennonite Home, Preston, Ontario.

RELIEF WORK IN REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA

Alvin J. Miller.

By Alvin J. Miller

My first visit to Chortitza near Alexandrovsk (Zaporozhe, Russia) in the winter of 1922 and to Halbstadt, the Molotschna settlement, was very impressive and enlightening.

Previously there had been my meeting with the *Studien-Kommission* in 1920 in Berlin while on their way to America; and also with the Lepps, the Hüberts, the Niebuhrs and others in the Crimea where they had been waiting for the end of the revolution. And when it fell to my lot to organize the American Red Cross unit at Simferopol, capital of the Crimea, it was my good fortune to hear on a Sunday morning the well-known teacher and author, Jakob H. Janzen, preach for the congregation at Spat, Crimea. He was at that time the *Feld-Prediger* (chaplain) for the Mennonite young men in the alternative service camps who were doing forestry work in lieu of military service. There were also the very important contacts with Peter Froese and Cornelius F. Klassen in Moscow where they were busily organizing the All-Russian Mennonite Agricultural Union (*Allrussischer Mennonitischer Landwirtschaftlicher Verein*); and likewise with Benjamin Janz in Kharkov, Ukraine, the very effective head of the *Verband der Bürger Holländischer Herkunft*, who later carried through the extremely difficult arrangements for nearly twenty thousand Mennonites to migrate to the Americas. He had also assisted me in Kharkov and in the preliminary preparations for relief in the Ukraine. Then there was also John P. Klassen, son of the venerable Elder Klassen at Chortitza. Convinced that escape from Russia must be prompt, if at all, he sought my assistance for his small group. By introducing him to the head of the Canadian Pacific Railroad company in Moscow, transportation was arranged readily. As head of the art department at Bluffton College he has, since that time, made a significant contribution to the cultural life of America.

Contacts Established

But now, in Chortitza and Halbstadt, my meetings were, for the first time, with the Mennonite leaders in their home communities. It was perfectly evident from these first contacts that men of high ability, wide experience and strength of character were available to conduct efficiently the arduous tasks of our relief operations. But always it was imperative to guard against exposing them unnecessarily to the hostility of rabid local Communists.

On the first Sunday, in the church of Chortitza, there was a never-to-be-forgotten sermon by the eloquent Elder Jakob A. Rempel from Grünfeld, "calling on the people to trust in God, to share with each other to the last, and if it came to the worst, if they should have to starve, to meet their fate bound together in Christian love; but feeling assured that if they kept the faith, God would not forsake them."

But this crucial time was the turning point. It was the darkest hour before the dawn which was even then glimmering on the horizon. Food was definitely on the way. Our committees were vigorously and faithfully organizing for the relief work that was soon to be done. By the time the first shipment of food arrived, the volost (county) committee had arranged for the safe storage of the food, the village committees had their starvation lists prepared, kitchens were equipped to bake buns, to cook rice and grits, and the feeding centers in the villages were made ready for the distribution of the first meals consisting of a large bun made of ex-

Undernourished children in Revolutionary Russia, featured in this article.

Watching a starving person at street corner.

Refugees in Alexandrovsk in March, 1922.

cellent white flour from America, a bowl of well-cooked rice, sweetened with sugar and perhaps enriched with evaporated milk, a cup or glass or tin filled with delicious and very nourishing cocoa. It was, at first, a rich diet for starved stomachs. The food value was high enough to sustain life on only one meal a day. The psychological effect was probably almost as important as the food. Not one of them probably ever had a Christmas dinner so wonderful and so devoutly appreciated as one of these simple meals! The hopes of the people soared, and a new courage was suddenly born.

Let us now take a closer look at Halbstadt. The public meeting in the Mennonite church on my first evening in Halbstadt, mentioned in an earlier article, was for me outstandingly valuable and significant. In the audience were people from various social groups in the community: former teachers, those who had been industrialists and managers, laborers, the new breed of local political officials, Communists and Christians. It was wise to have someone with Mennonite connections, but not a local citizen, to preside at the meeting of this diverse conglomeration. Peter Froese, who accompanied me from Moscow, served as chairman. After a few preliminary remarks he introduced me as the head of the American Mennonite Relief in Soviet Russia. Then after my address Froese gave a Russian translation very effectively.

My first words conveyed the greetings of the Mennonites of America. The audience promptly stood in response, and there were numerous expressions of hearty *danke schön* from all over the house. The coming of food was for them a matter of life and death.

Learning Russian

Because of their constant fear of Communist persecution and the pervasive feeling of apprehension, it was important to relieve the tensions so prevalent among the audience. So, with an apology for my lame German vocabulary, I offered facetiously to demonstrate, however, my fluency in the use of the Russian language—after only a few months in the country. For example, I could drawl unconcernedly and ever so smugly: *NU! Z A A F tra!* (like saying, Oh well! To M O R row!) A typical Russian dilatory postponement expressed in a lazy, drawn-out word and as easy-going as can be expressed in sound! The audience at once caught the implications and the spirit of the harmless joke. Hearty chuckles were heard, and, I added, with a pretense of pride, "I can say even more than that! I can also say with rapidfire speed: Da! Da! Da! SEYCHAS!" (Yes, Yes, YES! AT ONCE!) Freer laughter this time than the first! In actuality, the "at once" signified nothing —it might be an hour, a week, or a month, or when the person would happen to get around to it. The group readily understood what was meant by fluency in Russian. The tensions were well released. The people had laughed heartily together, recognizing suddenly how utterly ludicrous these typical Russian expressions would seem to an American extremely anxious to start the feeding centers at once, to save human lives.

As usual, several people in my audience were selected for special attention. My words were directed particularly to them. One of these men, seated near the front and very attentive was, I learned later, the tyrannical Bagon himself, a brutal Latvian, and the arbitrary head

of the local volost government. He had not smiled at my references to "tomorrow" or "at once." But the contracts that had been made with the heads of government in Moscow and the capital of the Ukraine effectively clipped the wings of these self-important petty government officials who had been flouting the uncertain Soviet laws and revelling in the abuse of their power in their isolated rural districts. By now they were convinced it would be politically too hazardous to interfere conspicuously with our Mennonite relief committees. Our appointees were not often molested and our supplies not confiscated.

The Basis for Relief Work

This meeting, this opportunity, had to be utilized also to explain to all of them, Mennonites and others, the fundamental Christian motivation that undergirded our relief work. It was all the more important to emphasize this principle because the Mennonites had suffered so excruciatingly. No one in their Ukrainian colonies could reasonably be expected to have erased from memory the horrors and unspeakable atrocities of the brutal bandit groups that murdered their men and ravished their women, resulting in the formation of a *Selbstschutz* (Self-defense) among some of the Mennonite men.

But now, with the coming of our relief organization, it was imperative that the religious basis of our work be clearly understood. We had given assistance in France, not to Mennonites, but to needy people regardless of religion or nationality. Here in Russia it was naturally puzzling to many that our Mennonite organization would not limit its help to Mennonites, for some among them were also starving. The Americans could not feed everybody, they reasoned, so why not be more selective? Why not assist only Mennonites—those of the same faith? Their own relatives had written them from America that they had donated food and clothing, and assumed that the relatives in Russia had benefitted from it. But whether they received help or not depended entirely on the degree of need. We had to save lives! Only the very neediest could, at first, be assisted in our feeding centers. But it was possible for anyone in America to send a ten-dollar food parcel to a designated person in Russia. Not everyone was familiar with that arrangement.

To make our position clear at this our first public meeting in Russia it was necessary to clarify some of the historical backgrounds involved. It was because of religious persecution in western Europe that our Mennonite ancestors had fled westward, crossing the Atlantic ocean to find peace and religious freedom in America. In a similar way some Mennonites of eastern Europe had migrated to Russia for conscience' sake. At that time both groups abstained, on religious grounds, from any participation in military affairs. This historic principle remained as a fundamental tenet among Mennonites in various parts of the world.

Thus also in World War I a large proportion of our Mennonite young men in America refused military service as religious conscientious objectors. The large number of college men among them was conspicuous. And then when the opportunity came to enter relief and reconstruction activities in the war-devastated areas in France in cooperation with the Friends Service Committee about fifty of these young Mennonites gave themselves enthusiastically to this project. As early as 1918 the Mennonite Relief Commission for War Sufferers at Scottdale, Pa., made the necessary arrangements with the Friends for workers and for financial support. About $326,000 were raised for this purpose, and also clothing to the value of more than $25,000 was sent to France. These Mennonite boys came from various branches of the church. Under government stipulations our American relief workers in France were required to maintain a token affiliation with the American Red Cross, but our activities were not hampered by this relationship.

This account of our American Mennonite activities came as a great surprise to the Mennonites in the Halbstadt meeting. They had been cut off from communication with the western world. They had not realized to what extent the conscientious objectors to war had become good Samaritans to minister to those in need in the war-devastated areas. Nor had they been aware of the close relationship between the relief work in France and what was just now taking place in their own communities. For the Mennonite relief work in Russia had its original inception not in Constantinople or the Crimea or America, but primarily in a decision made at the conference of American Mennonite conscientious objectors at Clermont-en-Argonne in France in June 1919.

It Began in France

Among these Mennonite reconstruction workers in France there developed the strong conviction that our church should render this kind of Christian service in the name of the Mennonite church. We came to believe that we should not depend on working under other organizations like the Near East Relief or the Friends Service Committee, however cordial our relationship might be. It was our strong conviction that we owed this to our historical past, and also to the future generations of Mennonites. Thus it came about that a three-day conference of Mennonite reconstruction workers was held at Clermont-en-Argonne. At this conference a committee of four was appointed to confer with Herbert Hoover in his Paris office to orient ourselves on the areas of need and the possibilities of relief work. The committee consisted of Roy Allgyer, A. E. Hiebert, J. C. Meyer, and myself. The highly esteemed Bishop S. E. Allgyer of West Liberty, Ohio, who had attended

our conference and heartily endorsed our plans accompanied our committee to our meeting with Herbert Hoover. On his return to America S. E. Allgyer recommended that a committee be appointed to investigate the need and possibilities for relief work in Germany, Austria, and South Russia. After the completion of the investigation, Roy Allgyer also returned to America to report our findings. But the uncertainties in America were so strong, and the delays were so many and so long that I finally made arrangements with the Red Cross to go with them to the Crimea to maintain our contacts with the Mennonites in Russia and to keep the lines of communication open.

When the future of General Wrangel's campaign against the Communists became doubtful, the Red Cross closed the Simferopol unit and our struggle there with cholera and typhus and dysentery came to an end. I returned to Constantinople and western Europe for medical treatment. It was at this crucial juncture, when Red Cross retrenchment had begun and the army front near Alexandrovsk was weakening, that the ill-fated attempt was made, too late, to begin our relief activities in the Ukraine. The Communist army conquered the whole south. Clayton Kratz was arrested at Halbstadt, taken away by the army, and then he completely disappeared.

A Thread of Faith

About five months later Arthur Slagel and I again ventured into Russia and set into motion a chain of events that finally brought me to Halbstadt and this meeting in the Mennonite church. At long last the movement initiated at the conference of relief workers in France was attaining its purposes in the Chortitza, Molotschna, and Volga German settlements. There was a continuous and unbroken thread extending from the Clermont conference to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Odessa, Cherson, Constantinople, Rostov, London, Moscow, Kharkov, Chortitza and Halbstadt. It was a golden thread of unfaltering faith that the way would open to bring help also to our brethren in Soviet Russia. "God moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform."

Many of the Mennonites went home from the meeting in the Halbstadt church convinced that our relief organization must give its help to others as well as to Mennonites in the areas for which we assumed responsibility. Also Kamenev in Moscow had warned that the limiting of help to Mennonites would inevitably result in violent persecution from their neighbors.

Our relief operations in the Ukraine and Crimea were directed from one center, our district office at Alexandrovsk, where Arthur Slagel established our first unit and our headquarters for the south of Russia in 1922. He had brought some carloads of clothing from Constantinople but no food.

If the American Mennonite Relief had been permitted promptly to inaugurate the feeding of the starving on the basis of our Moscow and Kharkov contracts there would have been few, if any, starvation deaths among the Mennonites in the Ukraine. And we could have saved thousands of others likewise. The delay was not due to the Mennonites. The feeding was delayed because far too much theory dominated some other American officials who were not well enough informed on conditions in Soviet Russia, nor on the psychology of violent revolutions. Shipments of supplies were to be made only through the northern ports, but the extreme winter tied up many ships in the Baltic ice. Then the lack of American convoyers on the Russian trains, and the inefficiency of the railroads under government operation caused the stalling at one time of forty-six trainloads of American food at one single congested station. This at a time when thousands were dying for the lack of food! Here thieves bored holes through the floors of the freight cars to drain flour or sugar or rice or corn grits or cocoa from the bags inside the wooden cars.

Not a Bark of a Dog

When we finally came into the Mennonite villages in the Ukraine to investigate conditions the quiet of death hung over them. Not one dog was barking for the Mennonites had eaten their dogs and their cats. If a hog or cow or horse starved to death the carcass was

Horses and cows were hitched together to plow the fields until the American Fordson tractors arrived in 1922.

eaten. One man in the Chortitza settlement had a piece of cow hide about four times the size of a hand, which he had just finished roasting and was about to eat by boiling it to make a soup. For several days he had lived on this type of food. This was the last piece, but he would have been thankful if there had been more. The suffering among the less frugal or the unfortunate was extreme. Already in November some of the people had been living largely on mixtures of leaves, bark, thistles, etc., ground into flour and baked. Among some of the lowest level families outside of the Mennonite colonies there was some cannibalism.

When the neighboring communities learned of the almost miraculous blessings that had come to the Mennonite volosts they sent delegations to implore us to help them also. There were committees from Baptists, Christian Evangelicals, Lutherans, Molokans and other religious groups. They came even before our food supplies arrived. And we did help in the adjoining volost of Prishib until American Relief Administration came to the rescue.

The organization of our work was simple. In each volost we appointed a committee and chairman responsible directly to the American personnel—responsible for the warehouse and the feeding operations in that volost. Under their supervision were the village committees. Also under their supervision, the village committees prepared the lists of those with the least food on reserve in the home, who therefore could be admitted at once to the feeding centers. It was necessary to make house to house investigations of food supplies still on hand. A family with two cows could not immediately be admitted to the kitchens. One cow could be exchanged for food, or sold. There were too many who had no cow or horses or reserves. One man who had two cows and several sheep and could therefore not be admitted to the kitchens chose to lie in bed with feet swollen from hunger rather than butcher or trade one of the animals. In one family a ten-year old boy died of starvation because his father would not sell or trade one of his cows.

Feeding Centers

One meal a day was served at the feeding center to those on the accepted list. Every day an exact quantity of food was requisitioned for each day's meal in accordance with the official feeding list. Young and old, all of them, received their portions of food, ready to eat, at the feeding center. It was the only way we could be sure that the neediest would receive the food. As the work developed, preference was given to the sick, to children under fifteen and adults over sixty, to nursing and expectant mothers, and then as food supplies increased the next categories were included.

Facilities were provided to bake the buns, cook the rice or corn grits daily, and prepare the cocoa twice a week. Clever managers at the feeding centers could vary the meals by varying the use of sugar or lard or condensed milk. The children usually thrived on this ration, but many adults did not recover their strength for a long time. These meals had been intended primarily to be supplementary, but for thousands they were for a time the only nourishing food available. Because these supplies were bought and shipped in lots of many shiploads, and the Soviet government provided the transportation and storage, the food cost of feeding one person for a whole month was often as low as seventy-five cents. An unbelievably low price on a human being created in the image of God! Later some adult help was given by permitting some rye flour or corn grits to be prepared at home.

No one could have foreseen, when our contracts were being negotiated in Moscow and Kharkov, the very generous outpouring of financial aid from our Mennonite churches in America. Therefore our required guarantees were always very modest as to quantity. It was therefore all the more gratifying to note the amazing increase of support when the needs increased and our people were better informed. Food was nearly always the first consideration. At the peak of our food program in southern Russia we were operating 140 kitchens (feeding centers), and were serving 38,600 rations daily. This was a stupendous program for our relatively small constituency in Canada and the United States. It was like providing one meal daily for a city population of this size.

If to this figure are added the rations supplied directly to the homes in the scattered Volga German settlements, the total number of persons fed daily by the American Mennonite Relief was about 43,000 in July of 1922. By September the kitchens in the Ukraine had reduced their daily feeding from 38,600 to about 12,500 because more local food had become available. It requires very little imagination to comprehend what would have been the appalling increase in the death rate among the Mennonites if for only sixty days or even thirty days the kitchens had been compelled to close, and the local food supplies in the community would have been consumed daily at the correspondingly increased rate of 15,000 or 25,000 or 35,000 meals per day. It staggers the imagination. More than that, it challenges one's Christianity.

But it should be emphasized that these figures do not include the bountiful quantity of food supplied to Mennonites in Russia in the form of ten dollar food remittances designated for specific individuals. For example, near the end of July, 1922, ten car loads of these food parcels were received at one time at our Alexandrovsk headquarters. Only one shipment! Each such package contained 49 pounds white flour, 25 pounds rice, 15 pounds sugar, 10 pounds bulk lard or an equal amount of bacon, 3 pounds tea, and 20 cans condensed milk. Such a parcel was a godsend for any family in Soviet

American food packages were distributed among the starving in 1922.

A meeting of Mennonite men at the time when American relief goods arrived.

Typical early Mennonite threshing in Russia.

Russia. It also made it possible to provide for those who could not be admitted reasonably soon to the daily feeding at the kitchen centers. But only a small proportion of the Mennonites in Russia had relatives or close enough friends from whom they could request such favors. According to the estimate of the American Relief Administration officials our own groups in America purchased food parcels for Russia in excess of $200,000. One-fourth of the value of each such parcel became a donation to the general feeding fund of the ARA.

In this connection we must pay tribute to the heroic work of a man whose body had become almost entirely helpless but whose intellectually brilliant mind was not weakened by the paralysis he had suffered. J. G. Evert, who retained some use of his arms and hands, laboriously processed and addressed food drafts, food remittances, to the amount of $89,000. In about three days after the last draft was completed, his exhausted body could no longer sustain his brave spirit. His soul was released from the physical encumbrances to meet the Master he had served so faithfully.

(The first article appeared in the January issue. A third article will follow in the October issue.)

ENGLISH: Made in Russia

By Gerhard Wiens

WHEN YOU BABBLED the first words of your life, more or less intelligible English words, you were undoubtedly thrilled beyond words; indeed, you had no words to express what was happening to you. You missed the fun I had when I took my first eager steps into the fairy woods of English, for I could and did tell my thrill to anybody who would listen and in any one of three languages. I was nine and somewhat beyond the babbling stage in German, Russian and *Plattdeutsch,* my Low German mother-tongue.

I was happily growing up in a village of the Molotschna settlement of Mennonites, a green garden in the vastness of the South-Russian steppe and worlds removed from nations and continents which, out of habit, spoke English. But my interest in languages which was later to determine my life work must already have been present for I eagerly and securely captured the rare cosmic particles of English that drifted down to us. I can even now give an account of every English word I knew before I knew English.

"Leekay father, leekay zone!" I intoned one bright spring morning across the hubbub of our schoolyard, and all was still. Most of the children dismissed me after a moment of disrespectful silence, but my best pals came up and asked me to say that again. I did. "That's English!" I explained proudly. "And it means the son is just like the father. But you should see how they write those words, oh boy!"

I pulled a small book out of my pocket and before goggling eyes opened it on a page of English proverbs and their German translations. My parents had been to the city and had brought me this fascinating booklet, a kind of Information Almanac for Wide-Awake Growing Boys. But I quickly withdrew it again from under their curious noses and declaimed "Got helps toh-zay voh help tem-zel-fess. What d'you think that means?" They wouldn't even guess and I translated: God helps those who help themselves. By the time we went back in they had memorized both proverbs and now asked the teacher if he knew what they were saying. He didn't and we gleefully told him.

This was our first English with meaning, *sensible* meaning. For we had not been able to see any sense but only a bizarre attempt at humor in the legend stamped on every box of Swedish matches which Russia had been importing since the beginning of World War I: *Made in Sweden.* We had no meaning but German to put into these words, and it was startling: maggot in Sweden.

Having been put on the alert for foul jokes on matchboxes and on other imported articles we learned by and by that there were maggots in England, France, Denmark, and in U. S. A. Whatever country *Oosah* was, the sound of that word added a new funny note to the maggot joke of which we were beginning to get tired.

Ever since I had learned to decipher Roman type I had puzzled over another message from the English-speaking world. Our binders and the twine we used in them were of American manufacture. Tucked into

the hollow of each ball and attached to one end of the twine was a yellow oil-soaked tag with the legend, "Draw from this end." Our fathers had long ago learned from experience to thread the twine through the machine correctly, even though the only word they understood, "end," had deceived them at first, for they had assumed that what the tag called the end *was* the end. Many a blazing afternoon during rests from shocking the sheaves which our *Deering* and *McCormick* had whelped, I used to rack my brain about the meaning of the rest of the tag. Before long I was almost sure what "this" meant. But "from" looked like a willful misspelling of "fromm"—"pious," and to correlate piety with binder twine seemed an extravagant demand. And "draw" offended me as a manifestly contrived word: words just did not end in a *w*, no German word ever did.

One year our bunch of boys was reading all the detective stories we could lay our hands on, many of which featured the ingenious *Serlock Holl-mes*, the obtuse *Votzone*, and the *Brow-ning* pistol. The German translators had left small flavoring particles untranslated, such as "well," "all right," and "curses." From context and spelling we had guessed the first two expressions, but we had no idea what "curses" might mean. We frequently played detectives those days, and a passerby might have heard the following sequence of exclamations, uttered defiantly, authoritatively or suavely: "Vell, well! Ahl reckht! Coorzes!"

In our geography class the wall map of North America fascinated us because it was sprinkled with the most wantonly scrambled letter combinations we had ever seen. We loved to recite the names of states like *Veeoming, Oheeo, Rhoday Eesland, Yo-va, Ootah, Visconseen, Kentooky, Connectikoot* and *Massakhuzetts*. Our teacher, who knew some French, wanted us to say *Connecticü* and *Massashüzetts*. I thought there was no more majestic name in geography than that great bay on the Atlantic coast, *Khezapayahkay Bye*.

In a chest at home we had a bundle of old letters from my father's cousins who had emigrated to America in the 1870's and settled at *Mah-rion Yoonk-tsi-ohn, Süd Dakota*. I was proud of having kinfolk at such a substantial, four-word address and pitied my friend to his face because his relatives were living (no doubt miserably) at Punkin, Kansas.

Since Shakespeare in German was read nearly as much as the native classics, the correct pronunciation of his name percolated even to our remote settlement. When we came across his name on the printed page we just shut our eyes and said the word. But the few other classics of the English language that crossed our paths were treated as Germans, for example *Mark Tvine*, author of *Tome Zahryer* and *Hooklayberry Finn*, whom we loved; or *Yah-mes Fenimoray Cohper*, whose Indians of vermilion skin scalped palefaces with *tohmahahvks*. I had read, in German translation, a few poems by a Lord *Büron*; when I began studying Pushkin and Lermontov I found them paying frequent homage to a British poet whose name, in Russian transcription, sounded like *By-ron*. It turned out that he too was a lord. I became suspicious and began analyzing his poetry as revealed by his Russian disciple, and lo! *Büron* and *Byron* were the same lord. Then I felt like *Yone Kayahts* on first looking into *Khopmon's Homer*.

A young cousin of mine had some years before gone to America, had picked oranges in romantic, exotic *Kalifornen* for a few seasons and returned to Russia. He was our guest at dinner one evening. What a memorable evening that was—but of all the things he told us about amazing, fantastic America I still cherish one anecdote particularly. We laughed and laughed when he told us what the Americans called the "instrument consisting of a thin sharp blade fastened to a handle." (Definition by *Noah Vaypster*.) Americans, said my cousin, called it a "nife," but spelled it k-n-i-f-e. A *k-neef!* Why, that was Low German—but with one big difference: a good, respectable knife we called "massa"; "k-neef" was our word for a bad knife, a decrepit, wretched, no-good, has-been kind of knife. We tried to imagine Mr. *Vohdroff Vilzone*, the President of the United States of America, in evening clothes, using a gleaming sterling silver knife and calling it a *k-neef*. Incredible Americans!

Even an Englishman trickled down to our little village one summer. The British and French furnished supplies to the White Army during the Civil War and had some military personnel in South Russia. One afternoon in the summer of 1920 I was walking down the street with my guitar when a young officer in foreign uniform asked me in German what a guitar was called in Russian. I told him. I was bursting with curiosity to know who he might be, but my boyish shyness kept me from starting a conversation. The next day, after the contingent had left, I learned from a neighbor that this officer had been quartered at his house and was an honest-to-goodness Englishman! I had missed my chance to find out the connection between matches and maggots and the meaning of *coorzes*. Coorzes on boyish shyness!

That very autumn I began studying English in school. I fell in love with it, even though it amused me no end with its unexpected, ingenious outbursts of plain old Low German. (Suppressed Anglo-Saxon, I learned afterwards.) I loved my mother-tongue, yet we all regarded Low German as a humble dialect good enough only for plain folk like us. Shakespeare therefore lost some caste when he took the words out of our mouths. I have long since come to respect any dialect as a unique and worthy tool of expression. Yet to this day I can chuckle inside myself when I listen to a speaker of English who parades his "cultured" accent, who presses his claim to culture with every syllable he mellifluously and sonorously utters. And I feel an urge to tap the ethereal soul on the shoulder and invite him, "Come, min angel-saxisha broda, come holp me. Go nu en gef dem caulf hay en dem shvin waota!"

The Christian Year

By Walter Hohmann

IN THE DISCUSSION of the subject "The Christian Year" and how it relates to the Mennonite church, I will approach it from three viewpoints, namely: its history, its value, and Mennonite exposure to, or use of, the Christian year.

The History of the Christian Year

Very early in the history of the Christian church certain events in the life of our Lord were commemorated. The celebration of the Lord's Day every week and the annual celebration of Easter were two important foci from which subsequent developments proceeded. Gradually from this beginning, with Easter as a center and anchoring the church to the cross, a complete cycle for the Christian year was fashioned, this cycle now being observed by the greater part of Christendom, including Greek, Roman, Lutheran, Anglican, and other churches.

Both Jewish and Christian elements are found in this cycle—the movable festivals being derived from Jewish sources, the immovable from Christian history. The weekly Lord's Day and the cycle of seven days underlie the entire system. Originally Pentecost was a Jewish feast, the feast of weeks, a harvest festival held a "week of weeks" after Passover. The church today celebrates Pentecost seven-times-seven days after Easter, the Festival of the Resurrection. The dispute over the date of Easter occasioned the first great controversy in the Christian church.

The development of the Christian year calendar brought into focus two parallel ideas which ran throughout different national types: the life of our Lord and the history of the church. These fundamental conceptions came to final expression in the *Semester Domini,* or the half year of the Lord, and the *Semester Ecclesiae,* or the half year of the church.

The *Semester Domini,* or the more objective division, includes three cycles. 1) The Christmas cycle, corresponding to the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles at the end of the year. This cycle contains three seasons: Advent (preparation), Christmas (nativity), and Epiphany (manifestation). 2) Easter, corresponding in point of time to the Jewish Passover. It begins with *Septuagesima* and includes Ash Wednesday, Lent and Easter proper. 3) Pentecost or Whitsuntide cycle, corresponding to the Jewish Pentecost. This includes Ascension, Pentecost, and Trinity Sunday.

The *Semester Ecclesiae* includes certain lesser festivals which were gradually inserted into the calendar, usually on fixed dates corresponding to historic events in the lives of the apostles, evangelists and martyrs and the history of the church. The Christian year is not the device of any one man or any single group. It is rather the gradual outgrowth of the experience and needs of Christian men and women throughout the centuries.

The Value of the Christian Year

Loyalty of any kind, if it is to be genuine and honest, requires a background of historic depth, understanding and consciousness. The theology and church life of many individuals, as well as religious groups, are shallow, because they lack this sense of historic depth. The church year in its historic perspective takes us back through the centuries and countries to the springs of Christianity itself. I would like to quote from *The Christian Year* by Fred Winslow Adams, published in 1940.

If the proper and united observance of Sunday, the Lord's Day, is a value never to be surrendered, why longer neglect a united observance of the Lord's Year? . . .

The Christian Year is a compass whose needle always points to Christ. From the beginning it has been a means by which the whole Church could be aided in realizing His divine Presence. When Jesus said at the Last Supper, "this do in remembrance of me," he had sown the seed of the Christian Year. Following His resurrection, the Eucharist began to be celebrated every Sunday or First Day of the week. Eventually, the Jewish Sabbath was

transformed into the Lord's Day, the Jewish Passover into Easter—the Festival of the Resurrection, and the Jewish Pentecost into Whitsunday—the Festival of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. It was natural that Jesus' birth should also be observed. Thus a Christian Year was born. It was organized about a desire to remember Christ by worshipping in His name and surrounding the Name with Festivals commemorating events of His life. The entire Calendar was thus arranged as a litany of adoration. The Christian Year circles around the Light of the World. Its seven seasons all tell of Him.

The values of the Christian year calendar can be briefly stated under three headings. 1) It affords a plan. From week to week throughout the year and from year to year, the congregation, the individual member and the minister may look ahead to what is coming. 2) It affords a balance. The program for the church and the minister's preaching program, if aligned to it, will be a balanced one in which the significant claims of the gospel and the basic doctrines of Christianity will have been presented in the course of the year. 3) It affords a variety. Dullness and sameness can be the means of deadening the message of the gospel. Many Protestant churches suffer from this. Their program lacks movement and direction, color, drama and interest. The calendar may seem to be fixed and prescribed, while actually it is an arrangement of changing emphases. Andrew W. Blackwood in his book, *Planning a Year's Pulpit Work*, comments on the Christian year thusly: "Even in the bodies that prescribe readings and prayers for public worship, the clergyman is largely free to determine what he shall preach."

The Mennonites and the Christian Year

History records an exposure of Mennonites to the Christian year in the Altona congregation near Hamburg, Germany, in the second half of the seventeenth century. Jakob Denner (1659-1746), was a Mennonite-Dompelaar preacher whose father was an elder in the small Mennonite congregation of Altona. In 1684, Jakob Denner was ordained as minister of this congregation and following his ordination, also preached in Lübeck, Friedrichstadt and Danzig. Later he returned to Altona and preached in the large Mennonite church there.

In 1730, Denner published a series of sermons which were entitled *Erbauliche Betrachtungen über die Sonn- und Festtagevangelia.* These sermons were based on the Scripture passages which were to be used for the occasion according to the Christian year calendar. Denner's sermons were well received and were attended by members of all Protestant groups. His printed sermons appeared in many editions and exerted a tremendous influence in and beyond the Mennonite group. Numerous Mennonite ministers of later generations, conversant with the German language, had a copy of Denner's sermons in their library. To what extent these ministers may have been influenced in their preaching by the Christian year calendar, which these sermons by Denner followed, is hard to tell. We do know, by examining their sermons, that some of these ministers did follow the Christian year calendar in their preaching. However, more research along these lines needs to be done.

The calendar which Denner followed in these sermons corresponds quite accurately with the Lutheran calendar and is the calendar which appears in the Mennonite *Gesang-Buch, in welchem eine Sammlung geistreicher Lieder befindlich* (Third edition, Odessa, 1859). The calendar appears in all subsequent editions of this hymnbook, even those printed in the United States and Mexico as recently as 1943. Whether this is the first Mennonite songbook containing the Christian year calendar, I cannot establish.

In 1854, the church council of the Mennonite congregation in Danzig, whose chairman was J. Mannhardt, the pastor, published a new hymnbook entitled *Gesangbuch zur kirchlichen und häuslichen Erbauung. Für Mennoniten Gemeinden.* This hymnbook contains an appendix in which the Epistle and the Gospel for every Sunday and festival day of the Christian year is presented. The calendar used here is the same as the one used by Denner in his book *Erbauliche Betrachtungen über die Sonn- und Festtagevangelia.*

A revised edition of this hymnbook was published in 1908 by H. G. Mannhardt, the pastor of the Danzig congregation at this time. This hymnbook contains only 445 hymns instead of the 702 which the old one contained. The appendix containing the Epistle and the Gospel for every Sunday and festival day of the Christian year was also deleted. However, the first section of this hymnbook contains 96 hymns for the festivals of the Christian year. Another edition of this hymnbook was prepared in 1926.

In 1906-1909, the Mennonites of Prussia published two volumes of sermons entitled *Predigten vorgetragen in den Mennoniten-Gemeinden Westpreussens.* These sermons, preached in the Mennonite congregations, are arranged according to the Christian year calendar except for the Scripture reading of the Epistles and the Gospels which are only partially followed. Another slight irregularity is the addition of eight sermons at the end of volume II which are not a part of the Christian year calendar.

According to the preface of volume I, the directive for the preparation of these sermons was issued by the General Conference of the Churches of West Prussia in 1900, to the elders of the various churches. The elders evidently organized a committee for this purpose, for the preface of both volumes is signed, *Der Ältesten-Ausschuss.*

There are, however, instances of earlier association, or contact, with the Christian year calendar among the Anabaptists. One such instance is that of Jacob Dachser (1486-1567), an Anabaptist minister and hymn writer was the leader of the Augsburg Anabaptist congrega-

tion from February, 1527, until his recantation in May, 1531. Dachser was born in Ingolstadt and later served as a Catholic priest in Vienna. Because he defended Luther's writings, he was forced to leave Vienna and returned to Ingolstadt. Here he received his master's degree and later, because he continued his defense of Lutheran ideas, was imprisoned in Eichstätt. After his release, he fled to Augsburg in 1526. Here he was baptized by Hans Hut and appointed assistant head of the Augsburg Anabaptist congregation of some 1,100 members.

Dachser wrote numerous hymns and versified and translated many psalms into the German language for church singing. In 1538, he published *Der gantz Psalter Davids nach ordnung und anzahl aller Psalmen.* This *Psalter* contained an appendix of hymns for church holidays and ceremonies which he wrote. When the Augsburg clergy published a *Gesanghbüchlein* in 1555, the psalms and the appendix were included in this *Gesanghüchlin.* How extensively this *Psalter* was used by the Anabaptists is not known and to what extent, if any, the hymns in the appendix were used is likewise unknown. However, here again we see a Christian year calendar with which Anabaptists were undoubtedly acquainted.

A second instance of the early Anabaptist contact with the Christian year calendar is found in the psalm translations of Ambrosius Lobwasser (1515-1585), a man deeply interested in the hymns of the church, who received his education in Leipzig until 1550 as a docent of jurisprudence. He then made a trip to Paris, following which he spent some time among the Huguenots. Here he came into contact with their Psalm singing, which impressed him very much. After this experience he decided to translate these French Psalms by Marot and Beza into the German language.

These Psalms, with their French melodies, were widely used and accepted by the German Reformed churches. These German Psalms were printed in Leipzig in 1573, bearing the title, *Die Psalmen Davids nach französicher Melodey in deutsche Reymen gebracht* durch Dr. Ambrosius Lobwasser. Whether the first edition of this *Psalter* contained an appendix of festival hymns for the Christian year, is not known. Later editions, however, contain such an appendix in which the hymns are arranged according to the Christian year calendar.

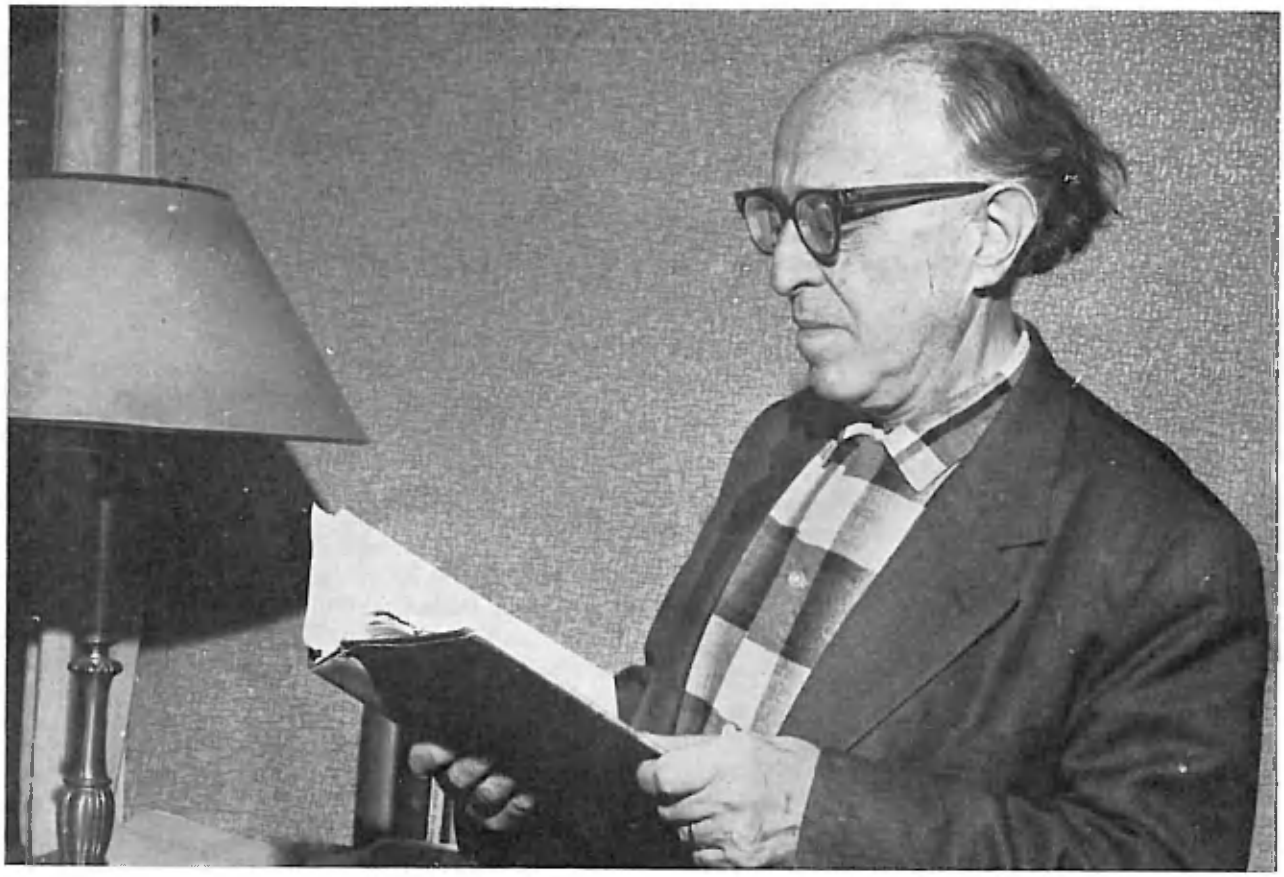
One of these later editions was published for the Bernese government and soon the Swiss Mennonites were using the Lobwasser Psalms extensively. However, in order that the Anabaptists should not feel that this was a state church hymnal, the title page with the imprint of the Bernese governments was torn out of their copies. Here again we have an instance of Mennonite exposure to the Christian year calendar.

From history, then, we may conclude that some Anabaptists and Mennonites were exposed to and used the Christian year calendar. In the latter part of the nineteenth century and in the twentieth century, some Mennonite congregations that had used the calendar year discontinued the use of it.

My Way to the Mennonites

By Robert Friedmann

I DO NOT COME from Mennonite stock, My name, Friedmann, is not a Mennonite name, even though its meaning Pax-Man (or Peace Man) fits beautifully into the Meannonite philosophy. I was born in the big city of Vienna, said to lie on the "blue" Danube, but actually the Danube is brown and dirty, and, as a rule, you do not see it at all, as it is way out near the outskirts of the city. In Vienna I studied, married, taught and lived for forty-eight years, and were it not for Hitler (God bless him for that), I would never have seen the friendly shores of this big country. Now I belong to the Mennonite church, and some people might know my name from my divers studies on Anabaptism, the Hutterites, and related topics. How did this ever come to pass? How did I find my way to both Goshen, Indiana, and North Newton, Kansas, where I happen to teach this snowy winter of 1961-62? It is a long and devious story, and as it has its own moral, I thought I should



Robert Friedmann presented the article entitled "My Way to the Mennonites" in the chapel of Bethel College where he taught history during the school year, 1961-62.

tell it. It might have a point for the Christian mind.

In the years 1920-24 I was a student of both history and philosophy at the University of Vienna, an old and rather famous institution. I was a member of the "Seminar for Cultural and Economic History" headed by the well-known history professor, Alphons Dopsch. As a matter of routine, I had to produce a "seminar paper," but as it should soon prove, this routine assignment was to become a providential event in my life which decidedly influenced, in fact, changed my life in its basic outline and orientation.

My professor had asked me what I would like to write about in this research paper, and I answered quickly: "Something on the sectarian movement in Austria during the period of the Reformation." Frankly, an intellectual and an ulterior motive combined in this suggestion. I had not the slightest idea whether or not such a movement ever existed in Austria. My ulterior motive was simply this that I am a very poor Latinist having learned this classical language only at the age of thirty and never really mastered it as behooves a humanistically educated person. Since most medieval and later historical sources are in Latin I purposely concentrated on a topic which most likely would bypass this difficulty. If there were "sectarians" in Austria in the sixteenth century, they no doubt would write German —this I speculated, correctly as I soon should find out. The other, the intellectual motive was my interest of long standing in *Ketzertum,* left-wing Reformation groups, in opposition to both the official Catholic Church and the now semi-official Protestant Church (around 1550, 80 per cent of Austria had been Lutheran and only 20 per cent Catholic). Yes, church history had been my favorite; not of the triumphant (state) churches but of the persecuted and martyred "hidden" (*heimliche*) churches who were so much more exposed to tests than the official churches. If you join a minority church (in old Europe which knew of no toleration and no freedom of conscience) you had to have good reasons. There was something "existential" in such a confessing faith, else you would not risk so much. Not knowing the actual facts I intuitively chose the topic: Left-wing (radical) Christian movements in the days of the great church rebellion which we call the age of Reformation. As I was an Austrian, it should be part of the history of this country. Actually, the number of "sects" and splinter groups of that age was immense, and I could not know whether such a study would be worthwhile, likewise, whether these phenomena were only ephemeral or of a quasi-permanent nature. Today Austria is 95

per cent Catholic, and I had never before heard the words "Mennonite" or "Anabaptist" or "Hutterite."

Well, Professor Dopsch was very gracious, agreed and helped me in my first groping steps. He advised me to read Ernst Troeltsch (*Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*) and Max Weber (*Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*), and then to look up Joseph Beck's *Geschichts-Bücher* (Chronicles) of the Anabaptists of Austria (1883). There I was—Beck and after him Loserth have done all the research possible and apparently nothing was left for me to do "research" in. Then Dopsch advised me to call on Professor Rudolf Wolkan, one flight up, who taught German literature at the university, and who had shown some interest in Anabaptist history previously. As I had found out in my preliminary research there did actually exist a "left-wing" movement in Austria in the sixteenth century namely the Anabaptists, and more specifically the Hutterites. For more than a century they lived and worked in Moravia, produced a rich manuscript literature and were still living somewhere in far-away America, as Wolkan had discovered around 1908. Thus with much determination I knocked at the door of Wolkan's office, and was most kindly received. "You are a lucky fellow," he said, "it so happens that I have here on my desk not less than three Hutterite codices (handwritten books) of the 16th century. Why don't you try a study of the epistles of these people? There are many hundreds of them, and no one ever has made this a topic of literary study."

I Find a Life's Vocation

There I was, in the year of our Lord 1923, with three most precious bulky volumes of 1570-90, written in beautiful penmanship in black and red ink on heavy well-preserved paper, and bound in fine, embossed leather, closed with two brass buckles. How precious a gift for a young scholar! Reading at first was not easy as I was not used to the handwriting of 16th century people but considering that these books (confiscated by Jesuits two centuries later) had been written by simple folk, craftsmen and artisans, their writing was remarkably clear and it was a joy to plunge into the study of these codices, for a routine seminar paper, to be sure.

Out of this grew a life's vocation. I began reading and as I proceeded I began to become alerted and to note a mentality completely unknown to me hitherto. These were epistles with a new sound, a new spirit, something very different from anything I had ever read before. What was it? The great majority of these epistles were written either by or to *Sendboten* (missioners) who had been sent out of Moravia to preach the Gospel—not to Africans or Chinese but to people in Tyrol, Bavaria, Hesse, and Switzerland, to bring them into the fold of a genuine Christian brotherhood, foretaste of God's kingdom on earth. Today this would perhaps be called "home-mission," but the term carries quite a different connotation. Was it proselytizing? In part yes, but these brethren-missioners did not care. They felt that they faced a "pagan" world anyway, named Catholic or Lutheran or Zwinglian (hardly ever Calvinistic). People had never heard the true gospel of "following Christ" (*Nachfolge*, which is a better expression than discipleship, *Jüngerschaft*), hence it was the obligation of those who had experienced the shaking breakthrough of spiritual rebirth, as Jesus had described it in John 3, to go out and bear witness to this truly redeeming faith, not counting the price for such a testimony. It was a compelling force.

A Compelling Witness

The great majority of these epistles were written in jail and smuggled out to be brought to Moravia by letter-carrying simple brethren, many epistles being farewell letters written on the eve of cruel executions of all sorts; courage, faith, even joy to be privileged to give testimony and to die for one's faith, and infinite love to the brotherhood home in Moravia speak out of these unique documents. Most brethren were married and some letters went to the wives ("married sisters" as they were called) but private life hardly mattered. No sentimentality tempted these "disciples"; they had experienced a wonderful upsurge of certainty that the narrow path *is* the true path of those who accepted Christ as their Lord. This spoke so lively out of every one of these martyrs' epistles. Death was almost welcomed, compromise with the judges (who sometimes pitied these victims) was out of question. Other letters were written by the home community, the bishop or the brethren and sisters in the farm colony (*Bruderhof*), full of comfort, prayers, scripturally undergirding the admonition to remain steadfast in the face of such cruel situations. All these writings then were copied and recopied in *Epistelbüchlein*, three of which I was privileged to hold in my hands. As I later found out there still exist today between three hundred and five hundred such codices both in European libraries and among the descendants of these Hutterites in America; very few epistles had ever been printed. Best known of all was the one by Jakob Hutter to the governor of Moravia when the latter in 1535 ordered total expulsion of these brethren from this formerly safe refuge of Anabaptism.

There my story almost ends. Much more grew out of this than a mere "seminar-paper" of three thousand words or so. I became a convinced Christian myself under the impact of these unique documents which to this day I have not tired in reading. No preacher or priest of churches around me could make me, the seeker and free-spirit, a Christian. These simple and non-sophisticated witnesses, however, of four centuries ago, convinced me and showed me what genuine Christianity actually means. No scholastic theology (they nowhere indulge in intellectual pursuits of this kind), no complicated organization, no magical sacraments, no rank of professional preachers—nothing of that kind blurred the picture. If you want to follow the narrow path which Christ had trodden and shown before, then you have to be

contradicted by the world at large and risk a new life, in brotherhood and (as it is the case of the Hutterites) even in a form of community of goods, in sharing and demonstrating to the world that such a way is not only possible but feasible. Of course it meant withdrawal from the world, creating islands of a new spirit, which the world would most likely contradict. Maybe it is different in our century but in the great period between 1530 and 1660 it was an experiment of great daring and of permanent gain, and—of thousands of martyrs.

I do not discuss the question of present-day Hutterites (whose friendship I happily gained when I visited them in 1954, 1957 and 1961). I will also not discuss the question whether this way is the only one for a reborn person today. I only know that my entire outlook on religion and Christianity was changed and widened by this encounter. Early Anabaptism was not legalistic but filled with spirit—read, if you will, that beautiful defense by Michael Sattler, 1527, or the epistles by Jakob Hutter 1533-35, or for that matter about Hans Hut (of whom we have so little in written form but by whom a great area of South Germany and Austria was won for Anabaptism). It was really a rebirth of primitive Christianity, and many an epistle by these brethren reads as if it were taken verbatim out of the New Testament.

In 1925 I visited the remnants of Hutterite *Bruderhof* settlements in Slovakia and met those former Hutterites (Habaner) who were made Catholics by coercion around 1760-80. A few years later I visited (to my great joy) the *Rhönbruderhof* of the Eberhard Arnold group in Germany—now called "Society of Brothers"—and a close friendship with them developed.

In 1925 I had my first letter from John Horsch in Scottdale, Pennsylvania, the early historian of Anabaptism in this country, and through him I contacted Elias Walter, elder or bishop of the Hutterites (*Darinsleut*) in Alberta. In 1930 I had my first contact with Harold S. Bender. In this year it was also my privilege to discover a great treasury of Anabaptist documents: twenty-six codices of sixteenth and seventeenth century origin, hidden away in the castle of Mittersill (Salzburg, Austria)—recently rediscovered in a library of Bratislava, Slovakia (see Robert Friedmann, "Of Hutterite Books" in *Mennonite Life,* April 1952, 81 f.). In 1929 the German Society for Reformation Research commissioned me to prepare for the *Täuferakten* series a volume of Anabaptist epistles, a commission still unfulfilled yet still planned (my boxes at home contain hundreds of copies of these epistles). In 1931 my first English essay on Anabaptism appeared in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* together with an invitation to continue in this field. In 1939 I sent to H. S. Bender my study on Anabaptism and Pietism (written in the lovely quiet of an English countryside where I had taken refuge from the Nazis). And then—well, then comes Goshen, my warm personal friendship with and regard for H. S. Bender, and not long after my contact with Cornelius Krahn and Bethel and many other friends in the Mennonite brotherhood.

Out of a seminar paper grew—providentially—a life's vocation. *Deo sit laus.*

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Robert Friedmann was born June 9, 1891, in Vienna, Austria. At the University of Vienna he studied both history and philosophy, securing the Ph.D. degree in 1924. It was here that he first became acquainted with Anabaptist material. In 1929 he was commissioned by the* Verein für Reformationsgeschichte *to edit a volume of Anabaptist epistles. He left his native Austria in 1935, reaching the United States via a prolonged stay in England. In America he was soon invited to Yale University as an Honorary Fellow to do research at the Divinity School. During the next two years (1940-43) he was Research Fellow in Anabaptist studies at Goshen College and was in part also responsible for the rearrangement of the Mennonite Historical Library. From 1945 until his retirement in 1961 he was professor of history and philosophy at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan. In the winter of 1961-62, he was visiting professor at Bethel College. It was here that he presented his autobiographical meditation, "My Way to the Mennonites."*

Robert Friedmann is a member of the Eighth Street Mennonite Church of Goshen, Indiana. He has published a great number of research studies on the Hutterites and on Anabaptism in general in the Mennonite Quarterly Review *and in* Mennonite Life *as well as in other magazines. In 1949 his book,* Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries, *appeared as a part of the series, "Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History" (Scottdale, Pa.). To the* Mennonite Encyclopedia, *of which Friedmann was an Assistant Editor, he contributed close to two hundred articles. His most significant essays were collected by H. S. Bender in the volume* Hutterite Studies, *1961, published by the Mennonite Historical Society of Goshen College, which volume was then presented to him at his seventieth birthday in June 1961. Copies of this book can be obtained through MENNONITE LIFE.*

THE DISCOVERY OF HUTTERITE BOOKS

By Herman Landsfeld

STUDENTS IN THE field of Anabaptist lore are constantly on the lookout for new information concerning the life and work of these once heavily-persecuted Christians who many centuries ago practiced communal life in Moravia and adjacent Slovakia. Eventually these Anabaptists had to leave the country unless they accepted Catholicism and conformed to the ways of the world. Those Anabaptists who did convert to Catholicism could, of course, continue to live in their old quarters and keep a few of their former communal practices at least until the time of World War I.

Among the neighbors they have been and are known as *Habaner*. Understandably they know next to nothing of their background nor do they care much for their nonconformist forefathers. The old settlements, however, the Bruderhof buildings, are still there and by and large in fairly good shape; to the searching student of Anabaptist life they may reveal many a hidden treasure.

Since 1934 I have carried out excavations at these sites which have unearthed many a precious work of pottery (the specialty of the Hutterite Anabaptists of this area) and other remarkable evidences of their religious life now for the most part completely forgotten.

An Unexpected Discovery

In April 1961, one of these 16th century houses in the village of Sobotiste, Slovakia, nicknamed "at Benas," underwent some repairwork, mainly in the interior. To the surprise of the present inhabitants handwritten books and other documents of a time gone-by were found hidden away between certain boards of the ceiling; obviously they must once have belonged to the Hutterite dwellers of this place and were apparently stowed away and hidden when the Catholics, mainly the Jesuits, insisted with powerful means upon conversion of these people, roughly between 1750 and 1762. Today, I would like to tell the story of this remarkable discovery and also about the circumstances which made the salvaging of these finds possible at all.

It was in February 1961 that I went to visit the old Bruderhof complex of Sobotiste (which had existed here ever since the year 1546), as I have done so many times before. At present a family by the name of Blazek is living in this building of which we know that 150 years ago it belonged to a certain Benjamin Schmidt, a potterer, or as these craftsmen are called—jug-maker (*Krügelmacher*), who used to carry on his trade about the turn of the 18th to the 19th centuries. Having pursued excavations all over the area of Hutterite settlements, I had also dug out many an interesting earthenware, half finished vessels and other ceramic fragments, in the backyard of this particular house, proving once more that it actually had been a potterer's workshop in former days. As we now began talking, the owner of the house casually remarked that in the spring of the year (1961) he planned to have some repairs carried out. I immediately alerted him to be most careful with all such work as I was nearly certain that he would find some old remnants within the structure of this building.

On April 14, of that year a letter arrived from the Blazeks saying succinctly: "Please come over; we have found books." Naturally, next morning I left right away for Sobotiste to see for myself what they had discovered. Indeed, there in a wickerbasket they had piled up a good number of old books and other manuscript documents, many of them in rather poor condition of preservation. At once I began to inspect these precious finds which, as I could soon see, covered a period from 1539 to 1758. But, alas, some of them were in a pitiable condition: mice, mold, weather and age had played their part in badly damaging many of these documents. I was told that these books were found in the empty space between the joists of the double ceiling, near the chimney, nicely wrapped up in homespun hempcloth into two packages. Since the final persecution of the Hutterite Brethren began around the middle of the eighteenth century, these two packages must then have

rested at this place for at least two hundred years, 1762 to 1961.

List of Books Found

In the following I intend to present a preliminary list of this extraordinary find as far as the state of preservation allows an identification. The term "codex" is here used to describe handwritten or manuscript books. Their size is indicated either as *octavo* (8°): 6"x4½", or as *quarto* (4°): 7½"x5½".

Notes of identification in brackets | | are added by Robert Friedmann and are signed R.F.

1) Codex of 1590, 8°, bound in an old parchment with music notes and a hymn to Mary. Experts in Brno, Moravia, place the origin of this cover at about 1450. Contents of the codex: different religious tracts.

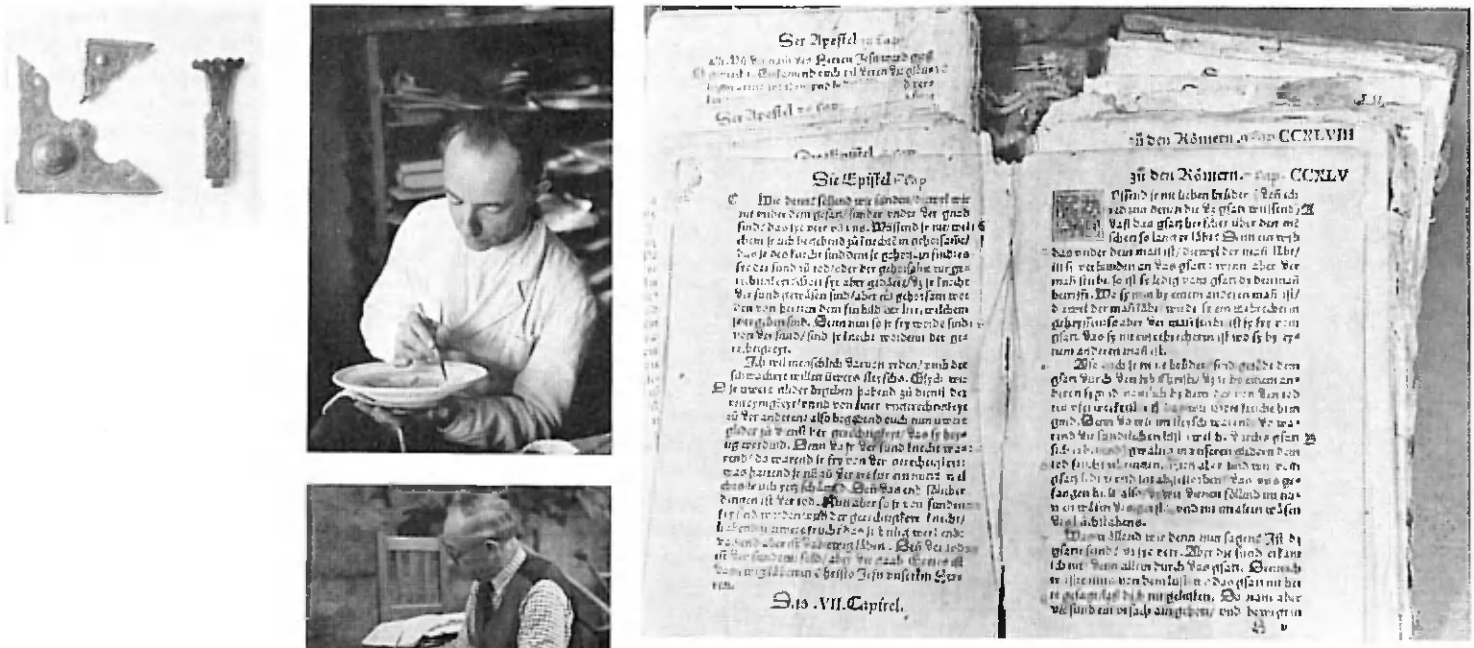
2) Codex of 1584, 8°, leatherbinding with brass corners, back cover damaged. Title page is missing; book begins with the Hutterite traditional "Register Über die Bücher." Begins with the words: "Die erste Red: hier soll erzelt werden, warumb gott die welt, creatur und den menschen geschaffen hat." |*Note: This is no doubt a copy or perhaps even the original of the famous* TAUFREDEN, *catechetical instructions prior to the baptismal ceremony. See "Taufreden" in* MENNONITE ENCYCLOPEDIA. *IV, 686-7, where the details are reported. As the earliest codex known with these instructions was heretofore of 1599, this newly discovered codex seems to represent the earliest copy extant. R.F.*|

3) A combination book of 1614 and 1622, bound together, 4°, 2 inches thick. Leatherbinding greatly damaged, with brass corners and clasps. Contents: a) printed part entitled *Fürneme Capitel aus Heiliger Schrifft, mit Fleiss Gerichtet.* unidentified; b) manuscript part, title *Auf dem ersten Capitel zum Korinther,* dated 1622 |*Obriously a sermon, a so-called Lehre R.F.*| The volume is badly damaged, half of the book destroyed by worms or weather. Front leather cover has embossed the year 1614.

4) Printed book in the Czech language, title "Testament about the Last Supper" (*O Ksaftu vecere pane*), published by Matthew Pardubsky in Prague, 1614. Plain (non-Hutt.) leatherbinding, complete, only slightly damaged.

5) Codex with sermons, 17th century, no year, 8°, greatly damaged, backcover missing, leaves unnumbered. Contents: *Die erste epistel zum Thessalonist.* followed by *Erklerung der ersten epistel Pauly zum Thessalonist.*

6) Codex of 1635, according to the date on the front cover, 4°, 1¾ inch thick, beginning and end missing. Contents: a) expositions of the Old Testament folio 1-208 (the codex, however, begins only with fol. 57 with the story of Joseph and Potiphar); b) hymnal fol. 209-247, continuation missing. Among the hymns we find a song about the brother Andreas Pürchner



Herman Lundsfeld (top and bottom left), at work painting pottery and deciphering manuscripts which he has recently discovered in Czechoslovakia and which he describes in this article. (Top left) Metal corners and clasp from Hutterite books dating back to 1650 found in Sabotiste. (Top) Froschauer Bible of 16th century found by Lundsfeld.

[*martyred 1584, see* LIEDER DER HUTTERISCHEN BRÜDER. *Scottdale, 1914, p. 760-3. R.F.*] and two songs by Christoph Scheffmann [*died 1570*].

7) Codex with sermons of 1653, 8°, leatherbinding, fairly well preserved except for the last few leaves. Begins with the words: "Nun, lieben brüeder, wir haben uns abermals versammlet miteinander . . ." [*This is the standard formula still in use today with the Hutterite Brethren in America at their worship hour when the* DIENER DES WORTES *begins his* LEHR *or* VORRED, *the sermon. No further information is given. R.F.*]

8) Codex with epistles, most likely from the end of the 16th century, 8°, badly damaged, no beginning and no end, leaves not numbered.

9) Codex, most likely again a sermon book, but without any hint as to the year, 8°, simple leatherbinding with brass corners and clasps. Contents: "concerning good deeds," with examples from the Bible.

10) A number of small handwritten sermon booklets [*so-called* LEHREN OR VORREDEN], each 12 to 14 pages, 8°, in which are also recorded when and where these sermons had been read to the Bruderhof congregations, signed in each case by the minister or *Diener des Wortes.* a) sermon on Luca 2, preached in Soblahov (Zobelhof), Slovakia, 1656, and repeated five times up to 1662. b) Johanno 16, 1, preached in Velky Levary 1664, and again eleven times afterwards, initials I.B. c) Matthews 20, initialed A.B., then I.K.A., 1659, and also I.R. d) 2 Corinthian 11, initialed H.F.K. [*that stands for Hans Friedrich Küntsche, the most prolific of all Hutterite authors of sermons, compare article "Küntsche" in* MENNONITE ENCYCLOPEDIA, *III, 259 f., R.F.*], date 1662, and again 1664. e) First epistle of John, *geschrieben zu Kesselsdorf* (Slovakia), 1658 [*See "Kesselsdorf"* in MENNONITE ENCYCLOPEDIA, *III, 168. It was in Kesselsdorf where Küntsche worked, hence he was, most likely, also the author of this sermon. R.F.*], repeated 1707 and 1723 at Sobotiste. f) Proverbs 2 a, dated 1662 and 1711. g) Matthews 19 b and c, 1659, repeated 1700, 1711, 1716 and 1723, a total of five times. h) Matthews 19 c, 1667.

[NOTE: *these are the very first original sermon booklets ever found in Europe. In the United States and in Canada the present day Hutterites own a great number of such small sermon booklets, in fact several hundreds of them, but no European library ever came into the possession of these most original sermon booklets and no scholarly study has ever been made about them. See "Sermons, Hutterite" in* MENNONITE ENCYCLOPEDIA, IV, 504-6. *The greater part of all these sermons originated in the period of the great Hutterite bishop Andreas Ehrenpreis, who died in Sobotiste 1662. R.F.*]

11) Codex, badly damaged, almost illegible, 8°, leatherbinding without corners but with clasps. No description possible.

12) Codex in fairly good condition, no date, 8°, without title page and without end, leatherbinding.

13) Small-size codex of 1617 containing *Ordnung für die Schwestern* [*add: in der Schule—R.F.*] *und die Kinder.* [NOTE: *this seems to be a school regulation or* SCHULORDNUNG, *the earliest of which comes from 1568. See "Education, Hutterite" in* MENNONITE ENCYCLOPEDIA II, 149-50. *R.F.*]

14) Another codex with such regulations, presented to the assembled congregations of several Bruderhofs in the years 1702, 1703, 1709 (all three initialed by I.R.), 1721, 1722, 1723, 1724, etc. up to 1744 (each time signed by the reading minister or Diener des Wortes.) [NOTE: *this seems to be one of the rather famous* GEMEINDEORDNUNGEN *or church disciplines of the Hutterites. See "Gemeindeordnung" in* MENNONITE ENCYCLOPEDIA II, 454-5. *A very fine example of such a "Gemeindeordnung" may be found in the* KLEIN-GESCHICHTSBUCH DER HUTTERISCHEN BRÜDER, 1947, p. 519-32. *Whether or not the codex 14 is identical with this rather famous regulation cannot be stated. R.F.*]

15) Codex 17th century, 8°, well preserved, containing *Eine kurze Erklerung der Psalmen* (no date given).

16) Codex 17th century (no date), 8°, containing an exposition of the Gospel of Matthew [*a so-called* LEHR]; 1½" thick, exceptionally beautifully written, well preserved. Leatherbinding with peculiar ornaments on the cover, with acorns and the Bourbon lilies, but no metal corners.

17) Codex with title page: *Streit zwischen Christen und Juden,* 1539. In very bad condition, incomplete. [NOTE: *a book of this title is otherwise unknown in Anabaptist writings, hence one has to assume that it is not of Anabaptist origin, but a handwritten copy of a printed pamphlet of that early period of the movement, written most likely later than 1539. R.F.*]

18) Codex, unidentifiable, two thirds of it eaten by mice.

19) Similar codex, no beginning and no end, no cover.

20) Small-size codex bound in leather, no further information.

21) Likewise unidentified codex, no title page, otherwise well-preserved. On fine leatherbinding the year 1658. 8°, 1½" thick, most likely a sermon book.

22) Unidentified codex.

23) Codex of 1667, entitled *Paraphrases.* Paper has turned yellow due to dampness and is partly falling apart. Leatherbinding is in part destroyed but one can read the year 1667 embossed on the front cover. [NOTE: *no such book has thus far been known among the sermon literature of the Hutterites, but the title is intriguing and would deserve further investigation. R.F.*]

24) Handwritten copy of a (Dutch) book by Peter Arends of Amsterdam, printed in Rotterdam 1739; 8°. (Not identified.)

25) Printed book with title page: *Bekenntnisse der Armen,* printed by Rechveer digmakinge, door Menno Sy-

mons. Published Amsterdam, 1739 (Dutch language); small 8°, well-preserved. [NOTE: *This could be* BEKENTNISSE DER ARMEN EN ELLENDIGE CHRISTENEN, *of which two editions, 1552 and 1630, are known. A 1739 edition is unknown. See Horst,* A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MENNO SIMONS p. 19, No. 53 and No. 54. *C.K.*]

26) Printed book of 1549 (devotional), only beginning is present [*No further information*]

27) Martin Luther, printed book about "Holy Communion, Baptism and the Lord's Supper," together with a hymn by John Huss arranged by Martin Luther. [*No year and no further identification given*]

28) Document with the seal of a nobleman [*manorial lord*], dated 1749, hardly legible. [NOTE: *this is most likely a so-called* HAUSBRIEF *or charter of privileges, but identification is uncertain since by 1749 such charters were no longer practiced in Slovakia. R.F.*]

29) Hymn codex of 1571 [*?*], very poorly preserved, no beginning and no end, poor penmanship, [*apparently a copy of an older original, hence the date 1571 is uncertain even improbable. R.F.*]

30) Another devotional codex, badly damaged, from about the end of the seventeenth century. No beginning and no end.

There are many other fragments of codices in this collection, such as: a book about the life of Christ, one exposition of the book of Job, exposition of sundry chapters of the Scriptures, and so on. There is also a handwritten document by Bethlen Gabor, prince of Transylvania (1580-1629), most likely also a charter of privileges granted the new settlers at Alvinc (after 1621), with Bethlen's own seal [HAUSBRIEF*?*].

Then there are also single leaves from different codices and bundles of such leaves. There are two reasons for these deplorable conditions: when the books were unexpectedly found between the joists of the ceiling, one bundle of books simply fell down into the rubble below while the boards were removed; and second, after the whole find was temporarily stored away in a wicker-basket people of Sobotiste overturned it carelessly in their search for records of their own ancestors. Thus the pages were loosened, whole books fell apart and pages became mixed up. After my arrival the next day, I stopped that sad confusion, assuring these people that the entire contents of the discovery would be listed in due time and preserved for further examination.

Description of Codices

I would like to give a detailed description of the externals of these codices. The paper of all the books is handmade but there are several different qualities and shades; some paper is whiter, some more yellow, some is strong almost like parchment and still good, other paper is weak and falling apart. The boards of the covers are made partly of lindenwood, neatly finished and bevelled towards the pages, and partly of thick layers of old prints, pasted to the leather wrapping of the covers. The leather used is dark brown, very well tanned by Hutterite tanners, finished in dull shine. As most of these books had been very much in use, going from hand to hand, many covers are well worn. All books were produced on the Bruderhofs themselves by skillful bookbinders, with the single exception of one book bound in pigskin of light color and decorated with a decidedly different ornamentation. Apparently this book had been secured from somewhere else. Most covers have characteristic designs embossed upon the leather cover, usually bearing the date of production. The embossing was done by a brass wheel, heated up and then rolled over the leather thus producing fine ornamental decorations. Other tools were used to produce flowers, leaves, acorns, lilies, circles, etc., which each bookbinder produced according to skill and taste. The backs of the books are plain. As a rule the corners of the covers were made of brass, with some ornamentation, very much like all the brass corners which I have unearthed during my years of excavation (1934-1959) at the sites of former Bruderhofs.

Concerning the art of bookbinding I found the following principles: individual sheets of sixteen pages were sewn together with four heavy strings (of hemp) across the back, and then were strongly tied and secured in cuts of the wooden boards. The leather of the covers was tucked-in on the inside and sealed with heavy paper, on which the owners usually wrote some notes not directly connected with the contents of the book. Sometimes the paper inserted was made of cuttings of old parchment, occasionally with Hebrew script. The usual clasps to hold the book together were made of two flat pieces of brass between which is inserted a piece of fine leather, fastened with three nails to the clasp and with two additional nails to the small piece of brass which is fastened to the inside surface of the wooden boards. Pieces of leather serve as hinges for the opening and closing of the book. The entire make is so characteristic for the Hutterite workshops that any such codex can immediately be recognized as to its origin.

The brethren used three colors of ink for their writings: black, red and green. Red is used to decorate the titles, the title pages, and also to write large letters by which the pages assume a tidy and appealing picture. The older codices seemed to have been written with better ink; today the writing still looks black like fresh writing. Later books, particularly those of the 18th century, used poor ink which with the passing of time got pale, almost rusty. Red ink always shines clearly with its sharpness; it is thickly put on the paper, has a happy tone of vermilion which even after centuries has not lost its brilliancy. Green ink is but seldom used, mostly to replace the traditional red ink. It is not difficult to determine the age of a book: the older the script the more beautiful it is, often almost like print, with delightful spirals and other ornamentation. Later cod-

Old Hutterite mill in Velke Levary, Czechoslovakia, taken in 1910 (bottom), and home (top) photographed 1960.

(Left and top) Habaner (Hutterite) homes in Sabotiste, photographed 1925.

ices are often written carelessly and in a haphazard way. The small sermon booklets (practically notebooks of the *Diener des Wortes*) are of course very plain and without any distinction.

The old Sobotiste Hutterites executed their books with an unusual skill and craftsmanship that enabled them to survive all the wear and tear of the ages. Inside of them I often found four-pointed leaves "for good luck", also pieces of colored cloth and several dried up flowers, just as we find in old Bibles and devotional books everywhere.

Habaner and Hutterite Contact

In conclusion I would like to report some remarks which I overheard while visiting this household "at Benas" in Sobotiste. Theresie Müller *nee* Pulmann, a Habaner woman, loved to come over and to reminisce of former days. She knew Heinrich Schmidt, the potterer or jug-maker who once had his workshop in this house which now bears the number 81 but formerly was number 94. His grandfather was Benjamin Schmidt, likewise a jug-maker around 1800, and it was supposedly from him that this place received its nickname "at Benas." When the storm of persecution was approaching this Benjamin Schmidt used to sit on the steps of his house praying and singing old Anabaptist hymns. In the attic of the house, high above his living room, he had a basketful of old Hutterite books, many of them worm and mice eaten. One of these books, Theresie Müller reported, was very large and thick, and in it was written "that once here in Sobotiste a *Habaner* would rather let himself be buried in front of the Catholic chapel than turn himself Catholic."

Most of these books were found again in 1895. A certain Joseph Müller then borrowed them, and afterwards gave them to another *Habaner* by the name of Ignaz Pulmann. [NOTE: *of this Ignaz Pulmann I have heard also as far back as forty years ago when I visited the colonies in Slovakia and when Elias Walter of Standoff, Alberta, began to correspond with me about all these books—R.F.*] It was this Pulmann whom the Hutterites of South Dakota in 1895 invited to come over to America and to visit his distant relatives. Being not particularly interested in these old codices, he brought them along as a sort of travel gift from back home. Thus it happened that a good number of these precious manuscript books came to South Dakota (and thence to Alberta) and are presenting now a most precious heritage of the American Hutterites. Pulmann came to America, saw all the colonies of South Dakota, but liked it still better back home in Slovakia, and thus returned after a while. In 1896 the aforementioned Joseph Müller too, came to America, and after him also a certain Johann Ceterle (or Tschetterle), related to the Hutterite Tschetter of today. But this Müller did not join a Bruderhof either; after about six years he, too, returned to Sobotiste in Slovakia. In conclusion our Theresie Müller related: There used to be plenty of old books around in Sobotiste at that time (1900). They lay in a pit covered with straw and chaff, and eventually the old mother of Joseph Müller burned them all as useless rubbish.

Alas, there was no one to tell her about the preciousness of these books. The same would most likely also have happened to the above described find of 1961 had I not warned the people of the house beforehand. As it turned out this *Habaner* Bruderhof house "at Benas" proved to be a real historic landmark. That it was an excellent hiding place for codices and other documents no one could have foreseen. Here they had been safe from the spying eyes of the authorities and of the Jesuits. Even though this latest find of Hutterite literature is badly damaged, our knowledge of Anabaptist devotional writings has been greatly enriched and deepened by it. We may certainly be grateful that these remarkable books and documents did not become victims of the flames as happened to those books which had been left in the pit covered with straw and chaff.

[NOTE: *at present all these new codices are deposited at the Provincial Archives of Moravia in its capital city Brno, or Brünn.—R.F.*]

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COVER

Front One of the first Mennonite cemeteries in Ontario at Vineland (1798). The First Mennonite Church in the background is being replaced with a new building in 1962. Photo by Hunsberger.

Back Wheat Field by Ben Shahn courtesy of The Downtown Gallery, New York

Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe. Joel 3:13a