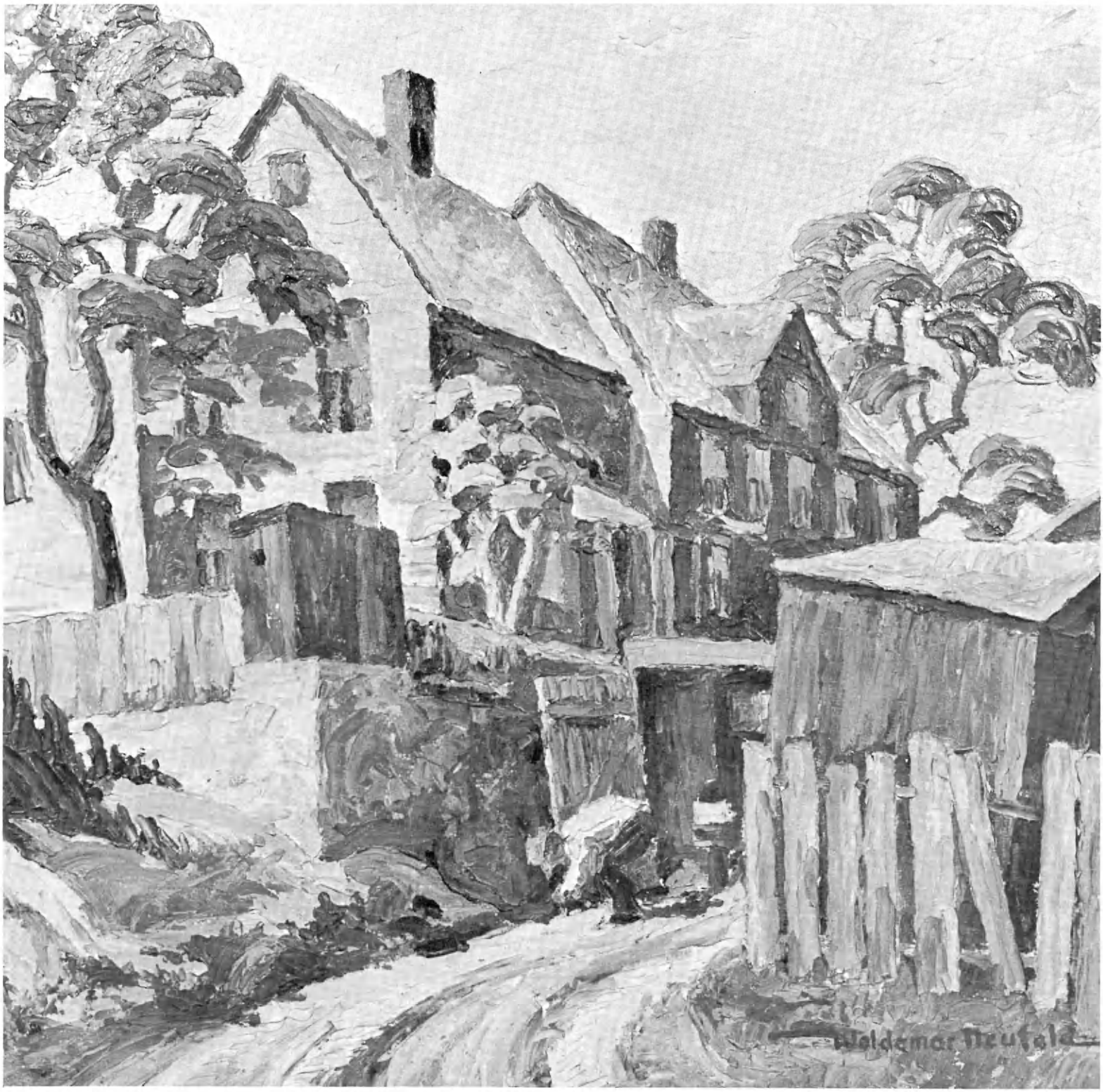
MENNONITE LIFE

JANUARY 1963



An Illustrated Quarterly Published by Bethel College, North Newton Kansas

MENNONITE LIFE

January, 1963 *Volume XVIII* *Number 1*

CONTRIBUTORS

WILLIAM KEENEY, Bluffton College, now MCC representative in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, was European tour conductor.

A. B. ENNS, Luebeck, Germany, is a professional art critic and writer who attended Mennonite World Conference, Kitchener, Ontario.

J. A. AND RENSKE OOSTERBAAN, toured America in connection with the World Conference. J. A. Oosterbaan is professor of theology and philosophy at the University of Amsterdam and the Mennonite Seminary.

CORNELIUS KRAHN has attended all but two of the seven Mennonite World Conferences. He studied in The Netherlands and has traveled extensively.

HARRY A. BRUNK is professor of history at Eastern Mennonite College and author of *History of Mennonites of Virginia: 1727-1900.*

LINDEN M. WENGER, former pastor in rural mission churches of Virginia, is professor of Bible at Eastern Mennonite College.

GRANT M. STOLTZFUS teaches social science courses at Eastern Mennonite College. He is a member of the Eastern Mennonite College Research Committee and helped in planning this issue.

IRA E. MILLER, dean of Eastern Mennonite College, teaches education courses. He is specialist in the origins of Mennonite colleges.

IRVIN B. HORST is professor of church history at Eastern Mennonite College. He has just published the *Menno Simons Bibliography* (see review).

EUGENE K. SOUDER is publicity director for Mennonite Broadcast, Incorporated, Harrisonburg, Virginia ("Mennonite Hour").

SAMUEL SHOWALTER, a student at Eastern Mennonite College, is a native of the Shenandoah Valley and active in chorus and music activities.

ERNEST G. GEHMAN, professor of German at E.M.C., received his Ph.D. degree at the University of Heidelberg on the Pennsylvania-German dialect.

WARREN KLIEWER of Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, has recently published a collection of poetry and some dramas.

ELAINE SOMMERS RICH is a regular contributor to *Mennonite Life* and other periodicals. She resides in North Newton, Kansas.

WALTER FELLMANN is educator, pastor and scholar (Germany) who has recently edited the writings of Hans Denck and written articles about Denck.

COVER: "Backyard" by Waldemar Neufeld (see p. 9).

PHOTO CREDITS: Maple Leaf Photo Service, Kitchener, Ont.: Cover, p. 13; A. Hoekema: p. 3; Richard Blosser: p. 3; Westerbrink: pp. 3, 4; Hunsberger Photos: pp. 4, 5; Jones and Morris, Toronto: p. 11; Shenandoah National Park: p. 19; Flournoy, Va., Chamber of Commerce: p. 20; Park View Press: pp. 20, 24, 26; Mrs. D. Lloyd Trissel: p. 20; David Burkholder: pp. 20, 29, 39; Luray Caverns, Va.: p. 22; EMC: pp. 22, 24, 31, 33; Eugene K. Souder: p. 24; Mrs. Charles W. Hertzler: p. 24; Vera V. Via: p. 27; Sinclair Oil Co.: p. 29; National Archives: p. 29; John C. Winston Co.: p. 29; Mennonite Broadcasts, Inc.: pp. 35-37; The Walters Art Gallery: Back Cover.

CORRECTION: Cover credit for October 1962 should be "U. S. Independent Telephone Association," and not American Telephone and Telegraph Co.

MENNONITE LIFE is an illustrated quarterly magazine published in January, April, July, and October by Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas. Second-class postage paid at North Newton, Kansas.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: One year, $3.00; Three years, $7.50; Five years, $12.50. Single issues, 75 cents.

IN THIS ISSUE

The Mennonite World Conference, which convened in Kitchener, Ontario, August 1-7, 1962, has had many favorable echoes. In this issue of *Mennonite Life*, we present a number of articles with a special emphasis on some aspects not covered elsewhere. William Keeney summarizes the impressions of the European delegates, particularly in connection with their tour from Kitchener through the states of Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, etc. ¶ The Memorial Room of the city auditorium in Kitchener was the gathering place for many delegates and guests. It also had a unique display. A. B. Enns presents an evaluation of this Mennonite art display. J. A. and Renske Oosterbaan relate interestingly and challengingly their experiences and impressions gained while traveling by car from coast to coast, visiting Mennonites during the past summer. The article pertaining to the next World Conference raises the question where this conference could or should take place. ¶ The major part of this issue is devoted to the Mennonites of the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia. A year ago the editor had an opportunity to enjoy the hospitality of the Shenandoah Valley Mennonites, and particularly of the staffs of Eastern Mennonite College and "The Mennonite Hour." It was at that time that this issue of *Mennonite Life* was planned. After Swiss and South German Mennonites had entered the land of William Penn through the gateway of Germantown, some soon moved from Pennsylvania north into Ontario and others south into Virginia. In the Shenandoah Valley, they have made an outstanding contribution, unknown to most of the rest of the Mennonites. ¶ Harry A. Brunk, a Virginia historian, tells us about their settlements, and Linden M. Wenger relates early missionary efforts. They had a successful missionary outreach program without a board of missions. Grant M. Stoltzfus tells some of the experiences the Mennonites had during the Civil War. ¶ The articles by Ira E. Miller and Irvin B. Horst contain basic information about the educational efforts of the Virginia Mennonites. Eastern Mennonite College is a rapidly growing institution. The following two articles by Eugene K. Souder and Samuel Showalter tell us about musical traditions of the Virginia Mennonites and present-day world-wide broadcasting programs. Ernest G. Gehman not only presents a very concise article on the Pennsylvania-German language, but also furnishes some samples of this dialect. ¶ *Mennonite Life* is always happy to feature art, poetry, and literature produced by Mennonites. The authors Warren Kliewer and Elaine Sommers Rich are known to our readers. At times, we present some solid theological articles like the one written by Walter Fellmann, dealing with the theology of Hans Denck.

These five busses, ready for departure from Mennonite World Conference, Kitchener, made a tour through eastern and midwestern U.S.A.

Cornelius Krahn, director of Bethel College Historical Library, speaks to European Mennonite visitors in the Rodolphe Petter Room.

Indians near South English, Iowa, pose for European Mennonites.

Epilogue to the World Conference

By William Keeney

MENTION THE MENNONITE World Conference Land Tour to any of the 180 Mennonites from Germany, Holland, Switzerland, France and Belgium who made the four thousand mile trip, and instantly a flood of memories will come rushing back. Some will be humorous, some more serious. Most of them will be pleasant to recall and talk about.

A scene such as five buses standing in a glaring sun at the end of the bridge to Detroit about to enter the United States might be one of the first to come to mind. Everyone laughed about the contradiction between a three-hour wait and the caption on postcards handed out by a genial custom official. It read "Ambassador Bridge, . . .NO WAITING."

The sight of the Central Mennonite Church near Archbold, Ohio, with lights shining brightly in the parking lot, hordes of automobiles, and a hospitable, smiling crowd of people who had waited hours to greet the travelers might be symbolic of many other heart-warming receptions.

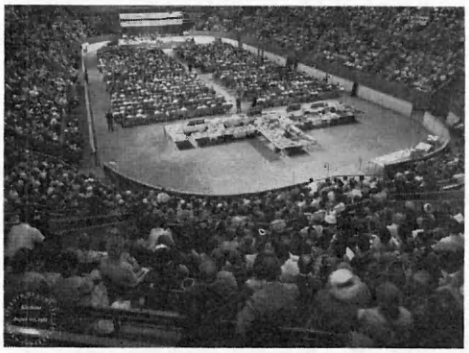
An overnight stop at Bluffton was too brief, as were many more yet to come. A long week end in Goshen and Elkhart proved much more satisfying. No stop was made in Chicago though a tour through the loop gave some impression of this well-known city.

West of the Mississippi

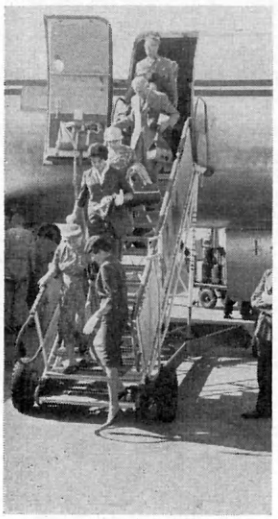
Crossing into Iowa the group got a taste of Midwest hospitality that was completely spontaneous. A stop at the town park in Clinton, Iowa, so Europeans could dip their feet into the Mississippi brought a visit from the superintendent of parks, the mayor, and

Chicken barbecue at Hyattesville Mennonite Church near Washington, D. C.

Seventh Mennonite World Conference in session at Kitchener, Ontario.



Mennonite World Conference delegates disembark at Schiphol Airport, Amsterdam.



a photographer-reporter from the local paper. All would have been ready to offer the key to the city if it were not already so wide open to the group.

In Kalona a typical American "efficiency" system processed the tourists by countries. The following morning it looked like Custer's last stand in reverse when Europeans poured out of five buses and swarmed down a slope to surround five Iowa Tribe Indians who held their ground firmly despite the shooting (of cameras by the scores).

Henderson and Beatrice, Nebraska, tended to blur into either Kalona or Kansas in the memory of the visitors because the stop was so brief. Kansas offered such a variety of Mennonites, institutions and businesses that heads whirled as Europeans tried to remember if it was MC, GC, MB, Holdeman (or was it Church of God in Christ, Mennonite) with whom they ate, talked, slept, took pictures, looked at modern dairies and automatic feeders, saw machinery, factories, museums, bookstores, and got the impression that every town had a college run by Mennonites. In the Bethel College Historical Library some found interesting items about their own family histories. The Newton bookstore sold all the records of Negro spirituals. Some would have liked to see the Rocky Mountains but. . . .

America probably never seemed bigger than the day the group traveled from Moundridge to the Concordia Lutheran Seminary on the outskirts of St. Louis. The next day Abraham Lincoln had to wait patiently at Springfield, Illinois, for a tour group that was even further behind schedule than usual. Central Illinois Mennonites were understanding when a tour planned to go to four places did not get beyond a hybrid seed corn farm and plant. The local congregations still had large gatherings at places such as Normal, Danvers, Meadows and Washington on Saturday evening or Sunday morning.

At Berne, Indiana, the size of the church was overwhelming, and many were sure that the design for a part of it came from the famous bear pits at another Bern in Switzerland. The guests waited at the basement level while the hosts for the night were called to come down from the surrounding balcony. Nevertheless, at Berne they found the oft-repeated hospitality that was sensitive to every need, and where every whim became a command to action!

Mennonites from fifty miles around rallied at Kidron, Ohio, to entertain the visitors. Laurelville camp near Scottdale brought a change in landscape that was welcomed by many not accustomed to the wide expanses of the central prairies. Europeans who are generally fonder of reading books than Americans could hardly pull themselves away from the Herald Publishing Company. They did not yet realize the quiet beauty awaiting at Springs, Pennsylvania.

Skyline Drive to Washington, D. C.

It seemed like a quick descent to go from Springs into the Shenandoah Caverns, a treat arranged by the Mennonites from Harrisonburg, Virginia. Eastern Mennonite College was not toured but the spirit of the school was captured through a meeting in the auditorium, visiting in the homes and the early morning explanations of President Mumaw.

The Skyline Drive was an alternation between the tension of hairpin turns and the relaxation and inspiration of panoramic views that burst into sight. Washington, D.C., provides some of the best impressions of America. The Hyattsville Mennonite Church rivaled the Iowa Indians by presenting a typically American surprise in the form of a chicken barbeque. Deeply moving was the token given by Good's four- or five-year old daughter, a nickel offered to a Dutch Mennonite pastor because she also wanted to do something for the European brothers and sisters!

Lancaster County was all that Europeans had imagined about American Mennonites, from Amish art to the quiet efficiency of the offices and warehouse from which tons of food, clothing and other forms of help go forth to be given in the name of Christ. Philadelphia was a short interlude between Lancaster County and the Franconia area. Christopher Dock school and the tent for the evening meeting are indelibly fixed in the memories of the tour participants. Five silver-white and blue buses lined up next to a billowing mass of canvas, and a swarm of too many hosts for too few guests left many with an air of excitement, but a sense of guilt because they were not twins to take in more of the whole experience.

New York was almost an anticlimax. How could you crowd its magnitude and variety into an imagination already full to overflowing?

Surface reactions when one was filled to overflowing would make many feel that all they saw in the United States was chicken-dinners, corn, and Mennonites in confusing varieties. Deeper reflection and time to bring order out of the chaos of reactions caused these impressions to fade, and the more important and enduring conclusions to come into sharper focus.

American Hospitality

The overwhelming hospitality would be the first strong fact which none would question. That the American Mennonites had a real desire for fellowship

Mennonite delegates from foreign countries at Mennonite World Conference, Kitchener, Ontario, August 1-7, 1962.

with those from overseas was also felt. Indeed, upon seeing the manner in which the Americans united to entertain them, and failing to discern serious doctrinal differences that should keep the Americans from recognizing each other as brothers in the faith, often caused Europeans to think of the dividedness among the Americans as bewildering.

The well-equipped church kitchens and spacious fellowship halls for feeding two to five hundred people in church after church was novel for most of the guests. It was, however, an indication of the greater amount of social life found in the churches in America. They were impressed by the variety of activities and the many tasks undertaken by the laymen in the congregations. Of particular interest was the Sunday school for adults as well as for children. The availability of study guides for each age group was also an eye opener and something many thought could well be adopted. They concluded that this was why so many American Mennonites had such familiarity with the Bible and tried to apply it to daily life.

The Sunday school also pointed up the greater participation of the family as a whole in the life of the church than in some places in Europe. The rooms where mothers could take their babies are practically unknown to them.

The Look Inward and Around

The frequent repetition of local church histories was appreciated, but it led inevitably to the question as to whether there might be too much looking inward. They asked if the lack of interest in or knowledge about ecumenical affairs might arise from such attention to one's own group.

Many observed the sincere piety, the simplicity and the joyous Christian living of many, but they sometimes also detected a burdensome legalism which was restrictive instead of liberating.

The readiness to sacrifice for the church and for the needs of others was cited by several. Others looked at the colleges and other schools and wondered if they in Europe had given as much thought to a Christian philosophy of education as they should have. Publications of books, study guides, church papers represented to them both the American readiness to pay for good materials and an awareness of their educational value to the church.

The expressions of tour members as they returned home and reported are almost uniformly enthusiastic. Each would probably be ready to repeat the experience, except that they might wish to take at least six weeks instead of three (August 8-31). Each night they were torn between the deep desire to fellowship and the need for more sleep so that the long days of travel would not bring them to exhaustion. Still the real purpose of their coming was to meet and fellowship with the American Mennonites, and they did not regret the weariness they paid in order to have it.

How to Keep in Touch

The depth of the bond which could be forged in so brief an encounter was almost unbelievable. Tears were often hard to suppress when the insistent tooting of the bus horn announced that they really had to interrupt an acquaintance barely begun.

Many ask now if the fellowship can be maintained, and not allowed to lapse for five years until another world conference. Could sister circles adopt sister circles overseas, or a congregation another local congregation? How can average church members realize the same fellowship leaders have when they come together more frequently?

It would be impossible to express adequately in words the thanks to all who made the tour possible. No person has the deeper gratitude of the tour participants than brother H. S. Bender, who conceived the tour and made most of the plans personally. But one tour member, after acknowledging all such appreciation, made the further observation that above all thanks is due to the Heavenly Father who made it all possible. The tour has promoted a feeling of international brotherhood. It has stimulated an interest in knowing more. For many it strengthened the conviction that each needs the other so that Mennonites may better carry out whatever mission God has given them for today and tomorrow.

Mennonite World Conference Land Tour, 1962

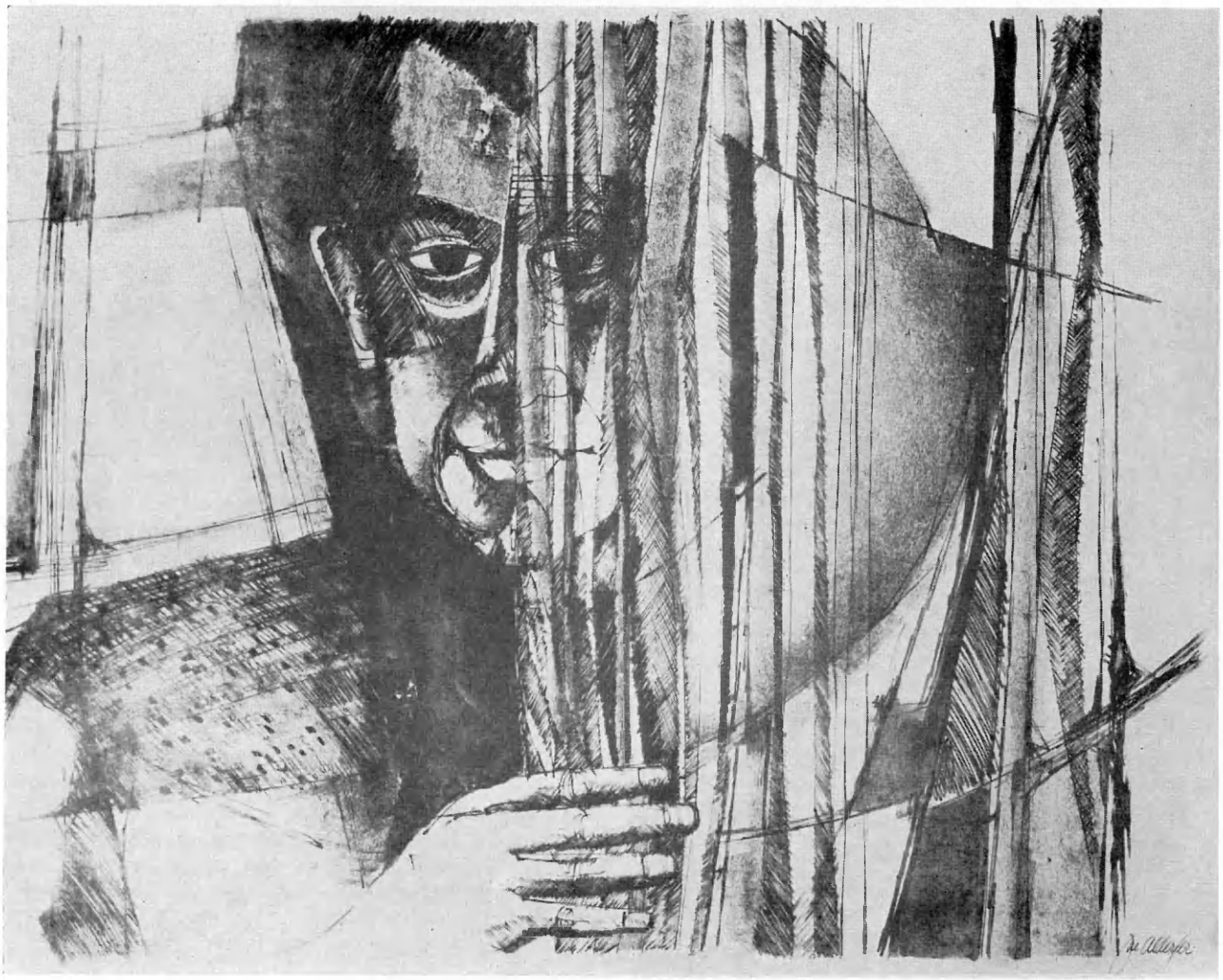
Tour Guides: William Keeney, Herman Enns, John Wall

Total Distance Traveled: Approximately 4,000 miles

Date	*Community*	*Hosts*
AUGUST—		
8	Archbold, Ohio	P. L. Frey
9	Bluffton, Ohio	L. L. Ramseyer, Carl Smucker
10-12	Goshen, Elkhart, Indiana	John H. Mosemann
13	Kalona, Iowa	A. Lloyd Swartzendruber
14	Beatrice, Nebraska (1 Bus)	John Harder
14	Henderson, Nebraska (4 Buses)	John Gaeddert
15	Hillsboro, Kansas	Wesley Prieb
15-16	Newton, Hesston, Moundridge, Kansas	Vernon Neufeld, T. R. Smith, Erwin Goering, Cornelius Krahn
17	St. Louis, Mo.	Wm. C. Krato, Concordia Seminary
18	Bloomington, Illinois	Henry N. Harder
19	Berne, Indiana	Gordon Neuenschwander
20	Orrville, Smithville, Kidron, Ohio	Howard C. Yoder
21	Scottdale, Pennsylvania	A. J. Metzler
21	Springs, Pennsylvania	Walter Otto
22	Harrisonburg, Virginia	John R. Mumaw
23-24	Washington, D. C.	J. Harold Sherk
25-27	Lancaster County	Amos Horst
27-28	Lansdale-Souderton, Pennsylvania	John E. Lapp, Alvin J. Beachy
29-30	New York City	

the world conference art display = an evaluation

By A. B. Enns



"HYPOCRITE"—*Lithograph*
By Joe Alderfer.

THE EXTENSIVE PROGRAM of the Mennonite World Conference at Kitchener was dedicated exclusively to the spiritual and community life of the Mennonites but the exhibit of maps and statistics in the foyer of the auditorium allowed a glimpse into the migrations and location of Mennonite settlements, and the art exhibit in the Memorial Room gave an impression of the artistic activities of the Mennonites. Both were marginal notes in connection with the meeting of different countries of the new and old world—yes, even Asia and Africa. They were left to the private interests of the individuals.

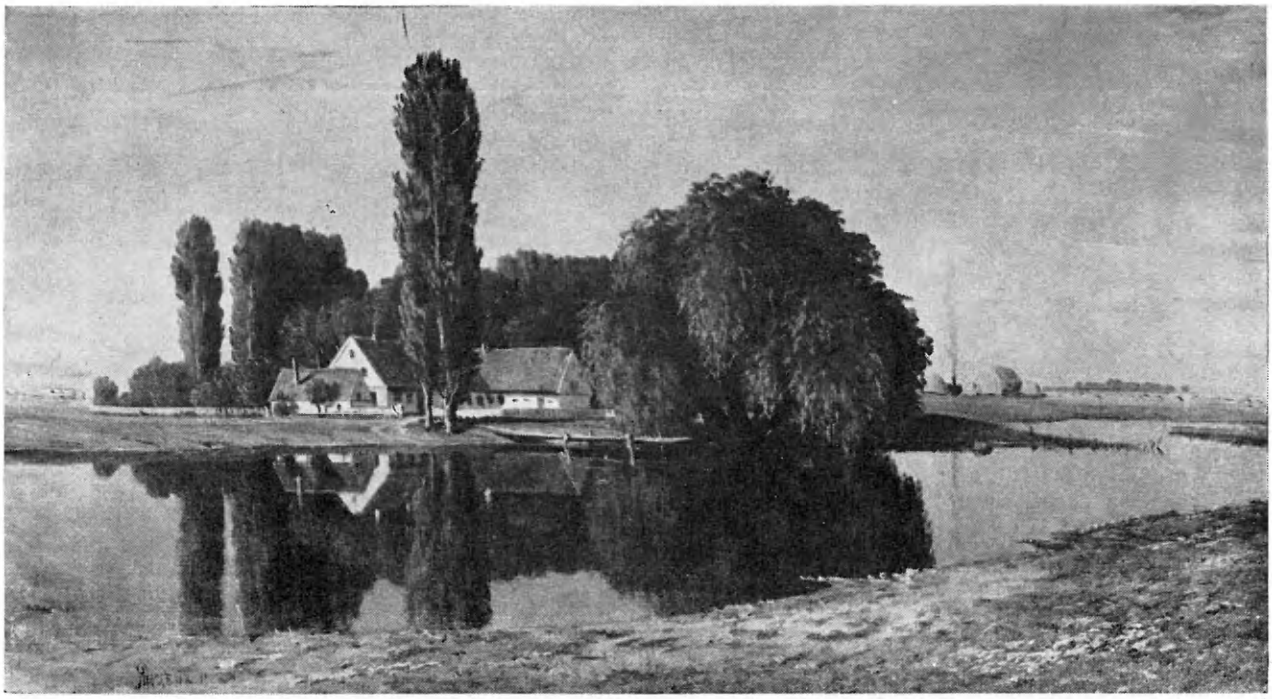
The Memorial Room Was Popular

Nevertheless many visitors found their way to the art exhibit and viewed it with interest. The Memorial Room provided a possibility for private meetings for many whose major interest at the conference was to find a one-time opportunity for reunions with relatives, friends and neighbors from Russia or other parts of the world. There one met and found each other time and again, exchanged experiences and reviewed memorable situations and happenings not forgetting to enjoy the pictures on the walls. And it was surprising what drawing power these pictures had.

"MIDNIGHT EXPRESS"—*Wood Cut*
By Jan Gleysteen

The art exhibit in general did not have much to do with the everyday life of the Mennonites and their intellectual endeavors. If one views art as a mirror of the soul and a reflection of thought and life, like creative writing, then one looked in vain for any real moving examples. Coming from Europe, the so-called "old world" and not living in the confines of a denominational community, one is eager to see the "new world" and also to discover how the recent immigrant and those of long ago have found their way in the new environment and how they participate actively in the public life of the new country. Art provides as much opportunity for this as work on the farm, in the factory, or in the school and community. Such expectations in connection with the art exhibit were not fulfilled.

Art seemed to be more of an activity for relaxation and less of a searching for truth, as art should be in the first place. Amateurs ruled the field, while serious searching with the risk of error and misinterpretation, the courage of confession, and above all the involvement in the technical aspects of art were seldom found. Of course, one could not expect that most of these Mennonite artists living removed from the centers of culture would follow the latest trend in art. Nevertheless one might have hoped that now and then an artist who—uninfluenced by the latest trends in art—would have tried to express through his pencil or paintbrush his personal joy, sorrow and innermost feelings.



"Peace on the Molotschna"—*Oil*
By Johann H. Janzen

Russian Mennonite Artists

One of the moving accounts of this kind was the piece by Ernie Schmidt, Kitchener, who tried to picture the sad experience of the flight in her picture "Exodus." Pictures of this kind belong to the most horrible experiences which our time has heaped upon thousands of us, but they also remain an unforgettable treasure. Even though no masterpiece, it was this picture which attracted many people.

It must be mentioned that many pictures were either by artists no longer living or artists still living in the past with their thoughts. To the first category belong the works of art by Johann H. Janzen, the former teacher of the Orloff *Zentralschule,* Molotschna, Russia. His picture "Peace on the Molotschna" (*Friede über der Molotschna*) showed that even a self-taught person may find it possible through intense observation of nature and serious struggle with the means of presentation and expression to catch the mood of an evening. The artist Marie Birkholz-Bestvater, Buenos Aires, showed some of her pictures from her West-Prussian home, which she had been able to save through the entire flight.

Paintings by Hans Janzen presented scenes from Russia ("Russian Steppes") which showed the influence of Russian painters. George Enns, who exhibited "Village Tea Shop in Russia" and other Russian motifs, paints more courageously than convincingly in comparison with the Russion painter Ilya Ryepin. Humanly tragic fate was reflected in the "Dreams" (*Traumbilder*) by Jakob Sudermann, who with the help of his imagination escaped the reality of a Siberian concentration camp into the portrayal of imaginative renaissance castles. He was already a dreamer like this when he was a pupil at the *Kommerzschule* in Ekaterinoslav where I sat with him on the school bench.

European and American Representatives

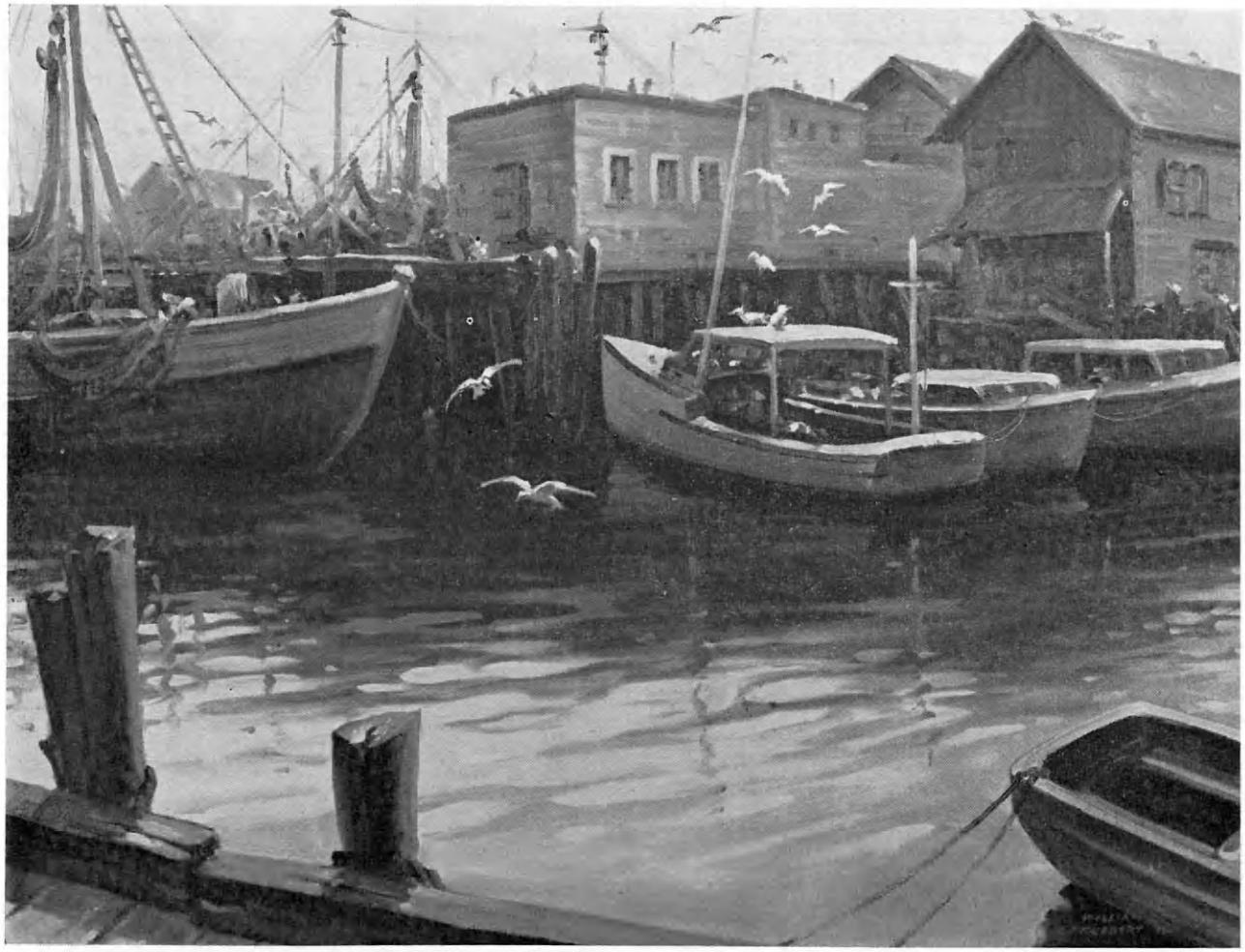
Only three graphic art pieces in the entire exhibition reminded one of the excellent artist Daniel Wohlgemuth, well-known beyond Mennonite circles. His works of art have been on display at many occasions in Germany. At the exhibit the Dutch artist, L. Lubbers, was the only one who exhibited pictures with religious motifs in a strongly constructive manner of painting, akin to expressionism. Not necessarily religious, but with a strong *weltanschaulichen* (philosophical) touch were the graphic art pieces by Robert W. Regier; for instance the graphic "Fallout." Also worth noticing were the pieces by Joe Alderfer whose lithograph "Hypocrite" was full of expression and the wood cut "Midnight Express" by Jan Gleysteen. M. Wiens' experiment of trying to put religious-contemplative con-

"Home on the Vistula River"—*Oil*
By Marie Birkholz-Bestvater

tent into a simple still life by adding folded hands, belongs to those allegorical expressions which create only external effects.

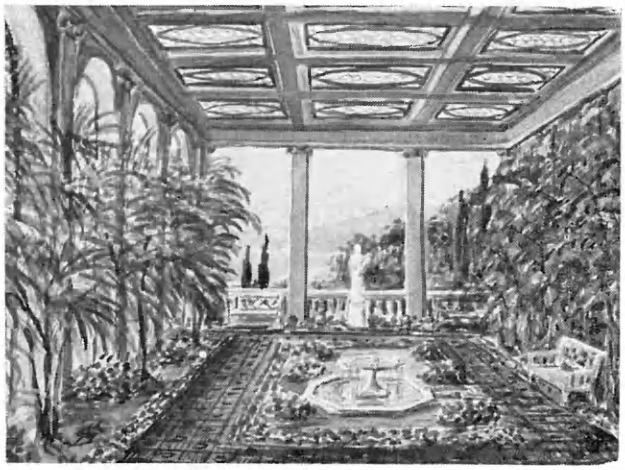
The wide range of landscape painting was represented by qualitatively varying works. The very colorful autumn scenes by Snyder hardly satisfied artistic demands and should fall into the category of post cards and calendar art. "Gloucester Harbor" and "Rugged Coast" by William Huebert indicated how much devotion detail and artistic technique is required to present a true mood of nature. H. P. Lepp also understands this, as shown by his picture "Lake Superior." He tried to catch the mood of a stormy day, even though his energetic brush strokes are more of a summary. Waldemar Neufeld builds his picture "Backyard" more deliberately (see cover). Ezra S. Hershberger with his "Rock Land" created through a very personal technique a dark romantic mood. These last pictures probably belonged to the most striking impressions of the entire display.

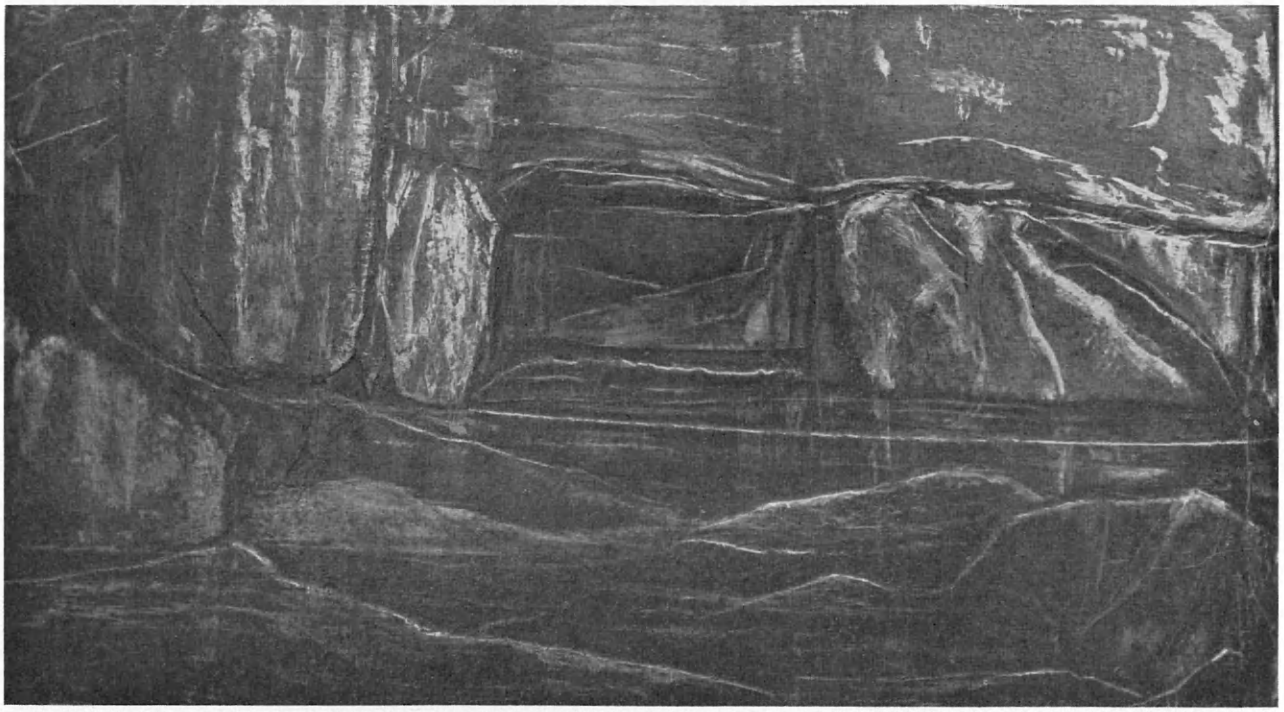
For further occasions one would like to recommend that on the one hand the selections should be made a little more carefully with the assistance of some artists in order to present the best and that on the other hand a better survey be made in preparation for such an exhibition. There might be older as well as younger talents well worth public attention.



"Gloucester Harbor," *Massachusetts, U.S.A.—Oil*
By William Huebert

"Dream Castles"—*Water Color*
By Jakob Sudermann





"ROCKLANDS"—*Oil*
By Ezra S. Hershberger

Contemporary Mennonite Artists Featured in MENNONITE LIFE

"Artists at Work" (Herman P. Lepp, Johannes Janzen, Isaac H. Funk), October, 1951.

"Daniel Wohlgemuth—An Artist of Bible Lands" by Cornelius Krahn, January, 1954.

"Edward J. Linscheid — Artist-Farmer" by Joan Guyer, July, 1953.

"From Plow to Brush—Alexander Harder," October, 1953.

"Der Bildhauer Heinrich Mekelburger" by Kurt Kauenhoven, January, 1954.

"Months of the Year" by Johann H. Janzen, October, 1951.

"My Mission as an Artist" by Marie Birkholtz-Bestvater, April, 1954.

"Traum und Wirklichkeit" (Jakob Sudermann) by Anna Sudermann, January, 1953.

"Concert of the Angels" by Daniel Wohlgemuth, January, 1956.

"Daniel Wohlgemuth, Mennonite Artist, Commemorates 80th Birthday," April, 1957.

"Else Krueger Pursues Art as a Hobby," July, 1956.

"From a College Art Studio," January, 1960.

"Tine Honig—A Dutch Mennonite Artist" by Cor Dik, Jan. 1958.

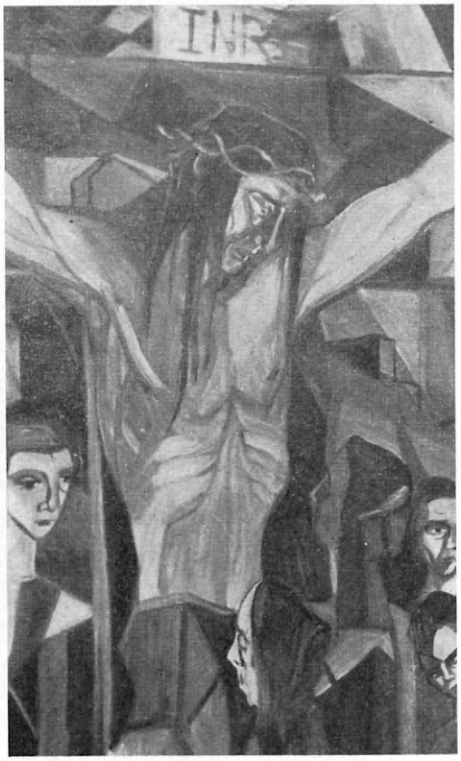
"The Pharisee" and "Hiroshima" — Sculpture by Paul A. Friesen, and "Futile Plea"—Intaglio by Robert W. Regier, April 1962.

"J. P. Klassen As An Artist" by Betty Miller, October, 1962.

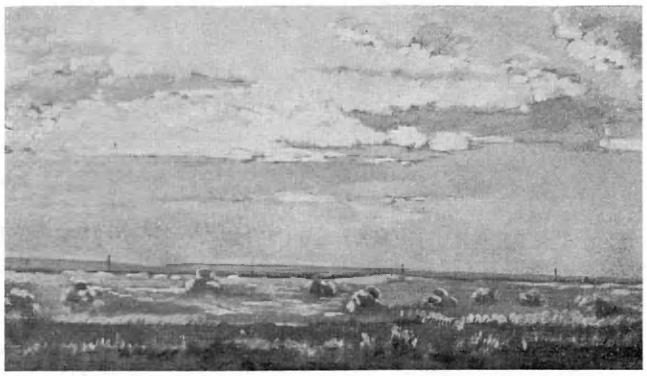
All copies available for $.75 each: Write to *Mennonite Life,* North Newton, Kansas.

"RESURRECTION"—*Lithograph*
By Daniel Wohlgemuth

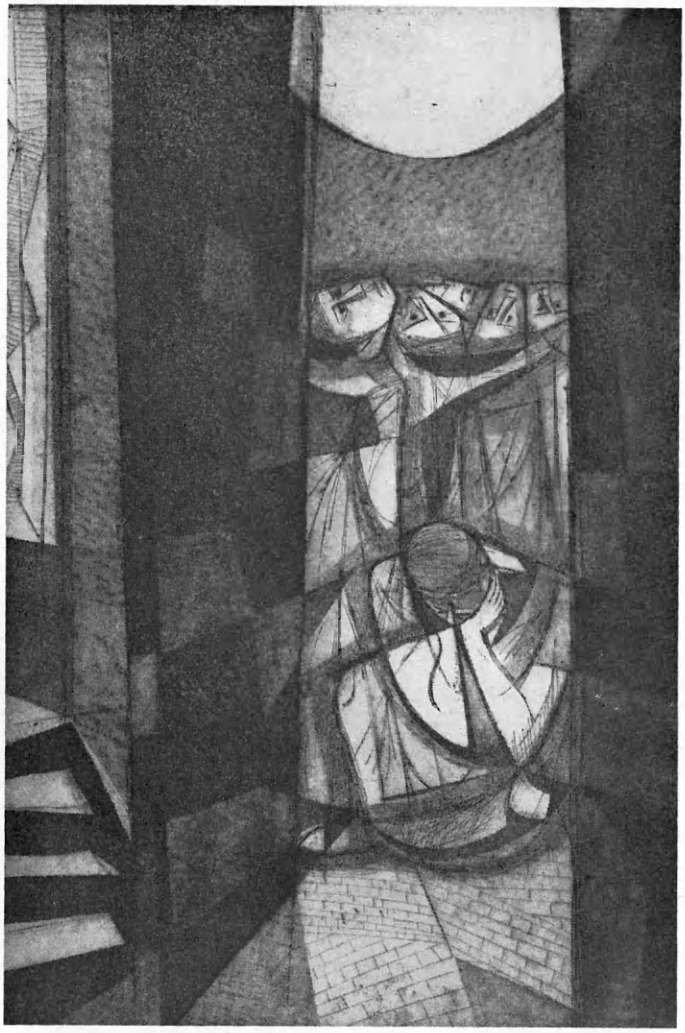
"CRUCIFIXION"—*Oil*
By H. L. J. Lubbers



"RUSSIAN STEPPES"—*Water Color*
By Hans Janzen



"FALLOUT"—*Intaglio*
By Robert W. Regier



"EXODUS"—*Oil*
By Mrs. Ernie Schmidt

"SEASCAPE"—*Water Color*
By Abner Hershberger

By H. P. Lepp
"LAKE SUPERIOR"—*Oil*

MEETING AMERICAN MENNONITES

By J. A. and Renske Oosterbaan

AFTER A THREE-MONTH trip through Canada and the United States, we returned to the Netherlands where we have resumed our responsibilities. In our thoughts, we are often in America, comparing life here and there.

On our desk is a photo album for tourists entitled "Meet the Mennonites." We have met the Mennonites of America and not just seen them casually as tourists do. This trip was an unusual experience for us. We arrived relatively unprepared having had little contact with American Mennonites in Europe. One can travel abroad as a Dutch *Doopsgezinde* without forgetting his own Mennonite brotherhood and culture for a moment. In this case one visits a far away, and sometimes strange, distant relative. This was not our attitude. Neither did we take the attitude that always finds the new and the very different, better and more spiritual than his own brotherhood. We believed that as Dutch Mennonites we should be as unprejudiced as possible in order to identify ourselves with the American Mennonite brotherhood. We expected to meet American Mennonites as brothers and sisters in Christ in their congregations, in their meetings, in their homes, in their colleges and seminaries.

That we are *one* in Christ, we have not only believed, but have also experienced, and what a happy experience it was. This has deepened our own understanding of what our characteristics as Mennonites are. We also noticed that there are members in the household of God who do things differently than we and yet in their own way and fully standing in this modern world seek to be obedient to Christ our Lord.

We think of the many congregations in which we were privileged to join in worship. We always felt at home whether it was among the Mennonite Brethren, in the General Conference Mennonite Church, or the (Old) Mennonite Church. We have benefitted by the strong brotherly ties in the congregations and the hearty hospitality. The congregational meetings which we attended in Oregon and Pennsylvania were particularly characterized by an informal spirit and the maturity of the members in discussing the spiritual concerns of their congregations. We also appreciated the many talks and discussions with students and professors in colleges and seminaries.

After our return, we find ourselves comparing differences. Are they not, first of all, due to differences in our history, which also determine our attitude toward the "world"? The American Mennonites, having come to America from different countries at different times, have preserved their identity through their traditions and through certain forms of nonconformity. Nevertheless the Mennonites of America are also sharing in the general religious life of their country. We cannot determine to what extent they have been influenced by American revivalism, sense of mission and fundamentalism. For centuries the Dutch Mennonites influenced the spiritual atmosphere of their small country on one hand, and on the other hand, they have also been influenced by it. The Dutch Mennonites have identified themselves more fully with their environment than have most of the American Mennonites.

One can ask the question, how are the American Mennonites going to determine which traditions are worth preserving because they are essential to the Anabaptist view of a Christian, and which of the traditions are unessential and have consequently become barriers for others who wish to join the group, including the young people? In the Netherlands, the contact with the culture of the country and the world has been a characteristic of our brotherhood for centuries. It is taken for granted without much reference to the Bible and awareness of the resulting problems. And yet it is necessary for the Dutch Mennonites to ponder the characteristics of the Anabaptist concept of the church. Could it be that because of the great contrasts, the American and Dutch Mennonites could possibly help each other in their mutual search? In America, the church plays a different role than in our country. How can we strengthen the congregational ties in the Netherlands which are so often rather loose? What is our position in our relationship to the powers of this world? Would the Sunday school be a means for our Dutch brotherhood to deepen our knowledge and understanding of the Bible? We have many more questions about ourselves.

On the other hand, we are wondering whether the process of becoming a member in some of the congregations of the American Mennonites does not have too much of an emotional basis and whether there is consequently some lack of a personally, deeply-experienced,

and thought-through confession of faith, because frequently the candidates seem to be too immature. The Dutch Mennonites particularly feel that the witness which we have to give to Christendom at large is significant. If we have emphasized the significance of our participation in the ecumenical movement, it was not that we wanted the American Mennonites to become a formless part of a melting pot of churches. On the contrary, we are interested in a united Anabaptist contribution and witness in the dialogue of churches in which our witness must be heard if it is to be fruitful.

Returning to our brotherhood and realizing that there are differences, we know that we confess the same Lord and Savior as the American Mennonites do. Will we together be able to learn to praise him beautifully and in many voices in our song?

Next World Conference in The Netherlands?

By Cornelius Krahn

AT THE SEVENTH Mennonite World Conference delegate meeting, invitations were extended for the next conference, which in accordance with tradition would convene in 1967. Representatives from the Netherlands and from South America each presented cordial invitations. Now that these two invitations have been presented, which should be accepted? When we raise and discuss this question we are fully aware of the fact that this is a matter for the Presidium to decide.

There are many reasons for a serious consideration of the invitation from South America. All Mennonite settlements in Latin America are still in a pioneer state. There is great interest among the Mennonites of North America and Europe in the forty thousand Mennonites of Latin America who during the last decades moved there from Europe and Canada. The parent bodies of these settlements have a deep-rooted fraternal concern for all the settlements, be that in Mexico, British Honduras, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, or Argentina.

On the other hand, there are many reasons why the invitation from the Netherlands can be considered God-sent. The country and the congregations of the Netherlands are the parents of the Mennonites of Russia and approximately half of the Mennonites of North and South America and Germany. The religious and cultural ties have been broken since Mennonites started moving to Russia in the middle of the 18th century. Through the relief program, which the Mennonites of the Netherlands organized on a large scale when the persecuted Swiss Mennonites moved to Pennsylvania via Rotterdam in the 18th century, contact was established with the Swiss Mennonites. Some contacts were established through the mission program of the Dutch Mennonites in Indonesia during the 19th century, in which the Mennonites of Germany, Russia, and Switzerland joined. Even the American Mennonites considered this a possibility. Unfortunately this cooperation did not materialize. Contact and cooperation were again achieved after the Russian Revolution when Mennonite settlements were established in South America. The Dutch Mennonites participated actively in this relief program.

But culturally and spiritually, the Mennonites of America and some European countries have remained isolated from the Mennonites of the Netherlands, who have accomplished much in the realm of theological, cultural, social and economic achievement over a period of four hundred years. In no other country do the Mennonites have such a long unbroken history of achievement.

It would be an exceptional experience for the Mennonites the world over to accept the Dutch invitation to have the World Conference in the Netherlands. There is so much that the younger churches can learn from the older brethren in the Netherlands. There are many lessons from Dutch Mennonite history which would be helpful guideposts in our struggle today and in our attempt to make the gospel meaningful. Dutch Mennonite history can also help us to avoid some of the pitfalls which Dutch Mennonites faced in the past and which we are facing today. (For a longer treatment of this question see the article "Amsterdam or Asuncion," *Mennonite Weekly Review,* September 20, 1962.)

THE VIRGINIA MENNONITES

By Harry A. Brunk

GEOGRAPHICALLY PRESENT-DAY Virginia is divided into three areas—the coastal plain or tidewater Virginia, the Piedmont Plateau, and the Great Valley area between the Blue Ridge Mountains on the east and the Alleghenies on the west. Distinction should be made between the Valley of Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley.

The Valley of Virginia includes a great deal more territory and is a continuation of the Cumberland Valley in Maryland through the State of Virginia. It is formed by the Blue Ridge Mountains on the east and the Alleghenies on the west. The Shenandoah Valley includes only that part of the Valley of Virginia which is drained by the Shenandoah rivers and their tributaries. It is partly divided by the Massanutten Mountain which rises south of Front Royal and extends south to a point known as Massanutten Peak seven miles east of Harrisonburg.

In many respects local government and church organization in Virginia was a replica of the mother country of England. The county board or bench ruled the county and the vestry board organized on the same pattern was responsible for the religious life of the people. Virginia had a state church, the Anglican Church, until 1787. This meant that everyone in Virginia was expected to join this church. In the 18th century dissenters were permitted in the Valley of Virginia. Their coming was the beginning of the breakdown in the state church system. Mennonites, Quakers, Lutherans, and other groups came, followed by the Baptists just before the American Revolution. These groups in time became champions of religious freedom in the state. In 1787 the state church of Virginia was disestablished, an event which Jefferson considered as one of three outstanding achievements of his life.

Virginia Mennonites

Of the 100 counties in Virginia, Mennonites have lived in 16: Page, Frederick, Shenandoah, Rockingham, and Augusta in the Shenandoah Valley; Fauquier, Orange, Fairfax, Greene, Nelson, and Albemarle, just east of the Blue Ridge; Amelia and Halifax in the center; and Warwick, Norfolk, and Princess Anne on the Atlantic Coast. The most populous Mennonite settlements in the Valley are found in Rockingham and Augusta counties, and in the southeastern part of the state at Denbigh and Fentress in Warwick and Norfolk counties.

The original settlements made in Page, Frederick, and Shenandoah counties in 1728 were nearly wiped out by an Indian raid in 1758. Page County was also the scene of the Rhodes massacre when John Rhodes and members of his family were killed near Luray in 1764. The next two settlements were made in Rockingham County, the first and largest in the Linville Creek, Cedar Run, and Brock's Creek area extending from Edom and Broadway on the east to Turleytown and Cootes Store on the west. In 1773 this area was occupied by the Stovers, Shanks, Brennemans, Brunks,

Coffmans, Beerys, and Geils. The above settlement in the northern part of the country soon overflowed to help establish a new and second settlement in the vicinity of Harrisonburg. A third settlement was made soon after the Revolution in Augusta County near Waynesboro.

Most of the Virginia Mennonites who came in 1773-1820 came from Montgomery, Lancaster, and York counties in Pennsylvania. The period 1820-30 was the time of organization of the oldest existing continuous congregations in Rockingham and Augusta counties. A settlement made in Frederick County (Winchester) in the 1870's died out by 1900-10. The coastal settlements in Warwick (Denbigh) and Norfolk (Fentress) counties were begun in 1897 and 1900, respectively, of different stock, mostly from Allen County, Ohio. The small settlement in Halifax County, near South Boston, was started in 1900. In recent years Old Order Amish settlements were made in the Stuarts Draft (Augusta County) and Catlett (Fauquier County) areas. In both areas Beachy Amish congregations have emerged. Near Kempsville, in Princess Anne County on the coast, an Old Order Amish settlement was established in 1903. In the 1940's the Old Order Amish of Kempsville withdrew to re-establish themselves in the Shenandoah Valley at Stuarts Draft, Augusta County. In the 1950's a Beachy Amish Mennonite church and a Conservative Mennonite church were formed in the Kempsville area. The Conservative Mennonites have two other congregations in the state—one at Gladys, the other at Schuyler, Va.

The only division among the Virginia Mennonites occurred about 1900 when a small group of Old Order Mennonites separated from the main Virginia conference in Rockingham County. Today this group has two congregations near Dayton.

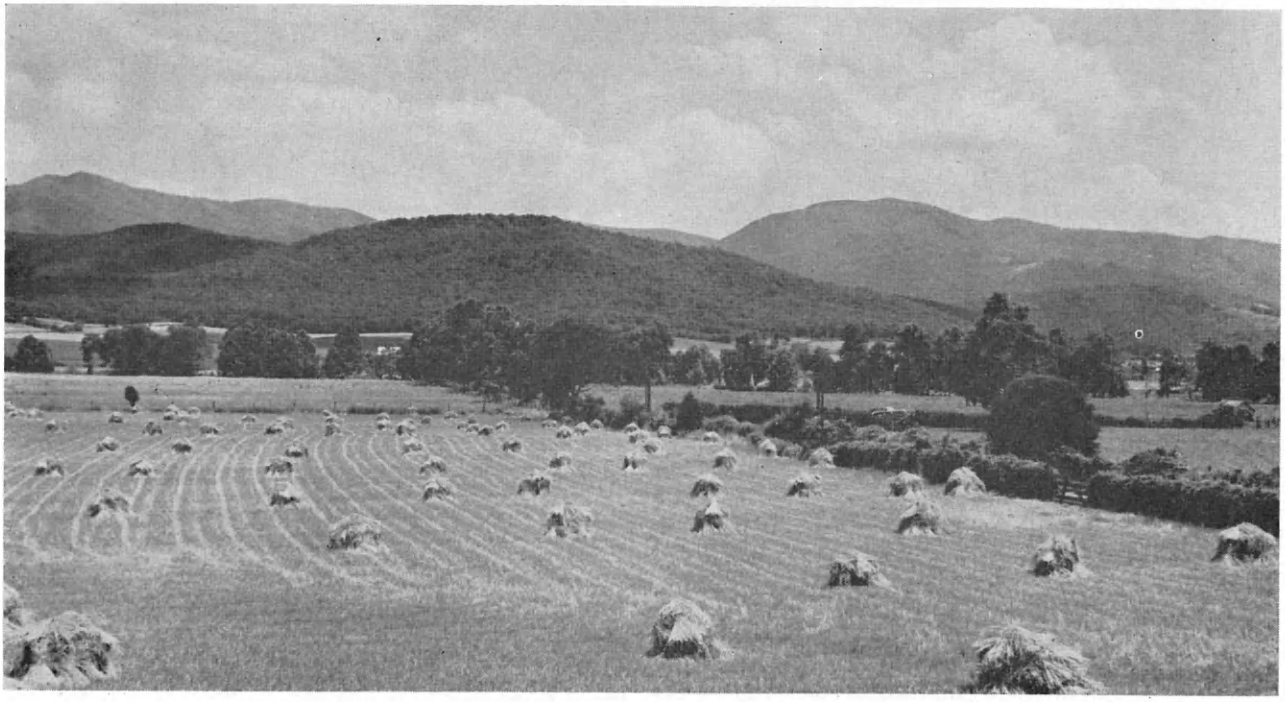
Formation and Work of Districts

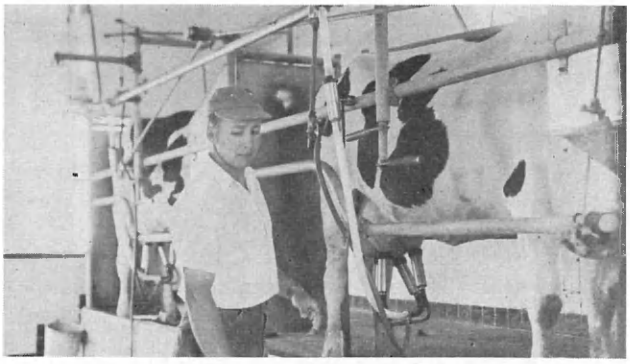
When districts were first formed in 1837, they were based on the large Mennonite settlements in Rockingham and Augusta counties. The southern district was known as the Upper District; this included the churches in Augusta County. Farther north the Mennonite settlement south and west of Harrisonburg, in the southwestern part of Rockingham County, became the Middle District; still farther north in the northwestern part of Rockingham County in the vicinity of Edom, Broadway and Timberville the Northern District was established. This was known as the Lower District for a long time.

For almost a century the Virginia Mennonites did not have meetinghouses. Then there was a general acceptance of the need for places of public worship. What came to be known as homebase churches were built in all the Valley districts. Their leaders went from eighty to one hundred miles westward and northward to preach the gospel to people of non-Mennonite background.

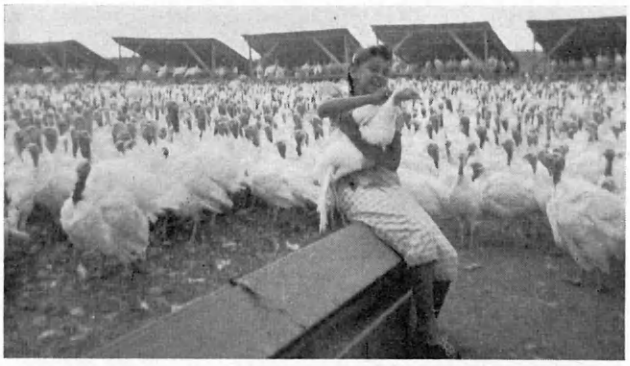
The Virginia congregations were laying the founda-

The Shenandoah Valley is known as a granary with fertile fields among forest-clad mountains.

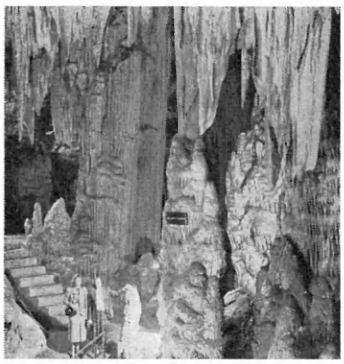




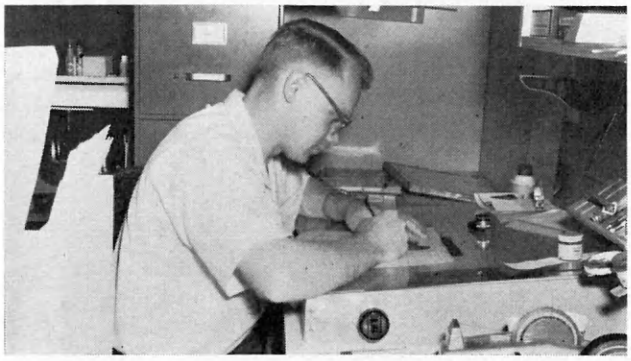
Howard Brubaker near Dayton, Virginia, has an up-to-date milking parlor.



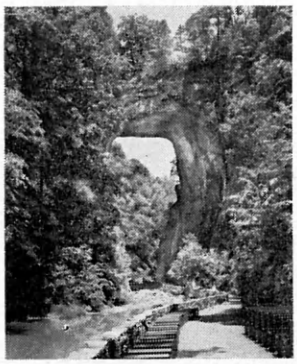
Lloyd Trissel has 7,000 turkeys on his Virginia farm.



Famous caverns of Luray in the Valley of Virginia.



Sanford Shank of Park View Press publishes "Valley Mennonite Messenger."



Natural Bridge in the Valley.

tion for this outreach before the Civil War. Part of this foundation was the introduction of the use of the English language in preaching and singing. At first many in the church were opposed to this development. Others saw the need for change. Mennonite young people were being influenced by their English-speaking neighbors. Efforts were made to perpetuate the German language by building schoolhouses near church buildings for teaching German. But the tide was running like a millrace in favor of the English language. Peter Burkholder wrote a German book which was translated by Joseph Funk of Singers Glen, Virginia. It was published under the title *The Confession of Faith of the Christians known by the name of Mennonites"* (1837).

In the 1850's Martin Burkholder bridged the gap by preaching sermons in both German and English. Along with this change went English singing. *A Selection of Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs,* known for fifty years as the English Mennonite hymnbook in Mennonite congregations east and west, was first published in 1847. In no other Mennonite group in the United States and Canada had the above changes taken place at this early date. The Virginia Menno-

nites were in their own way recapturing the Anabaptist vision.

The outreach of the Northern District began with an attempt to minister to a few scattered members in three areas: in the Brock's Gap area of Rockingham County; in Shenandoah County, Virginia; and in Hardy County, West Virginia. Services were held in schoolhouses and in homes of members. People who were not Mennonites were given a welcome to these services, and the brethren ministered to them, too.

Generally speaking, the mountain terrain was favorable for this work. Brock's Gap gave easy entrance to the area formed by the little North Mountain and the Shenandoah Mountain. Workers followed the rivers northward and finally crossed the Divide where water flowed north in the Lost River Valley. Water south of the Divide flowed south through Brock's Gap into the North Fork of the Shenandoah River. These early mounted heralds of the Gospel rode seventy-five miles from the homebase churches. Before the close of the century they had crossed the rugged and precipitous Shenandoah Mountain to preach the gospel to the descendants of the Hessians who had taken asylum in the Sweedlin Valley in Pendleton County, West Virginia, following the American Revolution.

With the opening of the twentieth century, the Middle District homebase churches began placing resident workers on the West Viginia field. A few of these taught school or worked at the carpenter trade to pay or help pay their expenses. The Home Missions Board paid the expenses of workers who did not have a way to earn.

This was the church building time for the Virginia Mennonites. The homebase churches of the Northern District (Trissels, Zion and Lindale) led out and helped build the following churches in four counties of Virginia and West Virginia: Bethel, Buckhorn, Cove, Crest Hill, Criders, Cross Roads, Hebron, Lucas Hollow, Morning View, Mt. Hermon, Mt. Jackson, Pleasant Grove, Salem, Stephens City, Valley View, and Woodland.

The homebase churches of the Middle District (Pike, Weavers, Bank, Mt. Clinton and Chicago Ave.) were largely responsible for the establishing of the following churches in four counties of Virginia and West Virginia; Bethany, Bethel, Beldor, Brush Run, Elkton, Gospel Hill, Horton, Lambert, Lanesville, Mt. Hermon, Mt. Vernon, North Fork, Peake, Rawley Springs, Riverside, Roaring Run, Sandy Bottom, Simoda, Temple Hill and Zion Hill.

The homebase churches of the Southern District (Hildebrand and Springdale) founded the following churches in Augusta County: Mountain View, Stuarts Draft and Greenmonte.

Organizations and Leaders

As we indicated, mission work for the first sixty years of its history was carried on by the valley districts. A Virginia Conference-wide-thrust in missions came in 1916 with the incorporation and work of the Virginia Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities. This organization has established missions in Newport News and Richmond, Virginia, and is also responsible for work in Tennessee and Kentucky, and for foreign missions in Sicily, Italy and Jamaica.

In 1919 the Virginia Mennonite Conference wrote and adopted a statement of doctrine which was accepted almost without change by the General Conference of the (Old) Mennonite Church as its statement of doctrine.

The Virginia Mennonites established the Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, in 1917. To high school and Bible curricula have been added a seminary and liberal arts college accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges.

The center for the releasing of the Mennonite Hour is Harrisonburg, Virginia. Mennonite Broadcasts, Inc., is closely associated with Virginia Mennonites and the Eastern Mennonite College. The Virginia Conference meets annually in mid-summer.

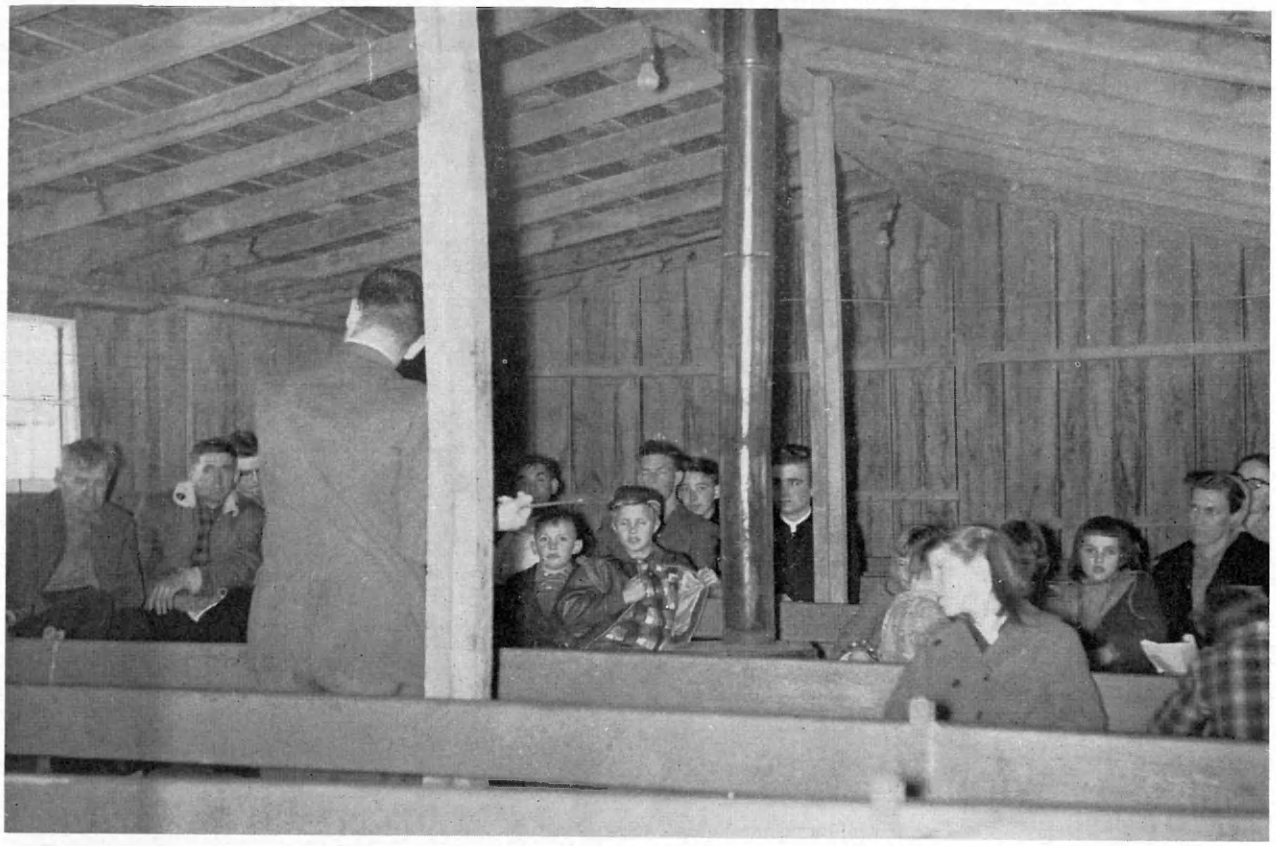
It is impossible to list all the important leaders of the Virginia Mennonite church. Perhaps the more significant early leaders were Michael Kauffman, John Rhodes, Henry Shank, Peter Burkholder and Martin Burkholder. Following the Civil War, Samuel Coffman, John Geil, Jacob Hildebrand, Abraham Shank, Samuel Shank, and John S. Coffman were outstanding. Since 1900 among the ones not living the following should be mentioned: L. J. Heatwole, Anthony P. Heatwole, Lewis Shank, Joseph N. Driver, George R. Brunk, Sr., J. B. Smith, A. D. Wenger and John L. Stauffer.

Virginia Mennonites by Branches

In 1957 the total Mennonite and Amish baptized membership in Virginia was 4,429 distributed as follows:

Virginia Conference (MC)		43	3,514
Ohio and Eastern Conference (MC)		1	31
Conservative Conference (MC)		3	115
Old Order Mennonites		2	350
Beachy Amish		3	259
Old Order Amish		2	160
Six groups	Total	54	4,429

Of this number the 31 congregations of the Virginia Mennonite Conference in the Shenandoah Valley with their 2,838 members constitute the heart of Virginia Mennonitism. A second center is the Denbigh-Fentress area around Norfolk, where there are nine congregations affiliated with the (Old) Mennonite General Conference, with 731 members.



An Eastern Mennonite College student teaches a Bible lesson in the Lucas Hollow community of the Highland.

EARLY MENNONITE MISSIONS

By Linden M. Wenger

SEVERAL ITEMS COULD be selected as unique contributions of the church in Virginia among the Mennonites of America. One is the rural mission outreach which has been carried on with vigor for more than a century. Before the Mennonite church as a whole had awakened to the responsibility of evangelism, the ministers of the Virginia church were quietly and methodically evangelizing a rather extensive area of the Highland country to their west. When Mennonite leaders of progressive vision first championed the cause of missions, the leadership in Virginia was cool or even opposed to the idea. But oddly enough, at the same moment, they were engaged heart and soul in the most productive rural mission enterprise ever undertaken in the Mennonite church. If these men were opposed to missions in a technical sense, they were not opposed to extending the services of their ministry to their non-Mennonite neighbors in times of need, nor of preaching by invitation of the community in the schoolhouses of the sparsely churched Highland area to the west.

Mission Which Was Not Called "Mission"

It is impossible to set a date or indicate an event by which this movement began. From the early days of settlement there was a small colony of Mennonites in Shenandoah County near Orkney Springs in the mountain foothills. Ministers from Broadway paid

regular visits to this group both before and after the Civil War, ministering to these brethren and their neighbors in their homes. Mennonites also became acquainted with the people of this area through attendance at the Mineral Springs which were popular health resorts of the day. It seems fairly certain that the Mennonites participated in the building of a union church at Powder Springs in 1858. Also about 1850 several Mennonite families moved into the Brocks Gap country directly west of Broadway. The Brocks Gap forms a natural gateway to the Highland region at this point. Although there is little on record, it is evident that the ministers likewise visited these families and extended some spiritual ministry to the community. Some years later the Mennonites participated in a union church in this community also. Still later the Hebron congregation developed here. By the time of the Civil War the Mennonite preachers about Harrisonburg had extended their ministry to the foothills of the western mountains by the simple device of making their services available to their non-Mennonite neighbors in time of need. Their ministry had been extended across the Shenandoah Mountain to the vicinity of Brandywine and perhaps as far as Franklin in what is now Pendleton County, West Virginia.

With the coming of the Civil War, its destruction, dangers, and tension, the activity of the Mennonite church in Virginia was severely curbed. All extension activity ceased. It took the Mennonites years to recover from this devastation, but one of the early evidences of their recovery was the resumption a few years after the war of their evangelistic thrust to the west. A number of specific incidents highlight the direction of the work at this time. Perhaps the best known of these incidents and sometimes overrated in its importance is the experience of Potter John Heatwole. This man, called Potter John, to distinguish him from the other John Heatwoles of the neighborhood, was one of the Mennonite young men who refused to respond to the call to service in the Confederate army. For a time he hid himself away in the neighboring woods. His hideaway was finally revealed to the Confederate scouts who were constantly on the lookout for him and others who had not answered the call to arms. Fortunately, members of his family learned of this betrayal and were able to warn him. As there was new fallen snow on the ground, he walked backwards out of his hideout to the top of a nearby ridge, where he turned and fled across the mountains to the west. Near Mouth-of-Seneca, West Virginia, he found refuge with a kindly mountain family. Potter John had with him his Bible and a Mennonite *Confession of Faith*. These he used for his own instruction and to teach the people of the community in which he had found refuge. After the war he begged his home pastors to go to the community of his refuge to minister to these people whose church privileges were limited. This they did, and found here an open door. Here the Mennonites of Virginia built their first house of worship beyond the mountains. Unfortunately we must record that the years brought changes in this particular community so that this building is no longer used as a place of worship.

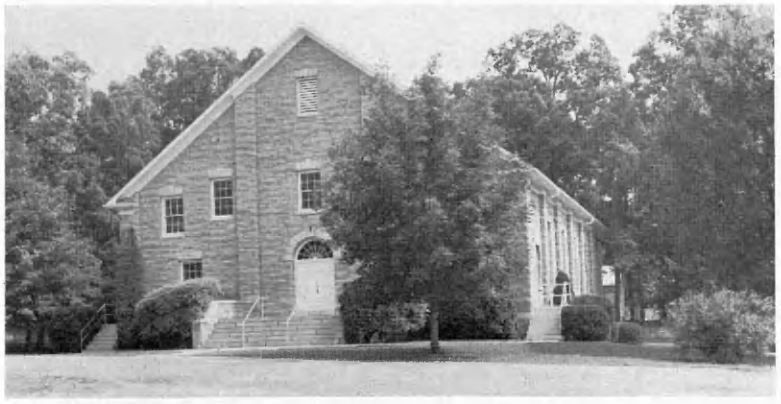
From the little settlement near Orkney Springs, in Shenandoah County, a sister married a man from over the mountain in what is known as "the coves," east of Mathias, West Virginia. From the same community a brother moved to the Bean Settlement near Needmore, West Virginia. The Virginia pastors followed these members to their new homes, ministering to their spiritual needs. Religious services held in the homes attracted too many to be accommodated in the houses, and public services were called for. Tradition has it that the first public service in the Bean Settlement was held in a barn. The common practice, however, was to use the schoolhouses which dotted the Highland area as places of worship. In time dozens of these schoolhouses were used as centers of Mennonite church life. Brunk in his *History of the Mennonites of Virginia* has given the name "schoolhouse evangelism" to this whole movement. If space would permit the digression, the names of these schoolhouses are richly reminiscent of the circumstance of these Highland communities. Many are named for the builder or the most numerous family of the community, as Soldier White's, Shaver, Whitmer; some for their location, as Nime Spring, Mountain Home, Divide, or the picturesque variant, Mt. Top and Topsy; and some have such revealing designations as Seldom Seen and Dull Hunt.

Another contact leading to the establishment of churches was the practice of the Highland men of coming to the Valley for work during the harvest season. In Mennonite homes they were invited to church services, and it is possible that a few of them embraced the Mennonite faith. But whether they had become church members or not, they often urged the Mennonite ministers to come to their communities to hold services. In this way a number of Mennonite congregations came into being.

Schoolhouse Evangelism

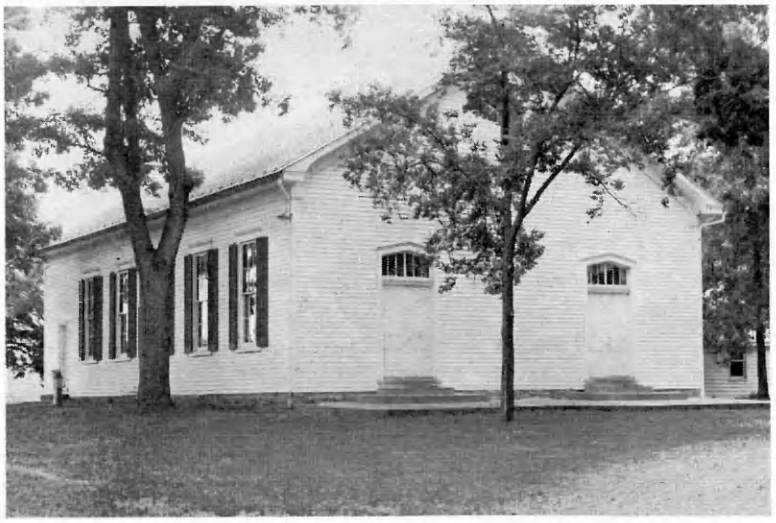
In the years that followed the Civil War several preaching circuits in the Highland became rather well established. One led from Broadway to the foothills around Orkney Springs, then across the mountains to the cove region of eastern Hardy County, West Virginia, northward through the coves to the Bachman Settlement, then westward across Lost River to Bean Settlement. From this point, the ministers returned home by way of Brocks Gap, sometimes taking time for services in the schoolhouses along Kimseys Run or on Branch Mountain. In these years the Bachman

After the worship services in the Mount Vernon Mennonite Church (Highland).

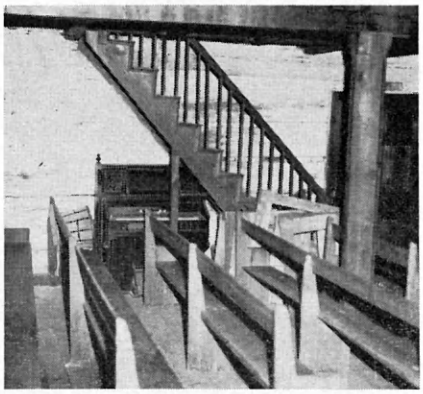


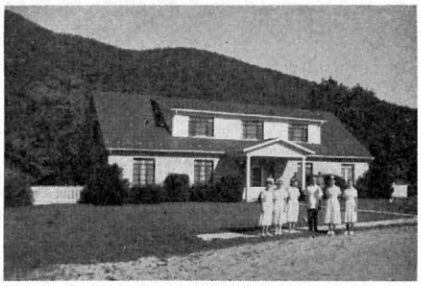
Weaver Mennonite Church is the largest congregation in the Valley. The annual "Harmonia Sacra" Singing is held here on January 1.

The Bank Mennonite Church where John S. Coffman attended services.



Old church in Page County shows an interior typical of colonial days.





Clinic of Charles W. Hertzler, M.D. Many families come from great distances for medical care.

Settlement proved a fruitful field. A substantial church building was erected here in 1890, and for a number of years it was a rallying point for the Mennonites of the area both east and west of Lost River. The communions, or "big meetings" as they were often called attracted large gatherings to the Bachman church. Again it must be recorded that the population centers have shifted, and the Bachman community is no longer a Mennonite stronghold.

Another circuit beginning at Broadway led through Brock's Gap to Criders, Virginia, then to the top of Shenandoah Mountain where a number of schoolhouses were served. A little later this circuit was extended to the Sweedlin Valley region of Pendleton County, West Virginia. This extension was occasioned by the request of a man from the Sweedlin Valley who walked to the top of the Shenandoah Mountain to secure the services of the Mennonite ministers for a funeral.

From Harrisonburg the ministers went across the mountains into the area of Pendleton, Randolph and Tucker counties of West Virginia. At the farthest, they pushed almost 100 miles to the west of the Mennonite settlements in the Valley. In this area they established a number of regular preaching circuits which were served for years by these Mennonite ministers traveling first on horseback, later by buggy, and finally by automobile.

About the beginning of the present century the Mennonites of the Waynesboro area who went into the Blue Ridge Mountains to buy lumber and berries and to rent pasture for their cattle, became concerned with the lack of church privileges of these folk with whom they became acquainted. Worship services were arranged, and were held first in an old sawmill shed. Soon there was need of a church building, and in time several strong congregations developed in the area.

Adventure of Those Who Cared

This outreach of the Virginia church was truly a pioneer work in many ways. It has been in existence for more than a hundred years. True, its promoters did not think of this as "mission work" and would have been opposed to any effort by such an official name; yet they were responsive to the invitations to preach the gospel which came to them from their friends of the Highland, and they were carrying on a systematic program of outreach for at least three decades before missions were born in the Mennonite church. Later of course they did think and speak of this outreach as a mission effort.

It was a pioneer work in terms of the toil and hardship required to carry it on. In the early days the only way of reaching many of the isolated mountain communities was by walking or by horseback. A trip to the Highland required three or four days at the least, and often itineraries were planned which required much more time. Wrapped in their greatcoats, homemade leggings and mufflers, these preachers braved the cold and storms of the mountains. There were incidents of narrow escape from the rushing waters of swollen mountain streams, times when high waters or snowstorms prevented the return home at the appointed time. Most to be dreaded were times when illness overtook them on their journeys, and there was no means of communication with the family at home.

It was a pioneer work in the way in which it was carried on. In a few instances these Mennonite preachers used churches of other denominations in which to hold their services. Mostly, they began in the homes, then moved to the schoolhouses which were the centers of community life. Through the years dozens of these schoolhouses have been used as the cradles of Mennonite congregations in the Highland. The pattern of this work was quite simple. Perhaps its most fruitful impact, at least in the beginning, was from the pastoral work done in the homes as these circuit preachers moved from place to place. The public effort was largely confined to regular preaching services in the schoolhouses. A little later it became the practice to have extended evangelistic services (two or three weeks) in these schoolhouses during the summer months. Near the close of the first quarter of the present century when automobiles and improved roads had simplified the transportation problem, an extensive Sunday school movement was developed in the Highland. This was followed by the summer Bible schools. These have contributed largely to the development of congregational life in the Highland Mennonite churches.

Men to Remember

To name the men who have contributed to the development of the Mennonite church in the Highland would require us to list all the ministers of the Valley area of the Virginia church from the Civil War to the present. There are of course a few names which we recall with particular gratitude. Samuel Coffman was doubtless the outstanding Mennonite leader during the Civil War period in Virginia, and he was one who pioneered extensively in the Highland. He was followed in his district (Middle) by L. J. Heatwole, who labored unceasingly to build congregations in the Highland. One incident preserved in the family (Heatwole was the writer's grandfather) has it that on a day while traveling alone through the mountains Heatwole was overcome by a compelling impulse to stop and pray. He tied his horse, retired a little way among the trees, and spent a time in prayer. Several years later a man who was converted in one of his services told him that on a certain day he was hidden

The Virginia Mennonite Home, Inc., is located in Assembly Park. It was opened in 1954.

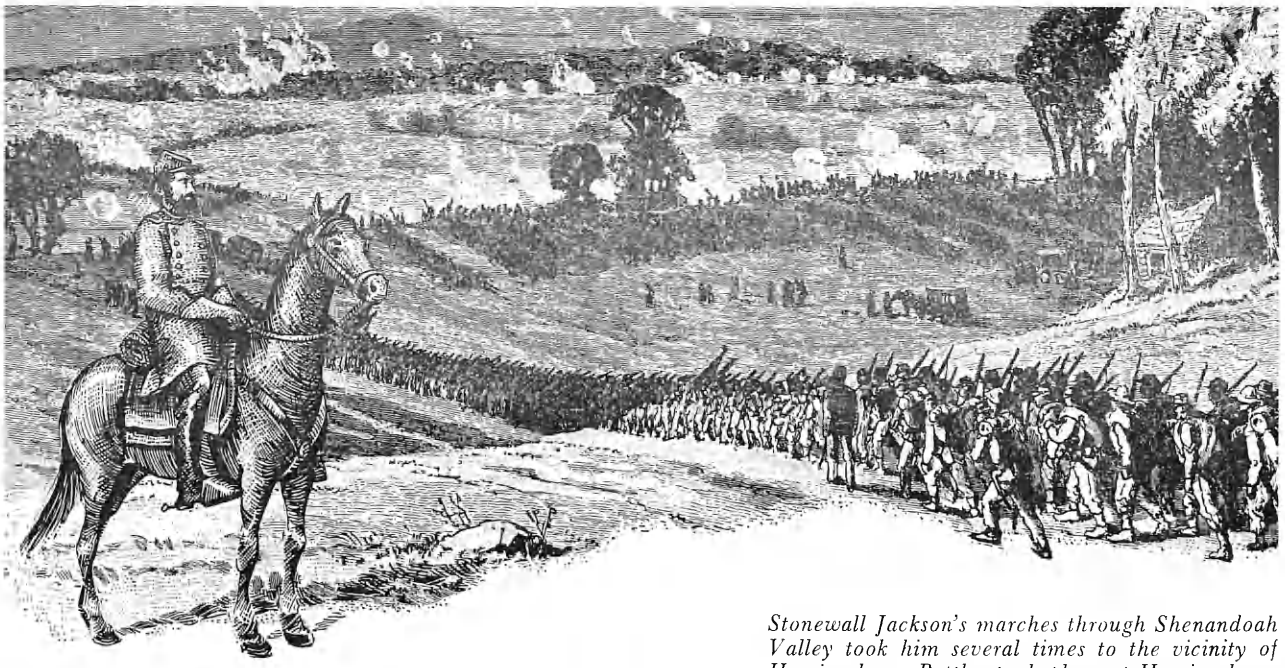
in ambush with the intention of waylaying the preacher. But when he saw Heatwole turn aside and kneel in prayer, his heart was softened and he turned away from his wicked intentions.

About this same time following the Civil War, Abraham Shank was the leader of the church in the Northern District, and the one who pushed the outreach from the Broadway area into Brock's Gap and the Hardy County region of West Virginia. He was followed by Lewis Shank, who with his wife "Aunt Mattie," was known and loved by thousands of people over a large area of the Highland country. Neither should we forget the fruitful pastoral and preaching ministry of the late Timothy Showalter. Among those who came to assist in the evangelistic efforts in the little white schoolhouses, the labors of A. D. Wenger and E. J. Berkey are perhaps outstanding.

A Church to Respect

The early preaching did not result in any considerable ingathering of members into the Mennonite church. The introduction of extended evangelistic meetings produced greater results. A few Mennonite strongholds emerged, as noted earlier. In the early part of the present century with the coming of the Sunday school and the establishment of more frequent and regular worship services, there was a considerable harvest in terms of church membership in the Highland area. As groups of believers in the Mennonite way emerged in scattered communities, the people began to move from the schoolhouses. Churches were built and congregations formed. Often these groups who had worshipped in two or more of these schoolhouses united and formed a new congregation. More than thirty places of worship have been built to accommodate the congregations which have grown out of this schoolhouse evangelism. At present only a few of the schoolhouses are being used as places of worship. They are no longer the center of community life as they once were. In fact, most of them are no longer used for educational purposes. The consolidated school has taken their place. There is likewise a tendency in the church life of the Highland toward retrenchment and consolidation in order to develop a stronger congregational life, which seems necessary to the health of the church.

Building the church in the Highland has not been an adventure covered with glamour only. It has been hard work, beset with its own particular difficulties. The mountain terrain divides the area into naturally small communities, making it difficult to build sizable congregations. The Highland has been changing even more rapidly than other areas with the coming of industrialization. There has been a tendency to abandon the more remote areas in favor of locations near the highways. Since conversion itself was often the signal for a family to move to a more favorable location, there has been some handicap in the development of local leadership. From the statistical standpoint, the membership in most of the Highland churches is small, but these churches are considerable in number, and the Virginia Mennonites whose roots are in the Highland account for more than one-third of the total conference membership (37 per cent according to recent studies). In the Northern District where access to, and interchange with the Highland has been easiest, those of Highland background make up approximately three-fifths of the membership, and have supplied in recent years about one-third of the ordained leadership. The outreach into the Highland has been health to the Mennonite church in Virginia, both in its challenge to the task of evangelism, and in its rewards of strength in numbers and in leadership.



Stonewall Jackson's marches through Shenandoah Valley took him several times to the vicinity of Harrisonburg. Battles took place at Harrisonburg, Cross Keys, and Port Republic with cavalry action at other points in Rockingham County.

VIRGINIA MENNONITES IN THE CIVIL WAR

By Grant M. Stoltzfus

When the Civil War came to the Mennonites of Virginia, they faced the first serious test of their nonresistance since the times of the Revolutionary War. How did this test come and how did they meet it?

The Conscientious Objector

The Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War, by Edward Needles Wright, traces the struggle of the peace groups in the South to gain exemption. In this the Quakers played a large role, beginning in September, 1861, in the meeting for Suffering of the North Carolina's Yearly Meeting when they considered petitioning state legislature.

In Virginia a Dunker, (Church of the Brethren), Benjamin F. Moomaw, visited the state legislature in behalf of the peace group. Dunkers and Mennonites prepared a petition to the state requesting exemption. These efforts brought results. At least a bill was introduced in the Virginia House of Delegates to provide for the exemption of "those persons whose religious tenets forbid them bearing arms." On March 29, 1862, a law was passed providing exemption for those where religious tenets forbade the bearing of arms. A payment of five hundred dollars was also specified, as well as some additional taxes.

That this law operated in favor of the Mennonites is borne out in the family records of one Christian Good's descendants in Rockingham County. On April 5, 1862, Christian Good was discharged from the 145th regiment of the Virginia Military on the payment of five hundred and four dollars. Good had provided J. T. Logan, Deputy, with "satisfactory evidence that he is a member of the Mennonite Church in regular standing therein." "The discharge," says the document, was done "in due conformity with the late act of the legislature for the discharge of Tunkers and Mennonites from military duty of payment of fine and commission."

It appears that in the South, as in the North, Mennonites were willing to pay the required fine for exemption. For the Quakers, North and South, the question was "a vexatious one" and they frequently protested.

After April 16, 1862, the draft was taken from the several states and placed under the Confederate government. On October 11, 1862, a law was enacted which provided exemption for conscientious objectors in these words:

. . . all persons who have been and now are members of the Society of Friends, and the association of Dunkards, Nazarenes, and Mennonites, in regular membership in their respective denominations: provided,

Members of Society of Friends, Nazarenes, Mennonites and Dunkards shall furnish substitutes or pay a tax of five hundred dollars each into the public treasury.

As the war deepened and the Confederacy faced adverse trends on the battlefront, there were other measures proposed which concerned conscientious objectors. On February 17, 1864, the Confederate government passed a military measure "to organize forces to serve during the war." Yet even this law said that those heretofore exempted should not "be required to render military service under this act." On the last day that Congress met, March 18, 1864, the Senate approved a bill that was intended "to diminish the member of exemptions and details." What the passage of this bill would have meant to conscientious objectors cannot, of course, be known. The war ended on April 9 when Lee surrendered at Appomattox Courthouse.

The Military Leaders

No record has ever come to light regarding the attitudes of General Robert E. Lee toward the conscientious objector in the South. However, General T. J. Jackson is quoted in David H. Zigler, *A History of the Brethren in Virginia,* on page 98 as saying:

There lives a people in the Valley of Virginia, that are not hard to bring to the Army. While there they are obedient to their officers. Nor is it difficult to have them take aim, but it is impossible to get them to take correct aim. I, therefore, think it better to leave them at their homes that they may produce supplies for the army.

In March of 1862 when two groups of ninety Mennonites and Dunkers (Church of the Brethren) fled from their homes in the Valley they were captured and eighteen taken to Harrisonburg and the other seventy-two to Richmond. S. S. Baxter of the War Department said after examining them:

I have examined a number of persons, fugitives from Rockingham and Augusta counties, who were arrested at Petersburg, in Hardy County. These men are all regular members in good standing in the Tunker (Dunker) and Mennonite churches. One of the tenets of those churches is that the law of God forbids shedding human blood in battle and this doctrine is uniformly taught to all their people. As all these persons are members in good standing in these churches and bear good characters as citizens and Christians I cannot doubt the sincerity of their declaration that they left home to avoid the draft of the militia and under the belief that by the draft they would be placed in a situation in which they would be compelled to violate their consciences.

Baxter goes on to say that the fugitives were loyal and sympathetic to the Southern cause but simply were unable to engage in the shedding of blood. How accurately he reflected the real feeling of the group is an unsolved problem. Under the duress of prison life there may well have been a number who yielded to the pressure to aid the Southern cause short of actual fighting. The Libby Prison in Richmond was known as a "horrible" one and the six weeks that the group spent there were doubtless a severe test. They were finally released upon the payment of money. The churches quickly raised the necessary funds and the men came home "with great rejoicing."

"And the War Came"

As for the attitude of the Mennonites in the crises there is the testimony of Peter S. Hartman in his *Civil War Reminiscences.* He states:

Just before the time the war began the Mennonite Church decided that if any one of the members would voluntarily go to war they would voluntarily go out of the Church, without a church trial or anything of the kind. It was a dangerous thing to have a church trial . . . . Only two brothers, Shenk by name, voluntarily went into the war. I knew them both. One of them was wounded and taken prisoner and died in prison. The other one came home but never came back into the church.

There are, however, records of scattered Mennonite individuals who took up some form of alternate service, at least for a while.

Communication with the "outside world" was all but completely broken off. Christian Brunk of Winchester, Virginia, reported in the February 12, 1903, *Herald of Truth* that he was one who read the first issue of that paper in 1864. One copy of it which he received was passed around until it was literally "worn out."

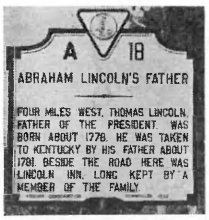
What did the war do to the Mennonite communities of the Valley? One might cite the hardships in the lack of supplies, especially salt. But far more serious was the confiscation of cattle, horses, pigs and wheat by the Confederate and later Union armies. Soldiers helped themselves to bread, bacon, poultry, honey, flour, and hay—anything they could get to feed themselves and their horses.

Mrs. Earl Grove, daughter of the late L. J. Heatwole has recorded much of her father's vivid memories of these years. Soldiers would appear at mealtime and consume all the food. The people were almost destitute and hid bread in such places as an old grandfather clock. Wheat was hid in bed ticks, hams under broken boards and corn in fodder shocks in the field.

R. J. Heatwole in 1911 reported his memories in the *Gospel Herald.* As a boy he remembered the two armies skirmishing back and forth, the Yankees one week, the rebels the next. He recalls how

We gave many dinners, after which they would hunt the eggs at the barn and one day they came with many

Home of Abraham Lincoln's father, Thomas Lincoln.



Libby Prison of the Civil War, Richmond, Virginia, May, 1865. Mennonite C.O.'s were held there.

From the pages of the "Mennonite Community Cookbook" compiled by Mary Emma Showalter Eby of E.M.C.

horses, driving them into our meadows which were knee high for hay, keeping them there till it was eaten off to the ground. We were misrepresented by a slaveholder to the Yankee soldiers; then for a radius of about five miles they burned nearly all our houses and barns to the ground.

Nothing stands out in the memory of the Valley like General Sheridan's raid as the war moved toward its close. The determination of the Union to cut off Confederate supplies led General Sheridan to lay waste the Valley's fertile farms. The general undertook and carried out a thorough devastation. He burned most of the barns in the Valley. Apparently only three or four Mennonite farmers had their buildings spared. John W. Wayland, the local historian, estimated the total loss in Rockingham County (where most of the Mennonites lived) at probably more than $2,000,000. (General Sheridan boasted after his campaign that a crow would have to take its own supplies if it were to fly over the Valley.) Many persons were forced to leave the Valley and flee North. Among these refugees were a number of Mennonite young men of draft age or nearly draft age.

Peter Hartman's experiences as one of these refugees form a most interesting story. Fortunately his memories have been preserved in an annual lecture which he gave at Eastern Mennonite College as recently as 1933. Young Hartman had avoided the draft but when he learned of a chance to flee from the Valley he took steps to do so. He had a personal interview with General Sheridan in his tent and the General wrote him a pass. Along with John S. Coffman and others he fled North in a train of 1600 wagons that was sixteen miles long. Hartman finally reached Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and worked on a farm till the war was over. He was there when Lincoln's body was taken westward and he, along with his friend John S. Coffman, was among the 45,000 persons who viewed Lincoln's body as it lay in state in Harrisburg.

Besides these experiences of the Mennonites of the Valley of Virginia in the Civil War there are other experiences only recently revived. Harry A. Brunk, of the history department of Eastern Mennonite College, a few years ago discovered records in the National Archives in Washington, D. C., that tell much about the Mennonites of Virginia in the Civil War. He has included some of the findings in one chapter of his *History of Mennonites in Virginia*: 1727-1900. These records are from the files of the Southern Claims Commission, an agency set up by Congress to reimburse loyal Unionists of the South who were exploited by the Union armies. A number of Mennonites filed claims and the answers they gave to the question they were asked reveal more of the experiences that these crises years brought. Their strong Union sympathies appear again and again in the records. The Southern Claims Commission qualified some of them for reimbursements, but the losses, it appears, were never completely covered.

The entire experience of the Mennonites of Virginia in the Civil War is yet to be thoroughly studied and evaluated. It is unique in the experience of the Mennonites of America. Steadfast in their opposition to slavery, the Mennonites of Virginia were still citizens of a slaveholding state. Opposed to taking arms against the enemy of their newly-founded government, they were still unable to convince their "enemy" that they were loyal as well as nonresistant. Their dilemma was a hard one to resolve. The record of their perseverance must be regarded on the whole as a commendable chapter in the story of nonresistance as practiced by Mennonites.

Eastern Mennonite College Grows Through The Years

By Ira E. Miller

By 1967 Eastern Mennonite College will have been in operation for fifty years and therefore a golden anniversary is in the planning stages. The story which EMC is writing over the years, and which will likely be told during the anniversary is similar to that of any small denominational college—strong denominational loyalties, dedicated and loyal leadership, great aims, few supporters, little finances, obvious struggle, growth in enrollments, outstanding achievements, and needed expansion.

The Eastern Mennonite College is the outgrowth of a need that had pressed itself upon the (Old) Mennonite Church of the eastern United States. The founders have given at least three reasons why another institution of higher learning should be established.

In the first place, the larger part of the eastern section of the (Old) Mennonite Church looked with suspicion on the work and the product of the existing Mennonite colleges. Differences of application of certain Biblical doctrines between the western and eastern section of the brotherhood tended to create barriers which, in turn, prevented the free flow of students from the east.

Secondly, it was felt that the denominational colleges, in general, had yielded to the desire of having their institutions conform to the state pattern. J. B. Smith, the first principal of Eastern Mennonite School said:

> It is superfluous to mention the humiliating but stern fact that our educational policy . . . has failed to produce results. The chief reasons for these unsatisfactory results is that the religious emphasis has not kept pace with the intellectual. Denominational interests have yielded to the stronger impulses of having our educational institutions conform to the popular educational standards and State requirements. . . . A glance at the curricula of our standard colleges reveals the fact that few, if any, religious subjects are listed. Their requirements as a rule are in accord with their own curricula. Hence where there is a strict conformity to such requirements, religious development is practically ignored. The student leaves college filled, it may be, with worldly wisdom, but destitute of the wisdom from above.[1]

It was the vision of the founders that this new institution be, in the strictest sense, both a Christian and a denominational college. The Bible must be the constant companion of the student throughout his entire school career. According to the *Foreword* of the 1921-22 *Annual Catalog* the denominational emphasis is clearly stated:

> If a denomination has a rightful claim to an existence, she also has the right to indoctrinate and establish her young people in her Articles of Faith and Doctrinal Standards; nay, it is her bounden duty, if she wishes to maintain, propagate and perpetuate them. We believe that the doctrines and principles of the Menno-

The Administration Building of Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia, was erected in 1919.

nite Church are not only consonant with the highest degree of intelligence, but that they elicit and challenge such intelligence, for their vindication and dissemination.[2]

The third justification for another (Old) Mennonite Church school was a geographical one. Since more than one-half of the members live east of the Ohio and Pennsylvania boundary, it meant that most of the Mennonite youth were not easily served by a church school.

Early in 1913 organized effort was begun toward the founding of an institution to supply this growing need and at the same time elicit the support of the brotherhood. On April 17, 1913, "a new school proposition" was circulated by friends and advocates of the movement. Their proposal included the constitution and bylaws for a school to be started operating under the name Warwick Mennonite Institute, Warwick County, Virginia. The justification given for the school's location was as follows:

In the mind of the committee it was not thought probable that anywhere else in the East could a congregation be found where the prevailing sentiment in favor of a church school would be as near a unit as it is here.[3]

Since the school movement began largely within the Virginia District of the (Old) Mennonite Church the matter was necessarily discussed in the annual Church Conference. Without a dissenting voice the body of conference, on October 11, 1913, agreed that the "brethren who feel interested, and who desire to contribute of their means, patronage and influence, to the organization and maintenance of a church school" shall be encouraged to do so providing, "said school be conducted in accordance with the Constitution and By-Laws submitted for the consideration of this and other conferences."[4]

It immediately became clear to the promoters of the "new school movement" that Warwick was not located equidistant to the eastern centers of Mennonite population. In spying out other sites for the school, their attention was directed to Hayfield Mansion, near Alexandria, Virginia.

In order to induce the interest and support of the Pennsylvania and Maryland Mennonite membership an announcement was given for all brethren who were interested in higher education "to assemble in a mass meeting on February 17, 1914, in the house of worship in Maugansville, Maryland."[5] The sentiment of the meeting favored the Alexandria location since it was geographically nearer to the populous Mennonite centers. A school board consisting of seventeen members was appointed and steps were taken for the purpose of securing a principal.

On October 9, 1914, the newly-organized Eastern School Board met near Waynesboro, Virginia, at which time plans were made for the first school session consisting of a four-week Bible term. The location for the school, finally decided upon, was the Hayfield Mansion, near Alexandria, Virginia. Efforts to buy the building and 300 acres of land surrounding it failed.

The first school session continued from January 9 to February 6, 1915. During the course of the year the school was moved to a vacated industrial school building at Assembly Park, Harrisonburg, Virginia, now a part of the present campus. Short Bible terms were held during 1916 and 1917 at the new location.

In 1917 the school was incorporated under the laws of Virginia as Eastern Mennonite School (later, College) operating under a board of trustees for the Virginia Mennonite Conference and neighboring Mennonite conferences who agreed to cooperate. The formal opening of the institution occurred October 15, 1917. A class in preparatory work, one in the first year academy, Bible classes, and vocal music classes constituted the school's program of studies.

In 1921 the high school department was accredited by the Virginia State Board of Education. College work was first offered with an Advanced Bible Course (two years) including several liberal arts subjects as early as 1918. In 1930 the school was accredited by the Virginia State Board of Education as a junior college. In 1932 it was approved as a two-year teacher-training school, giving courses that led to the Normal Professional Certificate. In 1938 a four-year Bible course was offered leading to the bachelor of theology degree. In 1946 this was extended to a five-year curriculum. In the same year a curriculum was planned leading to the degree of bachelor of religious education. In 1948-49 the bachelor of theology curriculum was extended to a six-year program as an integrated curriculum leading to the bachelor of arts degree in the four years and the bachelor of theology in two additional years. In 1947 the college received approval from the Virginia Board of Education to confer the baccalaureate degree.

The history of Eastern Mennonite College is one of steady growth in curriculum, size of faculty, enrollment, and facilities. Several years ago the Study Commission on Mennonite Higher Education made a careful survey of the Mennonite population and the number of young people of college age. The survey indicated there will be approximately 750 college students at Eastern Mennonite College in 1965-66, and approximately 1,000 college students by 1970-71. To accommodate this expanding enrollment, at least four new buildings are needed within the next six years.

The campus contains about 93 acres. The main buildings of the college plant are an Administration building, Auditorium, North Lawn (women's residence), two men's residence halls now under construction, Student Center, Vesper Heights Observatory, and Astral Hall. The library, located on the main floor of the Administration building, contains over 30,500 volumes of books and bound periodicals including those in the Menno Simons Historical Library and Archives and the J. B. Smith Library.

With this expansion also came increased recognition. Eastern Mennonite College is an accredited four-year liberal arts college. The college holds membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and is recognized by the Virginia State Board of Education. The college also holds membership in the Association of American Colleges; the Association of Virginia Colleges, and the National Commission on Accrediting. Graduates who meet the specific requirements are eligible to receive the Collegiate Professional Certificate.

A recent alumni survey of Mennonite Church workers revealed that 33 per cent of them had attended Eastern Mennonite College, while a recent check of the Mennonite directory of foreign missionaries showed that 47.5 per cent of these missionaries are EMC alumni. It is the purpose of Eastern Mennonite College to continue its emphasis upon Christian service in the training of today's youth.

Eastern Mennonite College seeks to provide a respectable educational program—one that is engaged in the pursuit of academic excellence. Her philosophy and program are consciously and articulately an expression of the Mennonite faith. Being a Christian college, she seeks to embody the harmonious expression of both the Christian and academic traditions.

The educational program of Eastern Mennonite College not only provides a broad liberal arts education adequate for professional or vocational training, but also seeks to inculcate in the student a sense of social and moral responsibility to the group in the use of his skills.

In many respects the educational program at Eastern Mennonite College is similar to the secular institution but its objectives are different. Here teaching stems from the desire to share the experience of knowledge with fellow Christians in order to help them achieve God's purposes for their lives. Here the total gamut of educational experience is organized to help develop within the student a Christian philosophy of life.

Footnotes

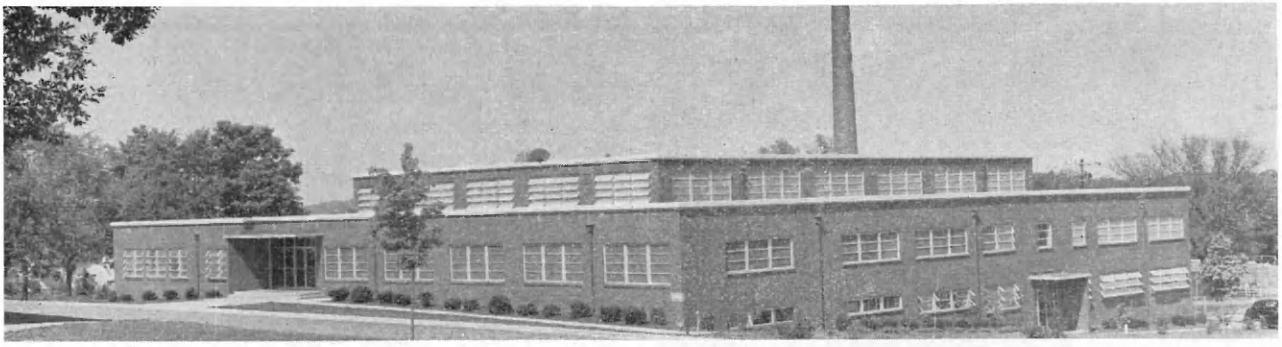
[1]J. B. Smith, *Mennonite Yearbook and Directory,* 1918, p. 18.

[2]*Eastern Mennonite School, Annual Catalog,* 1921-22, p. 7.

[3]L. J. Heatwole, "A New Church School Proposition," *Gospel Herald,* VI (April 17, 1913), p. 45.

[4]*Minutes of the Virginia Mennonite Conference.* Second Edition, 1950, p. 107.

[5]L. J. Heatwole, "An Address to the Mennonite Brotherhood," *Gospel Herald.* VI (February 12, 1914), p. 716.



Student Center of Eastern Mennonite College, which also houses the bookstore and cafeteria.

The International Club includes students from Ethiopia, Germany, Tanganyika and Jordan.

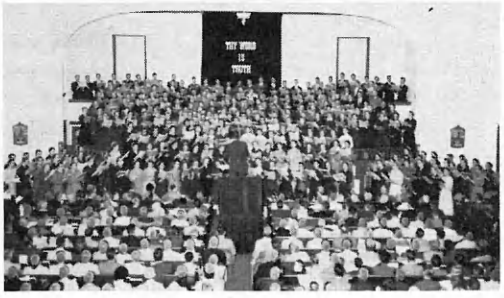
North Lawn Women's Residence and Dining Room.

The College Chapel is in use daily for worship services. It also houses the college's FM radio station.

Birthplace of Eastern Mennonite College. The early years of the college were spent in this frame building in Assembly Park.

For thirty years, faculty members, students and alumni have been singing Gaul's "The Holy City" at the annual homecoming.

The chemical geneticist, Merle Jacobs, carries on research.



The Menno Simons Historical Library and Archives

By Irvin B. Horst

THE MENNO SIMONS Historical Library and Archives at Eastern Mennonite College is a collection of manuscripts, books, periodicals, and pamphlets that pertain to Mennonite history and thought. The collection has been gathered in line with the special needs and program of the College and its varied constituency. The library aims to further the work and witness of the church.

Among the resources of the library are several hundred printed books from the sixteenth and seventeenth century about the rise of Swiss, German, and Dutch Anabaptist-Mennonite movements and their subsequent history. More than 90 per cent of American Mennonite imprints, as listed by Harold S. Bender in *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature,* are found on its shelves. In addition there are collections of Pennsylvania German materials, especially rare Ephrata and Germantown imprints. The library has an extensive collection of Pennsylvania German broadsides. The local presses of the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia have not been slighted, especially the early presses at Harrisonburg, New Market, and Singers Glen, and many of their imprints have been acquired. The Daniel R. Heatwole Library, product of twenty years of book collecting in Pennsylvania, and the books of the lately disbanded museum at Luray, Virginia, have added considerably to the quantity as well as the quality of the resources in the library. Other materials, such as graduate theses, research papers, tapes, and photographs are added year by year in a steadily growing amount.

In the archives are official documents of the Virginia Mennonite Conference and the papers of conference leaders. Especially important are the L. J. Heatwole papers and the A. D. Wenger papers with special significance to the nineteenth and early twentieth century developments of the Mennonite Church. A number of rare and valuable documents pertaining to the Amish are preserved. Of more than usual interest are the several manuscripts about the distresses of Mennonites in German Palatinate during the seventeenth century. An extensive collection of documents about Mennonites during the Civil War is presently being gathered on microfilm. These materials relate to the experiences of Mennonites in Virginia and elsewhere during the national crisis of a hundred years ago.

The library and archives is a research facility used by faculty and students. An increasing number of scholars from local institutions, as well as from a distance, are making use of the resources. Their growth to many thousands of books and manuscripts has been made possible by generous grants from individuals and foundations. Present plans call for enlarging the library and archives as funds permit.

Title page of "Apologeticus Archeteles" by Ulrich Zwingli (1522) which contains some lines in verse by Conrad Grebel. The title page has an autograph of Simon Stumpf. This is one of the many rare books of the Menno Simons Historical Library.


APOLOGETI
CVS ARCHETELES ADPELLATVS
QVO RESPONDETVR, PARAENE
SI, A. RE. DO. CONSTANTIENSI
(QVORVNDAM PROCACI FA
CTIONE AD ID PERSVASO)
ad Senatum Prepositure Tiguring
quem Capitulum uocant miſſę.
Per Huldrichum Zuins
glium.

VENTURES IN RADIO BROADCASTING

By Eugene K. Souder

DURING THE PAST decade, Harrisonburg, Virginia, has become the base of operations for a variety of Mennonite radio broadcasts. Each broadcast has its own story of origin. Each broadcast aims for a particular audience. Yet all are of one voice in purpose: to bring men and women of this world into the fellowship of the church; to nurture and guide growing Christians; and to lift the moral tone of contemporary society.

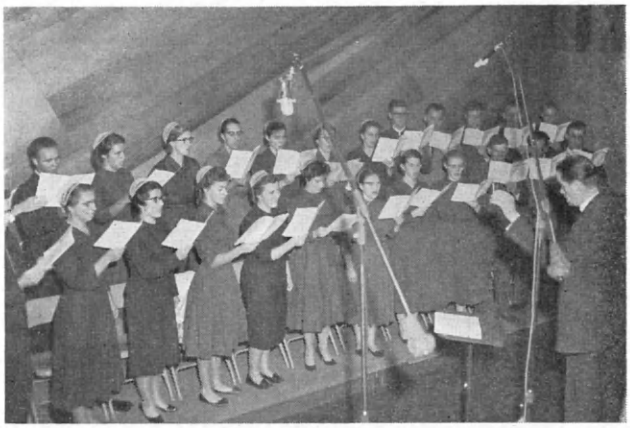
The best known of these broadcasts is "The Mennonite Hour." It originated in 1951 when a men's quartet from Eastern Mennonite College took advantage of a free time offer on Radio WSVA at Harrisonburg. The growth of this broadcast is a story of the church at work in the field of mass communication.

Religious broadcasters know that they must understand the nature of their real audience—and there are many audiences. "The Mennonite Hour" has spared no effort to present a program of inspiring song and an effective spoken word to its particular audience in the English-speaking world. Through a fifteen-minute companion program called "The Way to Life" it releases its message overseas and in a number of areas in the United States. B. Charles Hostetter has been the main speaker on this program since its beginning and in addition to his radio work gives time to local evangelistic efforts and Bible conferences.

Besides this main broadcast there are others in the following languages: Spanish, Navajo, Japanese, Italian, German, and Russian. In all, there are more than 240 weekly releases in seven different languages. In nearly all cases the broadcast is integrated with a Mennonite missionary witness in the country where the broadcast is aired.

The Spanish broadcast, *Luz y Verdad* (Light and Truth), is reaching many Spanish-speaking peoples

The main offices of Mennonite Broadcasts, Inc., are located at Harrisonburg, Virginia.



The a cappella chorus heard on "The Mennonite Hour" and "The Word of Life," directed by J. Mark Stauffer.

New Spanish studio located in Puerto Rico includes recording facilities.

Recordings for the broadcast are done by Weaver Audio Studios, owned by Richard Weaver.

through the thirty-two weekly releases in South and Central America, the Caribbean, Spain, as well as in New York and other concentrated Latin American areas in the U.S.A. This program was begun by missionary Lester T. Hershey in 1947 on one station in Puerto Rico.

In Japan, where less than half of one per cent of the people are Christian, the broadcast, now released on eleven radio and direct-wire relay stations, is finding a welcome spot in searching hearts. Because of their disillusionment of emperor worship, many Japanese people are searching for a truth that satisfies. Radio is particularly adaptable for use in Japan since many of the Japanese people would not openly associate with Christian groups, yet they can in the privacy of their homes tune in on these Christian programs.

One of the groups to which the broadcast is beamed is the eighty thousand Navahos located in reservations in Arizona and bordering states. Stanley Weaver, Mennonite missionary there, sensed radio as an open door to reach homes which are hardly accessible by traditional evangelistic methods and so in 1956 began a daily broadcast with Navaho Christians speaking on the program.

Programs in Europe

The Italian broadcast, *Parole di Vita* (Words of Life), is released weekly from the short-wave station, Trans World Radio in Monaco, covering all of Italy, Sicily, and many other European countries. Paul Lehman, Mennonite missionary, worked with native Christians in Florence to begin this program in 1957. Luciano Monti, who has his doctors degree in chemistry, and Elio Milazzo now share in producing this program.

The German program, *Worte des Lebens* (Words of Life), is released on the world's most powerful commercial radio voice, Radio Luxembourg, which literally blankets all of Europe with its 500,000-watt transmitter. (This is ten times the power allowed on any U. S. radio station.) Paul Lehman assisted H. H. Janzen in beginning the broadcast in 1959. Currently, Samuel Gerber, principal of the Bienenberg Bible School, is speaker.

In response to this German broadcast, mail comes from listeners throughout Europe, including East and West Germany, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Poland.

The Russian Broadcast

The Russian broadcast, *Golos Drooga* (Voice of a Friend), began in January 1960 with Ivan Magal, M.D., as speaker. Magal, born in the Ukraine, is currently practicing medicine in Stuart, Virginia. His unique approach, that of giving helpful medical hints to the listener, then climaxing with spiritual truths, creates a very interesting and appealing broadcast.

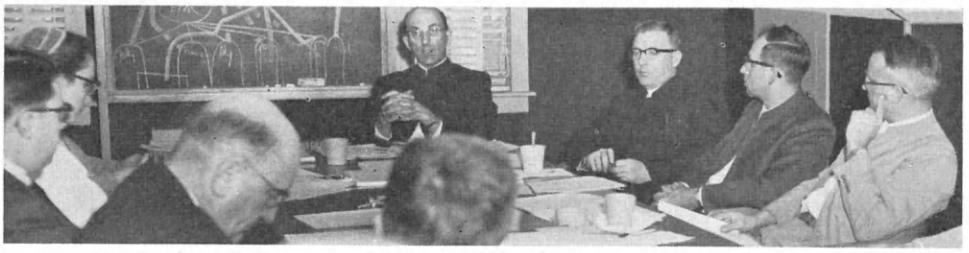
The powerful, short-wave station, HCJB, Quito, Ecuador, and Far East Broadcasting Company in the

Ella May Miller, speaker on "Heart to Heart," which is heard on over 90 stations.

Ivan Magal, M.D., speaker on Russian broadcast, "Golos Drooga."

B. Charles Hostetter, speaker on "The Mennonite Hour" looks over newly released Bible course with John L. Horst, instructor of Home Bible Studies.

The Board of Mennonite Broadcasts, Inc., directs the work of broadcasting which now reaches into seven languages with more than 250 weekly releases.



Philippines, beams this broadcast into Europe and Russia, as well as into U.S.A. and Canada.

Frequently people wonder if there is any word from listeners in Russia. Many reports reach us indirectly that people in Russia are listening to short-wave broadcasts. Occasionally we hear directly. One such letter from a listener in Russia, says: "I heard your program for the first time. I do not have my own radio. We listened to it in the house of a sister and I would like to know how the brethren and sisters who are far away from us in a distance, but near in faith, are living and serving the heavenly Father. Are there Christian churches in Manila? Are there assemblies of evangelical Christians? How are the youth serving the Lord? I am 26 years of age, living with mother, working as typist."

A Program for Women

Mennonite Broadcasts, Inc., which produces these inspirational broadcasts also produces "Heart to Heart," a weekly broadcast designed especially for mothers and homemakers.

"Heart to Heart," with Ella May Miller as speaker, is now heard on 87 stations throughout the United States, in Canada, Alaska, the Virgin Islands, and Okinawa. The latter is released as a help and encouragement to the wives of U. S. servicemen located on the island.

"Heart to Heart" was begun in 1950 by Ruth Stoltzfus, then living in Scottdale, Pennsylvania, to help meet from a Christian viewpoint the practical needs every homemaker faces.

The Bible Correspondence Courses

Not only do these various broadcasts present God's truths but they also provide a way by which the listener can grow in his knowledge of God and the Bible. This is done through the Bible correspondence courses, now available in four languages.

These studies are offered free of charge. They enable the listener in a systematic way to study his Bible at home. Enrollees represent people of all ages and occupations, including many prisoners. Over thirty thousand students have been enrolled in one or more of these courses.

The Counseling Efforts

Linked arm in arm with the weekly broadcasts and the correspondence course lessons is the counseling service provided by the various speakers and the correspondence course instructor. Frequently this is done personally, as listeners and students come with their problems and inquiries, but more frequently it is carried on by letters.

Such an inquiry as, "You teach a living God. Is there such a person?" or "I'm tired of life. There's nothing worthwhile to live for! Can you help me?"

or "My sins are crushing me. Can you help me find peace?" merit an immediate reply. Several letters may pass between the inquirer and the counselor before his problem finds the desired solution.

But the results of these "prayed-over" letters written by the counselors are ample rewards for all their efforts.

The Responses

Letters pour into headquarters from all areas and all classes of people—young and old, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, the free and prisoners. Many report a new lease on life as they find Jesus Christ as their Saviour. Others receive encouragement and help while still others are challenged to a new and deeper commitment to Christ. Some become members of the Mennonite church while many more simply continue in their own local fellowship.

Frequently listeners want to get more information about Mennonites. Typical of these letters is this one from the island of Jamaica where the English program is released every Sunday morning. Writes this Jamaican: "Having heard of your wonderful Gospel message over the radio, I am desirous of learning more about your church. Please send more detailed information about your church and its doctrine. . . ."

International Headquarters in Virginia

The international headquarters for Mennonite Broadcasts, Inc., are located in the Shenandoah Valley in Harrisonburg, Virginia, along the much-traveled U.S. Route 11. Giving over-all direction to the total broadcasting work is the Executive Committee of Mennonite Broadcasts, Inc. Members are: Lewis Strite, president; Winston O. Weaver, vice president; Daniel B. Suter, secretary; and Harley E. Rhodes, treasurer.

Branch offices are located in Canada, England, Honduras, India, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Liberia, Nigeria, Philippines, Puerto Rico, Switzerland, and Vietnam.

During the past year alone over one hundred thousand pieces of mail were processed in these offices. Many listeners request the free printed messages and other literature offered by the various broadcasts. Almost half of this correspondence came from enrollees of the Bible courses.

The entire personnel directly connected with Mennonite Broadcasts, Inc., is happy to be a part of this world-wide ministry. The many individuals who have become changed persons through the power of the Gospel furnish the needed motivation to continue, for "one soul is worth more than the whole world."

Musical Heritage of the Shenandoah Valley

By Samuel Showalter

The early Mennonite settlers in the Shenandoah Valley brought with them the type of music characteristic of Mennonites from the days of their Anabaptist beginnings. Their worship services were conducted entirely in German, and the German hymnbooks used in the services contained only a few lines of one-part music. The congregation had to learn many tunes by memory before they could sing the words in the hymnal together. This situation made the song leader an indispensable person, for it was he who learned the tunes from any available source and taught them to the congregation. Many of those tunes had been handed down from generation to generation and had undergone many changes.

The foreword to a German hymnbook published at Harrisonburg in 1816 contains the following evaluation of the singing at that time: "It is to be regretted that we Germans, especially in these parts, are so backward in the practice of the vocal art. Nowhere is this more noticeable . . . than in public gatherings and, more or less, in all religious organization." While the majority of the Mennonite churches in America continued to use this same general system of one-part church music until after the Civil War, the Virginia Mennonites had

Memorial to Joseph Funk at Singer's Glen, Virginia. Funk was "the father of Song in northern Virginia" and carried on his musical publishing enterprises. The monument was erected in 1947.

been using three-part music in their worship services for several years previous.

This change in the singing of the Virginia Mennonites was due largely to the work of Joseph Funk and sons. Around 1800, Joseph Funk cleared farm land and built a log cabin near a cool spring in the western part of Rockingham County. From this location, Funk made a great contribution to the church and community by writing and translating religious literature, compiling hymnbooks and teaching music. The first hymnbook which Joseph Funk compiled was a collection of German hymns entitled *Die allgemein nützliche Choral-Music* (1816). In this hymnal Funk used a system of "character" or shaped notes to make music reading easier for those who had had little musical training. When this German hymnbook was not accepted as he had hoped, Funk published a collection of English hymns in 1832 entitled *A Compilation of Genuine Church Music* (1851). The title of this hymnbook was changed to *Harmonia Sacra* with the revised fifth edition. The first several pages of the book contained "An Elucidation of the Science of Vocal Music" which gave a thorough description of the fundamentals of vocal music. This "Elucidation" contained a double-spread table "showing the nature and the use of transposition" with a following page describing the table. Funk also included in the preface a page devoted to the defense of shaped notes which he called "character" notes. Early in his music teaching career he had used both the round and shaped note systems. During this time he observed and concluded that his students could learn to read music by the shaped note system more readily than by the round notes.

For several years Funk used the Law system of shaped notes which gave the following names to the major notes of the octave: fa, sol, la, mi, fa, sol, fa, fa. In order to improve this system Joseph Funk added to and reorganized the notes of the Law system. Funk's new system was similar to one produced by Jess B. Aikin of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and may have been patterned after Aikin's to some extent. Aikin wrote to Funk to persuade him to stop printing books containing the Funk system. An agreement was reached only after Aikin made a trip to Funk's home at Mountain Valley, or Singer's Glen as it was later called. From the time of this visit on Funk used Aikin's system in all of his publication.

The *Harmonia Sacra* was by far the most popular book printed by the Funks in Singer's Glen. Twenty-one editions with an average number of five thousand copies each have been published and sold since 1832. There are several reasons why this book was so well received by Mennonites and other denominations in Virginia, as well as in ten other states. The *Harmonia Sacra* was used as a source of tunes for the hymns in the first English Mennonite hymnbook published in 1847 and entitled *A Selection of Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs.* The metrical index which Funk included in the *Harmonia Sacra* was an aid to the song leader who used its tunes with the English hymns. The tunes were arranged from long to short meter and could be used with many hymns with corresponding metrical numbers.

The musical theory which Joseph Funk included in the preface of the *Harmonia Sacra* was a simplification of that used by musicians in his day. This made it much easier for everyone to enjoy and to participate in group singing. At this time singing schools became the favorite activity of both young and older folks. Joseph Funk and his son Timothy were two of the early leaders in the singing school movement. As one may surmise, the *Harmonia Sacra* with its important preface was used as a textbook. Henry S. Weaver, who has taught many of the singing schools in the Shenandoah Valley, relates that they were sometimes held during Christmas vacations. Two sessions were held each day with the students bringing their own packed lunch. These singing classes consisted of lectures in the rudiments of music followed by many drills.

Because the Valley residents now had their own three-and four-part music, and because in the singing

schools they had learned to sing this music, they naturally began to sing together more often. Groups of young folks often gathered in homes to enjoy an evening of singing from the *Harmonia Sacra* or *A Selection of Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs.* In 1902 Mrs. L. J. Heatwole suggested that singings be held in the churches where more could attend. Because of her suggestion, the first *Harmonia Sacra* singing was held on January 1, 1903, at Weavers Mennonite Church near Harrisonburg, Virginia. This annual event has since attracted enthusiastic singers to Weavers church every New Year's Day. The last four editions of the *Harmonia Sacra* have been called for since this singing began.

There are several reasons why people in the Shenandoah Valley love to sing these old hymns. They are hymns which have been sung for hundreds of years, yet as stated by Joseph Funk, "Such music never becomes obsolete in the house of God. It cannot even lose a particle of its interest while human nature remains unchanged." To the young folks the music in the *Harmonia Sacra* presents a challenge to their music reading ability because of the unusual way in which it has been arranged. The different voice parts are arranged in descending order as follows: tenor (top line), alto, soprano, bass. The words of the hymns are placed between the musical scores for each voice part.

The Mennonites in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia have become heirs to a great musical heritage. This heritage is being passed on to future generations by the Old Folk Singings (now called *Harmonia Sacra* Singing) and by the continuing interest in the music of the *Harmonia Sacra.*

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN DIALECT

By Ernest G. Gehman

IT IS NOT GENERALLY known that there are more than half a million people in North America who speak a German dialect called Pennsylvania-German or, popularly but less correctly, "Pennsylvania-Dutch," and that possibly another half million are sufficiently familiar with it to be able to understand most of what is said in this dialect. The Pennsylvania-Germans are to be found in almost every state in the Union and in at least five of the provinces of Canada, but the stronghold of the dialect is a group of 25 or 30 counties in southeastern Pennsylvania fanning westward from Philadelphia where 13 families of our forefathers first settled in 1683 and where in the following century hundreds of other German-speaking families likewise sought and found the friendly shelter of Penn's Woods.

The Development of the Dialect

The first six decades of German immigration brought mostly adherents of the religious groups: Mennonites, Church of the Brethren, Schwenkfelder, Amish, and Moravians—here arranged in the order of the arrival of their first immigrants. In the half-century following 1727 the "church" people—Lutherans, Reformed, and Catholics—came. The first groups came primarily in search of the religious liberty that had been denied them in Europe and to escape the religious and economic persecutions which their convictions had occasioned them from both ecclesiastical and political officialdom. Their tragic history of suffering doubtless helped to produce an intrinsic homogeneity and an extrinsic *apartheid,* which in turn may have aided in the preservation of their German dialect. And yet, curiously, in the "church" groups who came later and largely for the betterment of their worldly station, the persistence of the dialect is almost as apparent.

Since these early immigrants came from the Palatinate, Hesse, Alsace, Baden, Württemberg, Bavaria, and other parts of southern Germany, as well as from several regions of Switzerland, there naturally ensued quite a commingling of various German dialects, which, in the eight or ten generations since then, have shown a tendency to combine into one common dialect. But as by far the greatest number of these immigrants came from the Palatinate, the consequent dialect-fusion resembles the Rhine-Franconian dialect of the Palatinate more than any other in Europe today.

That this Pennsylvania-German dialect has been able to persist to the present in many parts of North Amer-

ica in the midst of its English-speaking environment is an eloquent testimony to its strength and vitality, the more so since English has been the language of American officialdom and of formal education at all stages since colonial times.

As some of the little-used words, long out of contact with the German *Vadderland,* are naturally becoming forgotten and English substitutions are made for them, and as new-born American ideas and inventions need to be clothed in words, one can readily understand why some English words and terms are gradually pressing into prominence in the dialect. And yet it has been determined by actual count that not more than six or eight per cent of the words used by representative speakers and writers are English. In addition to this, the words that are accepted have to submit to a sort of Germanization according to the phonemic pattern of native words, as a story which I shall relate later will demonstrate.

Pennsylvania-German and Standard German

Whenever two Pennsylvania-Germans meet they will understand each other perfectly, even though they may always have lived a thousand miles apart. However, in the different parts of the country there are perceptible differences in the dialect, both in vocabulary and in grammatical treatment, which present interesting subjects for study. But actually these differences are neither greater nor more numerous than are the deviations from accepted English in the speech of eastside New Yorkers or of Georgia "crackers." One could pack into two parallel sentences most of the outstanding vocabulary differences, for example, between the six or seven easternmost Pennsylvania-German counties in Pennsylvania with Allentown as their center, and the six or seven counties farther west with Harrisburg as their center. Such a sentence from a speaker in the Harrisburg area might be:

In selle waarme Nacht waar's am *Dimmele*[1] un mer hot die Blumme im *Baamgaarde*[2] weit *schmacke*[3] kenne, awwer uff eemoll hot der Hund unnich em *Vorbee*[4] aakfange zu *gauze*[5], weil ebber mit me *Ladarn*[6] darrich die *Wiss*[7] geloffe iss.

But in the counties farther east a speaker would probably say:

In selle waarme Nachd waar's am *Dunnere*[1] un mer hod die Blumme im *Bungard*[2] weid *rieche*[3] kenne, awwer uff eemoll hod der Hund unnich em *Vorschuss*[4] aakfange zu *blaffe*[5], weil ebber mid me *Lutzar*[6] darrich der *Schwamm*[7] geloffe iss.

The following is the standard German version of the sentence:

In jener warmen Nacht *donnerte*[1] es, und man konnte die Blumen im *Baumgarten*[2] weit *riechen*[3], aber auf einmal fing der Hund unter dem *Vorbau*[4] an zu *bellen*[5], da jemand mit einer *Laterne*[6] durch die *Wiese*[7] ging.

Most Pennsylvania-German communities in states farther north, south, and west will likely be found to employ mainly the Harrisburg "pattern," but generally with one or more selections made from the other "pattern" or with some still different substitution. In the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, for example the Harrisburg "pattern" is followed with respect to terms 2, 3, 5, and 7, but for 1 *Dunnere* is used. For #4 the Virginia Pennsylvania-German seems not to have any word, possibly because most barns in the area were not built with this extended superstructure. For #6 Virginians have lost the Pennsylvania-German term and simply use the English *lantern.* For #4 some areas in Ohio use the standard German *Vorbau* without modification.

Pennsylvania-German is both a spoken and a written language. As Buffington and Barba have stated in their excellent *A Pennsylvania German Grammar,* which is used as a textbook in several Pennsylvania colleges, "Since the middle of the 19th century a notable folk literature has grown up in Pennsylvania German—nostalgic and humorous verse, essays, anecdotes, short stories, novels, and plays. This literary movement has experienced a vigorous growth since the 1920's." As one example of serious effort and "as a labor of love," he says, Ralph Wood of Muhlenberg College has translated from the Greek and published the *Gospel of Saint Matthew* in Pennsylvania-German. It should be pointed out that to Barba, as the editor for more than thirty years of "'S Pennsylvaanisch Deitsch Eck," published weekly in the *Allentown Morning Call,* with its reader clientele of 80,000, goes without doubt no small share of the credit for the constantly increasing interest, both popular and scholarly, in the dialect.

It is to be deplored that many people, including not a few high-school and college teachers of German, have an attitude of contempt toward dialects in general and the Pennsylvania-German dialect in particular. They seem not to realize that "dialects have always been the feeders of literary language," (Friedrich Max Müller, *The Science of Language,* New York, 1891) and that the development of historical linguistics has shown that "the standard language is by no means the oldest type, but has arisen under particular historical conditions, from local dialects." (Leonard Bloomfield, *Language,* New York, 1933).

Characteristics of the Dialect

There are some who call the Pennsylvania-German dialect "Low German," thereby categorizing it in their minds as of inferior quality. They appear to have gained the impression that this dialect is corrupt or debased German, "a mixture of bad German and worse English," as one teacher expressed it. Some actually think it to be related to the Dutch of the Netherlands,

not being aware that the term "Dutch," as applied to the Pennsylvania Germans and their language, no doubt originated in the ignorant misreading by some English monolinguists, possibly immigration officials, who thought *Deutsch* to be *Dutch.*

Many, even teachers, also are not aware that Low German is the German spoken by the common people in the lower or northern half of Germany and that High-German dialects are those spoken in the remaining higher and mountainous areas of South Germany. *Pennsylvania-German is truly a High-German dialect, embodying all the characteristics of the second or High-German soundshift.*

Pennsylvania-German is a respectable dialect that has for eight or ten generations served its several millions of users in this country as an able medium of communication in practically all of life's relationships in the home and the town-and-country home-community. Its vocabulary and its thought-patterns reflect those qualities that make for strength in our country—the love of God, of home and country, of the good earth, of loyalty and service in human relationships, of honesty and sincerity, of hard work and frugality—in short, the components of the happy life. William Frey in a public address a few years ago suggested that the Pennsylvania-German dialect ought to be adopted as the official language of the United Nations, since it automatically puts both its users and its hearers into good humor! While there are some in that august assembly who doubtless would greet such a proposal with an emphatic "Nyet!" yet even they would probably concede that poorer ideas than that have been advanced there for the promotion of the peace of the world!

Before going on to consider further examples of the dialect, it may be useful to say a word about the spelling problem of the writer. As is the case with most dialects, there is no established, generally accepted manner or method of spelling. So each writer of Pennsylvania-German spells his words in the way that most appeals to him. And I have done the same, possibly adhering more closely to the literary or standard German spelling than is often done, but at the same time seeking to convey an approximation of, for example, the *Auslaut* consonants wherein they differ from the standard German in pronunciation. Here follow a few examples of the dialect.

Kfehrliche Wardde (Dangerous Words)

Es waar emoll en englischer Dokder in Nuhallend, Pennsylveenje, un er hod mid de Zeid zimlich viel Deitsch gelarnd. Awwer die aarme Leid, ess ned deitsch gebore sin, duhne es doch mannichmool verfehle. So iss es moll mid unserem Dokder gange.

Er hod gelarnd khadde, dess mer ofd en englisch Wardd *juse* kann, wann mer en deitsch Wardd ned wees. Awwer es muss erschd (so zu saagge) deitsch gedaafd warre, ebb mer es in die heilige deitsche Gemee nemme kann. Sell meend, mer muss die englische *Saunds* im Wardd rechd breed un deitsch *pronaunse,* so dess sie meh deitsch wie englisch *saunde.* So, fer *Exaembel,* wann mer ned wees wie en Kind rechd deitsch ze bletsche, kann mer es *paeddle* adder sogaar *wibbe*! Un wann mer en *Tschabb* imme *Schdor* hod, sodd mer browwiere, die *Koschdemers* rechd *poleid* ze *triede,* so dess sie gud *gepliessd* sin. Nau do in de ledschde drei-vier *Sendense* hawwich meh wie en Dutzend vun selli Aard Wardde schreegs gedruckd dess ihr sehne kennd, wie leichd mer englische Wardde verdeitsche kann. Awwer des hod aa sei Kfaahr, un do simmer widder beim Dokder.

'M Dokder sei Fraa iss moll grangg warre, un er hod ebber griegge misse, fer achd ze gewwe uff sei Kinner un sei Hausarrewed ze duh. Er hod gewissd vun e deitschi Famillje, wu e paar uffgewachsene Meed waare, ess gud schaffe hen kenne—graad wie all di deitsche Weibsleid. So iss er zu dare Famillje kfaahre, fer en Maad ze dinge fer e paar Woche.

Wie der Dokder ans Haus kumme iss, waar di Maem vun de Meed graad am Schnee Abkehre vun de Portsch. Er hod ne blessierlich die Zeid gebodde un vum Schneewedder kschwetzd, dann hod er ksaad:

"Mudder, mei Fraa iss grangg, un ich deed garn eens vun deine Meed heiere."

Des hod sie iwweraus verschdaund, un sie hod nix annerschd saagge kenne, ass wie: "So? Un welli widde?"

"Ja," hod er ksaad, "es machd mir gaar nix aus."

Awwer dessemoll waar sie ned juschd verschdaund, sie waar aa bees. Sie hod gegrische: "Geh, du Lump! Du bischd doch gaar nix ward! So en lidderlicher Dokder!" Un sie hod nooch ihm kschlagge middem Beesem un hod en vun de Portsch gejaagd.

Der aarme Dokder hod gaar ned gewissd, was sie so bees gemachd hod. Er waar gans verduttzd, wie er fardkfaahre iss. Es hod ihm ebber schunschd eckschbleene misse, dess wammer en Weibsmensch *heierd,* iss sie em sei *Fraa,* awwer wammer en *Maad* hawwe will, dudd mer sie juschd *dinge.* So hod der Dokder auskfunne, dess mer ned *all* die englische Wardde verdeitsche kann.

Gwidde un Gwidder (Quinces and Thunderstorm)

En deitschi Famillje vun Kannedaa hod moll an re Bauerei in Lengeschder Kaundy psuchd. Noch em Middaagesse sin die Mannsleid all naus gange, die gans Bauerei ze sehne. Wie sie darrich der Bungard geloffe sin, hod der Bauer sie kfroogd: "Henner aa Gwidde in Kannedaa?"

"Oh ja," waar die Andwardd, "es brennd allegebodd en Scheier ab."

Theological Views of Hans Denck

By Walter Fellmann
Translated by Walter Klaassen

In his *Zeitalter der Reformation* (The Reformation Era) Paul Joachimsen has drawn our attention to the fact that there was a parallel development in the reorganization of church affairs in Zürich and Nürnberg in 1525. The city council was the civil power and at the same time the representative of the church. Both the spiritual and civil communities exploited the equation of church and community and thus supported the emerging Reformation church law with the civil and ecclesiastical police power. Out of the resulting struggles there emerged in Zürich the Anabaptist congregation independent of the civil order. It is the birth year of the free church movement of the Reformation era. In Nürnberg, the result of the court actions brought against Hans Denck, the youthful headmaster of the St. Sebald School by the city council, was the birthday of the free individual of the modern era.

Hans Denck left the city on January 21, 1525 "before evening." He had obligated himself by oath never to come within ten miles of Nürnberg because he had "taken it upon himself to introduce, spread, and defend unchristian error; he trusted himself and his own reason and would take no instruction from those who understood the Scripture, which the council considered as being scandalous and unchristian against his neighbor." When as an exile he began his endless wanderings, forced to leave work and wife behind, he was deeply shaken. He could hardly have expected that his "Nürnberg Confession," prepared so sincerely, would thrust him out into this bitter pilgrimage.

The Nürnberg Confession

What was it about the personality of Denck that the Nürnberg ecclesiastics under the leadership of Osiander found so unbearable? What were the impelling principles of his religious posture? How are they to be described? He confesses:

"I am certain that this is the truth, therefore, God willing, I will listen to what it has to say to me, and I will allow no one to take it from me.

"Where I find it in any creature low or high I will listen; to that to which it points me I will go according to its will; from that from which it drives me I will flee." (*Schriften II,* 21, 6-12). Denck is here speaking of the voice in his inner being which is the ultimate authority for his decision.

This inner voice is the highest authority; Denck sets it above even the Scriptures which he valued very highly:

"No matter how hard I try to comprehend the Scripture in myself, I cannot understand. Insofar as I am driven [by the voice] I also understand; this is not merit, but grace." (21, 13-15).

"The Scripture, the lantern, shines in the darkness, but in itself, (since it is written by human hands, spoken by human lips, seen with human eyes, and heard with human ears), it cannot completely take away the darkness. . . ." (21, 28-31).

An abysmal skepticism, which Denck admits, is characteristic of this first testimonial:

"For the foregoing reasons I cannot say that I have faith. At the same time I see well enough that my unbelief cannot stand before him [God]. I therefore say: 'Very well, in God's almighty name which I fear from the bottom of my heart: Lord, I believe, help my unbelief.' " (21-25).

Expressive of Denck's position is his psychological description of the process of conversion:

"Where this happens war arises within man before his nature submits, and despair sets in, so that he imagines he will perish body and soul and that he cannot endure the work of God that has begun.

"It is like the certainty of those caught in a great flood that the earth will not remain, but will be flooded away.

"Thus despairing David says: 'Lord God, help me, for the waters threaten to overwhelm my soul.' "

The most characteristic aspect of his attitudes toward the sacraments is the total disregard of their historical basis. He says:

"He who is thus minded and drinks from the invisible cup the invisible wine which God has mixed from the beginning through his Son, through the Word; such a one becomes drunk and is no longer in control of himself but is completely deified through the love of God, and God is incarnated in him.

"This is what is meant by eating the body of Christ and drinking his blood, John 6." (25, 15-20).

These views mark Hans Denck as a disciple of German mysticism, particularly of the *Theologia deutsch.* All his works are suffused with mysticism. The mystic images and concepts have become a part of Denck's idiom and then reformulated in his own way. Literal renderings are therefore rare. It is different however with the influence of Thomas Müntzer's mysticism on Denck's writings. Here there are many similarities easily identifiable within the fabric of Denck's thought. This does not necessarily prove a greater dependence than for instance on *Theologia deutsch*, Luther, Erasmus, or Karlstadt and the others, all of whom influenced him. By means of the verbal resemblances it is possible to assess how strongly the powerful imagery of Thomas Müntzer has contributed to Denck's thinking. On the whole a strongly independent assimilation of the acquired ideas is discernible in Denck.

In his biography of Luther, *Here I Stand,* Roland Bainton has pointed out that a religious concern motivated Thomas Müntzer's battle against the "letter" and the "scribes." "Müntzer was not restive about setting things straight with God [as Luther was]. The Scripture as a mere written record gave him no certainty since he observed how it convinced only those already convinced." When, in addition to this, one considers how deep the skepticism of mysticism could go (R. Stadelmann, *Vom ausgehenden Mittelalter,* Tübingen, 1929, p. 91ff.; Heinrich Bornkamm, *Das Wort Gottes bei Luther*, München: 1933, p. 16ff.), it is not difficult to see how the remarkably strong dependence of Denck on Müntzer could come about.

All the elements of Denck's theology appear in embryo in the so-called Nürnberg Confession. He is a thoroughly integrated personality. Additional elements of his thinking are fitted harmoniously into his basic position. This he has set down in his first writing as his religious confession.

The Augsburg Writings

The first three writings of the Augsburg period show on the one hand how he became an opponent of Luther ("Was geredt sei," "Vom Gesetz Gottes"), and on the other how he remained a disciple of Erasmus ("Was die Wahrheit").

The first two writings give evidence of a highly interesting controversy between Denck and the theology of Luther. Since the second writing can be dated with certainty within Denck's Anabaptist epoch, it is especially important. The Swiss Anabaptists, so far as I can see, confront only Zwingli, and the Dutch Anabaptists bear yet another stamp. Thus we have in these first two writings of Denck a unique controversy of a South German Anabaptist with Luther: in the first work primarily with Luther's *De servo arbitrio,* and in the second with Luther's teaching concerning Law and Gospel which is equivalent to an attack on Luther's doctrine of justification.

Denck's writing "Was geredt sei" champions the freedom of the human will and the innocence of God of the guilt of the wicked. On the whole, one is forced to judge that Denck does not approximate the religious depth of Martin Luther; the concern which Luther defends against Erasmus is unassailable from the biblical evidence. One has to admit, however, that Denck successfully debated against certain inferences which Luther drew from his understanding of predestination. One could read, for example, what he says on page 44, lines 5ff. where he deals with the question of godfearing pagans. If on the one hand as must be admitted, Denck tends to place general and special revelation too much on one level, Luther does not do justice from the biblical point of view to the matter of salvation outside of Christ on the other.

Even more central is Denck's second work, his battle against the Lutheran understanding of the Law. He addresses himself specifically to the Anabaptist circle. Generally speaking one would be compelled to admit that Denck approaches the Reformed understanding of the Law; the Gospel is nothing else than a clearer revelation of that which the Law has already brought. Passionately Denck defends himself against Luther's thesis that the Gospel signifies the abrogation of the Law wherein Luther is, after all, a faithful disciple of Paul. Karl Holl says in "Luther und die Schwärmer," (*Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte, I. Luther,* Tübingen: 1923, p. 32, n.): "Luther was attacked when Denck and Hetzer specifically picked on the Prophets for their translation."

The third, much smaller Augsburg work "Wer die Wahrheit," which collects "contradictions" in Scripture in dependence on Erasmus, indeed shows, as stated in the preface of the booklet, that Denck proceeds from the principle that all contradictions are resolved in a higher unity. "Whosoever allows contradictions to stand, not being able to reconcile them, the same lacks the basis of truth." (68, 16-17).

To use Karl Heim's concept of "The Protestant Man" (*Der Protestantismus der Gegenwart,* Stuttgart, 1926), Denck belongs to the Protestant man in the initial stages of his development. He believes he can

vanquish the contradictions of existence by means of reason. The approach to the Lutheran stance with its conviction that Christian reality and the Christian Life can be described only in the dual statement, *simul justus et peccator* (at the same time just and sinful) is closed to him. The despairing Denck of the Nürnberg Confession rises in the middle period to the confident optimism of reason, only to return to skepticism again at the end of his life in his "Retractation."

It is interesting to note how this inner development of Denck is reflected in the question of religious tolerance. There is no difficulty in demonstrating that the fine classical words about tolerance which are to be found in nearly all of Denck's writings (most clearly in the Nürnberg Confession and the "Retractation") stand in strange contrast to the militant affirmations in the writings of the middle or Anabaptist stage. One need only read the closing words of "Vom Gesetz Gottes" (*Schriften II,* 66, 17ff.): "Cursed be he who does not truly love God nor keep his commandments . . ."). Nor was Denck able to preserve absolute tolerance in his controversy. It appears to me that he is not altogether free from an objectionable polemicism when he writes, for example: "Is it not a scandal and an outrage that we desire to learn of Christ and at the same time to retain our old godless condition? We excuse ourselves with Paul's words, who says that everyone ought to remain in the calling wherein he was called. It is as if to say: If the Lord has called someone in adultery, he ought to remain in it." (*Schriften II,* 43, 20ff.).

It would likely be impossible to adduce a significant example of such an ethical stance from Lutheranism. In all likelihood Denck condemned this statement in the words of his "Retractation": "I freely admit and confess that I have been greatly zealous, but without full understanding." (*Schriften II,* 105, 6-7). The statement of the writer of the article "Hans Denk" (in *The Mennonite Encyclopedia,* Vol. II, 1956, 35a.): "not a trace of abusiveness or unfairness is to be found in his writings" is accurate on the whole, but demands a certain qualification.

The Worms Publications

The booklet "Von der wahren Liebe" is rightly considered to be the finest, most mature of Denck's works. This can be said especially of the first part which exhibits Denck's mysticism in its completed form. That the second part which discusses questions of Anabaptist congregational life, is also from Hans Denck's hand, may today be assumed as proven. However competently, and also in a sense freely, he treats the individual subjects, it is hard somehow to rid oneself of the impression that Denck is moving here in a train of thought which is not suited to his temperament. Ludwig Keller had accurately sensed this when he expressed the suspicion that this second part could not have come from Denck's hand (L. Keller, *Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer,* Leipzig, 1882, 243f.).

Denck's writing "Von der Ordnung Gottes," which presents in a somewhat altered form the theme of his first work "Was geredt sei," breathes the spirit of Old Testament prophecy. The biblical evidence which he presents, and which marks the work as a typical Anabaptist writing (*Gemeindeschrift*), is overwhelming. Characteristic are the eleventh and tenth chapters entitled respectively "Of the abomination and idols of the church without worship in spirit and in truth" and "Of the Trinity, unity, and the unity in the Trinity of God." The latter title, in its fanciful formulation gives evidence of how little attention Denck paid to the ancient dogma of the Trinity. He had hardly any access to it from his own theology. His treatment of the details confirms this. To his surprise the puzzled reader finds something quite different from the expectations aroused by the chapter title.

In his so-called "Retractation" Hans Denck has, so to speak, found himself again. One will have to conclude that this constitutes his farewell to public activity. "He who is not called nor sent to teach, undertakes in vain to baptize. Because of this, if God wills, I will never baptize again, unless I am called by the Lord to do so." (*Schriften II,* 109, 23-25).

The "articles" show that Denck did not surrender the Anabaptist cast of his theology. With only slight modification the range of his religious thought arrives at its most mature presentation. No change is discernible in his esteem for Scripture, above which, however, he puts the Word of God "which is alive, powerful and eternal, and unencumbered and free from all elements of this world." (I. "Von der heiligen geschrifft").

More powerful is his witness to the significance of the sufferings of Christ, which he, however, immediately almost nullifies, in that he adds his old objection that there is a false dependence on Christ's merit. (II. "Von der bezahlung Christi").

The statement, "Faith is obedience to God and confidence in his promise" is good Reformed theology, especially in the primacy given to obedience. It is a highly typical index to the originality of Denck's total viewpoint which places the manner of life above faith. (III. "Vom glauben").

In his last declaration on the "free" and "enslaved" will he gives evidence of a thoughtful attitude. (IV. "Vom freien willen"). The same is true of his closing considerations on good works. It is to be noted that the formulation: "He [God] looks upon faith and good works" is, when considered from the viewpoint of history of dogma, good Catholic doctrine. The primacy of faith and the evaluation of works as fruit of faith is, from the Lutheran stance, good biblical-

pauline doctrine. (V. "Von guten wercken").

His last word concerning the holy signs of the covenant is elucidating. His position is spiritualistic. He goes beyond Zwingli and also the rest of Anabaptism who at least insist on unqualified obedience to the instructions of Jesus. Justice is not done to the New Testament facts about the nature of the ordinances. (VII. "Von den ceremonien").

The article on baptism includes his embattled statement as to whether he had turned his back on Anabaptism or not. In my opinion it is to be interpreted in the sense that he bade farewell to the activity of his Anabaptist period. His word about infant baptism must be understood in the light of his spiritualism. Since he thinks the "ceremonies" unimportant he does not insist on rebaptism.

That Denck has no appreciation of predestination is clear from the first paragraph. Predestination, after all, falls in no way within the province of the testing (*prüfenden*) "servant of Christ." (VIII. "Von dem Tauff").

The symbolic character of the sacraments is for Denck final truth. His statements about the Lord's Supper clearly prove this. Perhaps an inner development in Denck's thought on this is discernible. Hermann Barge has argued that, on the basis of the Nürnberg Confession, Denck's thinking on the Lord's Supper was nearer to that of the old church than that of Karlstadt. ("Der Abendmahlsstreit" in *Andreas Bodenstein* v.k., II, 1905). (IX. "Vom brot und kelch, nachtmal oder gedechtnuss des leibs und bluts dess herrn").

Denck concludes his last confession with his attitude toward the oath. At this point he gives evidence of a certain freedom from a legalistic understanding of the Sermon on the Mount, distinguishing himself from the unanimous position of the rest of Anabaptism. (X. "Von dem eyd").

It was not possible in this presentation to deal with all points of controversy in Denck's theology, for example, the important one of his Christology. The intention was to highlight those areas that illuminate the originality of his religious thought as they appear in his writings.

An Editorial Note—This treatment of the theological content of the writings of Hans Denck is concerned, as the author indicates, with those points that illuminate Denck's originality. The assumption is that the reader will have before him the text of Denck's writings. This is especially true when Fellmann discusses the *Retractation.* Readers are reminded of the review of the critical edition of the works of Hans Denck in the January, 1962 issue of *Mennonite Life.* That review also included a critical evaluation of the present article.

This article was originally published in German in *Leibhaftigkeit des Wortes. Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Prof. Adolf Köberle,* Hamburg: Furche Verlag, 1958.

ADAM AND EVE

By Warren Kliewer

We did not love in the beginning
Before God took up wrath,
We clothes of leaves,
And death and sinning
And eating and taking a bath.

A pear blossom sucked dry by bees
Dropped brown petals on us,
And on that day
We too, like trees,
Became deciduous.

How strange is this new-fashioned way
Of love in the sweat of greed,
Of having woman
And blossom die,
So that they can go to seed.

WHITE SWAN

By Elaine Sommers Rich

Into the troubled dream,
Candescent in moonbeam,
Swims the white swan, peace.

Her feathers soft as silk,
Her wings as white as milk,
Swims the white swan, peace.

Out of the mind of man
Into the stream again
Swims the white swan, peace.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Menno Simons Bibliography

A Bibliography of Menno Simons, ca. 1496-1561, Dutch Reformer; with a Census of Known Copies by Irvin B. Horst. Introduction by H. de la Fontaine Verwey. Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1962. Pp. 157, $12.50.

As a result of the commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the death of Menno Simons, numerous studies pertaining to his life and theology have been published. Among them *A Bibliography of Menno Simons* is outstanding. Menno Simons, after whom the Mennonites are named, was the most influential Anabaptist writer of the sixteenth century. His books have been reprinted more often than those of any other Anabaptist leader. This bibliography presents "descriptive entries of all printed books devoted entirely, or in part" to Menno's writings. In view of the fact that many of Menno's writings appeared originally as underground publications, this was no small task. In some instances the printer could be identified by a comparative study of type features and by the use of recently discovered information.

The *Bibliography* has thirty-four illustrations consisting of title pages, pictures of Menno Simons, etc. The author presents, first of all, a "Short-title List of Writings of Menno Simons." Second is the "Key to Library Abbreviations," and thirdly a "Key to Sources Consulted," after which the "Bibliography of Menno Simons' Works" follows (pp. 31-150). The bibliography is presented in the following order: I. Collected Works; II. *The Foundation Book;* III. Separate Works; IV. Renunciation of Rome; V. Selected Works. The book has a list of books about Menno Simons and concludes with an index of names. As a rule, every title entry of the 167 printed books is followed by colophon, collation, pagination, contents, portraits, notes, list of libraries in which copies are found, and list of copies examined.

There is no question that this is the most scholarly bibliography produced of any Anabaptist leader thus far. This will prove to be a very helpful tool for the preparation of a scholarly edition of all the writings of Menno Simons for publication.

The writings of Menno Simons from 1540-1561 were printed between Antwerp and Fresenburg near Lübeck. His writings were first published primarily in the Dutch language or a Dutch dialect. Later numerous German and English editions of complete or selected writings appeared. Some selections have also been published in the French, Spanish and Frisian languages. Most of the editions of the *Foundation Book* (24) and "The Renunciation of Rome" (22) were printed between 1540 and 1880. The complete writings appeared twice in Dutch (1646, 1681), three times in German (1933, 1876-81, 1926) and twice in English (1871, 1956).

The following editions of "Separate Works" are missing in Horst's bibliography: "Menno Simons' Bekehrung and Ausgang" in *Menno Simons' Lebenswerk* by Cornelius Krahn, 2nd ed. (Bethel College: North Newton, Kansas, 1951), "Den Auserwählten und Gotteskindern im Lande Preussen" (*Christlicher Gemeinde-Kalender 1937,* pp. 36-43), and "Ein zweiter Brief Menno Simons" (letter to Leenaert Bouwens' wife in *Christlicher Gemeinde-Kalender 1937,* pp. 43-46). The author failed to list an additional copy of No. 76 on page 108, located in the University Library of Göttingen. On page 94 under No. 74 Horst states: "No copy of this work recorded." The *Katalog* (1890) of the Mennonite church of Hamburg-Altona lists this item on page 56 as being in that library. This *Katalog* also lists Nos. 132 and 141 not mentioned by the author.

A major criticism of the reviewer centers around the fact that the author has failed to follow through with some of the leads which were put before his scholarly doorsteps pertaining to certain aspects of his investigations. In a number of recent studies, information has been discovered pertaining to an Anabaptist printer who was interviewed on the way from Lübeck, where he had been printing Anabaptist books, to Fresenburg, near Lübeck, where Menno Simons later had a printer and had his books printed (Ernst E. Goverts, "Das adelige Gut Fresenburg und die Mennoniten," in *Zeitschrift der Zentralstelle für Niedersächsische Familiengeschichte,* Vol. VII, No. 4 [April, 1925], p. 100ff.). This lead should have been investigated. It should be possible to locate Bibles and other books printed by this printer by comparing the type used which should help to determine whether Menno Simons had any books printed in Lübeck. This would also have helped to determine with greater accuracy the number of books published in Fresenburg. The printer referred to moved to Fresenburg in 1554, which could lead us to assume that all books from thereon to the end of the life of Menno Simons, and possibly even thereafter, were published in this printshop, unless proven otherwise. The author fails to give reasons why he does in some instances not consider this possibility, as for example, in connection with the numbers 62-64, 72, 73.

The other lead not investigated by the author is found in the minutes of the Dutch Reformed Church council of Emden dated October 12, 1562. On this date Wyllum Galiart was questioned because he had printed a "Mennonis bok." The *Foundation Book* of 1562, which Horst and others have assumed was printed in Emden by N. Biestkens, was completed on August 19, 1562. Since Galiart was questioned on October 12, 1562, it must be seriously investigated whether it was not the *Foundation Book* which he printed. If he did not print this, which was the "Mennonis bok" he printed? Generally speaking Horst has done a superb scholarly piece of work regarding the books printed between Antwerp and Emden, but he has not made full use of the leads in attempting an identification of books which were possibly printed in the German-speaking area (between Emden and Lübeck and possibly Wismar).

These suggestions could be considered for the second edition. Meanwhile the bibliography fills a real need and will be used wherever scholars study Menno's writings and the Dutch Reformation literature. Author and publisher must be congratulated on this great achievement.

BETHEL COLLEGE *Cornelius Krahn*

Philosophy

Existence and Freedom: Towards an Ontology of Human Finitude by Calvin O. Schrag. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1961, 250 pages, $6.50.

This is another book on existentialism and not, to any unusual degree, an existentialist book. Kierkegaard's "existentialism" was in large part a reaction against Hegelian system-building in which "the system embraces thought, only to lose the thinker" (page 4). Kierkegaard insisted that thought, if it is to be authentic, must be rooted in the existence of the thinker. *Existence and Freedom* is a book on existentialism rather than an existentialist book because it is rooted in, and elucidates, the thought of other thinkers.

Existence and Freedom, then, is a very competent, technical, and academic book on existentialism, and as "another" book on existentialism it is justified by its attempt to show that the ontological analysis of human finitude implicit in Kierkegaard's writings was made explicit on a philosophical level by Martin Heidegger. Schrag is to be commended for having made the significance of this point clear. It is important, in appreciating the book, to recognize that it is a philosophical work which attempts to elucidate the universal categories descriptive of human finitude, rather than a moral or religious book which prescribes a certain way of life. I emphasize this distinction because the idiom of existentialism seems so morally evaluative and prescriptive. For example, the basic distinction between authentic and inauthentic existence, while it is implicitly prescriptive, must also be understood as a dialectical polarity in the structure of existentialist thought.

Schrag has written with great understanding of and sympathy towards his subject. He has adopted Heidegger's neologistic terminology and entered into his thought so uncritically that at places the book sounds like a defense of Heidegger. This attitude is particularly evident in the reiterated claims (pp. 118, 142, 158, 188, 206, etc.) that Heidegger's philosophy is pretheological or religiously neutral, and it is a bit surprising to hear this maintained along with the claim that Heidegger's philosophy is derived from Kierkegaard, a Lutheran Christian thinker. The latter claim is very likely true, and it follows that Kierkegaard's influence may well have given Heidegger's philosophy its own unique theological implications—implications which Schrag could have elucidated had he maintained more distance from his subject. Every philosophy is expressive of and conditioned by basic religious presuppositions or predispositions, and to acknowledge their presence does not make a philosophy any less philosophical.

In addition to a few minor errors in proofreading (e.g., pp. 14, 71, 80) the references in the notes to Kierkegaard's *Either/Or* are confusing. Two different editions of *Either/Or* are referred to. Although the reader is usually referred to the Anchor edition of 1959, the page numbers in references to this edition are incorrect, and the edition of *Either/Or* correctly referred to is the Princeton edition.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — *Maynard Kaufman*

Theology and Education

Oscar Cullmann. *A Message to Catholics and Protestants.* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1959), $1.50.

Cullmann thinks that discussions on the unity of the Christian church have little value now. The doctrines of the separate church bodies forbid both Catholics and Protestants to come to a unified position. As long as the Catholic church regards itself as infallible, it is very difficult for continued discussions to have any further bearing on Christian unity. Neither can the Protestant church give up its loyalty to Christ in such a movement.

The idea of a solidarity of brotherhood among all who invoke the name of Christ can be established rather than can a unity of Christian organizations be brought about. This unity can best be accomplished through a practical gesture of love in which Protestants receive one annual offering for the poor in the Catholic churches and the Catholics receive an identical offering for the poor in the Protestant fellowships. In this way, Christians may begin to recognize one another as brothers in Christ. The author relates some experiences in the carrying out of this venture of faith.

NEWTON, KANSAS — *Arnold Regier*

A Theology of the Laity, by Hendrik Kraemer, Published by The Westminster Press, 1958, 188 pages.

Lay membership in the church, the author states, "has never in church history enjoyed the distinction of being treated with care and thoroughness as a matter of specific theological importance or significance. It has been dismissed in passing, by stray remarks or in generalities, as eg., "the universal priesthood of believers." What is needed, the author emphasizes, is not a theology *for* the laity, that is an exhortation for lay members, but a theology *of* the laity, that is a careful analysis seeking to state what is the divinely intended place for the ordinary church members in the structure and function of the church. This of necessity involves a careful study of the real nature, meaning, and function of the church. This book merits reading by both laymen and ministers. It will help them discover anew the far-reaching place of importance the layman occupies in the fellowship, the ministry, and the outreach of the church.

NORTH NEWTON, KANSAS — *Henry A. Fast*

Basic Writings in Christian Education, Edited by Ed. Kendig Brubaker Cully, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961, 350 pages.

This selection of writings in Christian education covers a time span of 18 centuries from Clement of Alexandria to George Albert Coe. There are letters (pp. 41-48, 83-87), writings on method and procedure (62-63, 74-82), treatises on the theory of education (177-184, 205-215), and other selections like *American Free Schools* by Horace Mann and *My Pedagogic Creed* by John Dewey. The preface is by the editor and indicates that the book is intended to be used as a collection of original sources for a historical study of Christian education. The book hardly lends itself to criticism except perhaps for the selections the editor chose for his anthology. Even there one is driven back to the author's purpose which prompted the selection, and this is certainly laudable. This book should, of course, be used with current writings on Christian education.

BETHEL COLLEGE — *Walter Klaassen*

MENNONITE LIFE
North Newton, Kansas

Annual subscriptions $3.00
Single copies 75 cents

MENNONITE LIFE AGENTS

EASTERN USA

Friendly Book Store
234 West Broad St.
Quakertown, Pa.

Herald Bookstore
Shopping Center
Souderton, Pa.

CENTRAL AND WESTERN

Biola Book Store
560 South Hope Street
Los Angeles 17, Calif.

Gospel Book Store
119 E. Lincoln Ave.
Goshen, Indiana

Goshen College Book Store
Goshen, Indiana

Mennonite Bookstore
720 Main
Newton, Kansas

Mennonite Weekly Review
129 West Sixth Street
Newton, Kansas

Mennonite Book Concern
Berne, Indiana

The Bookshop
Freeman, South Dakota

A. P. Ratzlaff
Henderson, Nebraska

Menn. Brethren Pub. House
Hillsboro, Kansas

Crossroads Co-op
Goessel, Kansas

CANADIAN

Golden Rule Bookstore
187 King St. East
Kitchener, Ontario

Mary Kroeker
780 William Ave.
Winnipeg, Manitoba

The Christian Press
159 Kelvin St.
Winnipeg 5, Manitoba

D. W. Friesen & Sons
Altona, Manitoba

Mennonite Book Store
Rosthern, Sask.

J. A. Friesen & Sons
Hague, Sask.

Derksen's Christian Supply
North Clearbrook, B. C.

Harder's Market
Vineland, Ontario

Evangel Book Shop
Steinbach, Manitoba

EUROPEAN

Mennonitengemeinde
Königstr. 132
Krefeld, Germany

Menno Travel Service
Koningslaan 58
Amsterdam Z, The Netherlands