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MENNONITE LIFE

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PHOTO CREDITS

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COVER

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IN THIS ISSUE

The meditations by Theodore O. Wedel, Russell L. Mast, Arnold Nickel, and Nora Oswald deal with questions pertaining to the object of our worship in our daily life, Christ or an idol, and how we overcome our own handicaps. ¶ Rudy Wiebe describes how a Mennonite community in Canada struggled and ultimately died; while J. Winfield Fretz relates how the South American brotherhood was strengthened economically through the help of the American brethren. Howard D. Raid relates what great changes have taken place in some Mennonite rural communities during the last decades. ¶ This issue contains a number of poems, a large number of which were written by Jacob Sudermann while on a leave in Europe. The poems, as well as the contribution by Jan Gleysteen dealing with art, are a prelude to the art issue now in preparation which is to appear in January. ¶ The articles by Herman Landsfeld, Walter H. Hohmann, J. ten Doornkaat Koolman, and Allen W. Dirrim, convey information about the early music, craftsmanship, publications and political implications of Anabaptism.

"The City Was Full of Idols"

ACTS 17:16

By Theodore O. Wedel

HAVE YOU EVER worshiped an idol? If this question were put to you, your reply would probably be: "Don't be absurd! Civilized people don't bow down before a bit of wood or stone and call that 'god.' Idolatry may once have flourished in primitive societies long ago, but it has long been outgrown."

Such an obvious reaction, however, is not quite so easy when we look at the histories of great civilizations of the past. The ancient Greeks and Romans were civilized people also, yet idolatry flourished in every nook and corner of the land. St. Paul saw idols all about him in Athens, the most cultured city of ancient times. "The city was full of idols." We still honor in our museums statues of the gods worshiped in the temples of that far-flung Roman empire—Venus and Jupiter, Apollo and Mars, and hundreds more. The temples built in those days cost money, as Christian churches cost money today. Worship involves sacrifices. In ancient times even human sacrifices were not uncommon. The Bible contains more than one blood-curdling story of Israelite kings killing their own children on altars dedicated to a god. Idolatry was once serious religion.

If we are shocked by records of idolatrous religion in the past or still found in Asia and Africa today, a further shock may await us if we should be told that we in civilized America and Europe may be guilty of idolatry also. No one of your acquaintance or of mine bows down to a piece of wood or a block of stone. But idols are not limited to visible symbols or to something to which we give the high-sounding name of 'god.' Idolatry may be flourishing all around us and we may be participating in the worship of an idol despite the fact that the very word idolatry has almost vanished from our vocabulary. Our cities, too, like ancient Athens, may be full of idols.

Let me explain.

We are accustomed to using the word "religion" to apply to a specialized activity carried on in peculiar buildings usually called churches. But this is a dangerous illusion. Every man lives by a religion of some kind. Every man prays. He may not name his god or become fully conscious of the fact that he is saying prayers to that god, but he is nevertheless a worshiping human being. He is offering sacrifices to some god or idol, named or not named—sacrifice of time and talents and of energy. Every man harbors in his heart some ultimate concern. A saying of Martin Luther has become well known: "A man must have either a god or an idol." To what are you sacrificing your time, your talents, your gift of imagination, your day-dreams? *That* is your god. And worship of that god, alas, may turn out to be idolatry.

Look out over our modern world. Some idolatries are easily identified. The one which comes most readily to mind is the idolatrous religion of Communism, now still winning converts all over the globe. It may seem strange at first to call atheistic Communism a religion. Yet the very word has become almost commonplace in describing the gospel according to Karl Marx, atheist and godless though it pretends to be. A popular book of a few years ago, written by prominent men who had renounced their Communist faith, bears the title *The God Who Failed*. The title is well chosen. We shall fool ourselves in our dealings with the communist half of our world if we see in the gospel of Karl Marx merely a worship of incarnate evil. One of the marks of idolatry is precisely that its substitute for the real God also promises salvation. This substitute for the real God in the Communist

faith is man, especially social man, and eventually the state. Was this devotion to man all obviously evil in idealism of Marx and of Lenin—their concept for the working class, their dream of a better future, their appeal for heroic sacrifice? Destroy worship of a deity above man, and man becomes his own god. But that God is merely an idol, man-made and, therefore, mortal—its promise of salvation a tragic delusion. Two marks, at least, of idolatry can be seen written large in the history of Communism in our time. An idol, since it is man-made, cannot live without worshipers. It is not, like the God of the Bible, a living God, both creator and judge. That is why, in primitive idol-worship an idol required a daily ration of food to be brought to its shrine and altar. Otherwise, as its worshipers well knew, their god would die. Again, the religion of Communism reveals the cruelty lurking behind even the loveliest facade in an idolatrous worship. A man-made god demands sacrifice—in final event, human sacrifice. Recall even for a moment, the millions of men and women who have been sacrificed on the altars of the Communist deity.

All this is, to be sure, merely a glimpse into the fascinating mystery of one idolatrous religion. A full analysis could carry us much farther. Such analysis is much needed in our time. Could ours possibly be an idolatrous religion also, our god, too, man-made and ultimately cruel, so that rituals of human sacrifice may loom on our horizon also?

Idolatry of the kind I have been describing is still held at bay far from our shores and our hymns of gratitude for our American way of life rightly ring loud in our schoolrooms across the land. Among the names which we give to the object of loyalty and trust which still unites us in our common life are democracy and freedom. For us they have become sacred words. We use them constantly as we try to spread our vision of a good society round the world. And, clearly, these symbols of the gifts we have received in the history of our nation are precious beyond price. Are we always aware, however, that they retain their power for good only so long as they are not worshiped as gods in their own right? Democracy and the ideals of liberty have still submitted themselves in our history to the judgments of an ultimate deity—the living God of the Bible, creator and judge. Our founding fathers anchored our Constitution in a deep understanding of the Christian doctrine of man—man a sinner whom power will corrupt and who, therefore stands under the judgment of a divine law not of his own making. Hence our constitutional safeguards against unchecked power, be it that of president or Congress or courts of law. Emancipate democracy and the ideal of freedom from these restraints of a higher law, however, and their worship could lead us into an idolatry.

"Jesus Christ and Judas Iscariot, each with one vote." So Thomas Carlyle once voiced a warning to his countryman against idolatrous trust in a mere voting machine. A Gallup poll is not necessarily the voice of God. When we proudly use the sacred word "freedom" are we always aware of its double or triple meaning? Freedom for whom and for what? Freedom for the gangster as well as freedom for the police? Freedom for the emergence in our common life of gigantic concentrations of power, be they those of a labor union or a managerial empire, either one if given free reign able to starve a nation into submission? We still fight our political civil wars with the peaceful weapons of ballots cast at an election. A majority, be it by a single vote, is accorded the amazing right to supplant an outgoing administration. I use the word amazing advisedly. Is it at all inconceivable that majority rule might some day become the victim of self-idolatry, liquidating an opposing minority by way of concentration camp and executions? Worship of democracy, like the worship of freedom, if emancipated from submission to an ultimate deity, could become an idolatrous religion.

Edmund Burke, champion of liberty in the era of our own American Revolution, once spoke wise words as he saw democracy emerging as the promise of the future in his day:

"Society cannot exist" so he warned, "unless a restraint upon will and appetite be placed somewhere; and the less there is within, the more there must be without. It is contrary to the eternal constitution of things that men of intemperate minds can be free."

Many men and women who think of themselves as enlightened and emancipated may be tempted to ignore the call to participate in the religious life of our nation. The church may look at times as if it were a mere vestige of a pre-scientific age. We may even accuse the more naive forms of religion as we meet them on a rural crossroad or in store-front tabernacles as themselves victims of unenlightened idolatry. But make no mistake. Edmund Burke is right. "Society cannot exist unless a restraint upon will and appetite be placed somewhere; and the less there is within, the more there must be without." Where are the inner restraints upon will and appetite, which alone can prevent an ultimate emergence of a rule of external power, to come from except as the fear of a God above the little gods and idols of human creation is implanted in the hearts and minds of our people? And this at least our churches are still doing—in the humble little Sunday schools that dot our land as well as in cathedrals and schools of divinity. The Ten Commandments were not written on tables of

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enduring stone for nothing. "Thou shalt have none other gods but me." The words of the prophet Isaiah can still ring out to the nations of the earth, even those who enjoy the blessings of democracy and freedom: "Behold the nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance; behold, he taketh up the isles as a very little thing. . . . It is he that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers; that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in: That bringeth the princes to nothing, he maketh the judges of the earth as vanity."

The symbols of democracy and freedom are not the only ones that could, if not submitted to judgment, emerge as dangerous idols in our common life. Idolatry, as the history of ancient Greece and Rome can easily illustrate, is almost inevitably polytheistic. Emancipate man from worship of the *one* God of the Bible, Lord of lords, and God of gods, and a host of rival deities entice man to worship and surrender. A mere glance at what we call our "American Way of Life" —if it is viewed on the surface only, how lovely it still is. We hail our expanding industry, the stock ticker singing, as it were, a daily canticle in praise of our national prosperity, our homes gadget-crammed, our airplanes taking the wings of the morning and outdistancing the march of the sun from East to West, our churches filled as never before in our history. Accept all these blessings as gifts of providence which we are asked to share with a needy world and all may be well. When some of us preacher folk are caught denouncing our materialist culture, we ought to beware. We, too, enjoy our automobiles and our gadget-filled kitchens. Enjoying a TV set or a pre-cooked dinner purchased at a food market cannot be equated with sin. I, myself, take great comfort in a wise saying of a late Roman Catholic writer: "Enjoyment," so he solves the materialistic problem, "is not a sin, but ingratitude is."

Yet having said this in appreciation of our American way of life, the voicing of warnings is in order also. Pursue any one of the gifts of providence so freely ours as an ultimate end or concern, and idolatry looms on the horizon. The worship of wealth is an obvious example, though the income tax collectors are, on the whole, robbing that idol of much of its allure. Status-seeking is another idol, more in the line of danger for most of us. Thousands of men and women are selling their souls for a rise on the ladder of organization advancement, many suffering the tortures of the damned, as our recent TV scandals vividly dramatized. The worship of sex as an ultimate deity, a goddess this time, also illustrates the cruel end of idolatry. So long as our goddess of sex humbles herself so as to remain handmaiden in the service of what the love poetry of the ages calls "true love"—love, namely, made sacred under a vow of fidelity and obedient to the commandment "Thou shalt not commit adultery"—so long sex is gateway to a foretaste of the kingdom of heaven. But place that goddess on an exclusive throne in her own divine right, and she will wreck our homes and orphan our children.

These are but a few of what could be called the "gods of suburbia" which, if worshiped in place of the living God, turn us into idolators. They prove themselves to be man-made idols with feet of clay. They have one mark in common. They are *not* living gods. They die if not fed with sacrifices—human sacrifices no less. They are ultimately cruel gods. They are powerless to save those who violate their pitiless demands. Think of the failure on the ladder of success in our economic social order, or the man or woman who disobeys the laws of suburban conformity, or the alcoholic—in a word the sinner, even if the word sin should mean no more than a lapse in conformity to the wordlings' code. No idol will leave its heaven and descend to save the lost. Only the living and not man-made God of the Bible has ever done that—the God who, as Christianity proclaims, once sent His Son into the world to die for His still beloved sinners on the Cross.

A story is told of Heinrich Heine, a famous German poet of the nineteenth century, that may fittingly climax this address. Heinrich Heine fell victim to an incurable disease, and he spent his last years a prisoner in a sickroom in Paris. He had lived by a pagan creed, the worship of beauty, a substitute for the faith of his Jewish upbringing. On the last day before his exile from the world of boulevards and Parisian gaiety, he visited the Louvre. He paused before the exquisite statue of the Venus of Milo. "At her feet," so he recounts, "I lay a long time . . . and wept so as to move a stone to pity. And the blessed Goddess of Beauty, our dear Lady of Milo, looked down on me with mingled compassion and desolation, seeming to say: 'Dost thou not see that I have no arms and cannot help thee?' "

All worship of idols, pursued to the end, will result in such a bitter cry. Even our American way of life, if undergirded by nothing more than faith in man-made substitutes for the God of the Bible, will not save us in the hour of death and in the day of judgment. The gods of a paganized suburbia have no everlasting arms.

May ours be the prayer of one of our familiar hymns—a prayer which pagan suburbia may be learning to pray as it returns from the worship of its idols to the God of our fathers:

> The dearest idol I have known
> Whate'er that Idol be
> Help me to tear it from thy throne
> And worship only *Thee.*

Tombstone Community

By Rudy Wiebe

Scattered here and there across western Canada are communities which stand as tombstones to the "homestead method" of rural settlement. A number of them were established during the depression years of the 1930's when, desperate for a honest livelihood, more than enough families felt that if only they had land to live on, they could avoid both hunger and the dole. And there lay such an immensity of Canada beyond the strip of southern settlement and below the rock of the Canadian shield; surely it could be settled in the tried and proven way: 160 acres and five years with minimum improvements and the land was theirs. Get enough families to settle in one area and presto!—a stable community had begun!

Prairie governments were nothing loath to encourage such thinking. Settlers, often enough innocents from Europe, moved in, registered on their land, and began to pioneer. In the years that followed they proved again what had already been discovered with great hardship in the Cypress Hills area twenty years before: that homesteading, which succeeded quite well in founding stable communities in the more fertile black-soil parts of the prairies, broke down completely when a quarter section of thin rocky soil in the short growing season of northern latitudes was counted on to support a family.

Mennonite Settlers

The Speedwell-Jackpine community of Saskatchewan where I was born stands as one such tombstone to the 160-acre homestead idea. As a place on the map, Speedwell no longer exists. The vital services of a well-populated, working community — school, post office, store, church—now can be found only twenty miles away—in Glaslyn, a small town some fifty miles north of North Battleford. Yet during the early 1940's when I was growing up, Speedwell district had a post office, two stores, two schools of 30-40 children each, and a vigorous church and social life. On virtually every quarter section along a five-mile road, and for several miles in either direction from it, lived a family of five, eight, sometimes ten or twelve persons. Every one of them was completely involved in helping to dig a home and a living from the poplar-spruce-and-rock-covered soil. And it was not long before even my infant comprehension knew that this work was very hard for all, and impossible for many.

The first settlers in the area did take up homesteads more sensibly than the one-family-to-each-quarter-section pattern. These first were Mennonites from North and South Dakota, Minnesota, and Kansas who came north in 1927 and 1928 looking for inexpensive,

sheltered land. Their homesteads were well scattered to allow a good deal of individual expansion. But the main influx of homesteaders, the Russian Mennonites who began to arrive in Speedwell about 1929, disrupted all this. Having always lived in close-knit villages which farmed the surrounding area intensively, these new Canadians felt that 160 acres per family half a mile from the nearest neighbor was surely enough land, and surely enough isolation.

Life in the New Settlement

It was not the inadequacy of the land but rather its loneliness that first made life hard for the European settlers. Russia had been vast; but Canada was not merely vast; it was impassively empty and lonely. My mother still recounts how in those early years she would start out early in the afternoon to look for our few cows on the "free range" that stretched endlessly to the west of our homestead, listening for the clear tone of the lead cow's bell to guide her. Having wandered far in their grazing, the cattle would often stand motionless among the thick willows to escape the flies and mosquitoes, and no sound would stir the air. Walking, listening, looking, mother would lose all sense of where in the endless bush our small home clearing was. The search for the cows became somewhat desperate then, because they had to be found to lead her home. In the meantime we small children would be waiting at home, laughing and chasing each other in glee when we heard the bell coming nearer, but frightened when we saw that the cows had come home by themselves without mother driving them. Then father would come from work and, without pausing to eat, go in search of mother. Standing on a hillock, he would send his high, thin "Halloooo—" into the silent evening. And mother would say when they came home together, father waving a poplar branch around her to chase the mosquitoes, that there never was a finer sound in all the world.

So despite a few warnings to give themselves more "living" room, the Mennonites settling in the Speedwell district in the early thirties were happy to take up every quarter of land. The bush was too huge to face except from a central community. Each step of mastery over it was dependent not only on the iron nerve of the settler but also on the steel stake of the surveyor which, with an impassivity quite equal to that of the vast land itself, stated its cold official statistic impartially in a spruce muskeg or on a stony hilltop. When, as a youngster, my older brother first made me aware that the surveyors had been all over the country long before we arrived, my imagination could not quite grasp the daring of such exploration. Yet there stood the stake. And beneath its statistic was the inevitable warning, cut deep in the iron: "It is unlawful to remove this marker. Maximum sentence: 7 years imprisonment." It was almost as if the imperturbable surveyor, whoever he was, defied the very wilderness itself to swallow the alien organization he had imposed upon it.

The Church

The center of the community was, quite naturally for the Mennonites, the church. It is to the church records that we must look for the statistics of Speedwell-Jackpine community growth. The existence of the church was first noted in the 1928 annual Canadian Mennonite Brethren conference minutes. The 1930 minutes indicate 30 members; with the Russian Mennonite influx, this grew to 47 in 1933, 95 in 1935, and reached a peak of 114 in 1936. These figures represent about 25 families in the church. Add to them the 12-15 families living in the district but not directly connected with the church, and there was a total of 40 families or, conservatively, 250 persons living on twenty square miles of northern Saskatchewan bushland in the process of being cleared for farming.

The church record indicates that even in the distress of the 1936 depression, permanent settlement on this scale proved impossible. In two years membership dropped by one third—to about 70 members. The families that remained of course took over the claims of those who had left and so they had the advantage of what clearing and breaking had been done. For about eight years, until the end of World War II in 1945, the Speedwell-Jackpine community enjoyed its only relatively stable period, supporting about 25 families, that is, some 150 persons.

Personal Reminiscences

My parents with their six children arrived in Speedwell in 1933. They had lived in south Saskatchewan for a year on relief; that was more than enough. The year after they took up their homestead I was born in what would become, as soon as the men of the family had the house finished, our chicken barn. The world which year after year began slowly to register on my comprehension was the pioneer world of man's work: the production of necessary food and shelter. To live in a compact log house carefully plastered with mud against the fury of winter and sun of summer; to trudge three miles of trails to a single-room school where the first graders clustered about a long table and doodled with "Valet" razor blades on their bench while the harassed teacher was "straightening out" the sixth graders on the opposite side of the school; to carry a snack of thick bread and cold tea to your father and brothers where they were scrubbing, with axes and a team of horses, the poplar and birch-choked land: that was the world to me. Towns and cities, with their paved streets, department stores, motor vehicles, electric lights and spacious bedrooms, when I learned of them, inhabited the segment of my imagination reserved for

Grimm's fairy tales and the Greek myths. And certainly the myths and fairy tales were the more easily understood of the three.

Ours was a world of heavy man's work. It was done by all, men, women, and children alike, for the family worked and lived as a unit. With small acreages wrested inch by inch from the clutch of the bush, the easy life of grain growing, and harvesting and selling was out of the question. There was a fairly exact classification of what work each member of the family did: in the summer the smaller children fed the chickens, hoed the garden, herded the cattle if the fences (after they had been put up) were insufficient; the older girls and mother cooked, washed, canned, took the children on berry-picking and seneca-root-digging trips, expeditions which took place every fine day as long as the season for either lasted; the older boys and father cleared land, hayed, broke sod, picked stones and built sod-covered barns. What grain we grew was used to feed chickens, hogs, stock, milk cows and horses. The source of cash income, besides occasional "working out," was the cream check which came each week with our returning empty cans. These checks were never large because poor cows fed largely on slough hay rarely produce either quantity or quality. In winter the children went to school (to grade 8—after that it was correspondence school if one were interested in higher education) and the women took care of the stock while the men, with as many horses as they could employ, cut and hauled timber for any one of several small saw mills operating in the bush north of us.

Often when the new spring with its demand for seed and absolutely essential, if elementary, equipment strained the slim family resources too far, my two older brothers, then in their late teens, would walk to Fairholme, the nearest railroad stop, and "ride the rods" 600 miles to southern Alberta. There they would thin and hoe sugar beets for the summer. The money they earned—sometimes as much as $2.00 a day—was brought home in fall to help us through the winter. And on Christmas morning when my Santa Claus plate, as was fitting for the youngest and most inevitably spoiled child of the family, would contain a game that shot glass marbles into tiny pockets of varying scores, my brothers' plates would hold such useful gifts as a package of razor blades each and a bottle of after-shave lotion between them.

It did not matter much that in the last days of the terrible thirties we lived from one year end to the next without traveling more than ten miles from home, without seeing either a car or a train. It did not much matter that in a rainstorm the only dry spot in the house was under the kitchen table; that is, if the oil cloth was not entirely worn out. We could work and we had something to eat; that was miracle enough to my parents who had almost starved to death in Russia during the early 1920's. What they told us of these experiences made Canada a miracle even to me, who had never known another land.

Though the hard work remained, during the war years it did become more comfortable in certain areas of life. Social activities centered around the two public schools, Speedwell and Jackpine, and the Speedwell Mennonite Brethren Church. Friendly sports competition in summer was replaced in winter by Christmas concerts and school bazaars. The church had a full weekly program, and for several years two qualified teachers taught a winter Bible School which attracted about 30 young people. We younger children snared rabbits and trapped squirrels and weasels in winter; we thought prices were really very good. Financially things improved so much that we even had an extra horse which could now be used to haul my sister and myself to school in the cutter during winter. Well, the youngest children of even a pioneer family invariably grow up weaklings!

Downfall of the Community

But the community showed signs of uneasiness. Despite the difficulties of wartime moving, occasional families, beckoned by the greener fields of the South, would leave. Young people were growing up; some of them had spent ten or twelve years working hard to give their families a bare existence; the leavening experience of young men returning from the war loud with stories of travel and world wonders had profound effects on Speedwell and its people.

Yet these more or less ideological forces cannot explain the startlingly abrupt dying out of the entire community. In early 1946 there were still 47 members in the Speedwell Mennonite Brethren Church; it had a lay pastor, three young lay ministers, and two deacons. By 1948 there were 12 members left, and a year later one family alone remained. By 1950 the church, and with it the community, had ceased to exist. For several years there was literally no one living in the entire Speedwell district.

I remember well those years of leaving. Only my sister and myself remained at home in our family; the older children had grown up, married local young people, and had moved away to make their living. There was "moving" in the air. You drove to church on Sunday and were almost surprised to meet your neighbor there. He had, apparently, not yet moved that week.

Reasons for Moving

The younger people obviously did not want to stay. There was no way of getting educated beyond eighth grade in the district; life was so much easier elsewhere. Even if they wanted to stay and farm, they would have to begin as their parents—pioneering in the bush, away from the land that was now at least partially

cleared. By working in Speedwell there was no prospect of ever having enough money to buy a tractor to do such clearing, and they had no ambition to do it by hand. The prosperity of post-war Canada beckoned everywhere. And if the young people went, why should the now aging parents and the last of the children stay, laboring at the old work with little prospect of more than a subsistence living?

The land, of course, was the root cause for moving. There was little room to expand in the community itself, and the very best wheat one could ever expect, in the very best of years, was a bare No. 2 Northern. Though one need never starve on his farm, yet one would never have many comforts. For example, after twenty years of laborious work, only two or three farmers could afford to own and operate an ancient lug tractor, and only one drove a recent model car. Our family never did own either a tractor or car in Speedwell. We drove into the district in 1933 with what equipment we had on a rented truck and we left fourteen years later in exactly the same way.

Tax problems intensified the situation. For many years no one had money to pay taxes. The government knew enough not to make itself ridiculous by insisting on taxes on homesteads during the 1930's. But by 1946 tax notices were getting clamorous, and so rather than work out to earn money to pay taxes on land that they were not too convinced of anyway, a good number of farmers simply left. Not that the back taxes even ten years later were very high. Our family quarter was bought from the municipality in 1957 by a farmer who paid exactly the price of the back taxes—$400.00. In the first winter after he bought that land he cut $500 worth of spruce on it, but he did it with a chain saw and a tractor.

Caught in the moving fever, drawn by the hope for better land and an easier livelihood, the Speedwell farm-owners left their log houses and their laboriously cleared fields to revert to the government (there were few, if any, buyers for them) and moved south—to Manitoba, Alberta, British Columbia. In the easier, car-transported life they have found in these areas, they often visit one or the other of their old neighbors and reminisce about those hard, yet happy, pioneer years. Time easily erases the greatest hardships, and the romance of having taken part in such pioneering colors all their memories, so that many, if they ever did return, would find Speedwell hardly recognizable.

Contemporary Speedwell

And Speedwell itself today? Well, only one or two families remained living on the periphery of the district in the early 1950's. They lived by farming and trapping. During a wet year beaver appeared from nowhere, dammed up several sloughs which had been fine hay meadows in our time, and the country became known as good hunting territory. Then, about 1955, several of the younger men who had left in the forties and made a bit of capital in southern cities, were drawn by the need for land and returned to Speedwell. Using modern mass farming techniques, they are now doing what the first farmers could not do: making a good living under fairly comfortable circumstances.

Today there are five such young families living in what was formerly the Speedwell community. Each farms several sections of land, using all necessary modern machinery. There are not more than four horses in the entire district, and they all belong to one farmer—he likes them, but he farms with tractors. The farming area today is the southeast part of the district which lies closest to the No. 4 Highway which the government is now paving from North Battleford to Meadow Lake. They have chosen those quarters which combine a good amount of breaking with good soil. The more marginal areas in the north and west half of the district are ignored. Two years ago the Saskatchewan Power Corporation brought electricity into the area. The farmers now live in modern houses (built with lumber they have cut themselves), eat food stored in their own deepfreezes, and watch television for amusement on Sunday afternoon. The grubbing pioneer life is gone now; town is only twenty miles away on a good road; the church has been torn down, the two schools have been closed (the children go to elementary or high school by bus to Glaslyn) and the world is no farther away than the TV screen or the telephone in the living room.

We left Speedwell in 1947; I returned for a visit in the summer of 1963. The poplars grow much taller and straighter than I remember them; there are no spruce left now. The house where we lived seems so much smaller than I thought. It stands tilted, its windows gaping. The three miles I trudged to school seem no distance whatever; the school itself and the hill where we used to slide and ski in winter seem shrinking into themselves. The narrow fields still stretch over the hills, but the poplars and the willows are quickly reclaiming the territory they once lost, very briefly, to the axe and plow. And on every quarter section we pass in our car—sometimes too we have to walk because all but the main road is overgrown—there sag the shells of houses that once heard the laughter of families. No one sees them now, from one year end to the next. Their rotting floors will soon crash into their shallow cellars, and no one except the incurious wild animals will hear.

But for some years yet these decaying little cabins—for that is really all they are—with their collapsed barns will stand as individual letters on the face of this tombstone community of Speedwell and the homestead idea that once lived, and now is buried, there.

MEDA: Venture in Brotherhood

By J. Winfield Fretz

A MODERN SEQUENCE of the ancient biblical account of the twelve spies sent out to explore the land of Canaan has been written. In this case there were only six "spies." These men were not exactly "sent" nor did they explore the land as a possible place of settlement, since there were already 12,000 of their co-religionists established in seven colonies in the land which they planned to explore. The six modern "spies" volunteered to go to Paraguay to study possibilities of economic development among the Mennonites there. They were among the thousands of North American Mennonites who had helped their brethren to settle in that faraway land. They thought that instead of continuing indefinitely to supply the elemental needs of food, clothing, and shelter on a relief basis, effort should be made to help establish basic industries so that these colonies might in time become economically self-sufficient.

In 1952 six men composed what came to be known as "the flying mission." They were Herbert R. Schmidt, Newton, Kansas; Ed Peters, Wasco, California; C. A. DeFehr, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Ivan Miller, Cory, Pennsylvania; John B. Naninga, Newton, Kansas; and J. A. Schowalter, Newton, Kansas.

This exploratory delegation discovered that many opportunities existed for the development of the economy of the Mennonite colonies. They found many resources which could and should be developed. Moreover, they found numerous capable businessmen and industrialists among the Mennonite colonists. The reason these capable businessmen were not developing the natural resources and the industries so badly needed was that they lacked capital. Even modest amounts of capital by North American standards were totally beyond their reach. It was clear that the most important service the flying mission men and those who were interested in their undertaking could render was to supply needed capital and supervision in the development of elemental business enterprises.

Members of the mission called on Orie O. Miller, William T. Snyder and several other interested Mennonites to discuss plans for meeting the economic needs they found in Paraguay. Immediate steps were taken to form a legal corporation. This organization came to be known as MEDA which when spelled out means Mennonite Economic Development Associates. Before this organization got well under way a second "flying mission" went to Paraguay. This was again led by Herbert R. Schmidt who was accompanied by Henry Pankratz of Mountain Lake, Minnesota, and John Thieszen of Henderson, Nebraska. This delegation confirmed the findings of the first group and encouraged the necessary steps to provide the assistance needed in Paraguay.

The MEDA plan of operation is basically a partnership. It assumes responsibility for providing modest amounts of capital plus technical advice and a minimum of supervision. It carefully selects partners from the Mennonite colonies who invest small amounts of personal capital and generous amounts of labor and

management to assure the enterprises of moving forward. It is the plan of MEDA not only to allow but also to encourage the South American partners to purchase increased amounts of the share capital as the business ventures prosper and make this possible. The MEDA members from North America do not invest their money with the intention of reaping handsome dividends. They are satisfied if the enterprises which they have undertaken are self-liquidating and sufficiently profitable to pay expenses, provide the necessary earnings for operating costs, and a modest return to the owners. To date, of the more than $85,000 invested by the MEDA partners not a penny has been withdrawn from the colonies as dividends. What is more, there is no immediate intention to withdraw earnings but rather to reinvest all profits that result from the various enterprises.

The venture which started with ten shareholders who agreed to invest up to $5,000 apiece has now grown to where there are forty shareholders, plus an additional forty-five which have become members as a result of a merger with the Uruguay Settlement Associates, an organization which was formed to help settle Mennonites in Uruguay.

The MEDA venture has had an exciting decade of operation. It can be called a little Point Four program or a Mennonite international cooperation administration. One may say with confidence that the designation "flying mission" is still appropriate. Actually, MEDA's program has been operating at flying speed ever since its inception. Probably there is no other voluntary economic venture on record that has achieved so much in so short a time.

In 1953, almost as soon as the organization was established, the first project got under way. It was a model dairy farm in the Fernheim colony known as Sarona. Today this is a profitable venture. Among its chief assets are 90 head of high grade dairy cattle. It has demonstrated the practicality of scientific dairy farming in the Chaco. Land has been cleared, grass seed sown, cattle feed raised, and the milk production has been increased from 200 to 400 percent. In addition to making milk production profitable, the farm has also demonstrated its usefulness in the production of breeding and dairy stock for sale to progressive farmers in the Chaco. The farm is owned 50 percent by MEDA and the other 50 percent by three Mennonites in Filadelfia. The farm operated at 11 percent profit in 1962.

In 1954 a tannery was established. Paraguay is a great cattle producing country but before this time hide was practically worthless. Since 1954 farmers have a market for their hides, and instead of having to import leather, the colonies now produce their own high grade leather and are able to export some for sale. With the help of MEDA capital the tanning industry has steadily grown so that power machinery today is used to manufacture a high grade of leather

Filadelfia sawmill in operation. Among the other projects financed by the Mennonite Economic Development Associates (MEDA) are a flour mill, a shoe factory, and a peanut oil refinery.

by means of milling machines and leather softening, stretching, and processing equipment.

A natural outgrowth of the tanning industry was the establishment of a shoe factory. This was at first operated on the grounds of the tannery in one of the outlying villages in Fernheim. In 1959 land was purchased in the city of Filadelfia, a building erected, and now shoes are manufactured in that town. In addition to men's work shoes, which were the first products made, the factory is today manufacturing men's dress shoes and children's shoes of a high quality. Between 100 and 200 pairs of shoes per week are being made. It is the plan of MEDA to introduce assembly line manufacturing in the near future. This means jobs for colonists. Instead of having to import shoes and leather goods, the colonists are able to process their own raw materials for their own use and export surplus commodities.

Among the ingenious Mennonite colonists who came as refugees from Russia were those who had a variety of industrial experiences. Two of these men established a crude foundry to cast metal parts for needed farm and industrial equipment on the farm and in the colonies. These refugees like all their brethren lacked the necessary capital funds to buy raw materials and adequate machinery. MEDA entered into an agreement with the operators of this foundry to give this basic industry additional needed strength. New machinery was purchased and facilities provided for meeting the industry's needs. It is the hope of MEDA that in the course of time simple agricultural implements can be produced in the colony. Such items as cultivators have already been produced, and additional items like corn planters and harvesting machinery may also well be produced in the future.

Among the most exciting and helpful forms of assistance that MEDA has rendered is that of a supervised production credit service in colony Volendam. This colony established in 1947 had a population of 1,800 in 1951. By 1959 its population was down to 800. So many of the colonists had become discouraged that over a thousand left Volendam and migrated to Brazil, Germany, and Canada. The colony was in exceedingly strained financial circumstances. The remaining colonists were discouraged and often talked of leaving if opportunity should present itself. Poor colony leadership added to the gloomy outlook of the colonists. It was to this situation that MEDA's attention was called. After careful investigation and prayerful consideration the MEDA members agreed to cooperate with MCC in finding an experienced and dedicated man with production credit experience and to send him to Volendam to launch a production credit program. The Lord sent the kind of man that was needed in the person of Lloyd Fisher. He went to Volendam with his capable and equally dedicated wife and two sons to initiate the program. $10,000 was earmarked as a maximum amount to invest. All farmers were invited to apply for loans in order to clear their land and plant crops. Small loans of from $100 to $250 were made available if the plans for using the loan were in line with good production credit policies. In the course of the first two years of operation 99 farmers made loans. The results of this production credit program were phenomenal. Not only did it increase the corn production, it tremendously improved the morale of the colony. Instead of planning to leave, the majority of the farmers saw hope in the future and concentrated rather on improving their farming methods and helping the colony to grow.

There were great difficulties in launching the project and in deciding who should get loans and how much, and it was difficult for the farmers to understand the operations of a production credit program. Closely related to the production credit program in Volendam is the inauguration of the Mbopicua rice plantation. In 1961 MEDA entered into an agreement with colony Volendam to revive a 1,000 acre plantation for rice production. This was possible because Vern Buller, a Montana farmer who had earlier served several years in Paraguay, decided now to move with his family to Paraguay and establish his permanent residence there. MEDA entered into partnership with him and the colony to undertake this project. Among the major investments was a large drag line with which to prepare the ground for drainage and irrigation purposes. When this project becomes operative it should mean a great deal to the colony economically. In addition to these two projects in Volendam is also a model dairy farm known as Alameda.

Other projects in which MEDA has engaged in this first decade are a soft drink bottling plant and a large cattle ranch in the Chaco. The cattle ranch is a merger between a number of private owners, the MCC, and MEDA. The 60,000 acre ranch is being managed by Abe Peters, an Oklahoma farmer who had earlier served MCC in Paraguay and has returned to establish his permanent residence in that country.

These various MEDA enterprises have individually and collectively had a tremendous impact on the economic life of the colonies in which they were established. Other colonies have requested MEDA help in establishing enterprises. It has been impossible for MEDA to respond to all of the requests for aid that have come to it. The 40 MEDA stockholders have demonstrated genuine Christian joy and satisfaction in having had a part in helping their brethren. This help has not been in the form of charity but in the form of mutual aid in which the recipient has received as much of a blessing as has the giver. MEDA has been and promises to be a mighty instrument in the hands of God for the expression of Christian mutual aid among Mennonites who have been severely uprooted in this midtwentieth century era.

By Nora Oswald

Caneship

We walked long paths together, trusted friend,
Endured all kinds of weather, tears to mend,
Through sorrows' splintered pains you sensed my need,
Found joys in lighter veins to form a creed.
You led me to the church. My spirits lifted
By sermons, music, soul-search, persons gifted.
Together we often groped in light and shade,
In silence always hoped, my faithful aide!
How can I leave you now, yet be urbane?
How say goodbye? O thou, affianced cane!

Amanda Klopfenstein, auspicious personality of Grabill, Indiana, inspired the writing of "Caneship." Although she walks with a cane, Amanda is far from being a cripple. At ninety-four years of age she performs her household duties, does her laundry in the basement, cultivates an outdoor garden, aand rakes loads of leaves in the fall. She seeks no aid from anyone for chores she can possibly do herself.

Amanda is contagiously cheerful, which is mirrored in her host of friends. They include children, teenagers, middle-aged, and old persons. Friends come to visit her from far and near. Hardly a day goes by but someone calls on her. Her parting words to visitors, young or old, are always, "Now you be good."

On Saturdays a ten-year-old girl comes to assist in baking cookies and to learn. How proudly she carries her share of cookies home with her! Neighborhood children have a way of knowing when Amanda's cookie jar is full of tasty morsels. She shares generously with them.

Trick-or-treaters and Christmas carolers enjoy calling on Amanda.

Amanda, like many other older persons, uses more canes than her wooden one. Among them are her friends, her precious eyesight, her Lord, her Bible. Now that she is threatened by failing eyesight, she rues the day when she can no longer read her Bible.

At one autumn's opening meeting of her church's Missionary Society (she is a member of the Evangelical Mennonite Church), members answered roll call by giving glowing accounts of hither-and-yon vacations during the summer. Her simple, sincere answer was, "I spent a wonderful vacation with my Bible."

We lament each time a cane is laid aside.

EXPECTATION
By Jacob Sudermann

Setting
A trap for God,
Waiting in ambuscade
Hoping to ensnare the Divine; but
In vain.

Silent,
Waiting, the heart,
Splintered when I entered
This holy place, continues still
Splintered.

Watching—
Expectantly—
For the devout, holy
Heart, the cool, soft blowing of Faith
And hope.

ISLANDS
By Jacob Sudermann

So much there is that separates,
and islands are not only lands;
the thrust of life is what perpetuates
the cutting of the natal bands.

But cutting pains the sensitive flesh,
more hurt persists within the mind;
the islet mourns the parent cell,
that freedom is more harsh than kind.

Still separations zero hours
increase as life's impulsions blow;
for it is sanctioned in the stars:
that soul must solo, that will grow.

THE POET
By Jacob Suderman

Bows his head in contrite manner,
stills his hands to calm repose,
concentrates his inner senses,
bids the outer ones compose.

Listens where the pulse throbs slowly,
deep within his nobler self,
where the springs of life course vaguely,
where the spirit builds its wealth.

Listens there to vibrant language
born to match life's rhythmic flow;
mines the words' eternal meaning,
takes where beauty's features glow.

Takes until his soul is freighted
with more truth than it can bear;
from communion with these sources
burst the songs he needs to share.

CONTROVERSY
By Jacob Sudermann

The pro and con have been argued
passionately, dispassionately,
according to the beat of the heart;
with reason and with unreason,
according to the set of the mind.

Many words were spoken:
those that rang hollow,
those that rang true,
words that "should" have been said,
those we would like to retract;
one word only was unuttered,
the one word that will never be spoken
but would have been much more to the point.

All words that were cranked out
have dropped like clay pigeons
at a trapshoot;
that one word remaining unborn
is still mortifying within us.

And so, the act was finally accomplished,
that seemed so necessary
both to avoid and to commit;
the "castle" once built with such confidence
is dismantled;
the landmarks we loved,
the fruit of our labor together,
effaced,
and the hands that set them up as memorial
are no longer remembered,
for nothing is left unburned
to aid the memory.

JUNE
By Jacob Sudermann

The earth glides still
where in veiled skies
lightstars pale dim
behind the lavish moon;
below—luxurient urgency of June
spins verdure for the harvest kill.

On Nature's rim,
against Her thigh,
freshborn, secure
I rest—Then mesmerized,
my pulse and Hers identified
race June's fulfillment to the brim.

Shall this endure?
June moons fade soon
and rose leaves fall—
But Steel keens in redolent grain
His mystic-rhythmic severance refrain;
cries harvest as June's cure.

THE BIRTHDAY GIFT
By Jacob Sudermann

It was his father's name day;
he sidled near;
coltish shy,
he held there
his sacrifice;
joy-light was his eye.

It was his gift,
his own choice,
tendered now in anxious haste;
his fingers graced the curved-cool,
the white-smooth in coral laced.

It was his father's name day;
he had given all,
for who would want to,
dare to, separate
this giver from the ball.

—J. S. May 25, 1964

THE CALL
By Helen H. Mueller

In the beginning God created man
And gave him the ability to think
The thoughts of his Creator after Him;
He made man free to reason, free to choose
The work that he would do. And God endowed
The heart of man with pulsing rhythm of life.

If, then, you apprehend the vital rhythm
And make a quietness around yourself
And thus achieve a harmony with life,
You hear the Call—the Call to worthy work.

Whether you sweat and labor at the forge;
Or ride the range on desert far and vast;
Explore deep seas or search for hidden stars;
Or whether, as you cook and mend, you think
That all your days are nought but drudgery;
Whether you choose to transcribe others' thoughts
By tapping a typewriter's fifty keys;
Whether you use your talents so that men
And women may have joy and merriment
Through drama, music, dance, or jest, knowing
That merry hearts do good like medicine;
Or, if to those who suffer, you bring health,
As only skilled and loving hands can do;
Or work for justice in the courts of law;
Whether you choose to teach a little child
Or the fair youth of this broad land of ours;
Or bring the Light of Life to a dark world
And cry to God for those in need of prayer;—

No matter what your work, your daily task,
Of this great verity you may be sure:
If in the ebb and flow of daily toil,
You feel the smile of the Eternal One,
Then you are blest indeed. And you will have
The strength you need to scale each mountain height,
Assured that in the rugged hills of truth
The valiant climber never climbs in vain.

THE SHOE LAST
By Elmer F. Suderman

My Mennonite grandfather brought this old
shoe last from Russia to Indiana
to Minnesota and finally to Oklahoma.
He carved it as a model for the sandals
he made for a meager living. They were
simple enough, not hard to make: wooden
soles and leather-covered toes—something like
the thongs we wear today, only they had
solid leather tops instead of straps.
Rough and crude, unaesthetic, they sang
a harsh song as they hit the floor. *Schlorre*
he called them in his native Low German.
Long ago they have fallen apart.
Only this last is left of his art.

He was never an impressive figure
leaning with a large sack of *schlorre*
on his back—Santa Claus fashion—into
the prairie wind, fighting mosquitoes
prairie fires and grasshoppers thick as clouds,
a lonely peddlar selling *schlorre.*
Schlorre, the name has an unsavory sound.
It eventually distinguished his whole
family—"*Schlorre Batja.*" Sometimes I'd
like to forget the name—it was never
a compliment. But I can't you see
This last is always here to remind me.

But mostly I'm rather fond of the gnarled,
cracked, rough-hewn piece of wood, that for all its
travels is still, like my grandfather, stiff,
stubborn, unyielding, uncompromising
with the newer ways. It's ugly, but it's
sturdy. Though it doesn't match our Danish
rocker or the Piccasso on the wall,
yet it will easily outlast them all.

I keep it on my desk where I can look
at it now and then when pride overtakes
me to remind me that my grandfather
was "*Schlorre Batja,*" a peddler of shoes,
that my grandchildren will someday
think of me as quaint and anachronistic
and that the last I use to pound and stitch
reluctant words into the shape of rude
poetry is also gnarled, cracked, and crude.

ST. THOMAS
By Jacob Sudermann

I know—
to anguished search
the mind unleashed
careens away
to emptiness:
a sudden burst chrysanthemum,
an incandescent spray,
a momentary loveliness;
and still, for all
this brave release,
the end is gray.

THE CHURCH: "My son, hold fast to faith!"

This faith—
how costly won,
how finely spun:
(If not by me,
my sure responsibility.)
all classified,
all harmonized,
an A to O infinity
of answers kept inviolate.

THE CHURCH: "Now keep them for posterity!"

All answers, yes,
great comfort there.
No questions,
no questions whatsoever.

You know best:
Fear—faith shrinks
in airless cell
to bloodless clot.
Where the eye is wide,
Where the pulse is strong,
you raise the question mark.

Break down this walled privacy:
the room is dark
behind the doubled lock
that safekeeps faith.

Oh I must see,
and taste, and touch!
For I shall lose the answers,
if the questions are denied
too often and too much.

Pray let the periods stand,
yet more the questions rise;
between them leads
the surer way
to clearer skies.

The Mennonite Artist and the Church

By Jan Gleysteen

For the past few years I have been interested in the contribution a Christian artist can make to his church. The responsibility and the task of the Mennonite artist within the brotherhood should be as much a part of today's ideological debate as renewed views on Christian stewardship, fellowship evangelism, or Vincent Harding's witness in the South. The artist, conscious to the needs of the church may well contribute to the depth of understanding of each one of these. No longer should the artist's contribution to the total mission of the church be looked upon as an insignificant slice of an otherwise important pie. Rather, like other areas of Christian education, the artist's role must be seen as a necessary supporting function. If it is left out there will continue to be serious weakness in the total preparedness of the church for mission. The obvious task of the artist is to transmit information and emotion. His less apparent but for the church equally valuable asset is the storehouse of intellectual resources behind his work. By inclination and training he is an onlooker and evaluator of human experience. Within the artist three processes go on simultaneously: the intake of impressions, the digestion into a spiritual reservoir, and projection, which as a conscious process demands the most discipline. The church has a double resource here: the artist himself as an assessor and his expressions as a mirror of convictions. Is our church prepared to use its artists to its fullest advantage?

Traditionally the Mennonite Church shared with Zwingli's followers an emphasis on simplicity and assumed the practice and use of art to be superfluous, if not wicked, in their religious experience. In addition the rural character of the early Anabaptists, and their cultural isolation produced a negativism toward art, except among the Dutch-North German Mennonites. Later on, but not originally, according to H. S. Bender, the second commandment was used to support the established tradition. As a result the Mennonites lost imagination and replaced it with a utilitarian outlook on life. I cannot but think that this lack of creative experience is also a spiritual loss.

As a result the church, having thrown away its aesthetic chart and compass, is now literally drifting into the use and misuse of art and architecture. Artists, growing up in the brotherhood, trying to relate their talents to the church's needs, have found the church unappreciative of their contributions, and are appalled by the mediocre taste among the brethren. They notice how the rich imagery of biblical symbolism is being reduced to the level of mediocre morality robbed of its transcendency and character. They notice the worn-out styles of Sunday school illustrations, which are out of tune with their sources, and irrelevant to both life and religion. (One example: the Bible often cannot be seen in any other way than from the literal, unimaginative viewpoint. Lately a Sunday

Dedicated artists serve the church.

Visiting museums deepens artistic understanding and appreciation.

Artists serve in the promotion of mission work.

school class of farmers was disturbed because God was calling them back to "plowshears" when they were sure they had progressed to better methods of cultivation!) And the good art which is available does not find its way into the church. One reason is that seminarians and editors do not have art appreciation and religious art in their curricula, yet it is they who later decide and direct the artistic needs of the church. Here artists could be of great help, because an artist is in the paradoxical position of having to remain relatively uncommitted to small group conformity in order to relate himself to the larger cause. His fundamental identification, if he is not a false artist, must be with the entire life experience. The laws of beauty and truth are inherent in creation. The church could use the artist as a sensitive recorder, essential to the conception of its message. This, we artists have found, is intellectually accepted and emotionally rejected by those who see art only from a functional viewpoint.

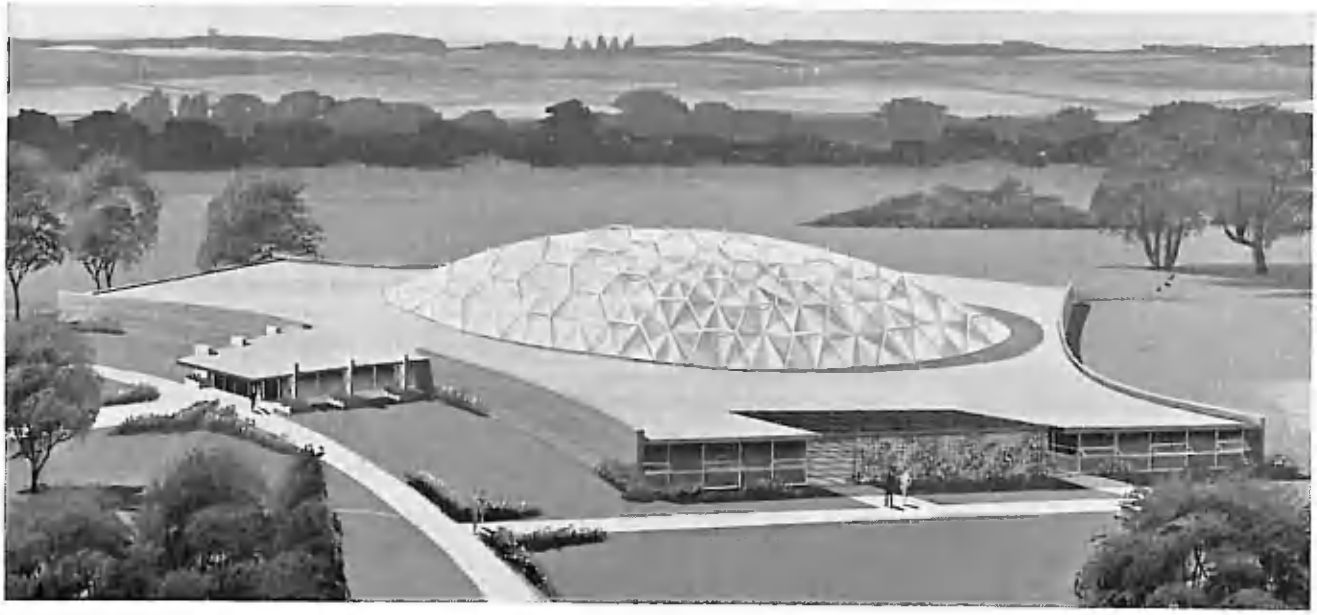
To evaluate art from a functional viewpoint alone is like estimating the worth of a human being based on the chemical value of his body in dollars and cents. The more intangible aspects such as furthering awareness of God's creation (an important aspect of the arts!), providing new insights and being a channel for social criticism also justify art's existence. Theology will always need to be supplemented by the artists' ancient and indefinable insights. Art and religion are the twin forms of the eternal guest to unveil and interpret the meaning of human existence within God's plan. The crises of our times are no less reflected in the works of our artists than in the words of our ministers.

I believe the time has come for the artists to formulate their thoughts and for the church to listen. For the artist this will be as difficult as it will be for the

Display of Bethel College Art Department.

Construction of Bethel College Fine Arts Center.

Architects' design of Bethel College Fine Arts Center.



church to understand it. The artist, not so much a man of reason, but primarily of intuition, must find within himself the eloquence to explain, to convince, which task does not come easy to a creative temperament which fears compromise and is impatient with the limitations of its audience, and finally with the impossibility of *really* defining art. Theology (reason) is of great importance to the rise of a spiritual environment, but art (spirit) is more successful for its apprehension, being less hindered by objective considerations. The problem of communication is compounded by the artist's inability to put into words that which he feels, and the limitations of understanding and sympathy of the group in which he operates. And in our brotherhood, which developed along the lines of reason, the gap seems at times unbridgeable. It is no surprise that a large group of artists from times past and present have left the church, and are still leaving. And as an employer, the church is unable to attract and keep competent artists, because they are only willing to pay 40 to 50 percent of what artists earn elsewhere. Still, the church cannot afford to waste this talent in our space age. Now, more than ever a Christian artist is able to prophesy to his fellowman. For the church to neglect this avenue of communication is to risk partial communication.

Let the artist go *now* to the end of his tether, as far as the church will allow him. Let him speak out as he sees it with artistic perception. I think, at least by the rising generation, he will be more lauded than martyred.

In spite of all the difficulties in communication in the past, I believe that exciting possibilities lie ahead of us. From the interest shown in art recently, especially at the colleges, and the tendency of our artists to be more evangelical and prophetic in their choice of subject matter, I know that even now we are, be it haphazardly and gropingly, trying to meet and respect each other.

For example, at Eastern Mennonite College, largely due to the personal enthusiasm of Catherine Mumaw and Irvin B. Horst, annual Art Festivals are held, which are of surprising significance and quality. Goshen College had one-man shows and special exhibits in connection with Homecoming for several years.

An art exhibit in connection with the World Conference was an attempt that did not go off too well, because it was an incomplete representation and lacked quality control. Still, the idea was very good and I hope to see a well-organized art show in connection with future World Conferences.

At Bethel College, Cornelius Krahn has amassed probably the largest and most representative collection of Mennonite art and art with Mennonite themes. This collection could well be the nucleus of a museum some day.

Conference display confronts the church with its artists.

Artists' fellowships promote exchange of views and ideas.

Bethel College Art Display.

Marie Birkholtz art collection acquired by the H. E. Suderman family. On the picture are H. E. Suderman, Carl Suderman, John Suderman, Erwin Goering, and Cornelius Krahn in the Bethel College Historical Library.

But there are other needs and possibilities which need to be explored. Before the artists and the church can communicate, the artists should have the opportunity to communicate among themselves. This means that the major conferences, maybe in connection with our colleges, should underwrite a bi-annual artist's retreat, and free some artist to work on the organizational aspects of such. A committee of worship and the arts, maybe part of the Christian nurture for missions thrust, is another possibility.

Our church could well use its artists in the fellowship evangelism program. The Potter's House in Washington, D. C., a division of the Church of the Saviour, is a successful example. Why not a year round art center and coffee shop at Aspen, Colorado, as a Mennonite witness among the members of the international design conference and the tourists? Roy Kreider, missionary to Israel, already uses the Art Gallery idea in his witness to the Jews. There may be uses for the Coffee Shop-Art Gallery type of witness in other localities, too. As the Mennonite church goes urban not only will the continuity between the utilitarian rural way of life be broken but the value of the artist's contribution will be seen more and more clearly.

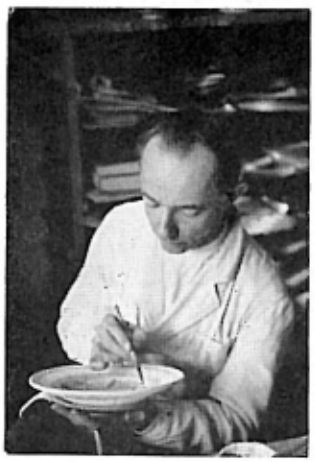
While some Mennonite artists are right now drifting away from our church, finding cultural and financial advantage without the brotherhood, we should encourage these often quite capable brethren to produce good prints and originals for our bookstores, so that our audience will be confronted with available products besides the level of *Ideals* magazine and Sallman's Head of Christ. It is my growing conviction, too, in the light of stewardship of time and talent, that those artists now in our fellowship should be relatively freed from local assignments, committees, and encouraged to work for the total program of worship, and to devote full time to their unique message to mankind.

Such a growing program of arts in service to the church presupposes a good art education at one of our Mennonite colleges. Bethel College, with a fine plan for a Fine Arts Center might well become the leader in this field. Work on the Fine Arts Center has progressed and its completion is expected in the near future. And how about Conrad Grebel College as a place where art could become one of the witnessing thrusts as well as center for the development of art appreciation among ourselves?

The list above is by no means conclusive; numerous other ideas come to my mind: traveling art shows, artists as guest speakers in our churches, an artist in residence at our institutions, available for counsel and education, a slide show on Christian art available to church groups, art contests (with topical assignments such as peace). Probably you have additional ideas. Again I say, I believe that exciting possibilities lie ahead of us.

Thirty Years of Excavation

By Herman Landsfeld
Translated from the Czech by Michael Mrlik; edited by Robert Friedmann.



Herman Landsfeld painting ceramics.

ONE DAY IN 1932 a Slovakian farmer, Vincent Horvat, was plowing his field at Vickovice near the county seat of Tyrnau. His ox team broke through the earth and opened a subterranean room filled with tiles neatly stored and apparently readied for sale. I knew immediately that this material was of Haban (Hutterite) origin, but in 1932 little was known regarding the origin and production of this find. I myself am but a humble "jugmaker" (*Krügelmacher*) or ceramicist master and am no scholar in the proper sense. Yet I have spent much time in research work concerning the ceramics of these Hutterites. In this article I hope to share with you something of what I have discovered.

Scholarly interest and research in the history and life of the Hutterite Brethren in Moravia and Slovakia began around 1880. J. Koula, K. Braun, F. Kretz, Josef Turdy, F. Mares, F. Slaby (all of these of Czech background), and Pavel Jedlicka, P. Sochan and P. Beblavy (of Slovakian background), later also F. Hruby, K. Cernohorsky, A. Günterova-Maierova, F. Kraus are just a few persons connected with the study of Anabaptism in these two provinces of today's Czechoslovakia.

Habaner ceramic jar from Vienna Museum.

A pot marked "W" (1660) from workshop Kosolna, destroyed by the Turks.

Picking up potsherds in Ostrozsko Nova Ves, Czechoslovakia.

The Approach

A critical survey of their work shows a twofold approach to such studies: the majority of these men concentrated their interests on archival studies, clarifying the intellectual and literary endeavors of the Hutterites in that area. On the other hand J. Koula and I approached the study of the Hutterites or "Habaner" by way of excavation on the sites of former *Bruderhöfe,* unearthing hitherto unknown material in rubbish heaps and underground rooms. This excavation work brought to light evidences concerning their artistic craftsmanship from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries. J. Koula worked mainly in the late decades of the last century, discovering many old Haban fayences, sometimes also called "majolica" work, (now in the National Museum of Prague), which he also carefully copied in colored drawings in his numerous scholarly studies.

I have continued the work and method of Koula, excavating material of all kinds and copying these in colored drawings (more than 450), thus establishing large archives of Haban specimens in Strasnice, Moravia.

Back in 1932 I began my research work by digging systematically in the Moravian-Slovakian border area, the site of many *Bruderhof* buildings, many now vanished and some still extant. In those years we were not yet in a position to distinguish clearly a Haban vessel from any other type of ceramic work of Czech folk art. In addition to the salvaging of rare ceramic works, we also found remnants of the work of other craftsmen such as blacksmiths and locksmiths, copper and brass works, choice leather work, and above all their unique work in cutlery.

I have been a ceramicist all my life, becoming quite familiar with all kinds of techniques of fayence work. Thus quite naturally I became also attracted to the study of these so-called "Haban-vessels." After having seen such pottery work in museums I became curious about their manner of production, the kilns and ovens used, their particular material for glazing, and their skill of decorating them so artfully. In May, 1932, I dug for the first time around the area of Kosolna in Slovakia,[1] a site of a well-known *Bruderhof* in the seventeenth century. This was certainly an exciting experience to search for answers to my numerous queries concerning how the Habaner produced their ceramic masterpieces.

In my previous search in old church records and parish registers, I had collected several thousands of names together with all the details recorded. In the long run this search in church records combined with excavations of sites of pottery workshops yielded a rich harvest of information, and at the same time also a collection of highly valuable specimens of Haban creations.

Ceramics

In the beginning of my work I was interested mainly in Anabaptist ceramics (called "fayences" or "majolicas") such as jugs, plates and containers of all kinds. But soon I also discovered stove tiles, colored floor tiles, bricks of large size, conical water pipes (such as the Romans used for their conduits), bas-relief tiles and plaques favored in castles and manor houses of the nobility.

Mention should be made of the well-known *Hafner-Ordnung,* a regulation for potterers of the Hutterites, read before the assembled brotherhood on December 30, 1612 at Podivin, Moravia, laying down strict rules as to the proper manufacturing of these ceramic items.[2] Here the brethren were enjoined to work with uttermost care and at the same time were instructed concerning certain restrictions in the ceramic production of that period. Of course there was a pottery tradition in Podivin long before the coming of the Hutterites, but the new fayence production was by far superior to anything made here previously. Hence the strict supervision of all work on the communal *Bruderhöfe.*

Discoveries

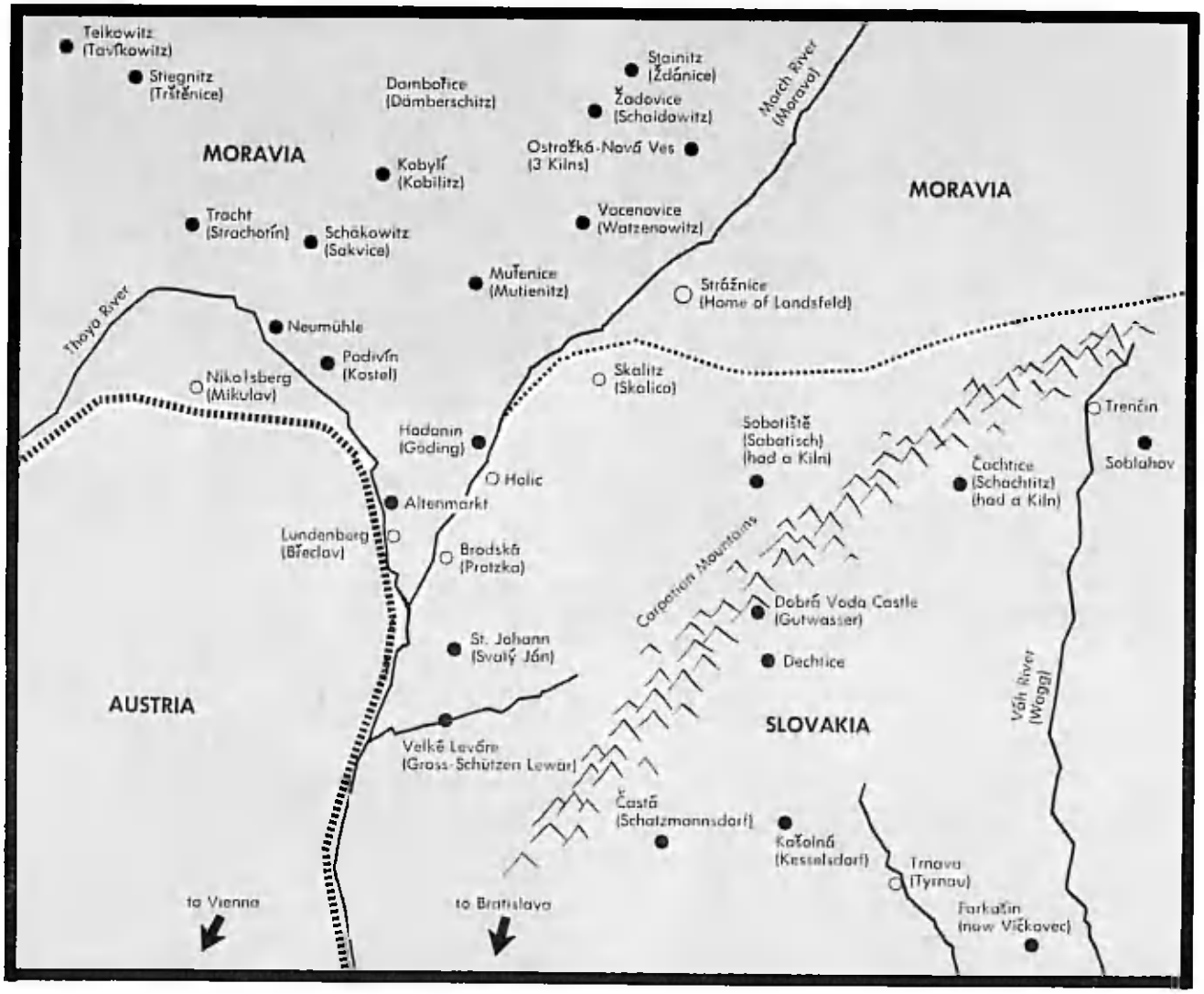
More and more heaps of potsherds were uncovered with new and exciting pieces of an artistic production. These vessels were quite uncommon in our Slovakian tradition and a good many of them were of a rare beauty and perfect workmanship. That was all the more surprising when we realize that all that work was done in a time of heavy persecution of the Anabaptists and the ravages of Turkish wars.

In the *Bruderhof* at Kosolna we found piles of potsherds, both whole pieces and broken ones, and we marvelled at the art of glazing with a tin-based material. We found tools and kilns where the clay models were fired (*Brennhäuser*). Here we found mica powder used by the tile-stove makers for their decoration; there we found richly painted fragments of vessels of all sorts, saucers, pans, ink-wells, plates, and many other objects, now in my collection at Strasnice, Moravia. I am always amazed anew when finding another piece of these enameled tiles with bright coloration in smalt hues, or emblems and heraldic signs burned into the glaze. These pieces never reveal the name of the craftsman who produced the piece: the reason for this is the fact that the Anabaptists lived and worked cooperatively and signatures of individuals would have been against their rules.

Even though we knew by now quite a few facts concerning these works, many questions still remained unanswered. What did the emblems and marks on the vessels mean? Likewise we found many a small fragment but could not identify the object to which it originally belonged.

The first unearthed Hutterian kiln in Europe. Landsfeld is sitting in center.

Maps of Czechoslovakia showing places of Landsfeld excavations (see list).



List of Excavated Ceramic Pieces

Landsfeld's account of excavated ceramic pieces:

Moravia	
Ostrožka-Nová Ves	7,500 pieces
Vacenovice	2,700 pieces
Podivín	1,520 pieces
Tavíkovice	3,100 pieces
Damborice	310 pieces
Tršťenice	250 pieces
Strachotín	120 pieces
Šakvice	140 pieces
Kobylí	120 pieces
Mutěnice	110 pieces
Ždánice	65 pieces
Žadovice	55 pieces
Total	15,990 pieces
Slovakia	
Sobotište	21,200 pieces
Košolná	15,250 pieces
Svatý Ján	150 pieces
Velké Leváre	240 pieces
Časta	210 pieces
Farkašin	210 pieces
Dobrá Voda	260 pieces
Dechtice	480 pieces
Čachtice	185 pieces
Trenčín	110 pieces
Skalica	65 pieces
Total	38,360 pieces
Together Total	54,350 pieces

Hidden Treasures

In 1933 I celebrated my twentieth year of ceramic production, and the fiftieth anniversary of the factory "Slovenska Keramika" at Modra in Slovakia. This was a welcome occasion for a "jubilee exhibition" of our finds of Kosolna and surroundings, which exhibition became the nucleus of my present-day museum in Strasnice. In 1934 we discovered another subterranean pottery shop and deposit in the eastern part of the former Kosolna *Bruderhof*. But this time everything was lying around helterskelter in greatest confusion. We realized that all the disorder had been due to the Turkish invasion in 1663 which destroyed practically the entire Bruderhof together with the nearby *Brennhaus*. From the Hutterite chronicle we know that this Turkish invasion happened September 6-9, 1663; since the settlement was thoroughly destroyed, the brethren had to give it up altogether. Thus, for 271 years (1663 to 1934) these precious articles had been covered with all kind of rubbish and dirt. The Kosolna farmers who planted and reaped their harvests on top of these underground chambers were of course totally unaware of the hidden treasures of ceramics and other objects.

Not too long ago, the owner of that parcel of land had been wondering why his newly planted fruit trees would not thrive and eventually even died, without any visible reason for it. Now our work cleared up this riddle: the trees were planted exactly over such a subterranean chamber, and naturally enough the roots could not flourish amidst the thousands of potsherd strewn all over the brick-paved floor of this former workshop. Similar incidents happened in other parts of southern Moravia and Slovakia; in fact in some cases such observation of trees led to the discovery of new deposits.

Our excavation work brought to light not only ceramic pieces but innumerable other objects as well: skillfully worked pieces of brass, copper, iron, leather, bones, mother-of-pearl and shells. We found brass clasps, buckles, and richly ornamented book corners, even embroidery and knitting needles, pins, crochets for cloths, rings, thimbles, hatchets, hammers and scissors, shears, miniature faucets for ceramic barrels (used as containers of rosewater and the like, so much then in demand by the nobles); we also found neatly fashioned heel irons for ladies shoes, but we found also heavy boots for men, and massive horse and ox shoes.

Very beautiful are the knife and fork handles made of shells or mother-of-pearl, a sort of luxury product which however brought in much-needed cash from the nobles all around. These artifacts demonstrate the fact that the brethren operated an extensive home industry beyond their own needs. Bones were found which were stained green by burying them in the ground with waste from copper work. It was especially in Sobotiste, Slovakia,[3] where we found in dry ground hundreds of pieces of discarded leather, showing again the fine workmanship of Haban craftsmen-tanners.

Books, Tiles and Roofs

A special art was the binding of the numerous handwritten codices: there were clasps and corners delicately engraved, the leather embossed, often with the year of production, everything made to hold indefinitely and to withstand the vicissitude of the centuries. Another discovery were the fragments of painted lime wall coverings—another bit of information concerning the living conditions in the community houses of the brotherhood. By and large, these houses (some of which still stand today) showed considerable high standards of practicality and even hygiene. All the underground rooms in Kosolna, Cachtice, Ostrozska Nova Ves and Damborice were paved with ceramic tiles. In the workshops the floor was paved with brick, and in the living quarters, particularly in the kitchen, the floor was often covered with hexagonal

tiles honeycomb-fashion. This was done at a time when the native Slovak population still commonly walked on earthen floors. Even the rooms adjacent to the kiln room, the so-called *Brennhaus,* were paved with bricks. The walls of these community houses were traditionally built of stone and burned bricks, laid in lime mortar. But after the invasions of the Turks and other marauding soldiers (1622, 1663, and 1682), the brethren used sun-baked bricks, laid in clay mortar. The inside walls were smoothly plastered and white-washed, even in the *Brennhaus* and the kilnroom. This we learned when we excavated the kiln room at Ostrazska Nova Ves in 1942.

A particular Haban speciality are the roofs. They did not use roof shingles or tiles but a strange material of rye straw impregnated with clay. This made the roofs fire- and waterproof, and some of these roofs are still in use today. The production of fire bricks was done in the old-fashioned way of stacking sun-baked bricks in the open in piles intermixed with straw and wood, and in this way fired for a given period.

As plumbing was still unknown, it was not too surprising to excavate many clay chamber pots, some even richly decorated. We found other strange objects also: clay balls, like marbles, and small clay disks shaped like buttons, clear indications that the brethren were not opposed to various games during the long winter nights. Bones from cows and oxen, sheep and hogs, unearthed suggest that the brethren must have consumed great quantities of meat of all kinds. In this connection I would like to mention a peculiar saying in our area still used today: when people visit their friends but sit around and do not talk, they say (jokingly): "It is as quiet here as during Lent when Habaner were eating meat." The idea is that even after their forced conversion to Catholicism the Habaner continued to eat meat during Lent as they used to do previously, disregarding the rules of their new parish priests.

Surprisingly enough, we also found all kinds of products of glass: glass fragments of former window filling and glass articles in general. By the judgment of experts, some of these glass articles are rather rare while others had been practically unknown elsewhere. The Hutterites, to be sure, never worked in glass but bought it from somewhere else. We found glass utensils for their salves and drugs, and small goblets for drinking. As to windows, in many potsherd heaps I found broken glass disks with pieces of lead still adhering to hold the bits together. From Ostrozska Nova Ves we have evidence also of windowpanes which apparently fell out of a glass door separating the *Brennhaus* from the room next to the oven.

How We Find Potsherds

First we have to know something about the *Bruderhof* and its surroundings before we plan to dig; you also have to know the present owners and many external

Painted bottom of large bowl or dish of 1660 from Sobotiste.

details which might have some bearing on the work. There are still Habaner living in this area today, descendants of those Hutterites who two centuries ago accepted Catholicism in order to survive. The term Haban or Habaner is quite popular among the rural population, and one speaks of Haban-wells or Haban-cellars, and so forth. Besides, we study the parish records to know the names of families no longer found here or even in existence. We watch trees and sometimes just dig out their roots when we become suspicious that underneath some hidden chambers might exist. Sometimes, people dig for new houses or for a water conduit and incidentally hit some old deposits which they are eager to report to me, knowing my interest. Occasionally cleaners of old village wells find vessels and other fragments at the bottom of the shaft.

It was not hard for us to conclude that potsherds will be found most likely in the neighborhood of a kiln and *Brennhaus.* Sometimes the discarded stuff was used to fill some ditch or trench to straighten out the surface. If a creek is running nearby, Habaner used to throw discarded material into this creek, and when the spring floods came, the material was carried away eventually into the Danube River. Of course, our best chance of salvaging whole pieces of ceramics is at places which had never been disturbed before. Sometimes potsherds are mixed with loam, while in other places we find rather clean specimens between reddish-brown dust coming from the sweeping of the kiln room. Many broken pieces also come from the former communal kitchens and eating rooms.

My Work Since 1932

I started digging at Kosolna (Kesselsdorf) near the city of Tyrnau. It was here that I found an interesting pavement deep down with its hexagonal tiles. In 1934 a rather large potsherd heap was found in Sobotiste where a big ceramic workshop of the brethren existed until far into the 19th century.[4] In this work I was often greatly aided by schoolteachers. At one place, the occupying German soldiers unearthed a complete kiln during World War II, which kiln was then removed to Berlin. We found potsherd treasures as far down as twelve feet below the surface. In 1937 we were digging along the banks of the March River (Morava) near Brodska, just at the border between Slovakia and Moravia. When I returned to this place twenty-five years later (1962), I found that the river had eroded a large section along the bank and with it a great many pottery fragments had been swept away eventually into the Danube River. In 1938 we discovered our first ceramic oven near Cachtice together with some whole vessels. Perhaps it is the earliest oven of this kind ever unearthed.

In was in 1937 that I moved to Strasnice near the border between Moravia and Slovakia; from that time on I also began to dig in Moravia. At the village of Vacenovice we found tiles in the peculiar shape of hearts. Several years later (1942) we dug out three ceramic ovens (one above the other) at the place Ostrozska Nova Ves together with countless fragments. A find was made also in 1944 in Podivin—the cover of a pot with the date 1576 burned in, most likely the earliest piece of Haban pottery ever found.

Of special significance was our work at Dechtice in 1947 where we discovered the workshop of the famous ceramic master Imre Odler[5] whose work was rightly sought after for its beauty and novel patterns. Due to some special features his plates are easily identifiable. One of our most favored places for digging was and still is Sobotiste, the old headquarters of the Hutterites. There we found well-preserved material with fine ornaments and emblems. It is really amazing how much has been preserved all over this area witnessing to the activities of the erstwhile inhabitants of this area, derived from the period prior to their compulsory conversion to Catholicism (about 1750-60). Afterwards their work was no longer what it once had been; a decline in artistry and skill set in.

It is not possible to enumerate here all the places where we dug, at least twenty village names could be mentioned. Of them I want to mention the *Bruderhof* at Casta. This place was given to the brethren in 1664 by the Hungarian Count Palfy after the Turks had destroyed their former *Bruderhof* on the west side of the village. It is another proof that the manorial lords of that century were rather glad to have these industrious workers on their estates. In 1955 we discovered the third potsherd pile of the 17th century at Sobotiste in the back yard of the same house "at Benas" where in 1961 so many rare books and manuscripts were found.[6] Of course we also discovered quite often domestic Slovakian pottery in this area (e.g. at Modra and Canikovice) but we quickly learned to distinguish between Haban and Slovakian pottery.[7]

In 1959 we worked at Damborice, Oleksovice and Sobotiste with an outstanding yield of pottery fragments; then we shifted to Nove Mlyny and Sakvice with continued good success. In 1960 Velke Levary was for a time the center of our excavations with a rich find underneath the former workshop of the "jug-maker."[8] In one room of the castle Cimburk near Korycany, Moravia, we found again heartshaped tiles in great numbers, and my fellow-workers found similar material at several other places in Moravia. We sometimes have the impression that this kind of search could go on indefinitely, considering the facts that at one time or another more than one hundred such Haban colonies existed.[9] In 1962 we discovered a new potsherd heap in Velky Levary (Slovakia) and another in Moravsky Svaty Jan, a few miles to the north of Velky Levary.

By unearthing all the thousands of ceramic fragments it has become possible to solve many of the questions connected with the ceramic production in Moravia and Slovakia. There is for instance the question of the amazing technical know-how of the Hutterite ceramicists at a time when elsewhere in central Europe pottery work was still lacking any higher artistry. Our search during three decades for the secrets of Haban pottery has been richly rewarded. We are quite certain that the indigenous pottery production in Czechoslovakia was much stimulated and furthered by this contact with the Habaner.

FOOTNOTES

(added by Robert Friedmann)

[1]Kosolna, in German Kesselsdorf, some 10 kilometers west of the Slovakian city of Tyrnau (Trnava), is also famous as a center where the greater part of Hutterite sermons were formerly written. See "Kesselsdorf," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, III, p. 168.

[2]The famous "Hafner-Ordnung" of 1612 (now in the library of Esztergom, Hungary) has been published by K. Cernohorsky in Pocatcky Habansky cb Fajanci, Tioppau, 1931, pp. 12-13. Copy in Goshen College Library.

[3]Sobotiste was the center of the Hutterite settlements where the "Vorsteher" or bishop used to reside. See *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, IV, 557-8 and the article on "Slovakia." It was in Sobotiste where a cache of codices was recently discovered (see note 4).

[4]See "The Discovery of Hutterite Books," *Mennonite Life*, XVII, July, 1962, p. 144.

[5]Imre Odler was so popular with the nobility of Hungary that eventually he left the Hutterite brotherhood and became an independent craftsman. See Bela Krisztinkovich, *Haban Pottery*, Budapest, 1962, plates 44b and 45.

[6]See the author's article mentioned in note 4, *Mennonite Life*, 1962.

[7]See Robert Friedmann's report in *Mennonite Life*, July 1959, with references to Slovakian folk art.

[8]The old pottery house in Velke Levary is still standing. In its gable there is a fine ceramic "firm-sign," J. H. 1781, meaning Joseph Hoerndl, who in the chronicles is called a *Kruegelmacher*.

[9]For a list of all the former "Haushaben" see *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, II, pp. 859-861 and Walter Kuhn, *Geschichte der deutschen Ostsiedlung*, vol. II, Koeln and Graz, 1955-57, pp. 309-329.

THE BEGINNING OF PROTESTANT HYMN MELODIES

By W. H. Hohmann

Early Christian congregational singing was strongly influenced by Ambrose of Milan. However, in the growth and development of the church the Ambrosian song became more liturgical, and congregational singing was soon forgotten. It remained a forgotten art for a thousand years until the time of Martin Luther.

Luther's interest and concern in music for the church was twofold. His first and primary concern seems to have been to supply music for the choirs in the congregations. He hoped that by means of good choir singing the congregational singing would be improved. It was ten years or more after the beginning of the Reformation before he published a collection of hymns for congregational use, his second concern in music for the church.[1]

To accomplish his double task Luther, himself an able musician, invited a group of men whom he called "Cantorei im Hause" to help him. Two very capable musicians, Johann Walter and Georg Rhaw, who were very devoted to the Reformation, were in this group. With the help of these men and others, Luther accomplished this task.

Briefly stated, the following are the choir hymnbooks prepared by Johann Walter (1496-1570) at Luther's request. *Geystlich gesangk Buchleyn . . .* of 1524, printed at Wittenberg. This book contains thirty-eight, four- and five-part settings or arrangements of thirty-five melodies for thirty-two lyrics. In addition, there is an arrangement of the Latin hymn "Festum nunc celebre" and four arrangements of Latin prose texts. This book was reprinted in 1525 by Peter Schöffer of Strassburg.[2]

Walter's hymnbook appeared again in 1537 with the title *Wittenbergisch Gesangbüchli. . . .* This edition contains more melodies and a total of thirty-eight German hymns.[3] The edition of 1544 entitled, *Wittembergisch deudsch Geistlich Gesangbüchlein. Mit vier vnd Fünf stimmen. . . ,* contains sixty-three German and thirty-six Latin hymns. A number of new melodies composed by Walter appear for the first time in this edition.[4] The last edition of Walter's hymnbook was published in 1551 by the heirs of Georg Rhaw at Wittenberg. This edition contains seventy-four German and forty-seven Latin hymns. Some of the melodies in these various editions appear with *Melismatta* or musical ornamentations.[5]

Georg Rhaw (1488-1548) was another man who helped Luther in the preparation of music for the choir. His outstanding contribution to Protestant Evangelical hymnody is the book entitled: *Newe Deudsche Geistliche Gesenge CXXIII. Mit Vier und Fünff Stimmen. Für die gemeinen Schulen mit sonderlichen vleis aus vielen erlesen, Der zuvor keins in Druch ausgangen.* Printed at Wittenberg by Georg Rhaw in 1544.[6]

This collection, or miscellany, of hymn melodies contains the names of seventeen men, in addition to the name Georg Rhaw, who represent three different generations. There are also several anonymous contributions. The principal part of the one hundred twenty-three melodies naturally comes from the Luther, Walter, and Senfl generation. Ludwig Senfl is represented with eleven melodies and Balthaser Resinarius with thirty melodies. Arnold von Bruck has seventeen melodies to his credit, while Lupus Hellinck has eleven and Benedikt Ducis has ten. Sixtus Dietrich has eight melodies, Thomas Stoltzer, five, and George Forster, two.

Some other names which appear in this hymnbook are: Martin Agricola, Wolf Heintz, Virgilius Hauch, Nikolaus Pilz, Huldreich Brätel, Johann Stahl, George Vogelhuber, Johann Weinmann, and Stefan Nahu who is one of the youngest.[7]

Evidently Georg Rhaw was ecumenical in his outlook. While the majority of these men belonged to the Evangelical Lutheran church the following five were members of the Catholic church—Senfl, Stoltzer, Bruck, Hellinck, and Mahu.

The important historical significance of Rhaw's hymnbook is the fact that it represents the work of various leading composers of church music of this critical period. While many of these men, in the composing of their music, were influenced by the work of Josquin de Pres of the Netherland school, others were bold enough to venture the use of newer and different styles of musical composition.[8]

A third hymnbook of merit, prepared by Joannem Kugelman, should be mentioned in this connection because of the excellent three voice-part arrangements of some new melodies. The German title of this hymnbook—*News Gesang, mit Dreyen stymmen, den Kirchen on Schulen zu nutz, newlich in Preüssen durch Joannem Kugelmann Gesetzt.* Melcher Krieszstein of Augsburg printed this book in 1540.

The body of melodies with their lyrics, contained in these three hymnbooks, have given direction and influence to the hymnody of the Protestant Evangelical church through the centuries even to the present time.

As stated earlier Luther's second concern in music for the church was the congregational singing. In Luther's earlier musical efforts congregational singing seems almost to have been left to chance. It is for this reason, very largely, that one can account for the many sporadic efforts and attempts to supply hymn collections for the congregations that appeared before 1529, the year in which Luther prepared his first hymnbook for the congregation. Before the death of Luther in 1546, forty-seven hymnbooks for congregational use had been provided. The total number of German hymns was 101. By the year 1553, the number of hymns was increased to 131.[9]

The first hymnbook for the congregation to appear without the help of Luther was the *Achtliederbuch* usually called the *Small Enchiridion.* The official title was *Etlich Christlich lider Lobgesang, und Psalm dem reinen wort Gottes gemesz. . . ,* Wittenberg, 1524. The probable printing place for this book was Nürnberg.[10]

Following the above mentioned book in the same year are the two *Erfurt Enchiridia.* They were printed in Erfurt, the one in the Permentergaszen zum Ferebefasz and the other in Schwarzen Horn bei der Kremer Brucken, both having the identical title, *Enchiridion oder eyn Handtbuchlein eynem yetzlichen Christen fast nützlich bey sich zu haben, zur stetter übung und trachtung Geystlicher gesenge und Psalmen. Rechtschaffen und kunstlich vertheutscht,* 1524. Both editions have the same twenty-five hymns but in different order. From the above title as well as from the preface to these books, it is evident that they are intended as a handbook for the church member in order that he may follow the text of the lyric while the choir sings. In the preface the fact is mentioned that during the first four or five years of the time in which German singing was introduced in the congregation, it was extremely difficult to have congregational singing.[11]

When Luther's first hymnbook appeared in 1529, there were at least twelve of the above type of hymnbooks published. Luther apparently had observed this growth in number of hymnbooks for congregational use. He was displeased with the selection of hymns and with the translations of some of the lyrics. He further noted that the oftener some lyrics were printed the more false and incorrect the language became. As a result, he decided to provide a hymnbook for the congregations. He entitled his hymnbook—*Geistliche Lieder, auffs new gebeszert zu Wittenberg. Dr. Martin Luther,* 1529. This book became known as the "Klug'sche Gesangbuch" because Joseph Klug of Wittenberg printed it.[12]

This hymnbook contains fifty hymns, each provided with a melody, and is arranged according to the church festivals. Luther himself authored twenty-eight of the hymns. Some of the other authors of hymns included in this book are Justus Jonas, Agricola, Adam von Fulda, Kolros, Knöpfken and Meusslin. A number of the lyrics are anonymous.

In this book Luther also included his "deutsche Litaney" which he had just finished in March of 1529. He did not include any hymns for "Metten" (predawn service), "Vespers," or the "Mass." He included several prose hymns taken from the Bible, as well as a few Latin hymns. For these latter hymns canticle-like settings for four voices were provided. This was probably done in order to have some hymns for the choir.

Luther's hymnbook was reprinted in 1533. In 1535 a third edition appeared in which some extra hymns were added bringing the total number to fifty-two. Both of these hymnbooks were printed in Wittenberg the first by Hans Weisse and the second by Joseph Klug.

Hymnbooks prepared by Valentin Schumann of Leipzig and Michael Lotther of Magdeburg, as well as others, now followed. In his hymnbook which became known as the "Magdeburger Gesangbuch," Lotther included four hymns taken from the Bohemian Brethren *Gesangbuch* by Michael Weisse.[13]

Luther, however, was concerned that there be an enlarged and exact edition, as to contents, of the *Geistliche Lieder . . .* of 1529. After all, this was his own hymnbook. As a result, a new and enlarged edition appeared in 1543 entitled *Geistliche Lieder zu Wittenberg, Anno 1543. Gedruckt zu Wittenberg durch Joseph Klug Anno* 1543. This is the hymnbook with the famous warning by Luther:

Viel falscher Meister jezt Lieder tichten,
Sieh dich für, und lern sie recht richten,
Wo Gott hinbauet sein Kirch und sein Wort,
Da will der Teufel sein mit trug und mord.

This hymnbook contains fifty-seven hymns. They are classified as festival, catechetical, and Psalm hymns. Five new hymns of Luther's appear in its contents.

Apparently Klug was rather negligent and careless in the printing of this hymnbook, for there are many mistakes. Historians think that because of the many mistakes and the apparent carelessness of Klug, Luther permitted him to print only the first half of the entire opus as Luther had it in mind. A second printing of the first half, however, did appear immediately afterward, in 1544.

Luther now turned to Valentin Babst, a printer from Leipzig, for the completion of the hymnbook he had in mind. Babst felt very honored that Luther entrusted him with this task and as a result produced an excellent book, which was complete with prints of wood carvings and marginal decorations, as was the custom at the time in the printing of books.

This new hymnbook appeared in 1545 with the title—*Geystliche Lieder. Mit einer newen vorrhede. Dr. Martin Luther. Warnung: "Viel falsche Meister* etc." *Gedruckt zu Leipzig durch Valentin Babst.* 1545. For this book Luther wrote a new introduction in which he praised Babst for his work and encouraged printers to provide many good hymns neatly printed and ornamented for the members of the congregations.

The hymnbook is in two parts and each hymn is provided with a melody. The first part is very similar to the contents of the book printed by Klug in 1529. There are fifty-nine hymns in the first part, thirty-six of which are by Luther. This is the total number of his hymns. The remaining hymns are the work of various authors. A number of Latin hymns are also included. Among them are "Dies est laetitiae" (*Der Tag der ist so freundenreich*), "Mittet ad virginem" (*Als der gütige Gott*), "Resonet in Laudibus" (*Singet frisch und wohlgemut*) and "Nunc angelorum gloria" (*Es is der Engel Herrlichkeit*).

The second part of this hymnbook has the title, *Psalmen und geistliche Lieder, welche von frommen Christen gemacht und zusammengelesen sind.* It contains forty, rhymed, new German hymns. Of these forty hymns, twelve are from the Bohemian Brethren *Gesangbuch* of 1531 by Michael Weisse, and two more are from their *Gesangbuch* of 1544 by Johannes Horn.[14]

This hymnbook was reprinted in 1555, 1557, and 1559. The ninth and last reprint occurred in 1567. The completion of this hymnbook in 1545, which became known as "Das Babstische Gesangbuch" with its near one hundred hymns in the German language together with their melodies, marks the high point and close of Luther's work and activity in the realm of the Protestant Evangelical church hymn. His death occurred on February 18, 1546. The lyrics and melodies contained in this book became the core for all Protestant Evangelical hymnbooks for the remainder of the sixteenth and even into the seventeenth century.

It was largely because of the melodies selected and provided from Gregorian chant, Latin and German folksongs, and newly composed material by Johann Walter and Georg Rhaw in their hymnbooks for the choir, and because these men championed the idea of polymelodic music in the church, that the German chorale developed as it did under Michael Praetorius, Johann Schein, Samuel Scheidt, Johann Sebastian Bach, and other composers.

The Mennonite Hymnary contains the following seven melodies and lyrics found in the above mentioned hymnbooks.[15]

1. "Aus tiefer Not"	No. 531
2. "Christ ist erstanden"	No. 543
3. "Ein feste Burg"	No. 549
4. "Ein Lamm geht hin"	No. 533
5. "Nun freut euch"	No. 521
6. "O Lamm Gottes unschuldig"	No. 540
7. "Von Himmel hoch"	No. 527

There were some exceptions to the indicated trend in this very brief story of the development of Protestant Evangelical hymnody in the sixteenth century. One exception was the Reformed tradition of using the rhymed Psalms in worship services. This will be presented at a later date.

FOOTNOTES

1Eduard Emil Koch, *Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs der christlichen, insbesondere der deutschen evangelischen Kirche* (Stuttgart, 1866), Vol. I, p. 250.

2Zahn. *Die Melodieen Der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchenlieder* (Gutersloh, 1889-1893), Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 2.

3*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 49, p. 16.

4*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 80, p. 25.

5*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 104, p. 31.

6*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 79, p. 25.

7Dr. Friedrich Blume, *Evangelische Kirchenmusik* (Potsdam, 1931), pp. 45, 46, 47, 48.

8*Ibid.*, pp. 49-53.

9Koch, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 256.

10*Ibid.*, p. 246.

11*Ibid.*, pp. 246-247.

12*Ibid.*, p. 250.

13Blume, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

14Koch, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 253-256.

15*The Mennonite Hymnary* (Berne, Indiana; Newton, Kansas, 1940).

THE *ENCHIRIDION* BY DIRK PHILIPS

By J. ten Doornkaat Koolman

THE BEST KNOWN work of Dirk Philips, the *Enchiridion,* was published exactly 400 years ago. For this reason a brief account about the first edition of this writing, which influenced the early Anabaptist movement very significantly, is in place.

After having written a number of small treatises, which did not appear in print, Dirk Philips published his first book in 1556. A number of tracts followed, dealing with various questions of faith. In a treatise in 1558 he justified his view regarding church discipline, emphasizing that members of the church who have committed serious sins must be excommunicated and readmitted only after fruits of repentance have been brought forth. At this point no reference is made regarding the separation of husband and wife in case one of them is not a member of the church. He continued writing on this topic until 1562. Most significant among his writings of this period is his so-called

"book of faith" in which he states his confession concerning God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and presents his views regarding salvation, baptism and the Lord's Supper.

When Dirk was the elder of the Mennonite Church of Danzig he was visited by the Dutch elders Leenaert Bouwens and Hoyte Renix in 1563. At this occasion they must have talked about the desirability of having his complete writings published. He chose the title *Enchiridion* (handbook or guide), possibly influenced by the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus which appeared in 1518 in Basel. In ancient Greek and medieval Latin the word *enchiridion* also meant "spear" or "little sword." If he had this meaning in mind it would imply that he intended to defend the faith against its opponents such as the remnants of the Münsterites and the followers of David Joris and Hendrik Niclaes.

The first edition of the *Enchiridion,* of which there are only two copies extant (University Library, Amsterdam and Central Library, Zurich), did not satisfy Dirk.[2] The writings had been put together without any attention to content and the text contained many misprints and German words. The hand of an expert had been missing in the arrangement and preparation of the writings for print. The title page with allegorical figures from Greek mythology did not fit the content and would offend the pious reader. Perhaps the printer used it in order to mislead the censor so that he would not recognize it as a "heretical" book. Dirk could not tolerate this edition even though only the initials of his name appeared in it.

When he was called to Emden in 1565 to settle a controversy between Leenaert Bouwens and his congregation he made use of the opportunity and prepared a second and revised edition of the *Enchiridion.* The tracts were arranged in a logical sequence without attention to the chronological order, and misprints and linguistic weaknesses were eliminated. For the orientation of the reader the table of contents was replaced by a detailed description of the content of every writing. Three of his letters addressed to "the Church of God" were added. The first edition made reference to quotations from the Bible by naming chapter and letter only, while this one referred to chapter and verse of the Biestkens Bible of 1560. The date of the first edition, 1564, was retained. The title page, which does not state name or place of printer, did not have the offensive engravings and indicated that the new edition had been corrected and enlarged (*nu nieus gecorrigiert ende vermeerdert*). De Hoop Scheffer assumed that this edition appeared in Emden and there is a possibility that Nicolaes Biestkens was the printer, who had printed two of his writings in 1562.

The *Enchiridion* experienced three further unchanged editions (1578, 1579, 1600) which indicate its popularity. In 1627 the last Dutch edition appeared to which Dirk's writing against two letters by Sebastian Franck was added. F. Pijper reprinted the *Enchiridion* in volume X of the *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* (1914). He presented a brief biography of Dirk, introductions to his writings and notes dealing with linguistic questions.

The *Enchiridion* was a significant guide for the Anabaptists. It contains a survey of the Christian teachings as they became known among the Anabaptists. Some parts are presented in the form of a sermon ("About the True Knowledge of God")[3] or as catechetical instruction in which the newly baptized members of the church are confronted with the foundation of faith and the covenant of God with men as well as a guide to Christian living.[4]

That these writings were read is apparent from the testimonies of the martyrs. Jan Gheerts who was burned at the stake in The Hague on December 15, 1564 was asked whether he had read the writings of Menno and Dirk. He confirmed it and named the *New Creature* by Menno and the *Spiritual Restitution* by Dirk.[4] In 1589 the martyr Joos de Tollenaar wrote in prison to his daughter Betje: "When I die I request that Mother give you in eternal memory a copy of the New Testament and the *Enchiridion* by Dirk Philips. Read it diligently for there are many beautiful admonitions in it."[5]

Through his writings Dirk became known and respected among the Anabaptists so that he was called upon many times to serve as judge when differences of opinion existed. After the split between the Frisians and the Flemish, the latter especially continued using his writings. Since among them there were many French-speaking refugees from the southern Netherlands the *Enchiridion* was translated by Virgile de Las of Lyon into French in 1626. The first German edition appeared in 1715 and the first English edition was printed in Elkhart in 1910. A new translation and publication is being contemplated at this time. The writings of Dirk Philips have been given considerable attention in recent Anabaptist research.[6]

NOTES

1J. ten Doornkaat Koolman, "Dirk Philips" *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, October, 1964.
2*Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, vol. X, pp. 267-277.
3*Op. cit.*, pp. 446-157.
4*B.R.N.*, vol. II, pp. 393, 407 f.
5*B.R.N.*, vol. X, p. X.
6J. ten Doornkaat Koolman, *Dirk Philips*, Haarlem, Tjeenk Willink, 1964; William Keeney, "Dirk Philips," *Mennonite Life*, April, 1950, pp. 70-75; N. van der Zijpp, *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, vol. II, p. 65 f., 213.

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY HESSIAN ANABAPTISM

By Allen W. Dirrim

FROM ITS INCEPTION in Zurich, Anabaptism raised political controversy. Zwingli's charge of revolution and bloody suppression followed its missionaries across the Empire.[1] In general, the collision between the Anabaptists, on the one hand, and the clergy and magistrates, on the other, stemmed from two separate but related sources: 1) the Anabaptists' striving for a free, separate church within emerging territorial states whose rulers as "Christian magistrates" held the paramount duty of fending off schism, blasphemy, and derogation from the one recognized true church and doctrine, and 2) the Anabaptists' absolute New Testament ethic which rejected all Old Testament and sin-degraded natural law compromises with the world rendering the Sermon on the Mount inoperative in daily affairs. In their sixteenth century environment, both of these points of collision were sufficient to evoke charges of revolution, but in Hesse and other areas affected by the Peasants' Revolt of 1525, real and alleged connections with the revolt intensified the hostility with which the Anabaptists were received. Their initial political impact must be seen, in part, in relationship to that revolt and to the territorial religious Reformation which followed it in Hesse.

The Peasant's Revolt

Popular tracts and agitation after 1520 gave the real, long-standing grievances of peasants and townsmen a

religious unity and fervor. Often purporting to speak for the major reformers, numerous tracts urged the common man, elevated to competence in religious judgments, to use coercion, though seldom revolution, to clear the Gospel's path for a new era of brotherhood and freedom by removing the monasteries and clerical rule.[2] For the most part, the uprising of 1525 was an attempt to apply these principles through the enforced acceptance of the Twelve Articles, which, apart from the more limited anti-clerical demands of the centrally located towns, became the watchword of the Hessian revolt.[3] Rejecting anarchy as unscriptural, the rebels sought agreements with their secular lords limiting their obligations to those justified by the Scriptures, the appointment of reformed preachers chosen by the congregations, and a breakdown in rigid class discrimination. Despite its unruliness and destruction of monasteries and castles, the revolt was remarkable for its moderation and aversion to bloodshed.[4] To authorities who regarded all spontaneous political expression seditious and to the Wittenberg reformers who considered the application of Scripture to secular affairs a blasphemous abuse of the Gospel, the revolt appeared to be the devil-inspired product of Thomas Müntzer, the spiritualistic Saxon chiliast whose doctrine of rooting out godless magistrates obstructing reform had some influence in Thuringia. The rebels were completely disillusioned when the Wittenberg divines threw their weight behind a crusade to exterminate them and when divine assistance failed to rescue their armed but nonresisting host at Frankenhausen in Thuringia from annihilation by Saxon and Hessian forces.[5]

The debacle of 1525 cleared away the last open resistance to the unsupervised officialdom of the new territorial state and inspired Philip of Hesse, already a convert to the Reformation, to institute a religion which would maintain public order and deny the rebels' application of the Gospel to "fleshly" concerns.[6] To the loyal towns Philip gave Lutheran clergymen and guild jurisdiction over rural handicrafts;[7] and in 1526 he instituted a comprehensive Reformation which followed Luther's advice in centralizing ecclesiastical authority in his own hands. Hesse inaugurated the first Protestant system of visitation by state officials who supervised the order of worship and the confiscation of church properties and incomes.[8] Nobles retained their patronage rights;[9] collections from the peasants were occasionally increased;[10] loans at interest to very restricted categories replaced most alms;[11] the state-appointed clergy received incomes and privileges;[12] and the Reformation was introduced by force in neighboring territories. At Luther's insistence, church discipline and limited congregationalism were rejected.[13] Immediately the justification for state control of religious affairs shifted from an appeal to the common weal to the invocation of duties incumbent upon the Christian magistrate whose foremost task was to preserve the new doctrine and the existing, natural social order.[14] To both the former advocates of the Twelve Articles and the incoming Anabaptist missionaries, the results of the Reformation from above were equally unsatisfactory.

Thomas Müntzer and the Anabaptists

Close connections existed between the early Hessian Anabaptists and the revolt. Many Anabaptist doctrines at least superficially paralleled the Twelve Articles: congregational sovereignty, anti-clericism, the insistence that the Gospel be affirmed by preaching *and living* in Christian brotherhood, the divine right of the Gospel to proceed despite government resistance, the competence of the common man in religious affairs, and solicitude for oppressed tenants and the poor, to name a few. Many of the first missionaries and their known followers had been participants in the revolt.[15] The first nuclei of Anabaptist strength built up in the eastern borderlands most affected by the revolt and its suppression. At hearings held in this area in 1533 numerous Anabaptists who had participated in the revolt would not repudiate it. Some alleged that Lutheran ministers had instigated it, later betraying them, and an occasional witness justified the revolt insofar as it had had the Gospel as an objective or predicted divine punishment for its suppressors.[16] If the revolt had been God's will and had been defeated, the only explanation could be the imminent end of the world. Several Anabaptist preachers set dates for this event apparently calculated according to Daniel and Revelation to fall forty-two months after the massacre at Frankenhausen, and officials submitted several reports of groups gathering at "mounts" in the expectation of the final cataclysm.[17] The failure of divine punishment to occur at the specified time permanently dispelled date-setting. Eschatological expectations continued, however, but not markedly stronger than they were among contemporary Lutherans. These similarities and connections are striking; yet to equate the Anabaptists and the Peasants' Revolt as traditional historiography has done, alleging a unique common origin in Thomas Müntzer, is a thesis whose modicum of documentary support is overwhelmed by contrary evidence on both the Peasants' Revolt and the Hessian Anabaptist movement.[18]

Salient differences separated the two. The Anabaptists had a more concrete body of religious doctrine, a specific church organization, and, for the most part, a political ethic which rejected the coercive and destructive measures of 1525. They were acutely aware of their differences with the reformers. Although both accepted the Scripture as sole authority and the necessity of faith as a gift of God, the Anabaptists rejected the total, immutable depravity of man and the bondage of the will,[19] and they tested faith and creeds by deeds, a test which was utter blasphemy to the reform-

ers whose criterion was doctrinal purity. Entry into the congregation was by voluntary submission to baptism as a "covenant of a good conscience with God" to improve oneself;[20] to maintain the moral probity of the membership they relied upon admonition and the ban as external checks and the imitation of Christ and the apostles as internal inspiration. True Christians should revive the primitive church which had been eroded by infant baptism (which promised salvation without faith or works), by the use of secular force, by a clergy with vested interests, and by the repudiation of suffering inherent in discipleship. Universally they saw "no improvement" in the Reformation. The true reconstituted church would be organized into sovereign congregations under Christ which elected their own bishops and which were knitted together by travelling missioners respecting no political boundaries and owing their position to no government office or tithe. As the reformers invoked the force of government, traditional creeds, and tradition to overcome the Anabaptists, the latter proclaimed that they alone relied upon the power of the literal Gospel, unadulterated by human invention or force.

Church and State

Pursued by the authorities, they were first concerned with excluding government force by separation of church and state. The first and only extant exposition of Hessian Anabaptist views on the state, Melchior Rinck's "Admonition and Warning to All Who Are Magistrates," a recently discovered manuscript, was preoccupied entirely with this problem.[21] Rinck's opening is characteristic of many Anabaptist tracts on the state: "All magistracy and power is from God, and a servant of God to punish evil and the Christian and to protect the good." Even tyrants derive their authority from God. But the onus of Rinck's admonition is that the princes were not protecting the good. They listen to privileged and honored "Pharisees" (Roman Catholics) and "scribes" (*Schriftgelehrte*, reformers), who indict the true children of God as heretics, fanatics, and rebels without allowing the accused to confront accusers. The rulers impose doctrine, bishops, and teachers on the congregations and strip them of their property. Their officials are arbitrary and disobedient. The mighty gravitate to the center of power, wanting "to possess their tenants as their servants and property," and "to treat and command them like their inheritance according to their caprice and pleasure." He deplores the evil that the magistrate's "soft ears" are attuned alone to Rome and Wittenberg. They

> confess Christ with the mouth alone and everywhere deny Him with works. . . . According to their pleasure, they preach a wooden or straw faith, pride, robbery, murder, gluttony, drinking, [and] usury, blaspheming God . . . incessantly. . . . [They] cry and scream that one would incite rebellion against them. . . . They not only rebel against God their Lord but also compel all subjects of God to desertion and perjury with force. Well on that account may they consider, if they will, what kind of punishment awaits them with the Lord and Father of Jesus Christ.

Rinck's manuscript was set in apocalyptic, but not chiliastic, terms. The days of revolt were over, but it is clear that Rinck did not consider the magistrates Christian by word or deed. Indeed, Pilate, who had left the condemnation of Christ to scribes and pharisees, was a saint by comparison. Nevertheless, Rinck admitted their power over Christians in secular affairs and repeatedly affirmed that obedience to the Gospel meant no harm to magistracy. It is significant, however, that he is silent on the obligations of subject to magistrate beyond the solitary payment of taxes and tolls.

The political views of individual Hessian Anabaptists varied according to time, place, and circumstance. The earliest congregations in the eastern borderlands were the most disinclined toward existing political authority.[22] Here occurred most of the recorded statements that the magistrates were godless or about to be judged by the end of the world. In these areas some rejected or doubted the authority of the government to collect certain taxes or to wield power over Christians. Here, too, a Moravian-type communitarianism was most frequently endorsed. The great bulk of the recorded witnesses during the sixteenth century, however, accepted the state as divinely ordained for the control of *secular* affairs.[23] Paradoxically, however, no Christian could participate in it, since magisterial wielding of the sword, participation in courts of law, and oath-swearing were forbidden by Christ. Invocation of Old Testament principles by state and clergy to justify bloodshed by Christians was rejected on the same basis that circumcision was refused as a justification for infant baptism: Christians are children of the New Testament law and covenant, not that of the Old. Obedient in paying taxes, they rejected military service, indicating a willingness to leave vengeance to God and to personally suffer rather than to resist evil by force. In this most widespread political attitude, communitarianism on the Moravian model was usually replaced by an obligation to share temporal wealth with the needy in the form of free gifts or interest-free loans.

Alongside this most prevalent political outlook, urban west Hessian leaders during the 1530's began to break down the sharp separation between Anabaptism and secular government. In 1533 several witnesses admitted the possibility of a Christian serving in government, provided it did not engage in conflict.[24] The most eminent western Hessian leaders carried this accommodation still further. Peter Tesch, a refugee from Jülich and Cologne, and George Schnabel from Allendorf approved the use of force to defend the good against evil-doers, few or many, domestic or foreign, but they reserved the right of the individual to decide

when the state acted justly or unjustly.[25] Tesch criticized the general personal abuse of office, and Schnabel declared that not many of the powerful are called by God, while Jorg Lenhart, another leader, affirmed that God was a God of peace.[26] Due to the efforts of Martin Butzer in 1538, these leaders, together with large numbers of their followers, were reunited with the Hessian church when Butzer promised the introduction of church discipline. The dwindling remnant which remained loyal to separation of church and state and to the absolute New Testament ethic, now leaderless, became dependent henceforth upon Moravian and Swiss Brethren leadership whose political doctrines were similar to those of Melchior Rinck who remained in jail unconverted.

Hessian authorities who were concerned with building a Protestant alliance against Catholic and Imperial forces, with spreading the Reformation by force, and, more remotely, with repelling the Turks, considered the Anabaptists seditious on secular grounds.[27] In addition, the Münster affair of 1534-1535 revived the widespread conviction that the Anabaptists secretly harbored plans for an open rebellion despite the fact that revolution would have required them to shift their whole outlook.[28] That such shifts occurred once in Thuringia in 1527 and again in the Low Countries in 1534-1535 is undeniable, but violent persecution seems to be their main explanation. In Hesse, where the movement was successfully checked by instruction, compromise on church discipline, imprisonment, banishment, corporal punishment, economic penalties, and imposition of civic disabilities, no threat of open rebellion occurred. Landgrave Philip, who repeatedly threatened to use the death penalty for open rebels, never saw fit to execute an Anabaptist despite heavy pressure from Saxony and his own clerical and secular officials to do so.[29]

Although the Anabaptists' rejection of public life beyond paying taxes was a continuing ground for persecution, it was not their most serious offense. Rather it was their separation from the established church and their attack upon the key constitutional aspect of the territorial reformation, the "Christian magistracy," whose jurisdiction extended, according to the reformers and some officials, to every visible manifestation of religious behavior. Repudiation of this broad jurisdiction was equated with the rejection or defamation of all secular authority and the instigation of civil war in both church and state. The honor reckoned due the magistracy to maintain public order required its recognition as the pre-eminent member of the ecclesiastical structure just as the honor of God demanded obedient respect for the true doctrine and the office of the state-appointed clergy. A spiritual offense automatically constituted the secular crime of blasphemy, a far more serious offense than a criminal act.[30] According to this criterion, the Anabaptists' rejection of the true doctrine upon hearing it expounded by learned pastors constituted multiple blasphemy, and the penalty advocated by most of the clergy and some officials was death. Although Philip and Martin Butzer, his chief clerical advisor in the 1530's, rejected the death penalty, they by no means rejected lesser penalties to force steadfast dissenters to outwardly conform to the established religion. "So long as the true doctrine is followed and the sacraments are used, all men are obligated to remain with us," Martin Butzer explained to the Anabaptist leaders in Marburg in 1538. "All Scripture shows . . . that the pious have . . . persecuted the impious."[31] Apart from banishment, Butzer's proposal was to exclude all refractory separatists, including the equally blasphemous Jews, from political recognition and to reduce them to the lowest paid and most disadvantageous occupations for the benefit of true believers.[32] Philip, who admired the moral behavior of the Anabaptists, resisted Butzer's more drastic proposals and sought to erase the moral revulsion against the territorial church by comprehensive "police" or morals ordinances applicable, by necessity, to both clergy and laity.[33] Nevertheless, the pressures against Anabaptism short of the death penalty increased, especially after Philip's death in 1567.[34] The Christian magistracy, invoking St. Augustine's famous slogan, "compel them to come in," had triumphed not only in Hesse but in the Empire as a whole.

Anabaptism and Puritanism

It is tempting to consider the Anabaptists' failure to provide a religious basis for political liberty as a dividing line between German and Western constitutional political experience. Like the later Puritan sects of England, Anabaptism contained seeds of such a development: the separation of church and state, a high degree of individualism, the mitigation of the consequences of original sin, the application of a Gospel of freedom and equality to the secular as well as to the spiritual realm, the right of the accused to confront accusers, and the election of church officials.[35] At least the Anabaptist ordinance of 1537 considered them opponents of a hereditary principle of government, a position equated to anarchy during the sixteenth century. Most of the Hessian Anabaptists were critics, however, not of the existence of government, but of its abuses. In sixteenth century Hesse, Anabaptism was excluded from respectable society, and the potential implications of secularism remained unrealized. Its immediate effect seems to have been to drive the German Reformation farther away from meaningful freedom of conscience and the priesthood of all believers, and to leave more deeply entrenched a secular ethic of passivity towards comprehensive patriarchal authority and traditionalism.

The reasons for the Anabaptists' failure are probably to be found both in themselves and in their

environment. Unlike later English Puritan sects, the more steadfast Anabaptists attempted to withdraw from the world except for intense missionary activity. They shared the eschatological pessimism toward reforming the world which marked the Reformation, especially after the ecclesiastical revolution failed to have its anticipated moral consequences.[36] Their separation from secular affairs, both intended and enforced by the state, and their own doctrine barred access to the broader type solutions proposed by Erasmus, the Quakers, and the eighteenth century humanitarian liberals, all of whom had points of similarity, some superficial, with the Anabaptist outlook. Their inability to recruit the politically powerful also assured that, without the occurrence of a struggle for power among the upper echelons, no opportunity for unintentioned political participation would occur. When the Anabaptists entered Hesse and the Empire, the period of political revolt was over. Unlike their English successors, their environment contained no revitalized concept of natural law with which to contest the blend of Old Testament theocracy, Roman law, and relative, sin-eroded natural law which their opponents used.[37] They seized upon the only tool at hand which their opponents could be expected to respect: the Gospel interperted as the absolute Natural Law of the New Testament. This appeal the Christian magistracy was able to suppress, and the divine right territorial ruler became the arbiter of political ethics. Due to the dominant social-political structure of Hesse and other territorial states, one may well question whether any religious doctrine or organization had any immediate promise of basically altering the existing organic constitution. By necessity, the Anabaptist influence on later political developments elsewhere remained indirect and obscure, for it was effectively stamped out in the German territorial states.

NOTES

1Robert Kreider, "The Relation of the Anabaptists to the Civil Authorities in Switzerland, 1525-1555," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1953; Hans Hillerbrand, "Die politische Ethik des Oberdeutschen Taeufertums," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Erlangen, 1957; Horst W. Schraepler, *Die rechtliche Behandlung der Taeufer in der deutschen Schweiz, Sueddeutschland und Hessen, 1525-1618*, Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins, Nr. 5 (Tuebingen: Mennonitischen Geschichtsverein e.V., 1957), *passim*.

2August Baur, *Deutschland in den Jahren 1517-1525* (Ulm: Stettin' schen Buchhandlung, 1872); P. Boeckmann, "Der gemeine Mann in den Flugschriften der Reformation," *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift fuer Literatur- Wissenschaft-und Geistesgeschichte*, XXII (1944), 186-230; Wilhelm Stolze, "Der geistige Hintergrund des Bauernkrieges: Erasmus und Luther," *Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte*, LVII (1932), 456-479.

3For the documentation of the Hessian revolt, see Otto Merx, Guenther Franz, and Walter P. Fuchs (edd.), *Akten zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges in Mitteldeutschland*, Bd. I, i. & ii. Abt. (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1923-1934), Bd. II (Jena: Walter Biedermann, 1942); Friedrich Kuech, *Quellen zur Rechtsgeschichte hessischen Staedte, Quellen zur Rechtsgeschichte der Stadt Marburg*, 2 Bde. (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1918-1931), I, 109-295; and Wilhelm Falckenheiner, *Philipp der Grossmuetigen im Bauernkrieg* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1887).

4Otto H. Brandt, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1929), p. 67; Adolf Waas, "Die grosse Wendung im deutschen Bauernkrieges," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLVIII (1938), 457-191, and CLIX (1939), 22-53. The best general account of the revolt is Guenther Franz, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg* (4. Aufl.; Darmstadt: Hermann Gentner Verlag, 1956).

5Max Lenz, "Zur Schlacht bei Frankenhausen," *Hittorische Zeitschrift*, LXIX (1892), 193-208; Falckenheiner, *Philipp . . . im Bauernkrieg*, p. 67; Merx, Franz, and Fuchs, *Akten*, II, 305.

6*Ibid.*, I, ii, 643-644; Guenther Franz, *Urkundliche Quellen zur hessischen Reformationsgeschichte, Zweiter Band, 1525-1547* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1954)—hereafter cited as *Urkundliche Quellen*, II, pp. 91-92.

7Christoph Ludwig Kleinschmid, *Sammlung Fuerstlich hessischer Landesordnungen und Ausschreiben*, Bd. I (Cassel: Johann Nicholaus Seibert), p. 52.

8Franz, *Urkundliche Quellen*, II, 9-10; Friedrich Kuech, "Landgraf Philipp und die Einfuehrung der Reformation in Hessen," *Zeitschrift des Vereins fuer hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, XXVIII (N.F., 1904), 210-242.

9Hans H. Bernbeck, "Das Kirchenpatronat in Hessen," *Beitraege zur hessischen Kirchengeschichte*, IX (1931), 1-61.

10Franz, *Urkundliche Quellen*, II, 27-28.

11*Ibid.*, pp. 105-108; Guenther Franz, *Urkundliche Quellen zur hessischen Reformationsgeschichte, Vierter Band, Wiedertaeuferakten*, 1527-1626 (Marburg: N. G. Elwert [G. Braun], 1951)—hereafter cited as *WTA*, pp. 215-216, 223.

12Franz, *Urkundliche Quellen*, II, 37-38; Kleinschmid, *Sammlung*, I, 103-106.

13*D. Martin Luthers Werke* (Weimar ed.), *Briefwechsel*, IV, 157-158.

14Walter Sohm, *Urkundliche Quellen zur hessischen Reformationsgeschichte, Erster Band, Territorium und Reformation in der hessische Geschichte 1526-1555*, (2. Aufl. von Guenther Franz; Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1951), p. 43, emphasizes this aspect of the Reformation as its constitutional core.

15*WTA*, pp. 31, 54-56; Allen W. Dirrim, "The Hessian Anabaptists: Background and Development to 1540," Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1959, pp. 104-109.

16*WTA*, pp. 64-71; Paul Wappler, *Die Stellung Kursachsens und des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen zur Taeuferbewegung*, Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Heft 13-14 (Muenster: Aschendorffschen Buchhandlung, 1910), pp. 168-178.

17*Ibid.*, p. 140; *WTA*, pp. 17, 24, 25-26, 29, 53-54.

18The document collection by Merx, Franz, and Fuchs (*Akten*) provides only sporadic instances of Muentzer-like utterances outside Thuringia. Even here some contemporaries considered him one among many leaders (*ibid.*, II, 203, *e.g.*). Muentzer's southern travels prior to the revolt have been examined with inconclusive results by Otto Schiff, "Thomas Muentzer und die Bauernbewegung am Oberrhein," Historische Zeitschrift, CX (1912), 67-90. The martyred Muentzer may have had more influence than the living man, but his impact upon the Anabaptists has been exaggerated. It appears also that the violence of Muentzer's views have also been overemphasized.

19Hans J. Hillerbrand, "Anabaptism and the Reformation: Another Look," *Church History*, XXIX (1960), 404-423.

20*WTA*, p. 168, quoting I Peter 3:21.

21German typescript published in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XXV (1961), 211-217. This and another Rinck longhand tract were discovered in the Frank University Library in 1958.

22*WTA*, pp. 40-56, 65, 66. In two articles in the *Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte*, Ruth Weiss draws a sharp distinction between eastern and western Hessian Anabaptism, but she neglects the continuing general influence of Moravian missionaries ("Der Herkunft der osthessischen Taeufer, L [1959], 1-15, 182-199, and "Herkunft und Sozialanschauungen der Taeufergemeinde im westlichen Hessen," LII [1961], 162-188).

23*WTA*, pp. 65, 68-69, 73, 93, 153, 264, and 339.

24*Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75, 92.

25*Ibid.*, pp. 227, 256.

26*Ibid.*, pp. 170, 230, 255.

27*Ibid.*, pp. 37-38, 63, 67-71, 83, 100, 133, 137, 139, 163, 363.

28*Ibid.*, pp. 99, 100, 122, 139, 162-163, 211, 245, 295, 343.

29*Ibid.*, pp. 19, 49-52, and Wappler, *Stellung*, pp. 11-15, 21-23, 51-57, 134, 156.

30*WTA*, pp. 103-104, 105-117; *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (Weimar ed.), L, 6-15; and Justus Menius, *Wie einiglicher Christ gegen allerley lere / gut vnd boese / nach Gottes befelh / sich gebuerlich halten soll mit einer vorrhede D. Mart. Luther. Wittenberg MDXXXVIII.*" Ciij[b]-E[iva].

31*WTA*, pp. 231, 233.

32Max Lenz, ed., *Briefwechsel Landgraf Philipps des Grossmuetigen von Hessen mit Bucer*, Publicationen aus dem Koenigliche-Preussische Staatsarchiven, V. XXVIII, XLVII (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1880-1891), I, 55-60. Butzer assumed that whoever had the "upper hand" at any given point would persecute as a matter of course.

33*Ibid.*, II, 168; Kleinschmid, *Sammlung*, I, 100-106, 109; Franz, *Urkundliche Quellen*, II, 376-377.

34Schraepler, *Die rechtliche Behandlung der Taeufer*, p. 103.

35For a negative assessment of the constitutional implications of Anabaptism, see Karl Holl, "Luther und die Schwaermer," *Gesammelte Aufsatze zur Kirchengeschichte* (7. Aufl.; Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1948).

36The territorial ordinances after 1538 give a particularly clear picture of this pessimism (Kleinschmid, *Sammlung*, I, 93-99, 114).

37*WTA*, pp. 101-146, and *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (Weimar ed.), L, 6-15, *e.g.*

Intimations of Inequality

By Arnold Nickel

In a college community, as in other cultural communities, there are certain intimations which produce an unwholesome atmosphere among its members. There are intimations of intimidation, intimations of immaturity, and intimations of inequality. These obscure hints are usually based on underlying reasons and these indirect suggestions are often sufficient to dishearten even the ablest. Intimations of inequality are not always brought to us from outside ourselves, but may also be developed from within us. Inequalities, whether real or supposed, are among the greatest perplexities of the inquiring mind. Leslie Weatherhead gave to his readers a short poem which suggests the problem which confronts us:

In my frustration make me sure
That Thou, my God, are He,
Who buildest something to endure
From what seems loss to me.

The inequality of endowments and opportunities may become an area in every life where faith and reason, counsel and helpfulness, patience and observation, are most needed. The primary difficulty of handling our real or supposed inequalities is that we are too eager to accept conclusions and resign ourselves to the fate that is ours. On the other hand, those individuals who are prepared to look life full in the face, prepared to accept the cost of becoming the true self as God has intended for them to become, and prepared to make the very best of the endowments and opportunities given to them, are the ones who may claim the riches of God's Kingdom.

The sad story of Leah, the first wife of the patriarch Jacob, is a lesson *par excellence* of the subject before us. The text from Genesis chapter 29 is most revealing: "Now Laban had two daughters; the name of the older was Leah, and the name of the younger was Rachel. Leah's eyes were weak, but Rachel was beautiful and lovely." Here in a few sentences is the very key to a tragic story. The older sister had a physical disability which could have destined her to life-long spinsterhood; and to make matters worse she had a sister who was beautiful and lovely. A deep gulf had been worn between these two sisters. All of us have either experienced a similar situation in our own adolescence or have seen it in the lives of some of our close friends. As if it were not enough to have a physical handicap, the story reveals that there were added the intimations of inequality.

Why should some young people have so much physical attractiveness, mental acumen, or social activity, when others have so little? Furthermore, why should those endowed by nature and culture receive yet more, while the deprived are still further denied? It is not difficult to imagine that Leah often felt rejected and alone, or heard the sinister comments about her. The biblical record gives us sufficient biographical material that we need not read between the lines to piece the sad story of her life together.

The story of Leah and Rachel begins with a visit of Jacob to their home. Upon seeing his cousin Rachel at the village well, Jacob notices her loveliness and her charm. He loves her at first sight. And before long the marriage question comes up. Jacob desired to have Rachel for his wife, and he fulfilled the covenant with her father whereby she was to become his wife. But according to custom and through the scheme devised by Laban and his older daughter, Leah was destined to be the wife of Jacob. And Leah once again faced the bitterness of her soul. Jacob worked another period of seven years for Laban and thus won the hand of Rachel, the lovely younger sister of Leah. Leah did not have a chance in life to ever become her own self. She was constantly overshadowed by her beautiful sister all through her earthly life.

Recall that as a growing girl in the house of Laban she did not have a rightful opportunity to discover her own worth; she had weak eyes. Furthermore, Leah did not have an equal opportunity with her sister to marry a man who would love her with all his heart. At the most crucial and wonderful time in life and at a time when a young woman would come to her most blessed hour, marriage, Leah received the harshest intimations of inequality.

Her second period in life, the years she spent in the

same camp with her sister and the husband whom she shared with another, was equally difficult and as heart-breaking. The highpoints in this scene are told in the experiences of childbearing. Despite the great wrong of which Leah was guilty, though very likely planned by her father, God has compassion on her. "When the Lord saw that Leah was hated," He gave her sons. To have sons was the dearest wish of every head of a Hebrew household; and to give birth to sons was the dearest wish of any oriental young woman. To Leah, the birth of Reuben brought even more: the hope that now Jacob would esteem and love her, but he did not. Then she gave birth to Simeon, and again her disappointment increased. Hope dies hard in the life of one who seeks equality with others, and this hope was Leah's once more when she bore her third son, Levi. But a third time Jacob's heart did not take her in. At long last she faced the stark reality that Jacob's love was not thus to be won. If we follow the text carefully as given in the Book of Genesis, we notice that a change took place. She named her fourth son, and called him "Judah." This time she said, "Now I will praise the Lord."

That touches the very heart of our problem. With God is none of the fickleness of men; none of the varying emotions and moods which mar the human spirit and crush the hopes and dreams buried deep within us. God is Love and He loved Leah. With Him are none of the awful intimations of inequality.

At this point, that is, after the birth of Judah, the story takes another turn. Rachel, who all her life was envied by Leah, now in turn envies her sister. Rachel said to her beloved Jacob, "Give me children, or else I die." Those who seem to have everything come in their direction and who seem so self-confident are not always as contented as we might consider them to be. Certainly Rachel was not. With all her personal attractiveness, and with the steadfast love of her husband, she wanted still more. She must have everything or else life was not worth living. The account informs us that Rachel did have two sons, Joseph and Benjamin.

Permit me to digress on a point of view which might throw some light on another story, the story of the twelve sons of Jacob. You know the story of how the older sons of Jacob hated their younger half-brother, Joseph. Might this resentment have come about because of Leah's frustrations and Rachel's inconsiderateness and Jacob's partiality? To be sure the rivalry between the two sisters living in the same camp did not help the relationship of their boys. Often the new generation suffers from the sins of the older generation.

The third scene of Leah's life came at the end of her days. Rachel's strong desire to have sons was satisfied; the Lord gave her sons, but in the bearing of the second son she died. One cannot forget her words earlier in life. She had said, "Give me sons, or else I die," and she did die. She is the arch-type of those who are determined to have their own way at all costs —even if it means death. Upon her departure the records inform us that her husband erected a burial place for her "in the way of Ephrath." Rachel was his one true love to the end, but Leah's was the greater privilege. When his second wife died, Jacob buried her in the Cave of Machpelah, where Abraham and Sarah lay, and Isaac and Rebekah, and where later the bones of Jacob were laid beside her. Leah and Jacob were not truly united in life through the bonds of love, but they were abidingly united in the grave.

This ends the sad story of Leah, and if the only comfort rests in the fact of a unity in death, it certainly leaves much to be desired. Yet all generations of Christians are indebted to Leah, and from her life we should be directed to certain suggestions which may well help us as we wrestle with our own feelings of inequality. It may be true that ministers are given to the temptation of moralizing, but at the risk of doing so I wish to point out what Leah's experience in life has meant to my life and vocation:

First, let us make every use of the Divine resources which are within our reach. Let no intimations of inequality harm you. Do not even permit actual inequalities to overcome you. The inequities which you surmise or carry may be blessings in disguise. Is it not through Leah's son Judah that the line of Jesus' ancestry is traced?

Second, be slow to envy the ones you consider more fortunate than you, for they are not nearly as satisfied as you think. I have lived long enough and worked with enough people to know that those whom I might well envy also have extreme struggles and tremendous temptations to overcome. Often the more fortunate want more and more, and of them is also required much more. They may be poorer than you think.

Third, always view your life in the light of eternal values. The inequalities of natural gifts and graces, of parents and possessions, of strength and stamina, are so seemingly unfair to the underprivileged that if this life were all there is then it would be impossible to believe that God is love or fair. But life here and now is only the prelude, the preparation, of the better life to come. This is the profound truth of the Christian Gospel.

Fourth, do not seek personal advantage; and do not be too anxious about acceptance by others. Be anxious that you may be accepted by Him who has made you and endowed you and who determines your destiny. Accept your inequalities, if indeed they be such, and remember that they may be only intimations of inequality. Thank God for your life, for your endowments and opportunities, and give your life for service in His eternal Kingdom.

Economic Trends in Mennonite Communities

By Howard D. Raid

A PAPER SUCH AS this presented 50 years ago would have been relatively simple, for it would have dealt with the problems to be found in agriculture. The paper today, must of necessity deal not only with agriculture but to a great extent with the migration from agriculture as found in our Mennonite communities.

Perhaps the economic trend shows up most clearly in the land ownership patterns of Mennonite people. A study made of the Bluffton-Pandora, Ohio, Mennonite community revealed that as this community was settled from 1883 to 1900 most of the new farms were purchased around an ever expanding circle. Thus, in 1900 Mennonites owned completely 12 sections of land. In addition there were outlying farms from the center. By 1953, however, the Mennonites did not own solidly any one of these sections. There had been an invasion from the north and west with the dispersion of the Mennonite farmers to the East and South. This same trend would be noticeable in many Mennonite communities, especially those that have been established for a longer period of time.

Along with the changing land patterns has come an increase in part time farming. This has developed because many of the farms are small by modern farming standards. Yet these farms have a substantial capital investment in buildings. Therefore, the farmer cannot liquidate them and his usual economic adjustment is to live on the farm and work in the city part time.

A study of the West Swamp Mennonite Church near Quakertown, Pennsylvania, revealed that one half of the farmers were engaged in other work part time. This trend tends to divide the interests and loyalties of the church people as those working in town have different interests than those who are operating farms. However, this trend will probably continue and increase in tempo as industrialization moves across our country and as agriculture becomes more and more competitive.

Rurban Membership

Another marked trend in our Mennonite communities has been the moving of people from the farms into the villages and cities. The Mennonite church, though it still may be located in the open country, often times has more non-farmers on its roll than farm people. The Salem Mennonite Church near Dalton, Ohio, has only 16 percent of its members as farmers. Likewise, a little less than 10 percent of the members of the Sugarcreek, Ohio church are farmers. On the other hand the Ebenezer Mennonite Church located in the open country near Bluffton, Ohio, has 42 percent farmers. Moving westward we find the following percentage as farmers: 16 percent in the Berne Mennonite Church, Berne Indiana; 16 percent in the Calvary Mennonite Church, Washington, Illinois; 40 percent in the Mennonite church near Pulaski, Iowa. The largest percentage found was that of the Bethel Mennonite Church near Fortuna, Missouri, with 60 percent. In these studies the church membership was classified according to occupations and all students and housewives were eliminated from the labor force.

Retail Business

Another trend that has been showing up in the Mennonite community, partly as a result of this moving from the farm to the villages and cities, is the ownership and operation of businesses. The members of the Department of Business Administration at Bluffton College made a study of the two main conferences that support the college; the Central and Eastern districts running from eastern Iowa to eastern Pennsylvania. At the time of the study the membership of the conferences was 12,870. A list of the business men from

each community was secured and a more complete analysis was made of each business. In these two districts we found 102 Mennonite businessmen serving almost 13,000 Mennonites. This was an average of about one business for 85 adult members which is evidence that Mennonite businesses are not supplying the goods and services required by their Mennonite communities.

The analysis by the functions of business indicated that 50 percent were in the retail field, 19 percent in service businesses, 10 percent in manufacturing, 8 percent in farm services, 7 percent in professional work, 4 percent in construction and one percent in quarrying. A study of this nature made in 1900 would probably not have revealed over a dozen Mennonite businesses. This may be indicated by the fact that at the present time only one of them is rated at over a million dollars.

Leaving Agriculture

In some cases it has been suggested that Mennonites move out of agriculture into agriculturally related businesses. The study, however, does not support that argument, as only 8 percent of the businesses were directly related to agriculture. It is sometimes also further assumed that Mennonite people being individualistic and aggressive will establish their own businesses in large numbers in the near future. However, a study of the migration of the members of the Zion Mennonite Church of Donnellson, Iowa, indicates that at least, in that congregation there has been a changing pattern in the establishment of businesses. Of the 251 migrants in the 60 year period ending 1950, 9 percent of those who migrated before 1925 became proprietors, that is, owners and operators of businesses. Only 2 percent of those migrating after 1925 did so. This probably indicates the difficulty of securing sufficient capital and managerial know-how in the present age, also perhaps the ease of securing a position working for someone else.

Trend Toward Profession

On the other hand, another economic trend is indicated by the fact while 15 percent of those after 1925 became professional people while only 15 percent of those after 1925 entered the professions. This would reflect the increased educational opportunities available in the Mennonite communities. On the other hand, only one percent of those migrating before 1925 were operatives and 7 percent afterwards. Also 2 percent were craftsmen before and 5 percent afterwards revealing that probably those who might have considered going into a business for themselves now worked for someone else.

Another trend that is being felt in Mennonite communities is the development of labor unions. Only five of the businessmen surveyed indicated that they had unions in their businesses. However a number of them indicated that they would be facing this particular question in the near future. This forces the businessman to evaluate his relationship to his employees in an entirely new light as well as the Mennonite employee and his relationship to labor unions.

Failing to Pass Business on to Their Children

Another problem that is making its appearance among our Mennonite businessmen is that of business succession. This is the problem of passing on to the next generation, either your own children or to other Mennonite young people the vision, goal, inspiration, and drive necessary to take over the business and operate it. As a result of this, there have been a number of Mennonite businesses that have not gone on to the second and third generations, but have been sold to outsiders, the Mennonite people remaining just as employees of the businesses which their parents had established. It would seem that the least that could be done in cases of this nature would be continued in Mennonite hands or the establishing of a nonprofit foundation with hired management but the funds being channeled into the use of Mennonite institutions.

Looking for a moment at the Mennonite farmer we see that conditions have changed for him also. Whereas 50 years ago he fed himself, his brother, and perhaps one more, in this day and age he feeds himself, his brother, and 20 or more others. And so the Mennonite farmer of today as all farmers must become increasingly efficient if he is to make his living directly and only from the farm.

Increasing Specialization

The result is as we have indicated that the operation becomes increasingly specialized with increasing capital and labor on limited acreage. This means a livestock program or poultry program or intensive cropping. In some sections of the country the adaptation is extensive farming where the farmer will operate a large number of acres under a cash grain program.

All of these economic trends are forcing changes upon our Mennonite communities whether we recognize it or not. The power of economic pull is in many cases much greater than that of the Gospel. And for many of our people the "economic necessity" forces them to leave the relatively sheltered Mennonite communities and go out into the rough and tumble of the secular world in order to earn a living.

The movement poses real problems for the Mennonites. One approach for them is to so build the spiritual lives of their members that even though they have left the sheltered home community they shall be able to and willing to continue as strong Christians in the new environment. Another approach is an attempt to go into the urban areas with the mission church.

Whatever solution is accepted we cannot forget the power of the pull of the economic forces that is dispersing our people from the land.

Clothing Jesus in Strange Garments

"Stripping off His garments, they put on Him a scarlet cloak." MATT. 27:28 (W)

By Russell L. Mast

THE GOSPELS GO into great detail in recounting the series of events during that last bitter week which led to the crucifixion of Jesus. As the drama moves from one scene to another, there is finally the one which takes place in the Praetorium where the Roman soldiers are given some free time with the prisoner, to derive whatever sport they can through mockery, derision, and ridicule. We remember particularly the crown of thorns, how they spat in his face, and struck him on the head with a reed. But what was probably the most cruel kind of mockery gave him the least amount of physical pain. We read in Matthew what the Soldiers did at this point: "stripping off His garments, they put on Him a scarlet cloak." The significance of this is in the fact that the scarlet cloak was very likely a part of the soldier's uniform. In any case, it was a garment that did not belong to him,that was strangely out of place, that produced a shocking incongruity. Then they cried, "Hail, King of the Jews!"

Surely it is a sad fact to ponder what the enemies of Jesus did that day in the Praetorium. But it is sadder still to ponder that through the centuries the friends of Jesus have done and still do very much the same thing! They, too, have clothed Jesus in strange garments—garments that did not belong to him, that were strangely out of place, that produced a shocking incongruity. The friends of Jesus, feeling the need of his blessing and support in their lives—both individual and collective, have made him a kind of honorary sponsor of their own ideas, causes, and expressions of religion. So they have gone to Jesus, not so much for guidance as for support, not so much for moral direction as for vindication. By clothing him in strange garments, therefore, the friends of Jesus have made him what they wanted him to be: an ally, instead of a Savior; an honorary sponsor, instead of a moral leader.

This adds up to a fairly accurate picture of the religious situation in America today. On the one hand there is some evidence of an up-surge of religious interest in our midst. Insofar as public opinion polls have any degree of accuracy, the status of religion would seem to be a hopeful one. At least ninety-five percent of all adult Americans believe in God, seventy-five percent regard themselves as members of churches, and fifty percent of those declare that they attend services with some degree of regularity. It is commonly assumed—and now more than ever— that America is a Christian nation, and we, for the most part, are a Christian people. If Paul were to come to America today, as centuries ago he came to Athens, he might say, "Men of America, I perceive that in every way you are very religious." (Acts 17:22) That would be true. But Paul, as was certainly true of Jesus before him, was dealing not with the problem of irreligion, but with inadequate religion.

Therefore, I would like to raise some serious questions about the quality of the religious life in America, and I would like to support this thesis: that in America today we are strongly tempted to clothe Jesus in strange garments, to think of him less as a moral leader and more as an honorary sponsor of our own ideas, causes, and expressions of religion. We want Jesus' approval and blessing, but not his guidance and insight.

Public Opinion

Surely one can say, first of all, that in America today we are strongly tempted to clothe Jesus in the strange garments of public opinion. As a people we want Jesus to wear our garments, promote our ideas, and support our causes. Many observers have been saying in recent months that religion in America tends to be a folk religion. Folk religion is an expression of the faith that rises up out of the common life of the people. It has many sides and facets, but a proverb which I remember from a course in Latin describes it well. *Vox populi, vox Dei.* The voice of the people is the voice of God. It is unfortunate indeed that one of the few things that I remember from that

course of long ago is palpably untrue! For the voice of the people is not the voice of God, although this is what folk religion is saying. This is more and more what we in America are trying to say when we clothe Jesus in the strange garments of public opinion.

If we are to resist this dangerous tendency, then we will need to maintain pulpits that are free from the domination of public opinion. For obviously there can be no free church unless there is a free pulpit. One of the well-known preachers in America, whom I greatly admired as a theological student, was Ernest Fremont Tittle, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Evanston. What a fearless and forthright preacher of the gospel he was! Yet he served the same congregation from 1917 until the time of his death in 1949. To be sure, the pressure of public opinion tried to bend this man of God to their way of thinking, and there were those who objected to his pacificsm and his views on social justice and racial equality. The local American Legion Post, together with the *Chicago Tribune,* tried to run him out of town as a dangerous "Red." Finally the congregation's official board issued a signed statement which said in part, "We stand for a free pulpit and a free church. We do not expect or desire a minister simply to echo the opinions of the congregation, and we do not assert our individual agreement with all of our minister's utterances. But we vigorously resent the effort of outside organizations to dictate to the church or to prescribe its message."

In contrast to that excellent statement there is another which appeared recently in the *Alumnus* of Emory University. A layman is speaking of the clergy, and says, "If their advocacy from their pulpits (in which they are, in the last analysis, the paid guest speakers) becomes sufficiently obnoxious to their listeners to cause a substantial decline in attendance and gross receipts —the clergyman mustn't be too surprised when the church fathers arrange for his transfer to more favorable climes." A statement like this is deeply disturbing for when the freedom of the pulpit is made to capitulate to the demands of public opinion, and Jesus himself is clothed in its strange garments and made nothing more than the honorary sponsor of its ideas, causes, and religious expressions the prophets of God are then nothing but paid guest speakers, and the ministers of Christ are not shepherds of the flock, but hirelings. When this happens, religion in America, no matter how popular it becomes, is in serious trouble.

National Policy

Closely related to the danger of the garb of public opinion is a second contemporary religious weakness. In America today we are strongly tempted to clothe Jesus in the strange garments of national policy. Here, too, we come to Jesus more for approval and blessing, than for light and guidance. Instead of a moral leader in national policy and behavior we are asking Jesus to be the honorary sponsor of what we have already decided to do. If, for example, the national policy happens to be war, or military spending, or nuclear testing, then Jesus is clothed in the strange garments of that policy. In 1917 one of the country's leading ministers said, "There is not an opportunity to deal death to the enemy that Jesus would not use. He would take bayonet and grenade and bomb and rifle and do the work of deadliness." If you would like some sober reading, take up the book, *Preachers Present Arms,* by Ray H. Abrams. Here is a collection of many similar statements made across Christian pulpits during the First World War, in which Jesus was shamelessly called upon to bless war. But whether in war or in peace, religion in America is always tempted to clothe policy.

One of the cherished principles of religion in America is referred to as the separation of church and state. Whatever this separation means, it does not mean that the ethical demands of religion can be separated from what a nation does. But there is more. James Thurber tells of a certain king who paid a visit to the Royal physician and found him sick in bed. After taking his own temperature, the physician shook the thermometer down without looking to see what it registered. When the king asked about this, the physician replied, "As a physician I must take my temperature, but as a patient I mustn't know what it is!" It is just as rediculous to imagine that a person can completely separate his life as a Christian from his life as a citizen of the state. Finally, this separation does not mean that the state is supreme in its claim on the individual. The New Testament always recognizes the just claims of the state and that the idea of human government is ordained of God. But it doess not say that the governments are divine, or that anything that a government does is the will of God. Human governments, ordained of God, are therefore subject to God, and stand under His judgment.

Religion in America often overlooks this by thinking of religion as the handmaiden of the state, existing by and for the state, and finally subject to the state. The wife of a state Supreme Court Justice in Arkansas put it, "My husband has been a Methodist all his life, but if it comes to choosing between being a Methodist and an American, he'll be an American every time." What a nation does can, in God's sight, be wrong. The New Testament declares in the book of Romans that a national policy can be an instrument of God, but it also declares in the book of Revelation that it can be an instrument of the devil. We are, therefore, on exceedingly dangerous ground when we clothe Jesus in the strange garments of national policy, or make him the honorary sponsor of whatever a nation does, even when it stands against the truth.

Temporal Success

In America today we are also tempted to clothe

Jesus in the strange garments of *temporal success*. Success has been referred to as the great American virtue. Not only does it characterize our own development as a nation, but our nation has become a country where individuals like Abraham Lincoln, Henry Ford, or Thomas A. Edison can rise up from obscurity and poverty to fame or fortune or both. That such instances have been the exceptions rather than the rule does not obviate their possibility or deny the fact that they have existed. In fact these instances have furnished writers with standard plots for a flood of success stories which sought to prove that goodness always pays and that there is always room at the top. Horatio Alger, whose career ended just before the turn of the century, produced no less than 135 novels on this theme, which sold over 20 million copies. His own life violated the cheap gospel he had preached, for he died in obscurity, separated from his family, morally broken and defeated.

Even though Horatio Alger has been discredited, success, the great American virtue, still kindles the imaginations and ambitions of many people. But when you make success the great virtue, you need to ask, "Success to what and to what end?" What we have done, however, is that we have made success an intrinsic good in and of itself, and in its own right. It has become the criterion by which everything is judged, from research to education, from prayer to preaching. But in all this, success has made man anxiety-ridden, as he has become enmeshed in the rat race. It has made him organization-directed, as he has become a little cog in a vast impersonal machine. It has made him material-centered, as he has interpreted success mainly in terms of things. It is against this "phony" world that the beat generation has reacted so violently and sometimes so pathetically.

But the really great tragedy is that we have clothed Jesus in these strange garments of temporal success. He is made the honorary sponsor in our world of what he never stood for in this life. In this current upsurge of religious interest, men are being confronted ofttimes with little more than a gospel of success. Going through the chapter headings of some of the most widely read religious books, using the exact words of the chapter headings, one gains the impression that religion is a means by which you "Think Your Way to Success," and "Forget Your Failures And Go Ahead." for, after all, "You Can Win" because "Success and Failure Are Only Habits." That there is some truth in what is said, and that many people are helped by it, I would not deny. But when this is all that is said, then Jesus is clothed in garments that do not belong to him. For Jesus himself went to a cross and he called on every follower of his to carry his own cross. As for things temporal which he did not disparage, he said, "What does it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

Conservatism

Finally, in America today we are tempted to clothe Jesus in the strange garments of conservatism. Here I am not at first thinking of any specific theological or political point of view,but rather of the strong tendency on the part of all people some of the time, and some people all of the time, to resist changes, to keep things as they are, and in some cases to go back to restore some alleged golden age of the past. We must keep in mind that conservatism is a relative term and also that there are times when the conservative position is emphatically the right one. But this is not always the case. There have been times when the conservative position has stood in the way of the right and in the way of progress. Moreover, it must be said and recognized that those who profit most by the way things are, are the ones who are most likely to take the conservative side of an issue. So when the proposal to abolish slavery was made, those who profited by the old system not only resisted the change but used Jesus in the support of their position. Here is a statement from one of them. "American slavery is not only not a sin, but it is especially commanded of God through Moses, and approved by Christ through his Apostles." So Jesus was made the honorary sponsor of a position already assumed, and was clothed in the strange garments of conservatism.

To make Jesus the defender of the *status quo,* the champion of things as they are, and the vigorous opponent of all changes in our society is to clothe Jesus in a garment that does not fit. Rather, Jesus came into the world to change things, to usher in a new order, and to bring to bear a new emphasis in religion. His greatest resistance and his most active opposition came from those who wanted to keep things as they were. But the way of Jesus was very different. Even the apostles were referred to as those who turned the world upside down. That Christians should resist changes that are wrong and contrary to the way of Christ is to be expected. But that they should resist all changes is an odd fact in view of the kind of person Jesus was, and the kind of gospel he preached. The garments of a revolutionary were more in keeping with the way of Jesus than those of a conservative. In this connection Paul Tillich referred to the conservative and reactionary Daughters of the American Revolution. "In the name of a revolution in the past, they try to prevent forever any kind of revolution in the future."

As we think of the strange garments in which we have clothed Jesus, let us recognize it as the mockery which it is. But the story in Matthew continues. We read: "At last, having finished their sport, they took off the cloak and clothed him again in His own garments. . ." As we look at Jesus, let us be sure that we see the real Jesus, and not one clothed only in our own garments, saying only what we want him to say.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Earliest Christian Confessions by Vernon H. Neufeld. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963, 166 pp., $4.00. Volume V in NEW TESTAMENT TOOLS AND STUDIES edited by Bruce M. Metzger.

In a much-quoted book entitled *The Earliest Christian Confessions,* Oscar Cullmann took the position that the most fundamental creed of the earliest Christians was "Jesus Is Lord." While objections have been raised to various aspects of Cullmann's position no one has ever so thoroughly examined it and tested it according to the New Testament as Neufeld does in this book. Every strata of New Testament literature is carefully examined and Neufeld concludes that Cullmann is wrong. The earliest Christian confession is instead: Jesus is the Christ. Such a confession fits more easily into the earliest opposition Christianity encountered in Judaism but, most important, it is supported by a careful study of the texts.

The first part of the study deals with the research on the question and lays out the lines on which Neufeld's study will proceed. There are two sections dealing with the background. One is entitled the nature of the *homologia* where the best available linguistic study of the word itself is presented as well as the relationship of the *homologia* to the gospel, witnessing, etc., is described. The second section deals with the relation of the *homologia* to Judaism. The author presents convincing evidence that the background of the homologia is to be sought in Judaism. Four chapters then pursue a rigorous investigation of the *homologia* in the various literary sources of the New Testament. The last chapter summarizes the argument of the book.

The book is well written, thoroughly researched, and a tribute to the writer. It deals with an important issue in biblical studies and therefore makes a real contribution to biblical scholarship. Spot checking revealed a few misspelled words, e.g. *earlier* (p. 10), *discernible* (p. 145) (cf. also p. 151). On page 17 footnote 6, I Clement 52.1, 2 is another significant reference which deserves to be added and in the reference to the Shepherd of Hermas the abbreviation *sim.* should be inserted before the last reference.

This is not to suggest however that the book has many errors. It is a model of scholarly research not least in the clear way the author states his conclusions. Many doctoral dissertations are never published and it is just as well. This one eminently deserved publication and there is no doubt that it will get a wide hearing among New Testament scholars.

NEW YORK BIBLICAL SEMINARY — *William Klassen*

Haban Pottery by Béla Krisztinkovich. Budapest: Corvina Press, 1962, 48 pp. plus 48 plates (8 colored).

Béla Krisztinkovich has devoted a long life to the study of the extraordinary pottery production (fayences) of the "Habaners," the Hungarian generic name of the Hutterites (actually it used to be a nickname for those converted to Catholicism in the 18th century). From two earlier essays by this reviewer in *Mennonite Life,* this production is no longer unknown to its readers. Now we have a beautifully executed collection of illustrative material, a good deal of it from the private collection of the author and his equally competent daughter, now in Vancouver, B. C.

But not less valuable is the text, a condensed summary of a life's work in research, some of it truly revealing. How did it happen that the Hutterites (in what is now Slovakia, and in Transylvania) ever became such outstanding artists? The author very definitely establishes the fact of Italian origin of that art (Faenza); but that pushes the question only one step further back. A fine analysis of the work as such, its characteristics and background of design, and many more historical details are a delight for the folklorist and arts and crafts connoisseur. The only regret one might mention is that the author uses Hungarian names for geographic locations unfamiliar to the Western reader. Otherwise, it is a lovely small book.

KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN — *Robert Friedmann*

Täufertum und Reformation in der Schweiz, I. Die Gespräche zwischen Täufern und Reformatoren, 1523-1538 by John Howard Yoder. Karlsruhe, Germany: Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins, Nr. 6, 1962, 184 pp., $3.00.

Yoder's Basel dissertation (1957) was published as a most welcome contribution to the basic understanding of the origins of Anabaptism in Switzerland. He makes it

very clear that most of its ideas originate with Ulrich Zwingli—to be sure, with the Zwingli of about 1520 when he was still a youthful radical in his grasp of the gospels. Grebel, Manz, and other friends in Zurich shared it. Then, by 1523, a marked change, Yoder claims, took place with Zwingli and estranged him from his former devoted friends. Now the reformer equates church and state authority (that is in Zurich the city council), briefly the old medieval idea of *Corpus Christianum,* while Grebel and his followers remained radicals in the appreciation of the message of the New Testament. Primarily, they put the emphasis on a sharp dualism of church and world, opposing Zwingli's interpretation of church and defending the idea of independent congregations of dedicated disciples, *die Gemeinde,* which might, even cannot help but suffer by the state authorities. Here begins that tragic and painful split among the former friends.

From 1523 to 1538 and up to 1540, a mostly oral debate continued between Anabaptists and Reformed theologians, dealing in the main with the concept of the "church," each side hoping to win the other side over to their view. Nowhere else in the German language area did so many and protracted colloquies happen between the two parties as in Switzerland (mainly Cantons, Zurich, Bern, and Basel)—about 25 such debates in fifteen years. They were of no avail and the state then did what states usually do in such situations: they began to use police force and torture and pronounced death sentences.

Most valuable, it seems to me, is Yoder's contribution toward the clarification of the church concept of the Swiss Brethren, so different from the idea of established church as well as from that of fanaticism (*Schwärmertum*) and, nearer to us, that of denominationalism. In a postscript, Yoder also points to the issue of *eigentliches Täufertum* (genuine or typical Anabaptism) as contrasted to all other forms of Anabaptist practices. It is good to have this fine volume; and now we are anticipating the promised second part, dealing, as I understand, with theological ideas of the Swiss Anabaptists.

KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN — *Robert Friedmann*

Martin Bucers Beziehungen zu den Niederlanden by W. F. Dankbaar. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961, 60 pp.

The literature dealing with the Strassburg reformer, Bucer, is increasing. Bucer played a unique role in a number of ways. He had many contacts, including the Anabaptists, with whom he had many discussions, winning some for his church. He was more tolerant than were Zwingli and Luther.

This little monograph confines itself to Bucer's contacts with the Netherlands. Chapter IV is devoted to the Dutch Anabaptists. Although nothing new is offered it is helpful to see some of the scattered information collected. The author states that when Menno read Bucer as a priest of Witmarsum in 1531, he was the first Netherlander to read his writings (p. 56).

Bucer was in touch with the following Dutch Anabaptists and reformers: Hinne Rode, Henrick Rol, Henrick Slachtscaep, Melchior Hofmann, David Joris, Johanes Utenhove, Marten Micron, Albert Hardenberg, Johannes a Lasco and others.

BETHEL COLLEGE — *Cornelius Krahn*

Biblical Realism Confronts the Nation, Paul Peachey, editor. Fellowship Publications. Distributor, Herald Press, Scottdale, Pa., 1963, 224 pp., $4.00.

What has the Bible to say to the issues of the Christian in his relationship to his nation, other nations, nuclear war? What imperative does the Bible offer to guide us in the present situation in which policy decisions of the nuclear age hinge rather on political and military calculations than on moral, not to say biblical considerations? What does the Bible say to questions of the Christian's obligations at these crucial points to which even the churches have so far produced only a babel of utterance? There has been more culture-ratifying than biblical innovating. It is to this situation that the essayists in this volume address themselves. Seven of the ten contributors are biblical scholars of the first rank. (The contributors are: George R. Edwards, Norman K. Gottwald, William Klassen, Clinton Morrison, Paul Peachey, Otto Piper, John Smylie, Krister Stendahl, John J. Vincent, Lionel A. Whiston.)

This book is a landmark. Here is a group of biblical scholars expounding what the Bible has to say to the relation of church and state, international relations, church and government, the meaning of reconciliation, love of the enemy, the meaning of discipleship. Each writer presents what he considers to be the biblical message. This means that the book is by no means uniform in its approach to the basic problems discussed. Mennonite readers especially will find themselves disagreeing at many points with the writers, as for example when John Vincent on page 198 suggests that the test of the validity of any Christian action is its relevance. This presupposes that one can clearly see that any action is relevant not only at the moment but also in its future effects. But how can we determine before we act whether an act will be "acceptable"? It must be said though, that all of the writers, of which only two are Mennonite, have seriously tackled the questions for which they were responsible. They let the Bible speak to the issues clearly and forcefully. The fact that we would strongly disagree with some of their interpretations merely underlines the importance of biblical exegesis for the solution of our problems. The best criticism and evaluation from the point of view of biblical nonresistance as seen by Mennonites is the last chapter by the editor. Not every day do we get a book that carries a good critical review of the contents with it. Readers should, however, read all the essays first, no matter how frustrating they find the exercise, and then read Peachey's summary and evaluation. Although there is negative criticism, what he says positively is much more important.

It is a pity that a book of essays by so notable a group of scholars should be such a poor technical product. Printing errors abound, especially in the second half of the book (pp. 131, 140, 191, 194, 197, 199, 222). The last sentence of William Klaassen's essay is left incomplete on page 180. An index would be a valuable aid, but was presumably omitted for economic reasons.

It is a book that should be in the Library of every pastor and teacher, and that should be read and reread. It is not easy reading, but highly rewarding. The Church Peace Mission and Fellowship Publications are to be commended for giving us this volume, and we hope that more will follow.

CONRAD GREBEL COLLEGE — *Walter Klaassen*

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