



MENNONITE LIFE

JULY 1967

An Illustrated Quarterly Published by Bethel College, North Newton Kansas

EDITOR

Cornelius Krahn

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

John F. Schmidt, Walter Klaassen

DESIGN CONSULTANT

Robert Regier

DEPARTMENT EDITORS

Faith and Life

Walter Klaassen, Chairman

Henry Poettcker (Bible)

Leland Harder (Church)

Russell Mast (Worship)

Heinold Fast (Theology)

John Howard Yoder (Theology)

Orlando Waltner (Missions)

Esko Loewen (Service)

Social and Economic Life

J. Winfield Fretz, Chairman

J. Howard Kauffman (Family)

Calvin Redekop (Community)

Eldon Graber (Education)

Howard Raid (Agriculture)

John Sawatzky (Industry)

Paul Peachey (Sociology)

Jacob Loewen (Anthropology)

Fine Arts

Paul Friesen, Co-chairman

Elaine Rich, Co-chairman

Mary Eleanor Bender (Literature)

Warren Kliever (Drama)

Walter Jost (Music)

Robert Regier (Art)

History and Folklife

Melvin Gingerich, Co-chairman

John F. Schmidt, Co-chairman

Irvin B. Horst (History)

N. van der Zijpp (History)

Delbert Grätz (Genealogy)

Gerhard Wiens (Folklore)

Mary Emma Showalter Eby (Foods)

ADMINISTRATION

Orville L. Voth, President

Justus G. Holsinger, Acting Dean

Merle L. Bender, Director of Development

Hartzel W. Schmidt, Controller

MENNONITE LIFE

July, 1967

Volume XXII

Number 3

CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT FRIEDMANN, formerly professor of History and Philosophy at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, continues his research in Anabaptism. He was Menno Simons Lecturer at Bethel College, 1966.

JACOB SUDERMANN, Professor of German, Division of University Extension, Indiana University, South Bend, Indiana.

JAN GLEYSTEN, formerly of Amsterdam, is an artist employed by the Mennonite Publishing House, Scottsdale, Pennsylvania.

ROBERT REGIER, professor of art at Bethel College, is Design Consultant and advisor in the Fine Arts department for *Mennonite Life*.

J. A. DUERKSEN, formerly Chief, Section of Gravity and Astronomy, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, D.C., is now retired. Duerksen is continuing his research pertaining to his home community, Goessel, Kansas.

J. THIESSEN, professor of German, United College, Winnipeg, Manitoba, wrote his Ph.D. dissertation at Marburg, Germany, dealing with the Low German language.

J. H. JANZEN was a writer of Low German plays, fiction and poetry.

HENRY D. DYCK, professor of English at Bemidji State College, Bemidji, Minnesota, wrote his Ph.D. dissertation on the Low German language at the University of Pennsylvania.

JAMES C. JUHNKE, instructor in History at Bethel College and Hesston College, is writing a Ph.D. dissertation on "The Political Acculturation of the Kansas Mennonites."

ELMER F. SUDERMAN, professor of English at Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota, has been doing extensive research in the field treated by him.

CORNELIUS KRAHN is editor of *Mennonite Life*, published by Bethel College.

MELVIN GINGERICH is Executive Secretary of the Historical and Research Committee, Goshen, Ind. J. P. JACOBSZON, editor of the Dutch Mennonite Conference paper, *Algemeen Doopsgezind Weekblad*, was on a leave of absence and taught at Eastern Mennonite College this past year.

JOHN F. SCHMIDT is curator of the Archives of the Bethel College Historical Library and Director of the Kauffman Museum.

NELSON P. SPRINGER is Director of the Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College Biblical Seminary.

COVER

Amsterdam: Foto KLM. Back Cover: New Congress Hall, Amsterdam; Foto Spaan.

PHOTO CREDITS:

Pp. 103, 104 Jan Gleysteen. Maps pp. 112, 113 from J. Thiessen, *Studien zum Wortschatz der Kanadischen Mennoniten* (Marburg, 1963) pp. 55, 61, 63, 71.

Printing and lay-out by Mennonite Press
North Newton, Kansas 67117

MENNONITE LIFE is an illustrated quarterly magazine published in January, April, July, and October by Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas. Second-class postage paid at North Newton, Kansas 67117.

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

The Anabaptists and We <i>By Robert Friedmann</i>	99
The Mourner Doctrine <i>By Jacob Sudermann</i>	101
The Springs Folk Festival <i>By Jan Gleysteen</i>	102
Art and Environment <i>By Robert Regier</i>	105
Transition from Dutch to German in West Prussia <i>By Jacob A. Duerksen</i>	107
The Low German of the Canadian Mennonites <i>By J. Thiessen</i>	110
Plautdietsch <i>By J. H. Janzen</i>	116
Few Know Low German <i>Translated by Elmer F. Suderman</i>	116
Language Differentiation Among the Low German Mennonites of Manitoba <i>By Henry D. Dyck</i>	117
John Schrag Espionage Case <i>By James C. Juhnke</i>	121
The Mennonite Character in American Fiction <i>By Elmer F. Suderman</i>	123
You Are the Soul <i>By Jacob Sudermann</i>	130
American Mennonite Fiction: A Contribution toward a Bibliography <i>By Elmer F. Suderman</i>	131
Mennonite Research in Progress, 1966 <i>By Cornelius Krahn, Melvin Gingerich, J. P. Jacobszoon</i>	134
Mennonite Bibliography, 1966 <i>Compiled by John F. Schmidt, Nelson P. Springer, J. P. Jacobszoon and others</i>	136
Books in Review <i>By Cornelius Krahn, James M. Stayer, Bennie Bargaen, Delbert Grätz, Eldon W. Graber, N. Klassen, Warren Kliever</i>	140

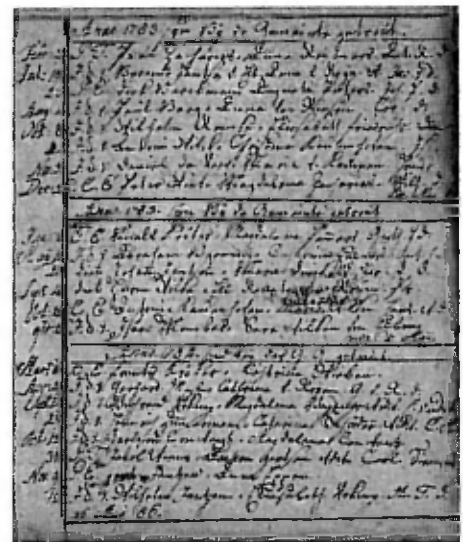
IN THIS ISSUE

The front and back cover of this issue feature Amsterdam and the Congress Hall in which the Eighth Mennonite World Conference will convene. The

April issue was devoted to the martyrs of Anabaptism, particularly of the Low Countries. This issue is indirectly related to sixteenth century Anabaptism in the article "The Anabaptists and We" and in the linguistic studies which point out that Mennonites coming from Holland and settling in West Prussia and Danzig continued to speak the language of their home country up to the end of the eighteenth century. Anabaptism is also featured in "Research in Progress," the "Bibliography" and in book reviews. ¶ The linguistic peculiarities of the Mennonites of Dutch background who exchanged their language for the Low German used in the daily life and the High German used in the worship service and schools are treated in three articles. These articles illustrate what happened to the Low German dialect transplanted from country to country. Not entirely unrelated is the feature "The Springs Folk Festival" which portrays one aspect of the Pennsylvania-German heritage.

¶ The treatment of the Mennonite character in American fiction as well as the Bibliography of Mennonite writers have never before been so extensively featured and are therefore a unique contribution. ¶ "Mennonite Research in Progress" and "Mennonite Bibliography," which appear normally in the April issue, carry more information than they usually do. Special effort was put forth to report about research projects undertaken in connection with some new organizations.

*This page from the Flemish Mennonite Church record of Danzig shows a change from the Dutch to the German language in the year 1784 albeit only in one word. In 1784 the Dutch verb *sijn* was replaced by the German *sind* (*were*). This was done throughout the book.*



The Anabaptists and We

By Robert Friedmann

Anabaptism was something new (or rather very old, if we think of the early Christians) in contradistinction to "normative" Protestantism. It actually had a theology all of its own though it was not systematically developed but only implied. This theology was closest to that which was implied in the Gospels and was accepted by the early Christians before their encounter with Greek philosophy. Anabaptism, to say it succinctly, went "beyond Paul" right to the heart of the teachings of Jesus, the Master, accepting his message of the Kingdom of God and its imminent coming. In this regard the theology was basically eschatologically oriented. "Be ready for the Kingdom and prepare the way for it."

Once the idea of discipleship was accepted as the basic principle of Anabaptism, the entire outlook on God, man, creation, sin, salvation, and so on, changed and assumed a different character from that of, say, Lutheranism. The latter intentionally de-emphasized discipleship as something foreign to it, at best as a terminal ideal unattainable for the poor sinner.

We can understand Anabaptism perhaps best as "existential Christianity" in contradistinction to any form of creedal Christianity. By the term existential I mean a concrete faith, subjectively experienced (*erlebt*) but not in the pietistic fashion—a faith witnessed to, suffered for and in the end triumphant in spite of external defeat. The martyrs during the sixteenth century were numberless but as Tertullian observed in 200 A.D. "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." The Anabaptists did not seek it but they did not shirk from it either. They openly confessed their profound allegiance to Christ before judges and au-

thorities. Admittedly, allegiance to Christ does not yet establish a theology in the conventional sense but the Anabaptists knew very well why they stood where they did. Their leaders were not learned men as were their counterparts in Protestantism, but they succeeded very well in expressing the reasons for their faith and their difference from the world around them.

Reading Anabaptist writings is highly revealing: here a strength is speaking to us, a conviction and originality which often enough is overwhelming. The way they read and used the Scriptures is amazing. It was original and often enough surprisingly convincing and adequate to the genius of the Bible. Their spirit seems to have been rather akin to that of the early disciples and they understood Scriptures intuitively without much learned studies.

To be fair however, in our evaluation, two obvious drawbacks of such a position have to be frankly discussed. They are serious enough. Thus in our final evaluation we have to turn now to such problems that we may be better enabled to judge the Anabaptist phenomenon.

These then are the critical points as I see them: 1) Early Anabaptism, particularly in Switzerland and the neighboring countries, was inclined to by-pass Western culture. 2) The law of generations applies also to the Anabaptists according to which such uplifting experiences as we claimed for the sixteenth century faded away in due time giving room to the emergence of a new "Anabaptist tradition."

Let us discuss these questions as frankly as possible.

First is the "clash" with Western civilization, at least since the Renaissance. Can one call our Western civili-

zation (or culture) Christian? Or would it not be more appropriate to say that what we study as Western civilization is something new, a bit Christian (for instance in our humanitarianism), a bit Greek (in our rationalism and aesthetics), and of course, a bit genuinely "Western" (for instance in science and technology, our desire to fly to the moon, and the like). The Renaissance meant definitely the awakening of a new spirit not exactly against Christianity but besides Christianity. Both the Catholics and the Lutherans eventually arrived at a compromise with that civilization by most sophisticated arguments. They made it possible to preserve the institutional churches and yet allow a secular civilization alongside these churches, unhampered by Holy Writ. And by this procedure we finally arrived at the "secular city," as Harvey Cox so aptly called it recently.

One may blame some Anabaptists for having contributed practically nothing to this secular culture in the realm of art, philosophy, music, or even less, science. That is considered an indictment: people (mainly secular historians) will then speak of these Anabaptists as "parasites" on society, in spite of all their piety. They allegedly profited by that culture but they contributed little to it. Was then perhaps persecution understandable, even excusable as we tend to think sometimes of "communism" today to which we also deny some basic conditions?

How would the Western world look if it had accepted fully the Anabaptist pattern? Could she ever have done so? Obviously not. The Kingdom of God is correctly understood as a "terminal" concept, the end of history where peace and love will prevail. There can be no question that unregenerated Western man could not even desire to arrive at such an end, except in utopian dreams. Here a real dilemma opens, which H. Richard Niebuhr so well described in his book *Christ and Culture*. There is no theoretical answer to it, only an existential decision. The way a person walks is really the way he must walk by an inner necessity—culture or no culture.

Nevertheless, there is no denying that the Anabaptists gave Western man a great deal that enriches our spiritual existence and our ethical ideals: theirs was an object lesson in what man can do as a Christian. There was brotherly love at its purest, there was a lesson on how to live together creatively which is today re-emphasized by the Society of Brothers and a demonstration in how to realize peace and harmony in a world of unrest, much hatred and conflicts.

The Anabaptists were the first advocates of a "Free Church," independent of all state supervision and interference. They were the very first ones to practice toleration in matters of faith, long before some humanists (Castellio) or philosophers (Locke) pleaded for such liberty of conscience. Faith, they understood existentially, is a thing of personal decision which can-

not be legislated or coerced. Hence their voluntarism in church matters, their thriving brotherhood-communities (mainly in Moravia) which a person would join due to an inner decision, submitting oneself to the discipline of the group (ban) and the authority of the elders. In all that they were a light to their time and even to ours, comparable to the first Christians prior to the influence of Greek speculation. The early disciples and followers of Christ were in many regards similar to the Anabaptists: they, too, contributed little to the then existing Greek-Roman culture by way of art, philosophy or science. They did, however, prepare the way for an eventual acceptance of the Christian values by the surrounding world. One might speak of a fertilization of our civilization by them regarding our understanding of the genuine Christian message and way, and the values implied in it. Today we have Mennonite colleges which in a sense represent a compromise between Christian and secular values, easily losing vision of the true request of the Anabaptist fathers. Still, the ferment remains and might one day lead to some revival of that kind. But, I admit, the issue of culture and Christianity remains unsolvable, until the end of history.

Secondly, there is the law of generation and the rise of a new tradition. There exists a clear difference between orthodoxy—Mennonite, Amish or Hutterite—which insists on a time-honored tradition and its folkways, and the dramatic emergence of Anabaptism in the sixteenth century as a creative challenge. Thus the term "law of generation" is self-explanatory. As all spiritual-existential movements, Anabaptism included, the breaking-in of the Spirit into the natural world, cannot last forever in its original form.

Genuine revival is authentic only if based on first-hand spiritual experiences which transform into a disciple and witness. Where such experiences are lacking, existential Christianity is simply not there, being easily replaced by some other forms of subjectivity. I might point there to pietistic Christianity which offers the alternative of private emotional piety. Though lovely in many respects, it yet is not a real challenge to the world outside, making small impact on the surrounding environment, and therefore is not persecuted or maligned.

Another alternative is just traditional orthodoxy which sticks to the letter without really transforming the faithful. It would be intriguing to meditate further on this change through the generations. It seems almost to be a law that usually only three generations keep the pattern alive. We need only to think of the earliest Christians and their latest transformation to grasp this law. A period is bound to arrive when the church becomes "neither cold nor hot," as the Book of Revelation laments (3:15) and when "the first love is left" (2:4). At that moment a tradition is born as a new law, and will from now on be carried on from

generation to generation as something sacred. Creativity in matters spiritual has vanished and one might be entitled to speak of a downfall. The scholastics are taking over where the living spirit left a vacuum.

Periods of openness, what one might call "the breaking-in of the spirit," will thus alternate with periods of sterility, called as a rule "orthodoxy," highly respected and cherished. Pentecost really happened more than once, but so does its counterpart, orthodoxy and scholastic dogmatism and formalism. I certainly do not claim any fatalism in these matters. The breaking-in of the spirit will occur ever again, and we know it from history and our contemporary experience. But such an event is not bound to one specific group which by tradition would be more receptive than another. There is no way to coerce the Spirit.

To illustrate my point, I would like to tell an anecdote. As everyone knows, the Amish practice the free sermon, usually not even prepared beforehand.

One Sunday an Amish elder was preaching in this manner when he suddenly stopped and said: *Nun ist der Geist weg*. Whereupon he closed his Bible and left the pulpit. No further comment.

That is the preciousness as well as the precariousness of all Anabaptist witnessing. To us it has opened a little window to reveal the glorious light which Jesus had shown us first, that light which promises eventually the Kingdom of God in the here and now. But this window will also close again and then we find ourselves back in a world of darkness and confusion, borrowing here and there from both the wisdom of the Scriptures and the achievements of our civilization until a new teacher will appear to lead us to new horizons.

All this makes us feel both the nearness and reality and yet also the distance of the Holy Spirit. In this frame of mind I propose to close with an old, great medieval prayer: *VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS*

The Mourner

By Jacob Sudermann

Speak not those words
that straw the mind with platitudes,
choose not those songs
that seed for sentimental rains.
Here rests a man—
he set his course for verities;
all deviations eat to rust his name.

Nor pose a peaceful sainthood-crown
upon this warrior brow;
not even death's solemnity
could then suppress the frown.

Nor laud him for a charity
of superficial grade
who drew the sword for clarity
and bled a royal shade.

But lay his body, hard to rest,
befitting men of sterner mold;
the interdictions of this life
no longer hold for him,
no more deter his fervent quest,
no more prevail.
Now free, upon a higher plane,
full truth shall meet his eye, unveiled.

Doctrine

By Jacob Sudermann

One is the perfect number for love.

Divided
 multiplied
 added
 subtracted,

three is always the answer,
the frame of reference also
projecting the whole. Three
the father

 the son
 the spirit,
 demanding
 sharing
 relinquishing,
eros
 charitas and
 agape in closed circuit,

pulsating saving force,
consuming also.

One force: redeeming, destroying.

One is the perfect number for love;
three its diffracted image.

The Springs Folk Festival

By Jan Gleysteen

EACH YEAR SPRINGS, Pennsylvania, turns back the clock and shares the customs and crafts of yesteryear with thousands of visitors who flock to the little town. The occasion is the annual Springs Folk Festival and Homecoming—held on the first Saturday in October and the day preceding it, which sometimes is the last day of September.

Now the number of Folk-Fests and kindred celebrations have increased greatly over the past few years as an outlet in our leisure oriented way of life; however, all but a few can be written off as pancake festivals, firemen's fairs: good, clean fun, but without social, ethnic and historic significance, and not necessarily related to the region. Several years ago I was greatly disappointed in the Sugarcreek, Ohio, Swiss Festival. I had traveled there expecting to see a folk festival closely tied to the history, folklore and customs of the Swiss settlers, and instead I found a carnival type entertainment which could as well have been in Georgia or Idaho under a different name. The accompanying exhibits in the store windows—buttons, model cars, knick knacks—illustrated this.

The Springs Festival has a different foundation. In the planning sessions for this major annual event one hears words like "authentic, native, historic, rustic, significant, hand-crafted"—and care is taken by the various committees that the demonstrations and exhibits meet these criteria. As a result the visitors will be exposed to life as it really was, and in some cases still is, in the Allegheny Highlands.

After months of preparation and planning the crisp clear autumn morning arrives. The skies are blue and the distant mountains stand clearly outlined, and Pennsylvania's glorious autumn colors themselves are an added incentive for a visit to Springs. Before 10:00 a.m. the first visitors begin to arrive from Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Washington and places nearer by. Soon the place is humming with activity and interesting noises: the ping of the blacksmith's hammer, the clop-clop of hooves on a two-horse treadmill, the groans of a cider press. Guests enter the grounds at the old Mennonite meetinghouse which is now a fellowship center where during the next hours thousands of delicious Penn-

sylvanian German meals will be served to the visitors. Housewives are already busy peeling potatoes by the barrel and exchanging the latest news about the *Freundschaft*, while their husbands tote water, tend the fires and turn the *Bratwurst*.

But let us pass the meetinghouse for the time being to enter the gates of the lower demonstration area, and the Springs Museum, which is housed in a permanent structure on the grounds. Some old-timers are calculatingly swinging the broad adzes, squaring logs for a house. Nearby, amidst the fragrant chips, stands a feeding trough for pigs, neatly chopped from half a log. The use of a pole ax is demonstrated and the resulting rails are assembled in a rail fence. Rail fences, still quite common in Somerset County, are uniquely American and date back to the days when costly and hard-to-get nails from England or the eastern seaboard were not available to the pioneers, who came up with this ingenious and picturesque answer to the problem.

Step aside for a moment to permit the passing of an ox-drawn Conestoga wagon loaded with excited children. A steam roller lumbers by in a cloud of tangy smoke, clearing its way with a sharp "toot-toot" from its five chimed whistle. Photographers follow, trying to catch the action on film.

In a rustic pioneer kitchen built of untrimmed boards, bonneted ladies prepare traditional foods to take home, while nearby fragrant and fresh apple cider spills from the spout of a hand-operated press. Some of the sweetest smells at the whole *Fest* come from the large copper kettle suspended from a wooden tripod in which apple butter is boiled down, stirred and stirred for long hours by a smiling youngster.

". . . Ist das nicht ein Schnitzelbank? . . . Ja, das ist ein Schnitzelbank!" . . . sings the old verse, but not just everywhere can one see a *Schnitzelbank* nowadays, let alone see one in operation. Several of the old time shaving horses are in use on the grounds, occupied by native experts, making ax-handles, shaving brooms, or dressing shingles. A potter always draws an admiring crowd as his chosen blob of clay slowly develops into a decorative crock.



Mennonite women quilting at the Springs Folk Festival.



Making apple butter.



Demonstration in making pottery.



Making a trough.



At the Schnitzelbank.



Demonstration of bonnet making.

On the upper field three huge tents, which are eventually to be replaced by permanent buildings in harmony with the spirit of the *Fest*, house the Crafts Sales, the Crafts Demonstrations and the program stage for the folklore and song presentations. In the Crafts Demonstration tent a woman fashions exquisite models of the native songbirds from clay, which neatly painted become part of lovely driftwood and moss dioramas. An old mountaineer, himself a picturesque sight, whittles bears and deer. Wood carvings both primitive and excellent—near professional—abound. Artists from nearby communities are present with their paintings of maple sugar camps, the Allegheny Mountains, or the historic inns and toll houses along America's first National Pike, now U.S. 40; still others demonstrate the ancient art of woodcut printing. One young Mennonite artist entertains the crowds by making excellent charcoal portraits for a small fee. There is the clatter of the weaving loom, and the quiet ambitious labors of quilting grandmothers. Many of these sights are first time experiences for many a city person, and history truly becomes alive before their eyes. A close person-to-person contact with the craftsmen, a chance to have one's questions answered, makes a visit to the Springs Festival doubly worthwhile. There are communications on record to show that tourists have gone home to start wood carving, making collages, or doing weaving on their own.

In the program tent one may attend an old-fashioned singing school where old and familiar hymns are sung in four parts, or where a noted historian answers questions of Anabaptist history. A professor from nearby West Virginia, a leading folklorist who has traced authentic mountain music for over thirty years, delights the audience with some samples on the dulcimer.

Wandering around in a relaxed mood, meeting people and learning things, will make one hungry. Excellent Pennsylvania German meals are available in the old meetinghouse, but if you'd rather not stand in line for this popular feature, various and sundry foods are available on the grounds from homemade bread with fresh apple butter to maple *spatze* and mouth-watering sausages, bean soup and apple *schnitz*. Coffee and cider help moisten one's throat.

Several interesting conducted bus tours leave the grounds all through the day, such as a tour of Amish farm homes and Yoder School ("Dutch College"); a maple sugar tour; a Maryland and Pennsylvania fall foliage tour which includes Mt. Davis, highest point in Pennsylvania.

Yes, the Springs Festival provides an excellent opportunity to catch the spirit of life among the mountaineers in the beautiful Alleghenies as it was, in some cases still is, and as it may inspire you to relate more meaningfully to your own vocations and avocations. As they say in Springs: "Come once and see what we have yet still!"

Art and Environment

By Robert Regier

IN ACADEMIC settings—colleges, universities, and art schools—enrollments in art courses have steadily increased. Hardly a large university in the country has failed to respond to this increased interest on the part of students. Elaborate, costly visual arts centers have been springing up everywhere. The Federal Government has become interested in the arts. And this in turn has spurred efforts on state and local levels. In communities everywhere art centers and small museums are springing up almost with the regularity of gas stations. I do not mean to imply that this is bad. But quantity does not necessarily guarantee effectiveness.

In the August 14, 1966, issue of the *New York Times* the art critic John Canaday writes the following in an article titled "It May Be Fun, But It's Not Funny": "Things have come to such a pass in this country that once a community is large enough to support a couple of supermarkets, it begins to think about building an art center . . . and mothers of healthy children, having become infected with the culture virus, begin to look at their offspring on the baseball lot on a Saturday morning and decide that they should be corralled into painting classes instead. The very fact that a thing called an 'art center' can exist is the first evidence that art today is increasingly a kind of vermiform appendix in our social system. The art center is an admission that art has been relegated to the position of a pastime for the immature, the aged, the idle, or the frustrated. What the art center really is, is an orphan's home."

The point Canaday implies, perhaps through overstatement, provides the springboard for this article. Art, though increasingly popular, is having less to do with the real fabric of daily existence. It is being neatly tucked away in centers where it is entertaining and largely unnoticed. Like for some religion, it is nice to have comforting evidences of it around, so long as it does not affect our daily decision-making. In February of 1966 an article appeared in the *Saturday Review* titled "Colleges Graduate Visual Illiterates." In it an art educator attempts to point out how art experience, though reaching rather high levels of sensitivity in the classroom and within the bounds of the picture frame, has failed to find any kind of adequate bridge to the visual world outside the classroom. The article states: "The American public prefers its visual arts tidily isolated in museums for Sunday view-

ing and seems relatively unconcerned with its day-to-day surroundings. There has developed a curious imbalance between a growing appreciation of the arts and an increasing imperviousness to the quality of our daily visual environment. Education has had a highly beneficial effect on the first but either has not been applied or has failed miserably on the second."

In the spring of 1966 a surprising thing happened. The theme for the art education conference at the University of Kansas was the American landscape. American landscape referred broadly to all evidences of man's impact of his natural environment. And the blight on the landscape, largely unchallenged by the so-called art boom, is the focus of my concern.

Let me point out several factors in our society that I feel contribute to this blight—perhaps junk would be a better word. Downer Dykes, a professor of industrial design who spoke at the conference just mentioned, defined junk as not simply discard material, but any ill-conceived, poorly designed, or poorly placed object.

Pretense and Authenticity

First, let us consider the matter of pretense. Pretense, or deception if you prefer, is so rampant that I wonder whether the "authentic" will have any usefulness in several years. We are proud of our ability to execute the slight of hand, the fake job, the substitute. One tour through a mail-order catalog produces among numerous other things hand-painted birch asbestos logs for a fireplace which is made of styrene copolymer brick having a true-to-life 3-D look, authentic-look woodgrain hardboard, and tan-marble vinyl bathroom tile. With the collaboration of a ponderosa pine Sears unfinished chair and a Sherwin-Williams one-day antiquing kit we can wave our wand and have a fresh new 300-year-old chair. There is no end. Plastic flowers will not lose their petals, and perhaps it is not unreasonable to think that in a few years we will shade our furled brows under plastic trees that will not have to endure the annual agony of dying and living again.

All America has become a land of make-believe—fake Baroque gables in Albuquerque, brand new Renaissance houses, and Gothic churches. It all adds up to what Ian Nairn, a British architect calls "goop." He goes on to say that "the end product is Disneyland,

which is absolutely right where it is. The human mind and heart needs that, too. But in America, the attitude of Disneyland is being spread over the entire continent. . . . America has made the biggest hash of its environment in the history of the world. Squalor has been compounded with hypocrisy."

What's wrong with a walnut-grained formica? When I try to become philosophical, I lose my way. But let me suggest that I see no difference between people of pretense and people-made things of pretense. What we are, what we choose, and what we make builds or destroys community. When we parade as something we are not, our relationships are stripped of meaning, our community disintegrates.

We complain of meaninglessness in society. Our visual environment is rapidly losing any sense of meaning. Where is the authentic object? What meaning can be found in illusion? Where is evidence of that near meaningless word, integrity? It is strange how this seems to be a problem of more sophisticated societies. It is no surprise that some artists in the modern era have turned their backs on our society and sought refuge in primitive cultures—where straw is straw, stone is stone, and wood is wood.

Another aspect of pretense deserves mention. When material is forced to say or do something out of accord with its nature, the divisive factor of status enters the picture. By embracing the false use of material the status-conscious image is encouraged. It is not surprising that pseudo-elegance in the dime store is a common phenomena. If the real thing is beyond our grasp, a facsimile—a let us pretend job will do.

Through pretense we have arrogantly treated material and the history of material solutions as an enormous smorgasbord. Man picks and chooses to satisfy a gluttonous appetite. Then he takes a nap with the comforting dream that he has feasted on the agonizing problem-solving of others, thereby avoiding the necessity of dealing imaginatively and honestly with the present moment.

The Word Without Meaning

The second factor I want to consider is expressed in the word "style." Style in its contemporary use is an unnecessary word, a word we could almost do without. But it is commonplace in a culture that tends to design from the outside in. An artist learns much from nature, but either he forgets quickly, or he is not allowed or encouraged to give expression to his insights. The best illustration of material expression can be found in the natural environment around us. Materials form in accord with their own nature. Whether tree, nest, web, shell, or bone, the ultimate form is an expression of necessity. It is appropriate for its need and purpose. It grows from the inside out. It grows organically.

Out of organic growth comes an authentic object, an object with meaning. How many man-made objects that we confront every day grow this way? To be sure, there are some. All too often, though, we have the opposite—something that grew from the outside in. When this happens we have affectation, which is more kindly called "style." The consumer market is saturated with this condition. Automobile design, though somewhat improved over the late 50's, is the most familiar expression of this problem. Fins to impale pedestrians and vents for motors that do not exist are more bizarre expressions.

Style reflects no profound understanding of an object. Rather, it is an endless parade of modernisms that have no real or necessary relationship to the objects they dress. Again, it is another form of pretense; it falsifies. Newness is exhilarating, but superficial newness is the ultimate form of boredom. Internally, or organically, most objects change slowly, but with the aid of self-conscious style they are suddenly all new. Needless to say, style fathers premature obsolescence, a terrible price the consumer must pay in order to bathe in the momentary delights of superficial change.

In architecture, style is often equally meaningless. There is an abundance of self-consciously modernistic structures reflecting fads, clichés, and fleeting tastes. Vigorous expression fails to evolve from material, purpose, and necessity, so vain outward affectations attempt to prop up and hide the real failure.

Organic architecture comes from within—directed by the nature of the material, the purpose of the space, and a creative spirit. Nowhere is this process more difficult to find than in contemporary church architecture. Organic growth gives rise to material expression; style is the handmaiden of materialism. It could be quite a shock when some day many churches discover that while preaching anti-materialism, they lovingly embraced it in their structures.

Edward Sovik, a church architect and builder, asked a group of architects, "What do our churches say? A lot of our new ones in this country are as comfortable, as livable, as homelike, or perhaps as clublike, as they can afford to be. Redwood, flagstones, plants, mahogany, carpets, upholstered pews, boudoir colors—all the *Better Homes and Gardens* motifs. . . . Isn't God God anymore? And have his people turned from being a church militant to a bourgeois club?"

Failure to grapple with true problem solving in architecture often leads to another stylistic perversion. Meaningless modernisms, which many people rightly suspicion, are bypassed in favor of a safe style from the past. Traditional affectations are no better than modern ones. Neither reflect the inner dynamic of growth. In the thirteenth century flying buttresses held up daringly tall church naves which perfectly expressed the religious dynamics of the time. But flying buttresses

at the top of a steel-girdered Chicago *Tribune* tower become warts.

If one builds a house it would probably be necessary to begin with a standard, rather inexpressive box. Then, in order to compensate for its lack, a style is chosen for the most exposed side. With a little gingerbread, French Provincial, Southern Colonial, Mediterranean, or Dutch is within easy grasp. Frequently, residential U.S.A. becomes a stylistic hodge-podge, a weak attempt to assert some individuality that is not actually present.

Ian Nairn, whom I quoted earlier, begins his essay with the warning, "That no identity is better than a false one. The needs and qualities must be real, not artificially tickled-up. It is natural when an environment has no authentic visual identity to escape into the past. It is all very well, but only as a children's game."

Organic Growth

Finally, another factor that encourages blight is the predictable negativism that greets attempts at real, organic problem solving. We have become so accustomed to, so soothed by our make-believe environment that authentic newness seems brutal and harsh. Sovik,

the architect, stated that "We must insist that things are not right because we like them, but we like them because they are right." Even though more humane, excellent design is often regarded as an enemy of the people, as eccentric, as being out of joint with our time.

After a thousand years, it is still difficult to extract the proper principle from the history of form to understand and apply the process of organic growth and change that produced excellent solutions in the past, rather than to embrace the solutions themselves, transplant them and attempt to make them ours.

Bruce Goff, a Kansas City architect, said a good reason for living is to see what comes next—welcome it, do not fear it. (He was referring to change in depth, not surface gimmicks.) Let me be the first to admit that to avoid being fearful is difficult. Change is unsettling, risky, and fraught with error. But if we confess we are human, and not superhuman, we can help and encourage each other to work for significant change. We resist it, but is there really any kind of life worth living apart from a life that embraces risk? Perhaps this has something to do with what we commonly call faith—not necessarily a verbal affirmation, but a creative, optimistic acceptance of the present moment with all its accompanying problems and hazards.

Transition from Dutch to German in West Prussia

By Jacob A. Duerksen

I. General Statement

MOST OF THE Mennonites with a Dutch background have been bilingual ever since they left the Netherlands more than four hundred years ago. When they emigrated from the Netherlands to Danzig and West Prussia during the sixteenth century they used the Dutch language in the church. It can be assumed that in their daily life they will have spoken Dutch, Flemish, Frisian and other dialects depending on from what part of the Low Countries they had come.

Most of West Prussia, where the Mennonites lived, was under Poland, which naturally had Polish as the

national language. However, most of the native Lutherans and Catholics spoke the High German and a Low German dialect. The Mennonites continued to use the Dutch in West Prussia and Danzig until the middle of the eighteenth century when they changed from Dutch to High German in church and school and a West Prussian Low German dialect in the homes and in public.

Between 1789 and 1830 some two thousand Mennonite families emigrated from Danzig and West Prussia to Russia, which had Russian as the national language. However, the Mennonites did not make much effort in the early years to acquire a speaking

and writing knowledge of the Russian language.

It was not until the sixties and seventies, when Russia intensified its Russianization policy, that the Mennonites began to make a serious effort to master the Russian language. The Mennonites continued to conduct their church services in Russia in the High German language and to speak the Low German in daily life until World War II.

The Dutch Mennonites came in three waves from Russia to America, in the seventies of the last century and in the twenties and the forties in this century, with the first wave in the seventies settling in the United States and Canada. The transition from High German and Low German to English occurred in the United States in the first half of this century and about half of those in Canada are in the throes of this transition now.

The second wave came to Canada in the twenties. Many of this group are also in the transition from German to English or else are approaching it. The third wave came to Canada, Paraguay and other South American countries in the forties. Those in South America are living in Spanish speaking countries. They are still holding to the practice of using High German in church and Low German in daily life.

A large group of Old Colony Mennonites emigrated in the twenties and the years following from Canada to Mexico, Paraguay, British Honduras and other Central and South American countries. They are holding zealously to the use of German in church and Low German in the homes.

Copies of the Dutch Biestken's Bible, *Martyrs' Mirror* and *Foundation Book* by Menno Simons were taken along from West Prussia to Russia. A few of them were even taken from Russia to the Prairie states by the first settlers to come to America.¹

II. Documentation of the Transition

Hendrik Berents Hulshoff's report of his pastoral visit to the Przekhovka Old Flemish Mennonite Church near Schwetz gives us a glimpse of how deeply the Dutch language still was entrenched in Prussia in 1719. Hulshoff brought a large basketful of Dutch books with him from the Netherlands which had been requested by members of the Old Flemish Mennonite Church in Przekhovka and by members of the Frisian churches in Montau and Schönsee. Some of the requested Dutch books were: Biestken's Bible, Dirk Philips' *Enchiridion oft Hantboecxken van de Christelijke Leere*, *Het Offer des Heeren* and some Dutch songbooks.²

Elbing

The Elbing Mennonite Church was probably one of the earliest congregations to change from Dutch to German preaching. As early as 1762, Gerhard Wiebe apparently felt that he was not well enough grounded

in the Dutch language, to preach a sermon in the Dutch language, and so when he was invited to preach in the Flemish Mennonite Church in Danzig he requested for permission to preach in the German language.³ This indicates that the Elbing congregation had been using the German in worship services for some time.

Rosenort

The meetings of the Rosenort Mennonite Church were held in homes, granaries, barns and sheds until 1754, when Rosenort was granted permission to build a church.⁴ The Dutch language was used in this congregation in religious services until the middle of the eighteenth century when Rosenort changed over to German.

Montau

The Montau Mennonite Church was one of the oldest Mennonite country churches established in West Prussia. The first building erected for worship services was built in 1586. The transition from Dutch preaching and singing in this church to German occurred in the eighteenth century. In 1918, when Leonhard Stobbe, one of the preachers of this church, wrote the history of the Montau-Gruppe congregation, he found several Dutch Bibles and Dutch sermon books on the shelves of his parishioners. Some of the homes built in the old Dutch tradition were still standing in 1918.⁵

Heubuden

As early as 1671 Georg Hansen wrote that the young people of the Heubuden Mennonite Church could write German better than Dutch. Nevertheless, Heubuden continued Dutch preaching until 1750-60, more than seventy-five years later. In the early days of the Heubuden congregation, the religious meetings were held in farm homes in winter, and in summer in good barns or large cow stables which were always meticulously cleaned and decorated with greenery. The preacher sat on a high-backed chair while preaching his two-hour sermon in the Dutch language without using notes or outlines. With the introduction of German preaching, the preachers began to use notes and to preach in a standing position.⁶

There was practically no singing in the church meetings before 1700. After 1700 they used the Dutch songbook *De Gulden Harpe* by Karel van Mander and the German songbook *Deutsche Psalmen* by Ambrosius Lobwasser. Copies of these books were brought to America and can be found in the Bethel College Historical Library.

Danzig

The Danzig Flemish Mennonite Church at Petershagen Gate was organized in 1569. The worship services were simple in the early days.⁷ There was no

pulpit. A row of chairs, reserved for the preachers, was standing on a slightly raised platform on one side of the room. The chair in the center was reserved for the preacher of the day. After the congregation had sung a hymn the preacher delivered his lengthy sermon in the Dutch language in a seated position. This practice continued until after the middle of the eighteenth century when the pressure for German services became more vocal.

Hans von Steen, the elder of this church at that time, had an excellent command of the Dutch language both in speaking and in writing and resisted the transition from Dutch preaching to German. He did, however, see the handwriting on the wall, that the young people of his church would not speak the Dutch language very much longer. He also procured for his young people the German catechism, *Confession oder kurtzer und einfältiger Glaubensbericht der alten flämischen Taufgesinnten Gemeinden in Preussen*, 1768.

Gerhard Wiebe from Elbing was the first preacher to preach in the German language in the Flemish Church in Danzig on September 16, 1762. The German sermon was not generally appreciated by the congregation. Five years later, on April 20, 1767, Cornelius Regehr from Heubuden preached the second German sermon in this Danzig church and this German sermon was accepted favorably by the congregation. Cornelius Mohr was the first preacher of this church to preach a German sermon in his own church on January 1, 1771. The other preachers of this church soon followed, preaching German several years before the death of Elder Hans von Steen in 1780.

The church used Dutch hymnals such as the Psalms under the title *Geestlyke oft nieuwe Herpe Davidis* . . . until about 1780 when Peter Tiessen, Jacob de Veer and the highly talented Hans Momber compiled the German Mennonite hymnal *Geistreiches Gesangbuch der Mennoniten Gemeinde in und vor der Stadt Danzig*.

The Dutch language continued to be used in many homes until about 1800 when it gave way to the local Low German. All entries in the church record book previous to 1768 were made in Dutch when the change to High German occurred.⁸

In the Danzig Frisian Mennonite Church at the Neugarten Gate, the transition from the Dutch to High German was effected earlier than it was in the Flemish church.⁹

Przekhovka

The Old Flemish Mennonite Church in Przekhovka was one of the last if not the last one of the West

Prussian churches to change from Dutch preaching to German. On August 18, 1785, the brotherhood of the Przekhovka congregation, which included Jeziorken, Schönsee and Neumark churches, had a meeting in the Przekhovka church. At this meeting, the brotherhood elected an elder, two preachers for Przekhovka, two preachers for Jeziorken, two preachers for Schönsee and two deacons for Przekhovka. The newly elected elder was the highly gifted Jacob Wedel. At this meeting the brotherhood voted to give the newly elected preachers permission to preach either in the Dutch or German language whichever they preferred. Jacob Wedel promised that he himself would make a special effort to become more proficient in German preaching.

Elder Jacob Wedel wrote a condensed German Confession of Faith, based on the Dutch Confession of Faith, which this church had used before, and Cornelis Ris' German Confession of Faith entitled *Die Glaubenslehre der wahren Mennoniten oder Taufgesinnten aus deren öffentlichen Glaubensbekenntnissen zusammengezogen durch C. Ris nebst erläuterndem Vorbericht und Anhang*.¹⁰

An interesting observation is that the more conservative congregations and those of the cities such as Danzig who remained for a longer period of time in contact with the Dutch congregations, retained the usage of the Dutch language longer.

FOOTNOTES

1. Letter from Cornelius Krahn dated May 9, 1967. A general treatment of the use of the Dutch language by the Mennonites of Danzig and West Prussia is found in the following writings: B. H. Uurub, *Die niederländisch-niederdeutschen Hintergründe der mennonitischen Ostwanderungen im 16., 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. (Karlsruhe: Heinrich Schneider, 1955), and J. S. Postma, *Das niederländische Erbe der Preussischrussländischen Mennoniten in Europa, Asien und Amerika*. (Marburg, 1958). See also "Platdeutsch," Cornelius Krahn, *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, pp. 186-189.

2. C. H. Hulshoff, "Bezoekreis van Hendrik Berents Hulshoff aan de Doopsgezinde gemeenten der oude Vlamingen in Pruisen en Polen in 1719," in *Bijdragen in Mededeelingen van het historisch genootschap*, LIX, Utrecht, 1930.

3. H. G. Mannhardt, *Die Danziger Mennoniten Gemeinde*, Danzig, 1919, pp. 106-8.

4. *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, Newton, p. 360.

5. "Montau Church Record," Microfilm No. 4 in the Bethel College Historical Library; Leonhard Stobbe, *Montau-Gruppe*, Montau and Gruppe, 1918, pp. 15-16.

6. *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, Vol. II, Weierhof, pp. 306-7; *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, pp. 730-1.

7. H. G. Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 106ff.

8. "Danzig Church Record," BCHL.

9. H. G. Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 106ff.

10. "Przekhovka Church Record!" Microfilm No. 75 in BCHL which contains Jacob Wedel's condensed confession of faith; and Heinrich Banmann, "Geschichte der Alexanderwohl Gemeinde bei Goessel, Kansas," in *Bundesbote Kalender fuer 1926*, Berne, Indiana, 29-30.

The Low German of the Canadian Mennonites

By J. Thiessen

I. *The Background of the Canadian Low German*

This study is a continuation of the research on the Mennonite Low German dialect first undertaken by Mitzka¹, Quiring², and Schirmunski³. It is an attempt to trace a parallel development of the vocabulary of the dialect with the history of this religious group as the Mennonites from the Netherlands trek through northern Europe, to the Ukraine, then to Canada and finally to Mexico. Although there are Mennonites in every continent of the earth today, this study will confine itself to the Mennonite immigrants who came from Russia to Canada and those that moved on to Mexico.

The results of the German *Wortatlas* and the charts of the phonetic and morphological atlases of the *Marburger Sprachatlas*⁴ were instrumental in elucidating and corroborating the author's findings.⁵

After World War II many Mennonite refugees came from the Vistula delta of the Danzig area to Canada, and, although never having been in Russia, some still spoke the Low German dialect. This raised the question by resident Canadian Mennonites⁶, "How is it that we are still able to converse with you in the dialect without any difficulty in spite of the fact that we have been separated for 175 years?"

"And why," the question was pursued, "do you not know the simple terms like *boklezhan* (Russian for tomato), *bul'ke* (Russian for bread), *shisnick* (Russian for garlic), *shtap*, (Russian for field), *shimedaun* (Russian for suitcase), *kuckeruz* (Russian for corn), and *arbuz* (Russian for watermelon)?" It was obvious that the so-called Canadian Mennonites had been exposed to linguistic influences on their sojourn in Russia and had adopted loan words which were foreign to the newcomers from North-Eastern Germany.

Already in the lifetime of Menno Simons his followers settled in East Friesland, north of Hamburg and Lübeck and particularly in the Vistula delta area near Danzig. Menno Simons and Dirk Philips personally organized these Dutch Mennonite churches.

At the end of the eighteenth century some of these Mennonites migrated to Russia, accepting special privileges of settlement extended to them by Catherine the

Great.⁷ They established the Chortitza settlement (the Old Colony) in 1789 and the Molotschna settlement in 1803. When the privileges originally granted them in Russia were jeopardized the first migration to North America during the years 1874-78 was undertaken. Subsequent migrations were to follow in the 1920's after Communism stifled religious freedom and after World War II when Mennonites, evacuated by the German thrust of 1941-43, gradually found their way to their fellow believers in the New World.

There are in the world today some 500,000 Mennonites. In the province of Manitoba, where they have settled most densely, some 55,000 have established new homes. On the lookout for more land and feeling their school privileges encroached upon when the Manitoba government enforced the public school system without exception, some 6,000 Mennonites left for the state of Chihuahua, Mexico, in the 1920's. They have increased to over 30,000 in the relatively prosperous agricultural areas of northern Mexico during the last 40 years. Brief reference to their vernacular will be made at the conclusion of this study.

The Mennonite Low German Dialect

Up to the present day, Low German (*Plautdietsch*) is spoken in the majority of Mennonite homes in Canada, particularly in rural areas. In Mexico, the spoken communication, except in school and church, is exclusively in Low German. This Low German dialect is essentially and basically a Lower Saxonian vernacular, explicitly a Lower Prussian dialect with Dutch remnants, occasional Frisian sprinklings and Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Yiddish, old Prussian and English loan words. In a geographic sense, the dialect is West-Prussian.⁸ The loan word vocabulary is comprised of denotations for innovations which emerged through technical advance. Furthermore, in their vast migrations, the Mennonites frequently encountered new objects or foods which they adopted together with the respective term in the prevailing language.

Being a tradition-conscious group, the Mennonites of the Vistula delta retained the Dutch as their 'high' or church language until 1781, i.e., for more than 200 years after moving from the Netherlands into the Danzig delta. Shortly before they migrated to Russia,

they accepted as their church language, High German. Before this time, the Low German prevalent in West Prussia had been accepted as their colloquial language.⁹

Literary achievements in the vernacular are limited in the main to humorous short stories depicting local scenes in Mennonite settlements. The most eminent writer in the dialect is Arnold Dyck who says the following about the dialect.

Low German

"Op'e Forstei word Plautdietsch jerädt, bloss plautdietsch wobie sitj de veschiedene Utsproake meä oda weinja utjlitjtc. Ons Plautdietsch es von Hus ut 'ne Buasproak, es prost enn groff. Weens dentj wi daut, sict wi aunjefonge habe, jein to woare enn nich meä so räde, aus ons cenmol de Schnowel jewosse es. De Forsteia tjannde von de Sproakfinesse nuscht, oda haude doafäa tjeene Tiet. Se räde fresch von'e Plutz wajh, emma rejhtoo äwre Atj enn nannde de Dinj bi ärem plautdietschen Nome."¹⁰

Translation

"In the forest camps (alternative service for military duty in Russia) only Low German was spoken whereby the variations pronunciations were more or less equalized. Our Low German is originally a peasant language, simple and direct. At least we think so since we are becoming a little refined and no longer talk the unaffected dialect. The foresters knew nothing about the finesse of language or had no time for it. They spoke straightforwardly, using shortcuts when need be to call 'a spade a spade' in a language exclusively Low German."

Some writers, notably J. H. Janzen, have captured the simple piety of the people in his writings. A contemporary artist is J. W. Goerzen who recently published *German Heritage-Canadian Lyrics in three Languages - English, Low German, and High German*.

There are slight differences in pronunciation within the dialect but these merely reflect their geographic origins and original colonialization patterns. The aforementioned studies of Mitzka, Quiring, Schirmunski and more recently, Goerzen,¹¹ Dyck¹² and Lehn¹³ all make reference to these insignificant peculiarities in pronunciation. They are confined to the long—u—as opposed to the palatalized—ü—in words like *du* and *dü* (you), *hus* and *hüs* (house), *buhl* and *bühl* (bump).

Another variation is the difference in the diphthong *au* as opposed to the diphthong *ei* as in the examples *grau* and *greiw* (grey), *blau* and *bleiw* (blue), *mau* and *meiw* (cuff).

A final difference is to be noted between *oa* and *öa* in words like *möaken* and *moake* (to make). The Molotschna settlement of Russia has dropped the final -n of the verbs, no longer palatalize the u and has adopted the High German pronunciation for blue and grey.¹⁴

The extent of Dutch vocabulary remnants retained in the dialect were for the first time exhaustively traced by the writer in the published dissertation to which

reference has already been made. It is highly interesting to note that these particular words of Dutch origin were exclusively restricted to the Mennonite vernacular. That they were completely foreign to neighboring German settlements of non-Mennonite faith is evidenced by the German *Wordallas* charts for the words *pinich* (diligent), *vondoag* (today), *albassem* (currants), and *foaken*¹⁵ (often).

From these charts it becomes obvious that these words are restricted to predominantly Mennonite settlements and appear nowhere else in all of Germany.

II. Samples of Roots and Influences

1. Dutch Remnants in Low German.

Some of the Dutch remnants that have endured in the Low German dialect of the Mennonites through over four hundred years are the following:

blezune(n), weak verb, (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, II, 1, 2813,¹⁶ *blazoenen*), 'to blow as on a trumpet'. In the dialect it means to howl, to cry complainingly.

brosh, adj., (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, III, 1, 1585, *brosh(ch)*) is a shortened form of Mnl. *broosc*, nl. *broos*), easily breakable, brittle, quick to crumble. It is also used to describe dry, combustible wood and straw. This description jives exactly with dialect usage.

devere(n), weak verb, (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, II, 2, 2312, *daveren*), 'to drone, roll, rumble' as of a thunder peal or a heavy wagon.

drok, adv. adj., (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, II, 2, 3496, *druk*), 'to be under pressure of work, fully employed, particularly as in harvest time'.

fendoag, adv., (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, XVIII, 427, *vandaag*), 'today'. This term is used exclusively for 'today' by the Mennonites. (Also *vondoag*.)

flenta, subst. m., usually used in the plural form *flentash*, (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, II, 2, 4535, *flenter*), 'rag, torn piece of garment or any light material waving in the wind'. Used commonly in the dialect to depict an older model automobile with flexible celluloid windows.

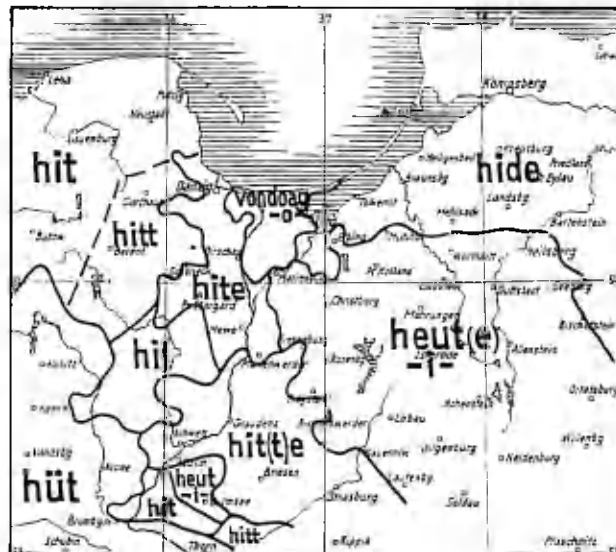
gaulme(n), weak verb, (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, IV, 1, col. 189, *galmen*), 'to call loudly or shout', which is the exact meaning in the dialect up till the present time.

jedonte(n), subst. pl., (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, IV, 609, *gedoente*), 'exaggerated gestures employed to create a false impression, affectation, pretence'.

klose(n), weak verb, (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, VII, 2, 4382, *klossen*), 'to stamp around loudly, to walk noisily as with wooden shoes'.



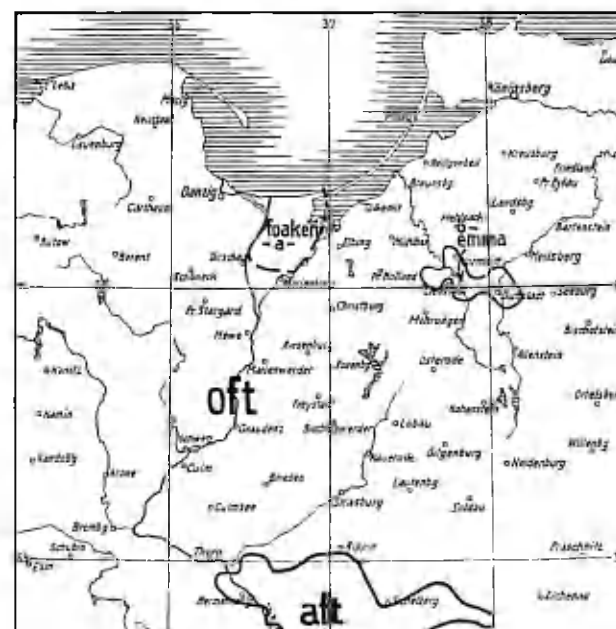
pinich (*fleißig*, busy) a verb of Dutch origin was used by Danzig Mennonites only.



vondag (*fendoag*, *heute*, today) of Dutch origin used by Mennonites of the Danzig area only.



Albessen (*Olbasem*, *Johannisbeere*, currant) used by Mennonites of the Danzig area only.



foaken (*oft*, *often*) used by Danzig Mennonites only.

kom f., komt'e, subst. n., (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, VII, 2, 5164, *kom*), 'bowl or dish'.

k'wil, subst. n.; *k'wile(n)*, weak verb, (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, VIII, 1, 779, *kwijl*), 'saliva, spittle'. Mnl. *quijl*, *quilen*, mnd., nnd., *quil*, Frisian, *kwyl*; *quijl*, *quiel* are also known in the Frisian and Flemish dialects.

lod, subst. fl., (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, VIII, 2, 2914, *loot*), 'shoot, sprig'.

mak, adj., (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, IX, 108, *mak*), 'tame, domesticated, fatigued'.

olbasem, subst. pl., (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, I, 13, *aalbes*, *aalbezie*), 'red, yellow or black currants'. Refer to enclosed chart. (Also *albassem*.)

pinic, adj., adv., (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, XII, 1, 1668, *pijnen*, 1678, *pijnig*), 'diligent, busy'.

shtaut, *shtautk'e*, (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, 1926, *stoot*; von Dale, 1800, *stoot*), this is 'a measure of time,' 'a short while'.

toze(n), verb, (*Wb. d. Nl. Taal*, VIII, 598, *torsen*), 'to pull or carry a heavy load with great effort'.

Other words in the dialect of Dutch origin are the following:

beje, subst. n., from *bagge*, 'piglet'.

f'dide(n), weak verb, from *voeden*, 'to care for, particularly of one's elders'.

fegaderun, subst. f., from *vergadering*, 'gathering of a group, usually of a religious group'.

fenile(n), weak verb, from *vernielen*, 'to devour or eat ravenously'.

gautsche'ts, adv., from *goedschiks*, 'freely, easily, at least'. (*beqgrauje(n)*), weak verb, from *graien*, 'to grab with heavy uncouth hands'.

glad, subst. m., from *glad*, 'a low lying area with flat contours'.

jedruzh, subst. n., from *gedruisch*, 'noise, continual and annoying noises'.

knauje(n), verb, from *knoeien*, 'to work hard but without plan or pattern'.

k'ip, subst. f., from *kip*, 'a braided or plaited basket'.

k'lia, subst. f., from *klier*, 'gland'.

k'nevel, subst. m., from *knevel*, 'a thick, bulky fellow or object'.

k'nipa, subst. m., 'beetle'.

k'resbea, subst. f., from *kruisbezie*, 'gooseberry'.

läiftolich, adj., from *lieftalig*, 'charming, attractive, and also very ready to please'.

lik'ne(n), weak verb, *lijken*, 'to resemble'.

(*bek'se*)*lint*, from *lint*, 'waistband of men's trousers'.
lot, adj., from *laat*, meaning late.

mau (meu), subst. f., from *mauw*, 'cuff of a shirt or jacket'.

onauzel, subst. m., from *onnoozel*, meaning 'a good for nothing churl, a no-good'.

onjemak, subst. n., from *ongemak*, meaning 'suffering, burdens, hardships, complaints, troubles'.

pauje(n), weak verb, from *paaien*, meaning 'to stroke, pet or caress lovingly' or 'to paw with heavy, clumsy and awkward hands'.

plenje(n), weak verb, from *plengen*, meaning 'to pour over as liquid from a pail'.

ruble(n), weak verb, from *robbelen*, *robbelig*, meaning 'to rub or scour, particularly of a rough, uneven surface'.

shindere(n), weak verb, 'to nag, complain or mock'.

sheure(n), weak verb, from *sleuren*, 'to procrastinate, to walk slowly and lazily'.

shobe(n), weak verb, from *schobben*, meaning 'to rub and scratch'.

shtelozh, subst. f., from *stellage*, 'a scaffold, erected for building purposes'.

shtipa, subst. m., from *stieper*, *stijpen*, 'a supporting beam used in construction'.

voat, subst. m., from *waard*, *woord*, *woerd*, meaning 'a male duck, a drake'.

2. Old Prussian, Swedish and Polish Influences.

The following are words that can be traced to Old Prussian, a language related to Lithuanian.¹⁷ They are common in the dialect.

klunje(n), weak verb, 'to step or tread heavily as into a pool or puddle'. Frischbier¹⁸ traces this verb to the Lithuanian *klanas*, 'water puddle'.

kujel, subst. m., 'boar, male pig', from Lit. *kuilys*, 'boar'.

kunta, subst. m., 'gelding', from Lit. *kunteris*, 'a small, powerful horse'.

mejäl, subst. f., 'girl', from Lit. *mergele*, 'little girl'.

vop, subst. f., 'panicle of oats', from Lit. *voppa*, 'panicle'.

zhavre(n), weak verb, 'to talk profusely or to be verbose', from Lit. *zhaveti*, 'to conjure or charm'.

A loan word from the Swedish is *fäibashtang*, subst. f., the only term used for a forked tree used to pull a cutter in winter and a buggy in summer. This noun can be traced to the Swedish *Fehmerstange* or *fimmelstang*.¹⁹ There is evidence that the Mennonites purchased cutters from the Swedes while in Russia.

A few words from the Polish:

blot, subst. m., 'mud', from the Polish *bloto*.

glomz, subst. f., 'cottage cheese', from Polish *glomza*.

klepot, subst. m., 'troubles, accident prone', from Pol. *klopot*.

kobel, subst. f., 'mare', from Pol. *kobyła*.

koda, subst. n., 'rag, piece of cloth used as a dish rag', from Pol. *koldra*.

krushk'e(n), subst., 'a small, wild pear', from Pol. *gruszka*.

pluts, subst. f., 'lung', from Pol. *pluca*.

prom, subst. f., 'ferry', from Pol. *prom*, *pram*.

prost, adv., 'simple, ordinary, vulgar', from the Pol. *prosty*, or from the Russ. *prostoj*, having the same meaning.

vons, subst. f., *vonse(n)*, pl., 'scanty growth of beard', from the Polish *was*, 'mustache'.

vruk, subst. f., 'turnip', from Pol. *brukiew*.

shaubel, subst., 'bean', from the Pol. *szabla*, meaning 'sickle'. The derivation is obviously from the shape of the bean pod resembling a sickle.

3. Some loan words from the Russian and Yiddish.

arbus, subst. f., Russian *arbus*, meaning 'watermelon'. The Russians have the product as well as the word from the Turks.

baub, subst. f., 'a simple peasant woman', from the Russian *baba*.

baraban, subst. m., 'drum,' from the Russ. *baraban*.

boklezhan, subst. f., 'tomato', from Russ. *baklazhan*. Actually this word means 'egg fruit' (*Solanum esculentum*) but the Mennonites use the term for tomatoes.

bulk'e, subst. n., 'bread' or 'white bread', from Russ. (Ukraine) *bulka*.

burnus, subst. m., 'coat', from the Russ. *burnus*, 'coat with hood'.

durak, subst. n., 'blockhead', Russ. *durak*, 'blockhead', a kind of card game.

jegromt, adj., 'learned, well versed', from the Russ. *gramotnyj*, 'capable of writing'.

kolodets, subst. m., 'gelatine', from the Russ. *cholodets*, 'preserve in jelly or aspic'.

kvas, subst. m., 'a sour alcoholic beverage', from Russ. *kvas*, 'mead'.

molodets's, subst. m., an expression of enthusiasm in applause, 'a fine fellow', 'well done, boy', from Russ. *molod'ec*.

pashol, interjection, 'quick, on the move', from Russ. *poshell*!

plemenik', subst. m., 'nephew', from the Russ. *plemjannik*.

pluiche(n), subst. pl., 'rags', from the Russ. *plocho*.

pojas, subst. m., 'belt, strap', Russ. *pojas*.

semchon, subst. m., 'homebrew', from the Ukrainian *samohon*.

shimedaun, subst. m., 'a large suitcase', Russ.

chemodan, Tatar, *chamadan*, Persian *jamadan*.

shisnik', subst. n., 'garlic', Russ. *chesnok*.

shtap, subst. f., 'field, field of grass', Russ. *step*.

tota, subst. m., 'billy club, black jack'. A club introduced to the Mennonites by the Tatars and consequently called by the Mennonite pronunciation of 'tatar'.

trub, subst. f., 'pipe or tube', from the Russ. *truba*.

vrenek'e, subst. f., 'small, filled pastry, generally filled with cottage cheese', Russ. *vareniki*.

zvoshik, subst. m., 'coachman, driver', from Russ.

izvozhik, 'hackney coachman'.

Russian diminutives always end in -ka and are feminine. When they were adopted into the Low German, the suffix was changed to -tje and these words subsequently became neuters. Examples are, *bultje* (*bulk'e*) from *bulka* and *bezintje* (lighter) from *bezinka*.

In 1847 the Russian government attempted to interest the Jewish population in tilling the soil in the Kherson area. Mennonite farmers who were settled at a ratio of one to six among the Jewish farmers, were to act as model farmers. This project was called the *Judenplan*.²⁰ From this contact, several Yiddish words

found their way into the Mennonite dialect. They are the following:

baulabes, subst. f., 'cannon', Yiddish *balbos*.

boxat, subst. m., 'young man, would-be-great man', from the Hebrew *bachur*, 'young man', which we find in the Yiddish *bocher*, 'one who knows the Talmud, a pupil of the Rabbi'.

jankel, subst. m., 'a *bon vivant*', *Jankel* is a Yiddish call name (masc.).

meshuge, adj., 'crazy', from *meschugga*, 'crazy, deranged'.

tuges, subst., 'posteriors', from the Hebrew *tachat*, 'hind part'.

(*d*)*ziga*, subst. f., 'time of the clock', probably from the Polish *zegar*, *zygar*, 'watch or clock', related to the German *Zeiger*.

4. Loan words from the English.

The loan words in the dialect were relatively few up to the time of immigration to Canada. They were confined to articles or commodities unknown to the Mennonites until they were confronted with them as a result of their migrations from country to country. Adoptions from the English language, however, tend to be made without plan or pattern and with little discrimination.

The fact that Canada was technically more advanced than Russia may account for this change. Another reason can be traced to the fact that the Mennonites have long since identified with the German cause, which was not a very popular one after two World War defeats. Furthermore, the present trend towards urbanization is unique and the equalization process of city life is making inroads into Mennonite separation. The most basic reason for the present change, however, is the ease of learning English since it is so closely related to both High and Low German. It goes without saying that the influence of schools is the strongest factor.

Some of the numerous loan words from the English easily prove the point made.

They are: *baus* for boss, *barba* for barber, *basketbawl* for basketball, *besbawl* for baseball, *betshla* for bachelor, *benokels* for binoculars, *bitsh* for beach, *biznis* for business, *blizard* for blizzard, *bomp* for bump, *bumpa* for bumper, *brek* for brake, *boge* for buggy, *disk* for disc, *dreva* for driver, *dzhek* for jack, *eleveta* for elevator, *fun* for phone, *fens* for fence, *firtelca* for fertilizer, *flet* for flat tire, *graushopa* for grasshopper, *grevel* for gravel, *holede* for holiday, *honimun* for honeymoon, *kidz* for children (from the English kids), *koa* for car, *kombain* for engine combine, *lek* for lake, *mestek* for mistake, *mod* for mud, *overauls* for overalls, *parla* (*bäia parla*) for beer parlour, *petshe(n)* for

'to patch', *redireta* for radiator, *sendvitsh* for sandwich, *strikkoa* for street-car, *tair* for tire, *traila* for trailer, *trubel* for trouble, *tulz* for tools.

The High-German has been retained almost exclusively in church services in rural areas while slowly giving way to English in the city. High German is also used in radio broadcasts and in the Mennonite press. A few religious broadcasts are also aired from the Mennonite radio station in Altona, Manitoba, in Low German.

5. Low German in Mexico.

In Mexico the language situation is much simpler. The Mennonites speak only Low German and they can afford to do so because they live in closed villages. Furthermore they still enjoy the prestige position by virtue of being more prosperous than their Mexican counterparts.

The entire number of loan words from the Spanish is less than a dozen. They are: *mucho thanks*, a contamination of Spanish and English used to express 'thanks very much'; *si* for yes; *mira* for 'do you see? understand?'; *cabellero* for gentlemen; *corral*; *lasso*; *mas o menos* for 'more or less'; *caramelos* for candy; *mula* for mule; and *Mexa* for Mexican. A word used in administration is the Spanish loan word *kobrieren*, 'to collect an amount of money'.

The power of the dialect to absorb words to fit its own pattern of grammar and pronunciation has been almost completely terminated. Some examples of words that have been translated or reconstructed to the terms of the dialect are the following: *Julbassem*, literally 'howling broom', for a vacuum cleaner; *Siekoda*, literally 'straining rag', for filter; and *Gumm-esel*, literally 'a rubber donkey' for a bicycle.

FOOTNOTES

1. Walther Mitzka, "Die Sprache der deutschen Mennoniten," *Heimatblätter der Deutschen Heimatbundes*, 8. Jg., Heft 1, (Danzig, 1930).
2. Jacob (Walter) Quiring, *Die Mundart von Chortitza in Sued-Russland*, (Muenchen, 1928).
3. Viktor Schirmunski, *Die deutschen Kolonien in der Ukraine*, (Khar'kov, 1928).
4. *Deutscher Wort-Laut und Formenatlas*, Marburger Sprachatlas, (Marburg/Lahn).
5. John Thiessen, *Studien zum Wortschatz der kanadischen Mennoniten*, (N. G. Elwert Verlag, Marburg, 1963).
6. 'Canadian Mennonites' here refers to the groups that immigrated to Canada from Russia between 1874-78, in the 1920's and after World War II as refugees.
7. Horst Quiring, "Die Auswanderung der Mennoniten aus Preussen 1788-1870," *Mennonite Life*, Vol. VI, (April, 1951), p. 37.
8. John Thiessen, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
10. Arnold Dyck, *Welkoom op'e Forstrei*, (Steinbach, Man.) Introduction: Translated freely by the author.
11. J. W. Guenzen, "The phonology of Plautdietsch," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1930.
12. Henry D. Dyck, "Language Differentiation in Two Low German Groups in Canada," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1961.

13. Walter I. Lehn, "Rosental Low German, synchronic and diachronic phonology," Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1957.

14. Aside from Mitzka, Quiring and Schirumski's findings, the writer has substantiated these differences through questionnaires, personal observations, recordings, etc.

15. The enclosed maps, reproduced from John Thiessen, *Studien zum Wortschatz*. . . . are copies from the *Sprachatlas*, Marburg. See also, Curt Wiens, "Niederlaendischer, Wortschatz in der Mundart der Weichselwerder," *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, No.

56, 1916. Danzig, p. 139.

16. van Dale, *Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, (Leiden, 1924).

17. This information was gained by personal communication with the aforementioned Walther Mitzka, Marburg.

18. H. Frischbier, *Preussisches Woerterbuch*, (Berlin, 1882).

19. U. Huette, "Worteographie von Deichsel und Gabeldeichsel," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Marburg, 1947.

20. *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, Vol. II, (Weierhof, 1933).

Plautdietsch

By J. H. Janzen

Maunch eena kaun keen Plautdietsch mea
en schämt sich nich emool.

Em Geagindeel: he meent sich sea
met siene hoage School,
red't hoogdietsch, english, rusch—so vâl,
daut eenim dieslich woat.
Weat es de gaunze Klätamähl
nich eene Schinkeschwoat.

Auls eck noch kleen wea, saut eck oft
bi Mutt're oppin Schoot,
en plautdietsch säd se, —o so oft; —
"Mien Jung, eck sie die goot."

Waut Mutta plautdietsch to mi säd,
daut klung so woarm en tru,
daut eck daut nimmamea vegät
bat to de latzte Ruh.

Few Know Low German

Translated by Elmer F. Suderman

Few know Low German anymore
and aren't even ashamed of it.
On the other hand, they take pride
in their prodigious learning,
speak High German, English, Russian
until I get dizzy.
But the whole rabble
isn't worth the rind of a ham.

When I was a child, I often sat
on mother's lap and not infrequently
she'd tell me in Low German:
"My son, I love you."

So sincere and affectionate
were mother's Low German words
that I will never forget them
until my dying day.

LOW GERMAN: SOME LINGUISTIC STUDIES

Jacob Quiring, *Die Mundart von Chortitza in Süd-Russland* (München, 1928).

J. W. Goerzen, "Low German in Canada, a story of 'Plautdietsch' as Spoken by Mennonite Immigrants from Russia" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1952).

Walter Isaak Lehn, "Rosental Low German, Synchronic and Diachronic Phonology" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1957).

Marjorie Baerg, "Gnadenau Low German: A Dialect of Marion County, Kansas" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1960).

John Thiessen, *Studien zum Wortschatz der kanadischen Mennoniten* (N. G. Elwert Verlag, Marburg, 1963).

Henry D. Dyck, "Language Differentiation in Two Low German Groups in Canada," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1964).

C. Wiens, "Niederländischer Einfluss im Wortschatz der Weichselwerder," *Ztscht des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, 1916.

LOW GERMAN LITERATURE

"Romance of Low German," J. John Friesen, *Mennonite Life* (Apr. 1947), p. 2.

"Russian in Low German," Gerhard Wiens, *Mennonite Life* (Apr. 1958), p. 75.

"Plautdietsch and English," J. W. Goerzen, *Mennonite Life* (Jan. 1952), p. 18.

"Low German Sayings," *Mennonite Life* (Apr. 1958), p. 66.

"Low German Proverbs," Warren Kliever, *Mennonite Life* (Apr. 1960), p. 77.

"More Low German Children's Rhymes," Warren Kliever, *Mennonite Life* (Oct. 1960), p. 173.

"Low German Children's Rimes," Warren Kliever, *Mennonite Life* (July, 1959), p. 141.

See also "Plattdentsch," Cornelius Krahn, *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, pp. 186-189. J. H. Janzen was treated as author in the July 1951 issue of *M.L.* and Arnold Dyck in the April 1959 issue.

Language Differentiation among the Low German Mennonites of Manitoba

By Henry D. Dyck

1. The Russian Background

WHEN TRAVELING through the Mennonite settlements of Manitoba, the visitor will notice a marked difference in the sounds of the Low German he hears spoken by the various groups. Although phonological and grammatical differences are few, they are striking. The following are examples:¹

Old Colony Mennonites:

Eij ha daut Veagel jezenen. (I have seen the bird.)

Bergthal Mennonites:

Eij ha daut Veagel jezene.

Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites:

Eij hab daut Voegel jezene.

Molotschna Mennonites:

Eij hab den Voegel jezene.

In the first example the verb ends in *n*, while in the other three examples this final *n* is missing. The stressed vowel sound of *Veagel*, in the first two examples, differs from that of *Voegel* in the last two examples. The gender of *Veagel* is neuter in the first three examples and masculine in the last example. The auxiliary *ha* in the first two examples lacks the *b* which it ends in the last two examples.

The purpose of this article is to show how this differentiation of Low German into dialects has come about. Before we examine this process in detail, it is necessary to get a general picture of the various Mennonite groups that existed in the Russian and early Manitoba Mennonite settlements. Social and economic conditions tended to influence linguistic change.

In Russia there were two early Low German speaking Mennonite settlements, Chortitza (Old Colony) and Molotschna (New Colony). The Molotschna settlers, coming to Russia later, had accepted the High German to a larger degree which in turn had modified their Low German. This difference continued in Russia and Canada and was closely related to economic progress. Although the settlers were chiefly agrarian, there arose important businesses and industries in their centers. They owned factories and numerous flour mills.

The Mennonites in Russia developed a good system of elementary schools, high schools for boys and girls, business schools, and three-year normal schools. Some studied at Russian and Western universities. United

by their religious faith and their self-governing cooperative village systems, the Russian Mennonites possessed a spirit of solidarity.

Although both the Chortitza and Molotschna colonies demonstrated this progress, the Molotschna Mennonites were considered as somewhat more of a prestige group. This is borne out by the fact that the dialect of the Molotschna settlers began to influence the Chortitza dialect. In the cultural centers of the Chortitza colony there was an implicit feeling that the Chortitza dialect was coarse and *ungebildet*. Diphthongs of the Molotschna dialect were considered less broad than the corresponding Chortitza diphthongs. In accordance with the Molotschna dialect the final *n* of nouns and infinitives of verbs was dropped. There was a general tendency to achieve a refinement suggested by High German, the language of the church and schools. Although the speech of the more educated at the center of the Chortitza settlement approached the Molotschna dialect, that of the majority of the Chortitza settlers remained distinct, the people in the villages situated farther away from centers showing no influence of the Molotschna dialect at all.

Although there were other dialects, such as that of the Frisian settlers of two villages in the Chortitza settlement, and that of a group that came from West Prussia as recently as 1853, settling near the Volga River, these dialects were not represented in the first Manitoba settlements and therefore do not concern us in this discussion.

Linguistic Differences

Following are illustrations of the differences between the two main Low German sub-dialects in Russia, the Chortitza and the Molotschna dialects.

Chortitza dialect

Mine Frū mot zīj zea schlacht felen. Aus ze en den Owen tjitjt, zed ze: "De Kööken ze je aula auebrent."

Molotschna dialect

Mine Fru mot zich zea schlacht fēle. Auls ze en den Owe tjitjt, zed ze: "De Koeke zent je aula aunjebrent."

English translation

(My wife must feel very bad. As she into the oven looked, said she "The cookies are all burnt.")

Phonology: Diphthongs

<i>Chortitza dialect</i>	<i>Molotschna dialect</i>
<i>meaken</i> (make)	<i>moeke</i>
<i>köök</i> (cookie)	<i>koek</i>
<i>liiren</i> (wait)	<i>lure</i>
<i>bleiw</i> (blue)	<i>blau</i>
<i>heiwèn</i> (mow)	<i>haue</i>

Morphology

<i>Ch.d.</i>	<i>Mol.d.</i>
<i>mon</i> (moon)	<i>mont</i>
<i>wils</i> (because)	<i>wil</i>
<i>wuscht</i> (would you)	<i>wurdst</i> or <i>wudst</i> (High German, <i>würdest</i>)
<i>erauf</i> (down)	<i>erunda</i>
<i>aus</i> (as)	<i>auls</i> (H.G., <i>als</i>)
<i>jñ</i> (you, dat. and acc.)	<i>junt</i>
<i>zen</i> (are)	<i>zent</i> (H.D., <i>sind</i>)
<i>e wunda</i> (a wonder)	<i>en wunda</i> (H.G., <i>ein</i>)
<i>feriwoen</i> (dest)	<i>utruce</i>
<i>tjeninjij</i> (king)	<i>tjenich</i>
<i>leiw</i> (lion)	<i>lew</i>
<i>bot</i> (until)	<i>bat</i>
<i>on</i> (and)	<i>en</i>
<i>feaken</i> (often)	<i>oft</i>

The infinitive form of the verb and the plural of weak nouns end in *n* in the Chortitza dialect; in the Molotschna dialect the *n* has been lost.

<i>Ch.d.</i>	<i>Mol.d.</i>
<i>fleejen</i> (fly)	<i>fleeje</i>
<i>schnien</i> (snow)	<i>schnie</i>
<i>keaken</i> (cook, boil)	<i>koeke</i>
<i>düwen</i> (doves)	<i>duve</i>
<i>schpreaken</i> (languages)	<i>schprocke</i>

Prefixes in the following words mostly retain the *n* in the Molotschna dialect as in High German:

<i>Ch.d.</i>	<i>Mol.d.</i>
<i>aufaulen</i> (attack)	<i>aunfaule</i>
<i>aujwèn</i> (report)	<i>aunjewe</i>
<i>ejeschwint</i> (soiled)	<i>enjeschwint</i>
<i>eschlopen</i> (fall asleep)	<i>enschlope</i>
<i>ojletj</i> (misfortune, accident)	<i>onjletj</i>
<i>erüwen</i> (rub in)	<i>enriwe</i>
<i>ezolten</i> (treat, cure with salt)	<i>enzolte</i>

Gender

<i>Ch.d.</i>	<i>Mol.d.</i>
<i>daut schpoelinjtj</i> (the sparrow), neut.	<i>de schpoelinjtj</i> , masc.

<i>daut feagel</i> (the bird), neut.	<i>de foegel</i> , masc.
<i>daut glot</i> (the glowing coals), neut.	<i>de glot</i> , fem.
<i>de meag</i> (the stomach), fem.	<i>de moege</i> , masc.
<i>de schot</i> (the lap), fem.	<i>de schot</i> , masc.

Indefinite Pronoun

<i>Ch.d.</i>	<i>Mol.d.</i>
<i>ena</i> (one)	<i>maun</i> (High German, <i>man</i>)

The Molotschna speakers tend to drop the *je-* (H.G., *ge-*) prefix of the past participle of the verb. This hardly ever occurs among the conservative Chortitza dialect speakers. The practice of dropping the *je-* prefix of the past participle on the part of the Molotschna people indicates their love for contractions. The following are examples:

<i>Ch.d.</i>	<i>Mol.d.</i>
<i>erom</i> (around)	<i>rom</i>
<i>met dem peet</i> (with the horse)	<i>metm peet</i>
<i>noch en bestje mea</i> (still a little more)	<i>noch bestje mea</i>
<i>jistren tseowest</i> (yesterday evening)	<i>jistre owent</i>
<i>en betje liida</i> (a little louder)	<i>betje luda</i>

In the majority of words presented in the above lists, the Molotschna dialect shows the tendency to imitate High German. It seems strange, therefore, that it should be the Chortitza dialect which retains the *-n* ending in the infinitive and noun.

The following words show the High German influence on the Molotschna dialect especially clearly. Some of them are not used all the time, but occur alongside of older forms.

<i>Ch.d.</i>	<i>Mol.d.</i>
<i>foet</i> (at once)	<i>sefoet</i> (High German, <i>sofort</i>)
<i>jevast</i> (been)	<i>jeweze</i>
<i>kaust</i> (canst, 2nd person singular)	<i>kaunst</i> (H.G., <i>kannst</i>)
<i>zest</i> (else)	<i>zont</i> (H.G., <i>sonst</i>)
<i>meist</i> (almost)	<i>faust</i> (H.G., <i>fast</i>)

2. Dialects of the Original Manitoba Settlers

Having related the origin of the dialects in the Russian Mennonite settlements, we shall next see to what extent these dialects were represented in the settlements in Manitoba, formed by the Russian emigrants of the 1870's.

Most of the Mennonites who settled in Manitoba during this time were derived from two of the daughter colonies of the Chortitza settlement in Russia.

The first of these daughter settlements was Bergthal, established in 1836, some forty miles east of the Molotschna settlement. The second was the Fürstenland settlement, not far from Chortitza. When the Mennonites of these two settlements came to Canada in the 1870's, those from Bergthal settled in the West Reserve of Manitoba and those from Fürstenland in the East Reserve.

A third group to arrive in Manitoba in the period under consideration was the *Kleine Gemeinde*. This group had separated from the Molotschna Mennonite Church in Russia because the leader, Klaas Reimer, thought the church had become too worldly and had lost its vitality. The members of the *Kleine Gemeinde* migrated to Nebraska and Manitoba. Those in Manitoba settled near the Bergthal group in the East Reserve and possibly influenced the speech of their Bergthal neighbors.

Another reason for the linguistic changes in the speech of the Bergthal people may have been a lack of constancy as a group, caused by economic factors. Their colony in Russia had been a failure from the start, and its members came to Manitoba relatively poor. In Manitoba they soon found out that the land east of the Red River, which they had chosen, was poor in quality compared with that west of the River. Consequently about half of them moved into the eastern portion of the West Reserve, left vacant by the Fürstenland group, who occupied the drier western portion of the reserve.²

Linguistic Differences

Following are descriptions of the sub-dialects spoken by the three original groups in Manitoba.

The Fürstenland Dialect

Except for the adoption of some English loan words, this group has completely retained the Chortitza dialect as spoken in the Chortitza settlements in Russia and as described in the previous section.

The Bergthal Dialect

Two features in the Bergthal dialect suggest an influence of Molotschna speech, spoken by the *Kleine Gemeinde*, immediate neighbors of the Bergthalers in the East Reserve. They are the dropping of the *n* in infinitives and nouns and the use of *n* in the prefixes of the following words:

<i>Chortitza dialect</i>	<i>Bergthal dialect</i>
<i>eschlophen</i>	<i>enschlope</i>
<i>aunjeven</i>	<i>aunjeve</i>
<i>aufaulen</i>	<i>aunfaule</i>

With the two features mentioned, however, the resemblance of the Bergthal dialect to the Molotschna dialect ends. In all other respects it has the sounds of the Chortitza dialect.

It is interesting that both the Chortitza and the Bergthal speakers use the past subjunctive form of the verb *komen* (come) as the past indicative. This subjunctive form is *tjemen*; the indicative form, used in the other sub-dialects, is *kaumen*. Speech Sample: *Dine Frü mot zijt zea schlacht fele. Aus ze en den Owe tijjt, zed ze: "De Kööke ze je aula aunjebrent."*

The *Kleine Gemeinde* Dialect

The *Kleine Gemeinde* dialect remains identical with the Molotschna dialect, except for the following important changes:

<i>Molotschna dialect</i>	<i>Kleine Gemeinde dialect</i>
<i>jeweze</i> (been)	<i>jewast</i>
<i>haue</i> (mow)	<i>heuwe</i>
<i>blau</i> (blue)	<i>bleiw</i>
<i>grau</i> (gray)	<i>greiw</i>

The foregoing changes to Chortitza dialect forms must have been caused by the proximity of the Bergthal settlement whose people spoke a language that derived from the Chortitza dialect. The Chortitza dialect influence is also noticeable in the change of gender from the Molotschna dialect.

<i>Molotschna dialect</i>	<i>Kleine Gemeinde d.</i>
<i>de foegel</i> (the bird), masc.	<i>daut foegel</i> , neut.
<i>de glot</i> (the glowing coals), fem.	<i>daut glot</i> , neut.
<i>de schpoelinjtj</i> (the sparrow), masc.	<i>daut schpoelinjtj</i> , neut.

Speech Sample: *Dine Fru mot zijt zea schlacht fele. Aus ze en den Owe tijjt, zed ze: "De Koeke ze je aula aunjebrent."*

3. Dialects of Later Mennonite Arrivals

After World War I a large number of Mennonites from Russia joined those of Manitoba who had come to Canada in 1870. Since the first Manitoba Mennonites themselves designate the descendants of the original Mennonite settlers in Manitoba as *Kanadier* and the group that arrived in the twenties and later as the *Russländer*, we shall use these terms for the two groups from this point on. The *Kanadier* and *Russländer*, in general, have hardly influenced each other's language since the immigration of the latter, because each group tends to live in clusters of their own people. This is true especially of those Fürstenland people who did not leave for Mexico, and who organized their own Fürstenland Mennonite Church or joined the Sommerfeld Mennonite Church, a conservative group, that split off from the Bergthal Mennonite Church. Only in villages occupied partly by remaining Fürstenland people and partly by *Russländer* and in towns and cities do language differences tend to disappear.

In the settlements where no group mixing has taken place, however, little or no change in language has occurred since the coming of the *Russländer*.

A comparison of the speech of the Chortitza or Old Colony people who came to Manitoba in the 1920's, with that of the Fürstenland people, descendants of the same stock, who settled in Manitoba fifty years earlier, is the most important point of this article. The comparison already made between the speech of the *Kleine Gemeinde* people and that of the later arrivals from their mother colony, the Molotschna Colony in Russia, concerned a minority of original Low German Manitoba settlers. In a comparison between the speech of the Chortitza or Old Colony people arriving in the 1920's with that of the Fürstenland people, we are concerned with the majority of the original Manitoba settlers.

This comparison of the speech of the original Chortitza colony settlers with that of the late Manitoba settlers from the Chortitza colony in Russia fully supports the thesis mentioned earlier that the trend in the Chortitza or Old Colony in Russia was toward the more sophisticated Molotschna dialect and, excepting the phenomenon of dropping of final *n*, toward High German. The following tables, showing on the one hand the original Chortitza dialect and on the other the speech of the Chortitza *Russländer* today will show this. It is to be understood that there still is a minority of the *Russländer* from Chortitza who have held on to the original Chortitza dialect and who do not share completely in the changed Chortitza speech presented here.

Linguistic Differences

Phonology: Diphthongs

<i>Original Chortitza d.</i>	<i>Russländer Chortitza d.</i>
<i>meaken</i> (make)	<i>moeke</i>
<i>köök</i> (cookie)	<i>koek</i>
<i>lären</i> (wait)	<i>luren</i>
<i>schnö</i> (snow)	<i>schne</i>
<i>bleiw</i> (blue)	<i>blau</i> , alongside <i>bleiw</i>
<i>greiw</i> (gray)	<i>grau</i> , alongside <i>greiw</i>
<i>heiwen</i> (mow)	<i>haue</i> , alongside <i>heiwe</i>

Morphology

The final *n* of verb infinitives and of nouns has been dropped by a large part of the Chortitza *Russländer*. Those who retain the *n* do not pronounce it always, while those who have dropped it occasionally will say it.

<i>Original Chortitza d.</i>	<i>Russländer Chortitza d.</i>
<i>fleejen</i> (fly)	<i>fleejen</i> or <i>fleeje</i>
<i>schnien</i> (snow)	<i>schnien</i> or <i>schnie</i>
<i>keaken</i> (cook, boil)	<i>koeken</i> or <i>koeke</i>

Prefixes in words such as the following mostly have adopted the *n* of the Molotschna dialect among the *Russländer*.

<i>Original Chortitza d.</i>	<i>Russländer Chortitza d.</i>
<i>aufaulen</i> (attack)	<i>aunfaule</i>
<i>aujewen</i> (report)	<i>aunjewe</i>
<i>ejeschwint</i> (soiled)	<i>enjeschwint</i>
<i>eschlophen</i> (fall asleep)	<i>enschlope</i>
<i>ojletj</i> (misfortune, accident)	<i>onjletj</i>

Other differences in forms of words:

<i>Original Chortitza d.</i>	<i>Russländer Chortitza d.</i>
<i>mon</i> (moon)	<i>mont</i>
<i>leiw</i> (lion)	<i>lew</i> , alongside <i>leiw</i>
<i>tjeninjtj</i> (king)	<i>tjenich</i> or <i>tjeninjtj</i> or <i>tjenitj</i>
<i>jü</i> (you, dat. or acc.)	<i>junt</i> , alongside <i>ju</i>
<i>ha</i> (have)	<i>hab</i> , alongside <i>ha</i>
<i>bot</i> (until)	<i>bot</i> , also <i>bat</i>
<i>jewast</i> (been)	<i>jewast</i> as well as <i>jeweze</i>
<i>wud</i> (would)	<i>wud</i> , alongside of <i>wurd</i>
<i>foet</i> (at once)	<i>zofoet</i> , but mostly <i>foets</i>
<i>bleiw</i> (blue)	<i>blau</i> , alongside of <i>bleiw</i>
<i>heiwen</i> (mow)	<i>heiwe</i>
<i>zen</i> (are)	<i>zent</i> , alongside of <i>zen</i>

Subjunctive verb forms used by the original dialect speakers indicatively are not used by the *Russländer* dialect speakers, as in the Molotschna dialect.

<i>Original Chortitza d.</i>	<i>Russländer Chortitza d.</i>
<i>tjemen</i> (came)	<i>kaumen</i>

Gender

<i>Original Chortitza d.</i>	<i>Russländer Chortitza d.</i>
<i>de meag</i> (the stomach, maw), fem.	<i>de moegen</i> , masc.
<i>daut feschtaunt</i> (the brain), neut.	<i>de feschtaunt</i> , masc.
<i>daut tjoetjhof</i> (the church graveyard), neut.	<i>de tjoetjhof</i> , masc.
<i>daut schpoelinjtj</i> (the sparrow), neut.	<i>de schpoelinjtj</i> , masc.

The Molotschna Dialect

Where Molotschna families have isolated from their group among other dialect groups, they tend to adopt the speech of the group to some extent. However, except for the acquisition of English loan words, the Molotschna dialect has not undergone change in Canada.

FOOTNOTES

1. Since certain International Phonetic Alphabet symbols are unavailable to the printer, I am using letters from the English and German alphabets. (Not all symbols were available for the printing of this article. Ed.)
2. E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia, the Mennonites in Manitoba* (Altona, Manitoba: D. W. Friesen and Sons, 1955), p. 69.

John Schrag Espionage Case

By James C. Juhnke

THE JOHN SCHRAG espionage case was the dramatic climax to the dilemma of Kansas Mennonites in World War I. For John Schrag was chosen to be the symbol and the bearer of the American community's mistrust and hatred of German-speaking pacifists in the tense days of 1918.

John Schrag was a believer in those simple and durable virtues which made Mennonites highly prized citizens on the Kansas frontier. He was thirteen years old when his family emigrated from Volhynia, Russia, to central Kansas in 1874 and he was in his teens when he helped his father build a grain mill on the banks of the Little Arkansas River in Harvey County.¹ From his father he learned the value of hard work, the love of the soil, and the wisdom of careful investment. From the Mennonite faith and tradition he knew that God generously rewards his faithful laboring servants. Schrag's rise as a prosperous farmer with a large family and extensive landholdings was as natural as the economic and social success of the Mennonite community in the first decades after arrival in the new country.

The Mennonite role as outstanding and valuable citizen received an unforgettable jolt when the United States entered the World War in 1917. It suddenly became a requirement of acceptable American citizenship to support the war and to hate Germany. The Mennonites failed on both counts. They could not support the war because their religious faith taught them nonresistance, a doctrine whose practical expression was a claim for exemption from military service. And they could not hate Germany because Mennonites themselves were of German background who loved the German language and culture as preserved in their homes, schools, and churches. Their sympathies in the European war had been demonstrated in their collections of money for the German Red Cross.² Mennonites could not be acceptable citizens in America during the World War unless they gave up their German culture and their doctrine of nonresistance.

The War Bond drives became the test of loyal citizenship in the local community. Faced with alternative persuasion and intimidation by local Loyalty Leagues, many Mennonites reconciled their nonresistance with the purchase of the bonds. After all, reasoned Henry Peter Krehbiel, member of the Western District Com-

mittee on Exemptions, a war bond is a kind of tax and Jesus told us to pay our taxes.³ But John Schrag was not convinced. To buy bonds was to support the war and he would not support the war. That was that.

On November 11, 1918, a group of patriotic citizens in Burrton, Kansas, decided that the time was ripe for a showdown. "We was out to convert these slackers into patriots," said one of them later.⁴ Five carloads of men drove eleven miles to the Schrag farm near the Alta Mill to get Schrag to join the Armistice Day festivities in Burrton. Schrag's boys, sensing trouble, refused to say where their father was, but the Burrton men found him after ransacking the farmstead and forcing their way into the house. Schrag offered neither argument nor resistance. He went along in the hope that a measure of cooperation would help avoid physical violence.⁵

In Burrton a crowd quickly gathered as the citizens confronted Schrag with their real reason for bringing him to town. He must buy war bonds now or face the consequences. Schrag offered to contribute two hundred dollars to the Red Cross and the Salvation Army,⁶ but this was not sufficient. They demanded that he salute the American flag and carry the flag at the head of a parade through the town. But Schrag quietly and firmly refused to cooperate. The flag thrust into his hand fell to the ground. Someone shouted, "He stepped on the flag!" The crowd suddenly became an enraged mob.

They sprinkled and poured yellow paint on their victim, rubbing it into his scalp and beard until he resembled "a big cheese or yellow squash or pumpkin after the autumnal ripening."⁷ They led him to the city jail. Someone ran for a rope to hang him, but Tom Roberts, the head of the local Anti-Horse-Thief Association, courageously stood before the jail door brandishing a gun and saying, "If you take this man out of jail, you take him over my dead body." Temporarily frustrated, the indignant citizens made plans to return that night, force the jail open, and hang this so-called traitor. Meanwhile Schrag was placed in a chair on a raised platform in the jail so passers-by could view the humiliated man through the window in the jail door. One repentant member of the mob later testified to Schrag's calmness throughout the ordeal, "If ever a man looked like Christ—he did."⁸

Schrag was finally rescued from the Burrton crusaders-for-American-democracy by the Harvey County sheriff who came that evening to take him to the county jail in Newton for cleaning and safe-keeping. Before he was released, Schrag was informed that he was to be tried in court for violation of the Espionage Act. It was against the law to desecrate the flag of the United States.

Local newspaper accounts of the incident failed to defend the rights of the victim. The weekly Burrton *Graphic* on November 14 saw in the event "a pungent and durable reminder that loyalty is a necessary prerequisite to life in this community. We must be all Americans."⁹ The Hutchinson *News* article said that "a petition is being circulated to have him (Schrag) deported to Germany, his native land. This country is fast becoming an unhealthy place for 'slackers' of any kind."¹⁰ The Newton *Evening Kansan-Republican* suggested that if a federal court would find Schrag guilty, "it would undoubtedly mean the confiscation of his property and his deportation."¹¹ On the week of the hearing of the Schrag case in Wichita, the editor of the Burrton *Graphic* listed "Some Things Residents of Burrton Should Be Thankful For." In the list was "That we as a people are more tolerant of others' foibles."¹²

The case against Schrag was heard in the Wichita federal court rooms by U.S. Commissioner C. Shearman on December 9. Five Burrton citizens presented fifty typewritten pages of evidence to prove Schrag's disloyalty and desecration of the flag. Schrag retained the services of a Jewish lawyer named Schulz for his defense. Commissioner Shearman took the case under advisement and promised the decision would be made shortly.

The decision, handed down on December 24, was that Schrag was not guilty and should not be bound over for federal trial. But Commissioner Shearman did say that "Schrag could not have gone closer to a violation of the espionage act if he had had a hundred lawyers at his side to advise him."¹³ Schrag in fact had not wilfully desecrated the flag. Nothing in the Espionage Act required one to salute the flag, and Schrag's words which supposedly slandered the flag had been spoken in German so that none of the monolingual plaintiffs could prove any guilt.

The Newton *Evening Kansan-Republican*, frustrated by the acquittal of this "bull-headed" man, suggested that the case "should certainly make plain to any thinking person the viciousness that exists in the encouragement of the German language as a means of communication in America. . . . The melting pot cannot exercise its proper functions when such things are allowed. . . ."¹⁴

The Mennonite newspapers in central Kansas, intimidated into silence, did not come to Schrag's defense nor did they so much as mention the incident

or the hearing as an item of news. After the commissioner's decision, however, Editor C. E. Krehbiel of the *Herold* (Newton) wrote an editorial, "Mob Power," which clearly referred to the Schrag case although it mentioned no specific names or events. In cases of mob violence, wrote Krehbiel, either the mob or the abused person is guilty. If the court of justice decides that the victim is innocent, the only conclusion is that the mob is guilty. Readers were to make their own applications.¹⁵

Schrag's attorney encouraged him to bring charges against his persecutors, but Schrag declined. Such an action would have violated the Mennonite principles of nonresistance. But the nonresistant German-Mennonites had no scruples against clamping an economic boycott on the town of Burrton in the months after the Schrag affair.¹⁶ The boycott was not organized systematically but it was effective in disrupting the trade of Burrton businessmen who were dependent upon the commerce of German-Mennonite farmers. The legacy of tension and hatred generated by the event would be remembered for decades to come.

The experience of the Mennonites in World War I hardly had a salutary effect on the processes of the American melting pot. The Mennonites were driven to a defensive retrenchment, to a renewed awareness of their distinctiveness as Mennonites, in the years after the war. Although they gradually abandoned their German language and some German cultural traits, the war experiences forced them to a reconsideration and reaffirmation of the doctrine of nonresistance. And as long as Mennonites held to that doctrine, they would be a thorn in the flesh of American nationalists. The witness of John Schrag, and of other Mennonites who refused to compromise their doctrine of nonresistance during wartime, could serve as a reminder of the Anabaptist heritage of steadfastness in the face of persecution.

FOOTNOTES

1. Peter Schrag, son of John Schrag, personal interview with the author, McPherson Co., Kansas, Oct. 23, 1966.
2. *Forwaerts*, Nov. 27, Dec. 13, 1914. *Herold*, Nov. 19, 1914.
3. H. P. Krehbiel, "Die Stellung der Gemeinde Jesu Christi zum Modernen Staat," *Herold*, April 25, 1918.
4. Charles Gordon, Hutchinson, Kansas, interview with the author, April 23, 1967. Gordon was a member of the Burrton mob and confirmed details reported in this article.
5. Peter Schrag, interview, Oct. 23, 1966.
6. *Ibid.* Peter Schrag says his father gave a thousand dollars to the Red Cross and Salvation Army. The Burrton *Graphic* gives the figure of \$200 for the day of Nov. 11.
7. Burrton *Graphic*, Nov. 14, 1918.
8. Charles Gordon interview.
9. Burrton *Graphic*, Nov. 14, 1918.
10. Hutchinson *News*, Nov. 16, 1918.
11. Newton *Evening Kansan-Republican*, quoted in Burrton *Graphic*, Nov. 28, 1918.
12. Burrton *Graphic*, Dec. 12, 1918.
13. Newton *Evening Kansan-Republican*, Dec. 27, 1918. See also Wichita *Eagle*, Dec. 27, 1918.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Der Herold*, Jan. 1, 1919.
16. Gerhard Zerger, personal interview with the author, Moundridge, Kansas, Dec. 6, 1966. Fred B. Unruh, personal interview with the author, Burrton, Kansas, Jan. 29, 1967. Charles Gordon interview.

The Mennonite Character in American Fiction

By Elmer F. Suderman

IN RUDY WIEBE'S *Peace Shall Destroy Many*, Rozia Tantamont, who has come to Wapiti to teach in the graded school, asks Thomas Wiens, the young Mennonite hero of the novel: "I've lived here for three months, and I don't really know. Who is a Mennonite?"¹ Rozia is not the first to ask the question, both of the Mennonites as a whole and of the individual Mennonite. Indeed, it is the Mennonite version of the universal question asked by the Psalmist: "What is man?"

Many of us have been trying to answer Rozia's question for more than seventy times three months and are still as puzzled as she was but far more seriously concerned. I am sure that all of our efforts must be incomplete and must be, as Kant says all philosophy is *unendliche Aufgabe*.

When the question demands an answer, the Mennonite is inclined to answer it by examining what he was in the past before he became what he will presently cease to be, to examine the theology of the brotherhood, to give a psychological test, or to make a sociological survey. He rarely writes a short story or a novel, distrusting the method of fiction. Like Mrs. Touchett in Henry James' *The Portrait of a Lady*, he responds to literature as she responded to a comment by her son: "I don't think I know what you mean; . . . You use too many figures of speech; I could never understand allegories. The two words in the language I most respect are yes and no."²

The Mennonite with his concern for plain speech does not often turn to literature as a way of seeing, a mode of apprehending reality. Yet the method of fiction, neglected though it has been, may be one of the most fruitful methods of determining who a Mennonite is. History can only tell us what the Mennonites were, theology can only tell us what they believe about the things that matter, psychology and sociology are limited by what can be empirically examined in time and space. Literature, on the other hand, as Roland M. Frye reminds us, "is probably the most faithful mirror of human existence which man can create," attempting to involve us "in the great wholeness of human existence."³ It recreates the atmosphere, the mood, the flavor, the color, the feel, the sound of a place. In this article I want to consider literature as

a mode of apprehending the nature of man which is too often neglected by the Mennonites. Too many studies of Mennonite literature have been source studies or attitude studies. I am interested in the larger question of the nature of man.

I intend to examine the way and with what success fiction writers have tried to see the character of the individual Mennonite and the moral and mental qualities which distinguish Mennonites as a homogeneous group. To examine the corporate character of the Mennonites is admittedly difficult, for it assumes that there is such a thing as a corporate character of the American Mennonites, a dubious assumption at best, particularly since I am making no effort to distinguish between Swiss and Low German Mennonites, a distinction I was taught surely exists. I realize that I am dealing with an abstraction when I speak of the Mennonite character, and I rather distrust abstractions.

I am sure that what is most important about the Mennonites is not their abstract character, for this can be arrived at only by extreme oversimplification and by withholding the right information. Most of us want to be known as individuals, not as members of a group. Furthermore, the novelist's function is precisely the opposite of mine; he wishes to present not a neat concept of a group, but life as he envisions it with all its inconsistencies, its rough edges, its nonsense, its degradation as well as its glory.

Nevertheless, I am interested in this paper not only in individual American Mennonite fictional characters but also in the Mennonite character in its corporate sense, for it is an important abstraction and tells us something important about individuals as well as about the group.

I want to examine, then, some ways of looking at Mennonite characters and the Mennonite character in four novels: Caroline Chesebro's *The Foe in the Household* (1871); Gordon Friesen's *Flamethrowers* (1936); Rudy Wiebe's *Peace Shall Destroy Many* (1962), and Warren Kliever's *The Violators* (1964).

The Foe in the Household

Little is known about Caroline Chesebro (1825-1873) though she is briefly discussed in the *Dictionary of*

American Biography. Her novels and short stories are rarely read today. *The Foe in the Household*, published first in the *Atlantic Monthly*⁴ and reprinted in book form—was her last novel. It is, to the best of my knowledge, the first American novel to use the Mennonites in fiction.⁵ To the best of my knowledge it has never been mentioned in any study of Mennonite fiction. I have been unable to discover Miss Chesebro's source of information or contacts with the Mennonites, but this information is not relevant to my purpose.

The setting of *The Foe in the Household* is in Swatara which is in Pennsylvania. The central figure in the novel is Delia Rose, the intelligent and demure daughter of Bishop Rose of the Mennonite church. The central plot turns on Delia's marriage, contrary to the rules of the Mennonite church, to a non-Mennonite, Edward Rolfe, a prepossessing and enterprising young engineer. To avoid hurting the bishop whom both Edward and Delia love they intend to keep the marriage a secret until his death at which time Delia will leave the Mennonite church. However, Edward Rolfe is killed before the bishop dies. Father Trost, an old Methodist itinerant preacher and an enemy of the Mennonites, had performed the wedding ceremony as he was leaving to become a missionary among the Indians. After seventeen or eighteen years he returns to Swatara, and Delia fears that he will reveal her secret. Indeed, the main import of his preaching is now, as it had been in the past, against the Mennonites who were "a people who lived in violation of their own laws, traitors to their own government, [and] deceivers . . ." (p. 49). Delia knows that Father Trost has her in mind, for no one knows of her marriage to Rolfe, and she has in the meantime married Friend Holcombe, who after her father's death has become the leader of the Mennonites. Delia, moreover, has secretly given birth to Rolfe's child, Edna, who is now living with Delia and Friend as an adopted daughter. Friend, however, is unaware of his wife's former marriage or of Delia's relationship to Edna.

Delia finally admits her marriage to Rolfe and her relationship to Edna to Dr. Detweiler, an old and trusted friend who had encouraged her to marry Friend Holcombe. Detweiler advises her to protect the innocent and not to reveal her indiscretion. In the end, however, Delia must confess her former relationships both to her husband and to the church. Both forgive her because in the intervening years she has lived a blameless and upright life.

Miss Chesebro's depiction of both the individual and corporate character of the Mennonites is extremely sympathetic. Delia, though she is indiscrete in secretly marrying Rolfe, is from the first and throughout the novel presented as possessing "a rare intellect, a rare sweetness, and a dignity of character" which commanded "reverence and love" (p. 1). She knows how to sympathize with trouble, perplexity, and sorrow (p.

102). Even to her enemy she is gentle, kind, and forgiving, and when she makes her confession to the congregation, her past rectitude "seemed to force itself in between the people and that testimony she had given against herself" (p. 111). To a man they forgive her. "They all loved her . . . who had so loved and honored them; . . . indeed it almost seemed, when she stood among that little company after the meeting was dismissed, as if she had come there for congratulation and for homage" (p. 111).

A comparable virtue is attributed to Friend Holcombe. Though firm in maintaining obedience to Mennonite doctrine, he is "frank, trustful, [and] generous" (p. 14). Almost Christ-like, he preaches the gospel which is incarnated in his life. He is sympathetic, gentle, earnest in his utterance (p. 39), and forward looking, teaching a school in winter in spite of the prevailing views that "world's wisdom was not the treasure which Mennonites desired for their children" (p. 61). Humble, yet possessing manly dignity, he could accept the bishop's mantle with a clear conscience (p. 61). He is eager to establish friendly relations with Father Trost in spite of his constant denunciations against the Mennonite system. He accepts the accidental death of his own daughter Rosa with Christian submission and the firm hope of meeting her in heaven. And after Delia's confession, the unity between Friend and Delia, which had been excellent before, now approaches perfection: "Man never came so near to woman; life was never more completely merged in life. He had forgiven her and said there was nothing to forgive" (p. 114).

The corporate character of the Mennonites of Swatara is depicted with no less admiration. Though the Mennonites are a "peculiar people"—the phrase was current even in 1868—using "a marked simplicity of garb" (p. 38), they are, nevertheless, sturdy, honest, hard working, God-fearing, merciful, forgiving people, respected by almost all of the non-Mennonites—Father Trost is the only exception—and living happy creative lives.

Miss Chesebro indicates her view of the Mennonite character best in a scene at the meetinghouse when Friend Holcombe announces that Guildersleeve, who has been living under the ban for twenty years, has asked for reinstatement into the brotherhood on his deathbed. As Friend Holcombe pleads Guildersleeve's case, all resentments are forgotten and nothing resembling "ill will or pride or exasperating memory had a place." Instead "a soft light seemed to fall on the wonderful faces—mild evidence of the softening influence with which every heart was surrounded, and when he [Friend Holcombe] said 'Let us pray for our departing brother, that he may reach our Father's house in safety,' there was a movement among the people, so immediate and so reverent that the fervor of the prayer seemed to do no more than express the mood" (p. 40).

Miss Chesebro reveals her admiration not only in her direct comments but also in the plot. One of the dominant traits of the Mennonite character is the austerity and strictness of its discipline, revealed by the practice of shunning and the prohibition of marrying outside the brotherhood. It is to this strictness that Father Trost objects, for he insists that it makes dishonest Christians. When Delia confronts Father Trost and points out that it is not Mennonite discipline that he is fighting but her unfaithfulness, he argues that it is the system which has been responsible for her perfidy.

The validity of Mennonite austerity is raised, moreover, within the group by August Ent, an articulate young man, a model of integrity and vigor who is Friend Holcombe's closest associate in the work of the church. Having fallen in love with Mary, Father Trost's granddaughter, August, despite his concern for keeping intact Mennonite church doctrine and law, raises with Friend the question of whether Mennonite doctrine is not at some points "overstrict and hard," making too little allowance for human nature and thus preventing the growth of the Mennonites (p. 19).

But the Mennonite system, in spite of Father Trost's and Ent's objections, triumphs in this novel. Shunning, which apparently had had no effect on Guildersleeve for twenty years, is nevertheless instrumental in achieving a deathbed conversion; he admits he has been wrong, that his pride was sinful and throws himself on the mercy of the brethren. August Ent does not have to determine whether the prohibition against marrying non-Mennonites is too rigid since Mary, after her grandfather's death, decides for no apparent reason to change her mind and become a Mennonite.

The picture of the Mennonites, both individually and collectively, in *The Foe in the Household* is an idyllic and pleasant one, but our question is whether it tells us anything essential about the Mennonite character. Not much, I'm afraid.

In the first place Miss Chesebro is not a good seer. She does not trust her technique—fiction—or her readers. She persists in telling us what she ought to be showing us, for we never really see the Mennonites in this novel. Even external details are missing. Delia's Mennonite dress is described only as conforming to the customs of her people (p. 1), and the reader is expected to fill in the details. We never taste shoo fly pie, or any other food for that matter, or smell the cows in the barn, or see tobacco growing, or feel the rain in our faces, or note the passing seasons. Miss Chesebro does not even show us a broad brimmed hat or a bonnet. Images are sadly lacking so that even the exterior truth which comes from close and careful attention to detail is sadly missing.

Even more distressing is Miss Chesebro's sentimental reading of human nature, a reading which has plagued American Mennonite fiction in subsequent years.⁶ The assumption that men are basically good, that they are

not often unhappy or defeated, that they are rarely, if ever, perplexed, and, should they be, only for a short time in order to enjoy with greater relish the final victory, is simply not borne out by experience and is a false portrayal of human nature. The assumption that God is always standing ready, in the rare event that man should fail, eager at the slightest lisp for help, to give man, if not at once then very soon, what his heart desires is not an assumption designed to increase our knowledge of man's place in the universe. The tacit assumption that the Mennonites are a chosen race whom God loves to honor and reward above all others only adds to our misunderstanding of Mennonite character. Any view of Mennonite man that results in a smug and self-satisfied feeling is a false view.

Such sentimental novels tell us very little about the enigma of Mennonite man because they fail to see him where he too often finds himself: at the end of his tether, helpless before the inexorable mysteries of a century he does not understand; lost in a universe which is immeasurably huge and unresponsive to his needs; alienated from God, other men, and himself; aware that just underneath the veneer of Christian Mennonitism—and it is a thin veneer—lurks the savage or, if you will, the old Adam. To best answer the question "Who is Mennonite?" it will be necessary, I think, to ask the novelist who deals with the Mennonite theme, not that he serve as a propagandist whose most important function is to portray an officially approved view of the Mennonites so that the larger public receive a good image of the Mennonite, but to ask him to see the Mennonite with the most lucid vision both in his misery as well as his grandeur.

Flamethrowers

Let us turn now to another novel which does not sentimentalize or overestimate human nature, Gordon Friesen's *Flamethrowers*,⁷ published in 1936, and see what it tells us about Mennonite character. Friesen, though he was born of Mennonite parents, apparently never joined the Mennonite Brethren Church of Corn, Oklahoma, where he grew up.

The main character of *Flamethrowers* is Peter Franzman who comes with his parents, Jacob and Theresa Franzman to the Mennonite village of Blumenhof, near Galliwan, Kansas, in 1910. Peter Franzman's father, Jacob, intends to educate his son in spite of the opposition of his wife and Isaac Liese, the founder of this Mennonite sect who had settled in Blumenhof in the 1870's. Franzman sends Peter to nearby Gallawan High School and then to Fenrow University, a small denominational, but not Mennonite, college in Honorovia City, Oklahoma. At Fenrow Peter meets Miss Duane Terrison, the history teacher, whose sympathetic attempt to discover what lies behind this brilliant youngster leads to something more than friendship, even though Miss Terrison is ten years Peter's senior.

Coming home after his first year of college, Peter finds that drought, recession, and poor management have impoverished and broken his father.

Back at Fenrow for his second year, he and Duane rebel against the narrow attitude of Fenrow and both are dismissed. At home for the summer Peter finds his father and mother living in an old shack, sick and neglected by all. His mother dies a horrible death, having lost her youthful belief in heaven, and not long afterward his father dies.

Peter goes back to Duane, who is waiting for him; the book ends with a philosophical discussion of accepting the world as it is and yet clinging to a somewhat vague dream of honesty and humility. Strangely enough this mature philosophical outlook is given to him by the person who least understood Peter and made life most miserable for him when she was alive, his mother, who lurks in his subconscious, speaking words of wisdom to him from out in far-off space.

The individual Mennonites in *Flamethrowers* are despicable. Jacob, a cold, obstinate, primitive male, is a stupid, clumsy, fawning fool, who has both a deep inferiority complex and an inordinate ambition. He is a peculiar mixture of the highly emotional and stolid, the fearful and bold, the religious and the irreligious. At times he feels superior to God, and the next minute he is grovelling in fear at his feet. His wife, Theresa, is ignorant, impractical, resentful of her husband, and hates her son.

Isaac Liese, the pioneer Mennonite leader is a seventy-year-old sex-hungry man who even in church lusts for Theresa. His thoughts run from women to war, to the loss of faith among the Mennonites since they have come to America, to God, to his own greatness, and back to women.

The minor Mennonite characters of Blumenhof are no better. Gottlieb Craftholt's main purpose in life is to acquire by fair means or foul (the foul seems to give him more pleasure) every acre of land which he can get his hands on. Though not necessarily approving of his techniques, the Mennonites admit that they would do the same if they could; they take for granted that his avarice should not keep him from being a leader of the church.

Friesen's depiction of the Mennonite character, like his depiction of the Mennonite individual, is derogatory. Contrast Chesebro's reverent and forgiving Mennonites, reinstating the banned Guildersleeve at the meeting house, with Friesen's description of a church service:

An air of dismal hopelessness hung over them all; it was as though they had completed their lives long ago and were merely hanging on, waiting for death. It was a strange thing that here in this religious gathering, among these men and women who professed themselves to be true followers of the creator of all life, heirs of a close companionship with that creator for which

their ancestors had waded through blood, and fought, unremittingly for centuries, among these men and women who believed themselves closer than any other group of humans to that powerful regenerative force, there should exist such an atmosphere of exhausted and irrecoverable mankind. The people were almost sullen in their lethargy of spirit. Their clothes, their tones of speech, their few actions, their faces, their hands, showed nothing of a creative, joyous life, nothing of love and respect for creation, but rather a sour, total disinterest, a mistrust of life, and a decision, as though in spite, to live it as dully as possible. . . . It would have been difficult to find a group of men and women anywhere so devoid of all evidence of joy, so devoid of all zest for living, so devoid of all spirit (p. 213).

Friesen's Mennonites, then, are stupid, sickening, repulsive, and obnoxious, living in a "world of grotesque unreality!" They are deceitful, vicious, dull, apathetic, cruel and greedy, and the reason, in part, is that their doctrines and disciplines make them so, though in part they are benighted because of the "devastating effect on childhood and youth of mankind's implacable warfare, not only in the trenches with stalking soldiers hideously casting liquid fire in the faces of their fellowmen, but wherever life moves and men and women harbor fears of themselves and hatred toward others."⁸

But just as Chesebro's sanguine picture of the Mennonite failed to tell us much about Mennonite character, so Friesen's more pessimistic view tells us too little about Mennonite nature. Constantly nudging us to make certain we realize that Jacob is a clumsy, stupid fool, or that the Mennonites are insipid, Friesen fails to let the story tell itself. The reader does not feel that he is taking part in an actual present experience, without the interference of an authoritative guide. Friesen gives the reader no opportunity to make up his own mind about the characters.

Friesen's anger at the Mennonites interferes with our understanding of who they are. Friesen's people are caricatures, not living people. The reader rejects them outright. Indeed his anger thwarts his intention of revealing man's inhumanity to man. But he helps us see the Mennonite more clearly than Chesebro does. Blumenhof is more fully realized than Swatara, but not much. Neither author is aware of the importance of the Mennonite community in shaping the Mennonite character. Though Friesen is more successful than Chesebro in depicting the Mennonite world, Blumenhof never comes to life, never is realized as a community which wins our willing suspension of disbelief.

There is some literary life in Isaac Liese for all his corruption—perhaps because of it—but still Isaac, Jacob and Teresa Franzman, even Peter Franzman and Duane Terrison, are moribund as literary creations. For all Friesen's amateur psychoanalyzing, we do not get to know his characters, and they neither illumine a dark corner of the human mind nor take us any

deeper into the heart of darkness, which we so persistently forget lies at the heart of our fractured world.

Certainly the deadly spirit of the Mennonites of Blumenhof is familiar to all of us; we know it exists; we have felt it; and certainly it is more believable than the insipid goodness described by Miss Chesebro. But man is surely more than the sum total of the depressing forces which impinge upon him and surely, too, there were other more creative forces at work in Blumenhof.

A novel should never be judged by how sympathetically an author treats the Mennonites, or even how realistically or accurately; it must be viewed in the light of its ability to create a setting which is consistent within itself and which is peopled by men and women who act in accord with the world which the author has created for them and who have verisimilitude and probability. It must be viewed further in the light of the measure that that world and those characters take of man both in his glory and in his sin. Neither Chesebro nor Friesen succeed in his glory and in his sin. Neither Chesebro nor Friesen succeed either in creating a viable world or in taking the measure of man.

Both Chesebro and Friesen pervert the novel because they offer the reader an escape from rather than an involvement in life. Both present unreal and unrealized worlds. Both impede as much as forward man's search for an answer to the question of his identity, Friesen by implying that the Mennonite character is determined by forces over which it has no control, Chesebro by depicting a sentimental and false hope in man's basic goodness.

Neither the *Foe in the Household* nor *Flamethrowers* tell us much about the Mennonite character because both have a superficial view of the nature of man. Chesebro believes that men are inevitably good. They triumph easily over obstacles. No problems are insuperable. Friesen, though he depicts the Mennonites in their less savory aspects, still offers for Peter an easy escape. All he has to do is to leave the Mennonite community, marry Duane, rid himself of Mennonite narrowness, and all will be well. Both, therefore, are unaware of the enigmas of human nature.

In the *Foe in the Household* the obstacles to overcome reside in forces outside the Mennonite community. Since the point of view is Mennonite, the forces to overcome are non-Mennonite. In *Flamethrowers* the point of view is anti-Mennonite; therefore the evil forces are within the Mennonite group. In both cases there is little or no recognition that the evil is in man's heart, be it a Mennonite or a non-Mennonite heart. Neither takes sin and evil very seriously.

Rudy Wiebe in *Peace Shall Destroy Many* and Warren Kliever in *The Violators*,⁹ on the other hand, aware of the importance of the Mennonite community in revealing character, painstakingly create a coherent and believable sense of place, though in quite different

ways. They succeed where Friesen and Chesebro fail. Swatara hardly exists at all, it is so vague and indefinite, and Blumenhof is so grotesque that it is untrue to the motives, impulses and principles that shape our lives. But both Wapiti and Waldheim take on real character as places. Wiebe and Kliever have in a sense domesticated the Mennonite community so that we recognize it, see it with a clearer and more profound vision, and feel at home, though not necessarily comfortable, in it. Just as anyone who reads Willa Cather's *My Antonia* cannot help seeing the Nebraska prairies with a clearer perception, so anyone reading about Wapiti or Waldheim will never see a Mennonite community in the same old way again, and will see it more clearly than if he only took a careful sociological survey or wrote a history of it.

Peace Shall Destroy Many

Rudy Wiebe carefully develops Wapiti with the sure touch of an accurate and careful observer who knows the craft of fiction well enough not to crowd the canvas but to highlight certain significant details, suppress others, rescue from obscurity the incident which is typical, tone down the sensational and unrepresentative (something Friesen never learned to do), yet at the same time reveal men not as angels or as devils but as fallible humans.

Rudy Wiebe gives verisimilitude to Wapiti not simply by splashing around ample touches of local color, though these are present when they are important to the development of the theme, but by showing how all roads lead to the church, which imposes its discipline on all aspects of its members' lives, coloring their activities and personalities. Wiebe furthermore emphasizes Wapiti's isolation from the rest of the world, an isolation carefully chosen by the founders and carefully maintained in order to avoid the corruption of the world. Our awareness of Wapiti's isolation, however, is tempered by our knowledge that what happens in Wapiti is played out against the backdrop of a world war, for the time is 1944, the year of the decisive battles of World War II. Finally, Wiebe's emphasis on the decent, simple, frugal, and industrious manner of life in Wapiti mark it as a Mennonite community. While Wapiti is indubitably Mennonite, what is far more significant is that it exists in its own right as a living community understandable to all readers whether they have ever known a Mennonite community or not.

Against this carefully sketched backdrop we see the central character of Wiebe's book, Thomas Wicns, a sensitive eighteen-year-old Mennonite, waiting for his draft call. Committed to Mennonitism, Thom, searching for identity, self-knowledge and viable standards, is nevertheless in conflict with some of its values because he finds them inadequate, perhaps false, even phony. Thom, though isolated, is able to see the tension between the values of Wapiti and the values of

the larger world to which he also owes an allegiance. Naive, innocent, self-righteous at the beginning of the novel, he is yet honest and unafraid to face unpleasant facts, and in the end he has learned the important lesson of the novel: that no forest and bush, no matter how dense, can keep evil from his life, for it is present in the Wapiti community and within his own heart.

In his quest for viable standards it is shattering for Thom to discover that he cannot find them in Deacon Block, the staunch defender of Mennonite traditions, the man who sacrificed so much to bring the Wapiti Mennonites to Saskatchewan from Russia, for the deacon not only opposes Thom's efforts to help the native Indians surrounding the Mennonite community but is also guilty of heinous sins.

In his quest for a faith to live by Thom discovers, further, that he cannot find this faith inside himself, for he discovers his own unworthiness. Deploring Herb Unger's defection from Mennonite principles, Thom soon discovers how difficult it is to keep his temper and maintain his nonresistant principles. He resents the lascivious glances Herb casts at the willowy teacher, Rozia, only to discover himself looking at her with more than friendly interest a moment later.

Thom, then, tells us much about what it means to be a Mennonite: to search constantly to make the Mennonite insights applicable to the present, to understand what is involved in living in an isolated community which yet must retain a relationship to the larger world; to retain what is permanent in Mennonitism and discard, if necessary, what is peripheral. But he also helps us to be more aware of the deeper, unnamed feelings which form the substratum of our being, to discover the sad truth of the human heart.

Thom's stumbling block, the deacon, is perhaps the most vividly realized character in the novel and easily ranks as one of the strongest character portrayals in American Mennonite fiction. Under extreme provocation he had killed a man in Russia, but instead of confessing his sin and living with it, he has tried to atone by an attempt to provide the Mennonites with an island of holiness in an evil world.

But with the coming of the war the world has intruded even over the forest and the brush which has served to isolate the Mennonite of Wapiti from the rest of the world. Deacon Block finds the world and its sin intruding into his own home when his unmarried daughter dies in childbirth. The father of the child is Louis Moosomin, a dirty, irresponsible half breed whom Block has had to hire because the war has made other help unavailable. Block's subsequent brutal treatment of Louis Moosomin is understandable, but in the light of his own guilt and his own pretensions to purity, the act is revolting, and we see the savage underneath the Christian-Mennonite veneer. Still he is not altogether villainous and Wiebe's portrayal of this despicable yet

remarkable man is admirable. Unable to admit his sins openly, Block nevertheless suffers inwardly. He is willing to damn his own soul in order to save his son's, and he does in his way love Elizabeth. Though harsh in his condemnation of Thom, he sympathizes with his questioning spirit. And there is never any question about the generous contributions Block has made, both in time and money, to establish the Wapiti Mennonite community.

Deacon Peter Block is a vividly realized character; he is clearly etched on our consciousness. He is one kind of Mennonite, a kind we could do without. But to fully know oneself as a Mennonite—or a human being—is to learn how easily we can wear Deacon Block's shoes. Perhaps that is why he makes us so uncomfortable.

Wiebe tells us something about who a Mennonite is by taking sin seriously. Realizing one of the fundamental truths of human experience and of religion—the staggering freight of human depravity—Wiebe makes the old Adam uncomfortably obvious, showing the reader that underneath the thin and brittle crust of decency lurks the savage, not only in corrupt men like the Unger brothers but also in ostensibly good men like Thomas Wiens and Deacon Block. To put it in biblical terms Wiebe is not very sanguine about the perfectibility of human nature, but exemplifies Paul's old and bitter truth that "all have sinned and come short of the glory of God," and Wiebe knows what it is so easy to forget: that that *all* includes even the Mennonites as well as everyone else. Thom finds it difficult, as we all do, to translate Paul's truth into the first person singular. It had been difficult enough for Thom to realize the canker at the heart of the Wapiti community, that the people he admired for their Christian standards were sinners, but he found it even more difficult to learn that "such wells of depravity yawned in his empty self that he could only shudder and pray for diversion" (p. 227).

But Thom realizes what not many characters in contemporary fiction discover: the possibility of grace and redemption. The debacle that occurs at the Christmas program at Wapiti school makes the necessity of redemption very obvious to Thom. Reflecting on the defection of the Mennonites from their faith in love and on his own outburst of anger and his reliance on force, he remembers the Christmas play which ended with the wisemen at an old barn in Bethlehem where one of the shepherds, played by a half-breed child, assures them that this is the end of their journey and leads them into the stable to the manger. But Thom is not certain that the problems raised by his discovery of evil in Wapiti, by the war in Europe which affects his life, by his bitter confrontation with his own worst nature can end at the barn of Bethlehem. But he is sure that they cannot be solved in "the paths of conscienceless violence of the Unger brothers" nor in "one man's

misguided interpretation of tradition. They brought chaos" (p. 237). Thom concludes that he, too, must find his way to the manger, to God's revelation of himself in the incarnation and the teachings of Jesus Christ.

Perhaps more than any other American novelist Rudy Wiebe has given us in fiction an answer to the question with which we began: "Who is a Mennonite?" I know more about who a Mennonite is after having met Thom Wiens and Joseph Dueck than if I had given the Minnesota multiphasic personality inventory, the strong vocational interest test, and the Bender-Gestalt test to some of Thom's prototypes attending Goshen, or more likely Tabor or Bethel College. And we all know, I am convinced, even if we are loath to admit it, a great deal more about the ambiguities of Mennonite character after meeting Deacon Block and the Unger brothers. It will be more difficult after reading *Peace Shall Destroy Many*, to view Mennonite character through the haze of late nineteenth-century liberal theological thought, to see it as isolated and different from human nature in general, and more difficult to see it in oversimplified ways.

The Violators

The last book I would like to consider is Warren Kliewer's book of short stories, *The Violators*. Kliewer's community, Waldheim, an isolated village in Manitoba, is never called Mennonite, though it bears some resemblance to a Mennonite community. It is nevertheless worthwhile to consider these stories because Waldheim and its characters resemble the Mennonites and are a mirror in which the Mennonites may perceive some likenesses.

Like Wiebe's Wapiti, Kliewer's Waldheim is a vividly realized place. Like Wapiti it is isolated from the rest of the world. The larch and birch forest which surround it make it almost unapproachable and the winding dirt roads leading into Waldheim make it almost inaccessible. Every effort is made to discourage contact with the outside world—"the city is full of wickedness," pastor Schultz tells his congregation—or with those non-German elements that have intruded into Waldheim. The railroad which runs through the village rarely leaves a passenger. When the depot burns, no effort is made to rebuild it, for traffic in and out of Waldheim is discouraged.

Even more clearly than *Peace Shall Destroy Many*, *The Violators* makes obvious that the day when a church can successfully live isolated from the larger world is over. Though confusing, the roads do lead into as well as out of Waldheim. As the train passes through the village its whistle seems to "split the wall of the church," and the pounding of the train's driving wheel causes the church "to tremble and shake and . . . rock" (p. 78).

The Canadian broadcasting company places an ultra high frequency television tower with two of its legs

in the back yard of the parsonage, and the church first ignores them as evil, but later domesticates them by using them as a washline for the parsonage, by planting flowers and ivy around them, and finally by using the tower in the summer for meetings of the ladies aid and then for a wedding.

Kliewer's evocation of a sense of place warns us of the dangers of isolation on the character of the isolated. Isolation has not kept Waldheim pure any more than it had kept Wapiti pure. The pride which makes the Germans (Mennonites) feel that they alone have a peculiar and unique knowledge of and relationship with God, the conceit which allows them to feel so righteous that they distrust and even hate the French Canadians, the covetousness which makes saving money almost as religious as praying, as well as the other four of the seven deadly sins—envy, gluttony, sloth, and lechery—are very evident in the saints of Waldheim. These sins do not originate, as the leaders of the German (Mennonite) church think, in the outside world but in the human heart.

Hypocrisy, unbelievable cruelty such as that displayed by Ezra Wichens at his wedding and at his death, perversion even in old deacon Engeler who had been for many years a good church member, ignorance, stupidity, concern with stupefying trivia, and a complete misunderstanding of the nature of man and of the world are evident in the Germans (Mennonites). The Reverend Schultz is constantly irrelevant and impotent in the face of the most simple problems. He can only utter a cliché, quote Bible verses—neither of which are relevant—or offer a helpless prayer.

A warning needs to be inserted here. Waldheim, though sharply realized and its inhabitants, though very much alive, are not intended to be realistic portrayals of a typical Mennonite community or typical Mennonite characters. Kliewer finds the form for his short stories not in a photographic representation or even from a careful representation of what is. Kliewer finds his form not from human circumstances which can be verified by referring them back to human circumstances, but from a different form of vision, a vision which attempts to present man as having transcendent as well as realistic and human dimensions. At times the vision is a humorous one—Schultz's ability to completely miss the point of a problem and his consequent inapposite remarks, for example—and we see both man's plight and his foibles. We can, thus, see man—Mennonite man as well as all men—as a creature of infinite worth but we can, at the same time, see him as comical and with the tendency to take him far too seriously.¹⁰

To locate Waldheim precisely on the map and to label it "Mennonite" would be to miss the point of the short stories. Kliewer's comedy has a sting in it: there is too much of Waldheim in all of us. By reducing our complex world into the very simple and elemental one

You Are the Soul

By Jacob Sudermann

You are not mind so much as thought's reflection,
you are not heart as much as love's intent,
and when the mind denies the heart's presumption,
your hurt's the mortal element.

When reason lines its lens to subtle focus,
to trap you in some hairbreadth field of light,
you are not there to honor this diagnosis;
mercurous phantom, you are reason's blight.

And when stout heart reiterates profoundly,
immortalizing all love touches on,
your enigmatic smile emblazons proudly
the confirmation death shall die upon.

of Waldheim, he helps us to see our cracked human nature in a more stark way. There is something frightening in all of us that makes us refuse to look beyond our narrow boundaries and to see ourselves as we really are. These stories make us aware that isolation from and ignorance of evil does not destroy it, that spiritual self-sufficiency too frequently means irrelevance and ineffectiveness, that our concern to keep the protective forest between us and others who seem to be the source of all the wickedness in the world may blind us to our own involvement in the very evil we are trying to escape, and that the evil which we would like to ascribe to something outside ourselves is really within us, and it is there that we must do battle with it. Kliever, then, breaks down the reassuring limitations, the comforting restrictions and blind spots of unimaginative "sanity" of the polite, conventional, the well-ordered normal world and confronts us with a violent world, a messy world which we normally contrive to ignore.

Both Wiebe and Kliever recognize that Mennonite character has been determined largely by the Mennonite community. Indeed, Thom Wiens and pastor Schultz are what they are largely because they are

members of the Wapiti and Waldheim community; if they existed anywhere else, they would be different people. But both Wiebe and Kliever realize that a modification has been and is taking place. Wapiti and Waldheim must be presented against the background of a larger society which impinges upon and modifies the Mennonite community and Mennonite character.

Let us return to the question with which we began: "Who is a Mennonite?" Do these novels answer our question? We must give a hesitant and qualified answer. Certainly they do not take us as deeply into the mystery of our identity as Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* or Melville's *Moby Dick*. Chesebro and Friesen are little more than a pretty diversion and a petulant outburst of anger, though even these two occasionally express some valid insights into the nature of man. But certainly the nature of man is not as simple as these authors tell us, and we need to avoid the terrible simplifiers and to be made more conscious of the mystery of iniquity.

Wiebe and Kliever, each in his own way, have made us more sharply aware that the novel can be more than a Mennonite substitute for a movie extravaganza, offering a temporary relief from our spiritual blindness about ourselves. It can be a sacrament of disturbance involving us in the most drastic exposure to the unlovely truth of the human heart, forcing us to question the conventional notions by which most men live on easy terms with themselves, obliging us to examine the grounds of our faith, and even forcing us to ask with more urgency and more seriousness the question: "Who is a Mennonite?"

FOOTNOTES

1. Rudy Henry Wiebe, *Peace Shall Destroy Many* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1962), p. 178.
2. Henry James, *The Portrait of a Lady* (Boston: Riverside editions, 1956), p. 230.
3. *Perspective on Man* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961), pp. 16 and 17.
4. Vols. XXIII (1868) and XXIV (1869). The page references are from the book published in Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1871.
5. It is worth mentioning that in 1873 Edward Eggleston in *The Mysteries of Metropolisville* (New York: Orange Judd and Co., 1873), p. 43, mentions the Mennonites, and in 1890 W. D. Howells in *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (New York: Bantam Books, 1960), p. 133, has a reference to the Mennits. *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* article on Mennonites in American and Canadian Literature (III, 372-374) does not mention either *The For in the Household* or Eggleston or Howells.
6. See, for example, the following novels which exhibit the same sentimental traits which are in Chesebro's novel: Mable Dunham, *Kristl's Trees* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1949), Marcus Bach, *Dream Gate* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1949), Eunice Shellenberger, *Wings of Decision* (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1951), Luella Creighton, *High Bright Buggy Wheels* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1951) and Helen Clark Fernold, *Plow the Dew Under* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1952).
7. (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1936). I have discussed *Flamethrowers* in a different context and for a different purpose in my "The Mennonite Pioneer" in *From the Steppes to the Prairies*, ed. Cornelius Krahn (Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Publication Office, 1949), pp. 102-115.
8. Letter from Gordon Friesen to M. S. Harder written Oct. 23, 1935.
9. (Francestown, N. H.: The Marshall Jones Co., 1964). For a more general assessment of these two novels see my introduction to *The Violators* and my article "Universal Values in Rudy Wiebe's *Peace Shall Destroy Many*," *Mennonite Life*, XX (October, 1965), 172-176.
10. A clear example that Kliever's point is all too true can be seen in a letter to the editor of *Mennonite Life*, XX (October, 1965), 169-199, in which the writer, stating that *The Violators* "must be considered a series of portraits of a Mennonite community," pettently complains that Kliever has not presented the light with the dark.

American Mennonite Fiction: A Contribution Toward a Bibliography

By Elmer F. Suderman

This bibliography, the first of its kind, includes novels written by Mennonite authors—whether they are about themselves or about other topics—and novels about the Mennonites written by non-Mennonite authors. It includes both United States and Canadian authors, but not European authors and novels. It does, however, include those European Mennonite novelists who came from Germany and Russia to Canada and the United States, even when their novels deal with the European scene. Both juvenile and adult fiction is listed. Both novels and short stories are included, though I am aware that the listing of short stories is very incomplete. Nor can I claim completeness for the novels. Though my interest in Mennonite fiction extends back to 1946 when I wrote a master's thesis on the subject, I must underscore the fact that this is only a contribution to a bibliography. Any additions to this bibliography would be welcome in order that it might be made as complete as possible. I have in some cases allowed incomplete entries to stand in hopes that someone might supply the full information. Another bibliography which would include all book reviews and all articles and theses concerning the Mennonite theme in fiction would be an invaluable aid to the Mennonite scholar interested in the subject.

- Anderson, Ethel Todd. *Summer in Their Eyes*. Philadelphia: Winston, 1952. Juvenile.
- Bach, Marcus. *The Dream Gate*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1949. Concerns the Hutterites in South Dakota.
- Barr, Gladys H. "Cup of Suffering." *Classmate*, March 5, 12, 19, 26, April 2, 9, 1950.
- Bauman, Elizabeth Hershberger. *Coals of Fire*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1954. For younger teen-age youth.
- Beiler, Edna. *Misty Buttonwood*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1963. Juvenile.
- . *Ten of a Kind*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1953. Juvenile.
- Bender, Urie A. *Hurt in the Heart*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1965. By a Mennonite but not about Mennonites.
- Berry, Erick. *Seven Beaver Skins*. Philadelphia: J. C. Winston, 1948. Juvenile.
- Bice, Clare. *Across Canada*. New York: Macmillan, 1949. Stories of Canadian children. One story, "Jacob's Prairie Harvest," concerns the Mennonites.
- Brenneman, Helen Good. *But Not Forsaken*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1954.
- Buffum, F. E. *The Light in the Valley*. Inman, Kansas: Salem Publication House, 1943.
- Burkholder, Oscar. *True Stories from Life*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1942. Short stories of a moral Amish servant.
- Chesebro, Caroline. *The Foe in the Household*. 1869 in the *Atlantic Monthly*, 1871 in book form.
- Creighton, Luella. *High Bright Buggy Wheels*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1951.
- De Angeli, Marguerite. *Henner's Lydia*. New York: Doubleday, 1944. Amish girl near Lancaster. Juvenile.
- . *Skippack School*. New York: Doubleday Doran & Co., 1939. Mennonite schoolmaster Christopher Dock. Juvenile.
- . *Yonie Wondernose*. New York: Doubleday, 1944. Juvenile.
- Deckert, Alice. *Prairie Pals*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1964. Juvenile.
- Dobson, Ruth Lininger. *Straw in the Wind*. New York, 1937.
- Dunham, Mabel. *Kristli's Trees*. Toronto: McClellan and Stewart, 1949. Juvenile.
- Dyck, Arnold. *Dec Millionäa von Kosefeld*. North Kildona, Manitoba: Published by J. Regehr. N. D.
- . *Koop een Bua jaore nao Toronto*. Part I, Published by the author. North Kildona, Manitoba, Canada, 1948. Part II, Published by the author. Steinbach, Manitoba, 1949.
- . *Koop enn Bua op Reise*. Steinbach, 1943.
- . *Meine Deutschlandfahrt*. North Kildonan, 1950.
- . "Nicht seine Schuld." *Mennonite Life* (July 1960), p. 131.
- . *Verloren in der Steppe*. 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948. Published by the author. North Kildonan, Manitoba, Canada.
- . *Onse Lied*. Steinbach, Manitoba, Canada: Published by the author, 1952.
- Enns, Cornelius M. "Hendrick Friesen's Homestead," *Kansas Magazine*, 1909.

- Epp, Margaret. *A Fountain Sealed*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1965.
- Epp, Peter. *Eine Mutter*. Libertas Verlag. Bluffton, Ohio, 1932.
- . *Erlösung*. Libertas Verlag. Bluffton, Ohio, 1930. Relies heavily on personal experience.
- Fast, Karl. *Gebet der Wahrheit die Ehre*. Three volumes, North Kildonan, 1950-52.
- Fernold, Helen Clark. *Plow the Dew Under*. New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1952.
- Friesen, Abram Johann. *Prost Mahlzeit*. Manitoba, Canada: Published by the author, 1949.
- Friesen, Gordon. *Flamethrowers*. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1936.
- Glass, Esther Ely. *Aunt Nan and the Miller Five*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1961. Juvenile.
- . *Larry & Kathy*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1963. Juvenile.
- . *The Miller Five*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1958. Juvenile.
- Grove, Frederick Phillip. *In Search of Myself*. Toronto, 1946.
- . *Our Daily Bread*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928.
- Grubb, S. M. "Jake, A Story of Plain People." *The Mennonite*, 1911, April 20, 1911, p. 5, to September 7, 1911. (14 Chapters).
- Harder, Peter B. *Die Lutherische Cousine*.
- . *Lose Blätter. Aufwärts*, 1910.
- Hark, Ann. *Blue Hills and Shoofly Pie*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1952.
- Hiebert, Paul. *Sarah Binks*. London: Oxford, 1947.
- Hiebert, Ray Elden. "Clod." *Mennonite Life* (October 1951), p. 39.
- Horsch, John. "The Clemen Family." *The Christian Monitor*, 1922-24.
- Hostetler, Fanny M. *Aunt Faye of the Mennonites*. Juvenile.
- Janzen, Jacob H. "Dr. Stonepie's Christmas," *Mennonite Life* (January 1950), p. 47.
- . *Denn meine Augen haben Deinen Heiland gesehen*. Winnipeg: Rundschau Publishing House. Part I, 1925; Part II, 1927.
- . *Leben und Tod*. Waterloo, Ontario: by the author, 1946.
- . *Wanderndes Volk*. Three volumes, n.p., 1945-49.
- Jordan, Mildred. *One Red Rose Forever*. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1941. Juvenile.
- Kauffman, Christmas Carol. *Dannie of Cedar Cliffs*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1950.
- . *Dannie of Cedar Village*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1950.
- . *For One Moment*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1960.
- . *Life with Life*. Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1952.
- . *Light From Heaven*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1948.
- . *Lucy Winchester*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1945.
- . *Not Regina*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1954. Based on the Anabaptist movement of the 16th Century.
- . *Search to Belong*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1963.
- Kauffman, Reginald Wright. "The Non Resistance of Amos." Short story in *Philadelphia Ledger*, August 28, 1921.
- Klassen, Peter J. *Als die Heimat zur Fremde geworden*. Superb, 1944.
- . *Der Peet*. Four volumes. 1949.
- . *Die Heimfahrt*. Superb, 1943.
- . *Fünfunddreissig Fabeln*, Superb, 1944.
- . *Grossmutter's Schatz*. Superb, 1939.
- . *Ohm Klass*, Superb, Saskatchewan: The Author, 1947.
- Verlorene Söhne*. Winnipeg: The Christian Press, Ltd.
- Kliwer, Warren. "The Barn Climber." *The Kansas Magazine* (1961), p. 100.
- . "The Devil Comes to Claim His Own." *The Kansas Magazine* (1963), p. 96.
- . "Homecoming." *Mennonite Life* (July 1960), p. 124.
- . "Of Mercy and Judgment." *The Kansas Magazine* (1962), p. 90.
- . "The Sibyl." *The Kansas Magazine* (1959), p. 55.
- . *The Violators*. Frankestown, N. H.: Marshall Jones Co., 1965.
- . "War and Rumors of War." *Mennonite Life* (January 1962), p. 39.
- Lenski, Lois. *Shoo-Fly Girl*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. P. Lippincott, 1963. Juvenile.
- Martin, Helen Riemensnyder. *The Betrothal of Elypholac*. Short Stories. N.Y.: Century Co., 1907.
- . "Ellic's Furnishing." *McClure's Magazine*. Dec. 1903.
- . *Martha of the Mennonite Country*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1915.
- . *Sabina, A Story of the Amish*. New York: The Century Co., 1905.
- . *The Schoolmaster of Hessville*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1920.
- . *Tillie, A Mennonite Maid*. New York: The Century Co., 1904.
- Meyers, Anna Balmer. *Amanda: A Day of the Mennonites*. 1921.
- . *Patchwork*. 1920.
- . *Madonna of the Curb*. 1922.
- Milhaus, Katherine. *Appolonia's Valentine*. New York: Scribner's, 1954. Juvenile.
- . *Lovina*. New York: Scribner's, 1940. Juvenile.
- Miller, Clara Bernice. *The Crying Heart*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1962.
- Miller, Lois. *The New Minister*. New York: Pageant Press, 1952.
- Mueller, Amelia. *There Have to Be Six*; A true story about pioneering in the midwest. Scottsdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1966, 255 pp.
- Neufeld, Dietrich. *Ein Tagebuch aus dem Reiche des Totentanzes*. Emden, 1921. (1930 Claremont edition as *Russian Dance of Death*, under pen name Dick Gora.)
- Nickel, Katherine. *Seed from the Ukraine*. New York: Pageant Press, 1952.

- Penner, Karl E. "Tante Anna," *Kansas Magazine*, 1958.
- Primmer, Phyllis. "At the River's Turning." *Sunday School Banner*, April 3, 1960.
- Rich, Elaine Sommers. *Hannah Elizabeth*. New York: Harper & Row, 1964. Juvenile.
- . *Tomorrow, Tomorrow, Tomorrow*. Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1966.
- Schellenberger, Eunice. *Wings of Decision*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1951.
- Schrag, Otto. *The Locusts*. Translated by Richard Winston. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1943. (Kansas Mennonites)
- Schroeder, Anna. *Year of Decision*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1962.
- Schroeter, Elizabeth A. *From Here to the Pinnacles*. New York: Exposition Press, 1956.
- Seyfert, Ella Maie. *Amish Moving Day*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942. Juvenile.
- . *Little Amish Schoolhouse*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1939. Juvenile.
- Singmaster, Elsie. "The Amishman," *Ladies Home Journal* (April, 1925), p. 18.
- . *Bred in the Bone*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925. Short Stories.
- . *I Heard of a River*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. C. Winston, 1948. Juvenile.
- Smucker, Barbara C. "And the Darkness Became Light." *Mennonite Life* (July 1946), p. 28.
- . *Cherokee Run*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1957.
- . *Henry's Red Sea*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1955. Juvenile.
- Sommer, Fedor. *The Iron Collar*. Pennsbury, Pennsylvania: Schwefelder Library, 1956.
- Sorenson, Virginia. *Plain Girl*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1955.
- Statler, Ruth Beeghly. *House of Clay*. Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1951.
- . *Whither Thou Goest*. Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1951.
- Suderman, Elmer F. "Come Home," *Discourse VIII* (Autumn, 1964), 446-453.
- Sudermann, Jacob. "Providence." *Mennonite Life*. Part I (April 1954), p. 51; Part II (July 1954), p. 99.
- Toews, Gerhard. (Georg De Brecht.) *Die Heimat in Trümmern*. Steinbach, Manitoba, Canada: Warte-Verlag, 1936.
- . *Die Heimat in Flammen*. Regina, ca. 1922.
- Unrau, Ruth Baughman. *Buckwheat Summer*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1962.
- . "The Trial of Andrew Foster." *Mennonite Life* (July 1961), p. 133.
- Vernon, Louise A. *The Secret Church*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1967.
- Vogt, Esther Loewen. *Cry to the Wind!* Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1965.
- Welty, Cora Gottschalk. *The Masquerading of Margaret*. Boston: C. M. Clark Publishing Co., 1908. Available from Berne, Indiana, Public Library.
- White, Grace Miller. *Tess of the Storm Country*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1909. The movie version of this makes the characters Amish, but they're not Amish in the book.
- Wiebe, Rudy. *First and Vital Candle*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1966.
- . *Peace Shall Destroy Many*. London: McClelland & Stewart Limited. 1962.
- Wiens, G. G. "Jan Friesen." *Mennonitische Warte*, 1938, pp. 21ff.
- Yoder, E. M. *Mandy of the Amish*. 1957.
- Yoder, Marie A. *The Nurse's Victory*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1962.
- Yoder, Joseph W. *Rosanna's Boys: A Sequel to Rosanna of the Amish*. Huntington, Pennsylvania: Yoder Publishing Company, 1948.
- . *Rosanna of the Amish*. Huntington, Pennsylvania: Yoder Publishing Company, 1944.
- Mennonitische Valkswarte*, ed. and pub. by A. B. Dyck (Warte-Verlag, Steinbach, Manitoba, 1935-38), contains numerous short stories of which only a few have been referred to.
- (See also, "Mennonites in Literature," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. III, pp. 353-374.)

The Martyr's Witness in Mennonite Life

MANY OF OUR readers have written us to state that they found the April issue of *Mennonite Life* devoted to the testimony of the Anabaptist martyrs one of the best produced during the over 20 years of publication. Through the courtesy of a friend we were enabled to send 1,000 copies of the April 1967 issue of *Mennonite Life* to Mennonite churches and libraries. This was done in the hope that the pastors would call this issue to the attention of all those in the congregation involved in religious education of the young and old. This issue particularly designed to be used with young people is already being put to good use in that area. We have received orders for single copies, ten copies, and even 125 copies. We are however certain that many more will want to order copies for the coming year for the educational program of churches and schools. The first printing is nearly exhausted. It would be helpful to find out how large a reprint we should make before the fall activities begin.

Order copies of the *Martyrs' Mirror* issue (April, 1967) from *Mennonite Life*, North Newton, Kansas. The price of a single copy is 75 cents. You will receive a discount of 50 percent on 10 copies or more.

Mennonite Research in Progress, 1966

By Cornelius Krahn, Melvin Gingerich, J. P. Jacobszoon

IN THE APRIL, 1966, issue of *Mennonite Life*, we reported about numerous research projects including M.A. and Ph.D. dissertations. Preceding April issues since 1949 (except in 1961, 1963 and 1967 when they were in the July issues) contain similar information under the headings "Mennonite Research in Progress," "Mennonite Bibliography" and "Books in Review." Of special significance is the article entitled "Anabaptism-Mennonitism in Doctoral Dissertations" which appeared in the April 1958 issue. The listing of additional dissertations is being continued annually in this column. The editors of *Mennonite Life* will be pleased to receive information about research in progress and dissertations to be included in subsequent issues.

Doctoral Dissertations

- Brown, H. O., "Jan Laski, a Theological Biography," Ph.D., Harvard University, 1967.
- Davis, K. R., "Medieval Ascetic Vitality as a Factor Underlying Protestant Disunity and the Emergence of Anabaptism in the Early Sixteenth Century," Ph.D., University of Michigan (in progress).
- Gross, Leonard, "Peter Walpot, Hutterite Bishop, 1520-1578," Ph.D., University of Basel (in progress).
- Hancock, Alton, "Philip of Hesse and the Anabaptists," Ph.D., Emory University, 1967.
- Juhnke, James C., "The Political Acculturation of Kansas Mennonites, 1874-1940," Ph.D., Indiana University (in progress).
- Koelpin, Arnold J., "Lutheran and Anabaptist *Auseinandersetzung* over the Question of Baptism in the Sixteenth Century," Ph.D., University of Erlangen (in progress).
- Landing, James E., "The Spatial Development and Organization of an Old Order Amish-Beachy Amish Settlement, Nappanee, Indiana," Ph.D., Pennsylvania State University, 1966.
- Maust, Earl M., "The History and Development of Music in Mennonite-Controlled Liberal Arts Colleges in the United States," Ph.D., George Peabody College (in progress).
- Payne, John, "The Sacramental Theology of Erasmus," Ph.D., Harvard University, 1967.
- Stoltzfus, Grant M., "History of the Ohio Mennonite Conference," Th.D., Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va. (in progress).
- Zeman, Gerald Knox, "The Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren in Moravia, 1526-1628," Ph.D., University of Zurich, 1966.

M.A. Thesis

- Brinsma, Reinder, "The Relationship Between the Mennonite Practice of Feet Washing and the Practice of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church," M.A., Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Mich. (in progress).
- Hughes, Richard, "The Restitution Motifs of the Anabaptists and Alexander Campbell," M.A., Abilene Christian College (in progress).
- Karoks, Erika M., "The Role of Anabaptism in the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century, 1525-1535," M.A. (in progress).
- Moore, Jerry A., "Immigration of the Russian Mennonites as Reflected in and Influenced by the *Herald of Truth* 1870-1880," M.A., Illinois State University (in progress).

- Nafziger, Estel Wayne, "The Mennonite Ethic in Weberian Framework," M.A., University of Illinois, 1965.
- Toews, Jacob J., "Early Mennonite Brethren Missions," M.A., Winona Lake School of Theology.

Mennonite Encyclopedia

A reprint of *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* is being prepared by its publishers and editors. The schedule for the reprinting of the *Encyclopedia* calls for a volume annually from 1967 to 1970. The editors are requesting information about erroneous dates and misspellings. Since the *Encyclopedia* is to be reprinted by the offset process, only a limited number of new lines can be substituted for the incorrect ones as necessary. Information regarding corrections can be sent to the editors of *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Cornelius Krahn and Melvin Gingerich. The publishers are: The Mennonite Publishing House of Scottdale, Pennsylvania; Faith and Life Press, Newton, Kansas; and The Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, Hillsboro, Kansas.

Parallel to this reprint, the publishers and the editors are making plans for a thoroughly revised and up-to-date edition which is scheduled to appear by 1980. Suggestions for major changes, revisions and additions to articles, as well as new articles, are welcome.

North American Committee for Documentation of Free Church Origins

The purpose of the North American Committee for Documentation of Free Church Origins (American *TAK*) is to promote research, publication and distribution of source material relating to the Anabaptist movement and to other historic free churches with an emphasis on the period of the sixteenth century. This Committee has European roots. In July 1963, at the meeting of the *Täuferakten Kommission (TAK)* at Heidelberg, it was suggested and approved that American and Dutch *TAK* committees be organized. The American *TAK* members, Cornelius Krahn and Irvin B. Horst were asked to initiate the American branch while N. van der Zijpp was willing to start such an organization in the Netherlands. The parent of the *TAK* is the German *Verein für Reformationsgeschichte (VRG)*. In 1920 the *VRG* created a commission to study Anabaptism. After World War II, this *Täuferakten Kommission (TAK)* was revived with the financial help of the German *Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein (MGV)* and two American Mennonite historical organizations represented by Harold S. Bender (Historical and Research Committee of the

Mennonite General Conference) and Cornelius Krahn (Historical Committee of the General Conference Mennonite Church). Numerous volumes of Anabaptist sources were published in rapid succession (see Roland H. Bainton's report, "Anabaptist Source Materials," in the July 1953 issue of *Mennonite Life*, p. 145).

The first meeting of invited American representatives took place in July, 1963. George H. Williams was elected Chairman; Cornelius Krahn, Executive Secretary; Irvin B. Horst, Recording Secretary; and Franklin H. Littell, Treasurer. Karl S. Meyer (Foundation for Reformation Research) and C. J. Dyck (Institute of Mennonite Studies) also became members of the Committee. At the meeting on April 22-23, 1965, the organizational plans were completed and additional members were added to the committee. At the meeting in Washington, D.C., on December 27-28, 1966, the Committee constituted itself and worked out proposed By-laws. A meeting was planned to take place in connection with the Conference on the Concept of the Believers' Church on June 26, 1967, at Louisville, Ky.

As previously stated, the purpose of the Committee is to promote research in the realm of Anabaptism and the historic free churches. The Committee intends to continue the promotion and sponsorship of publication of sources and historic and systematic treatments of materials in this field. The Anabaptist and related sources will be translated into English and, if possible, made available in paperback form to be used in colleges and graduate schools. Suggestions about sources of interest and individuals at work in preparing them are solicited. They can be sent to the chairman, the executive secretary or other members of the Committee. The Committee has decided to hold its annual business meeting in connection with the meeting of the American Society of Church History.

The Committee on Free Church Origins is an affiliate of the Foundation for Reformation Research. This Foundation, at St. Louis, Missouri, is an outstanding research center. The primary research media are microfilms obtained from Europe devoted to the Reformation. Mr. Ronald E. Diener is the newly elected Executive Director of the Foundation.

A Dutch branch of the *TAK* was founded recently by the following scholars: W. J. Kooiman (Amsterdam), Chairman; H. W. Meihuizen (Amsterdam), Vice-Chairman; I. B. Horst (Amsterdam), Secretary; W. F. Dankbaar (Groningen); and J. A. Oosterbaan (Amsterdam).

Studies in Church Origins

In connection with the work done by scholars interested in the Free Church Origins, thought and life, attention has been drawn to the following individuals and the fields of their interest and work. The following reference to research being done is in no way exhaustive. We solicit additional information about projects and up-to-date reports about those mentioned here.

Irvin B. Horst reports in connection with the organization of a Dutch *TAK* that plans are under way to publish some sources and to reprint some books or selections from books. Among them are: Menno Simons' *Foundation Book*, Sebastian Franck's *Geschichtsbibel* and a text edition of the writings of Melchior Hoffman. The Institute for Trans-

lation at the University of Amsterdam is also interested in these projects.

The individuals listed by Irvin B. Horst engaged in various research projects are the following: Irvin B. Horst (Anabaptist sources in England), S. B. J. Zilverberg (writings of Hoffman), H. W. Meihuizen (writings of Menno) and S. L. Verheus (writings of Sebastian Franck). Other scholars at work are: R. Hofman, J. P. Jacobszoon, F. Kuiper, W. Kuipers and S. Yoder.

The following American scholars are working on the preparation of texts, including translations, for publication: Walter Klaassen and William Klassen are translating the writings of Pilgram Marbeck including the *Confession* of 1532 and the *Taufbüchlein* of 1542. Walter Klaassen is also working on the *Kuntsbuch* and the writings of Hans Hut. He has written a number of articles for a book to be published by the Philosophical Library. C. J. Dyck of the Institute of Mennonite Studies reports that Clarence Bauman is working on the writings of Hans Denck, John H. Yoder on Michael Sattler, William Keeney on Dirk Philips and W. R. Estep, Jr. and John H. Yoder on Balthasar Hubmaier.

At a recent meeting of the Committee on Free Church Origins Franklin H. Littell mentioned some publishers that might be interested in publishing source materials in such areas as religious freedom, church renewal, lay participation in the Anabaptist-Puritan-Pietist tradition. Among the scholars at work in these fields, the following were mentioned: G. H. Williams (Radical Reformers of Poland); C. Krahn (Dutch Anabaptism); Hans J. Hillerbrand (Andreas Carlstadt); James M. Stayer (Anabaptists and the State); Heinold Fast (Swiss Anabaptists); Gerhard Goeters (Lower-Rhine Anabaptists); Walter Fellmann (Hans Denck); David Ensign and Donald F. Durnbaugh (Pietism); Franklin H. Littell (John Wesley); John C. Bennet, James E. Wood and Franklin H. Littell (Church and State); Leland Carlson and Keith Sprunger (Puritanism); T. Canby Jones (Friends); and Don Robinson (Sebastian Franck). Other scholars mentioned were James Leo Garrett, Paul Peachey, Calvin Redekop, Heinz Renkewitz, Jan Kiwiet, John S. Oyer, Lowell Zuck, Wilmer Cooper, Rollin S. Armour, Clyde Manschreck and A. W. Dirrim. (See also "Research in Progress" in previous April issues of *Mennonite Life*.)

Other Organizations and Research

A joint board of the General Conference Mennonite Church and Bethel College has been appointed to work out plans whereby the archives of the General Conference Mennonite Church and the Bethel College Historical Library and Archives will be jointly operated and developed to become a more effective tool to collect and convey information pertaining to the Mennonites.

The Department of Sociology of Goshen College has established a Social Research Service which will supplement the work done by the Historical and Research Committee of the Mennonite General Conference at Goshen, Indiana, and the Institute of Mennonite Studies of Elkhart, Indiana.

At the Conference on Mennonite Educational and Cultural Problems, June 8-9, 1967, held at Hesston College,

Hesston, Kansas, some papers of historical, sociological and educational nature were presented. Among them were the following: Larry Kehler, "A Statistical Profile of Mennonite Personnel Involved in International Experience"; Leo Driedger, "Developments in Higher Education Among Mennonites in Manitoba"; Albert J. Meyer, "Developments in Cooperative Programs Between Mennonite Colleges"; Cornelius Krahn, "Some Cultural Contributions of the Dutch Mennonites"; James C. Juhnke, "Crisis of Citizenship: Kansas Mennonites in the First World War"; and Wilfred Unruh, "An Evaluation of Mennonite Service Programs." These papers will appear in print this year.

Robert Friedmann, Kalamazoo, Michigan, and J. P. Jacobszoon, Haarlem, The Netherlands, who was teaching at Eastern Mennonite College (1966-67), presented the annual Menno Simons' Lectures at Bethel College, Oct. 31-Nov. 3, entitled "Anabaptism as Existential Christianity." Dr. Friedmann is preparing his lectures for publication.

Research and Publications

The April issue of *Mennonite Life*, devoted to the witness of *The Martyrs' Mirror*, has found considerable appeal. Through the generosity of a friend of *Mennonite Life*, over one thousand copies were sent to Mennonite congregations in the United States and Canada. Many smaller and larger orders have come in requesting copies for use in classes and libraries.

A. J. Klassen and N. P. Springer have compiled a "Mennonite Bibliography 1631-1961" which is to be published in the near future. Archie Penner is doing research

on the life of Pieter Jansz Twisck. S. F. Pannabecker has completed "The History of the Central District of the General Conference Mennonite Church" which is to be published in the near future. Melvin Gingerich has prepared a manuscript entitled "A History of Mennonite Costume" and delivered the Conrad Grebel Lectures dealing with "Mennonites and Extremism." Walter and Helen Quiring (Saskatoon) are working on a book devoted to Mennonite life in Canada. Delbert Gratz of Bluffton College, is compiling a catalogue of Anabaptist sources found in archives and libraries in western and eastern Europe. He is planning to publish this report on Anabaptist source materials. John S. Oyer of Goshen, Ind., has spent one year in research dealing with Anabaptist sources in various German archives.

Reynolds H. Minnich, Jr., of Goshen College has completed his Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Florida and is now continuing his research pertaining to the Mennonites of Brazil in order that he may be able to complete a book on this topic. Calvin Redekop of Goshen College, who wrote his Ph.D. dissertation dealing with the Old Colony Mennonites of Mexico, has received a grant from the National Institute of Health to continue his research among the Old Colony Mennonites. J. Howard Kauffman of Goshen College has made a study of the income of Mennonite ministers in Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and Indiana. Carl Kreider, Dean of Goshen College, has prepared the John F. Funk Lectures dealing with the Mennonite Economic Development Association (MEDA) of Paraguay. J. Daniel Hess, of Goshen, Indiana, has made a study in regard to Mennonite attitudes toward television.

Mennonite Bibliography, 1966

Compiled by John F. Schmidt, Nelson P. Springer, J. P. Jacobszoon and others.

THE MENNONITE BIBLIOGRAPHY is published annually in the April issue of *Mennonite Life*. It contains a list of books, pamphlets and articles dealing with the Anabaptists-Mennonites.

The magazine articles have been mostly restricted to non-Mennonite publications since complete files of Mennonite periodicals, yearbooks, and conference reports are available at the historical libraries of Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas; Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana; Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio; and the Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Indiana.

Previous bibliographies published in *Mennonite Life* appeared annually in the April issues since 1949 (except July, 1961, July, 1963, and July, 1967). Authors and publishers of books, pamphlets and magazines which should be included in our annual list are invited to send copies to *Mennonite Life* for listing and possible review.

BOOKS—1966

Algra, H. *Kerk tussen duin en wad*. Hollum, Ameland, 1966.

Amstutz, Evelyn Jane. *Benjamin Amstutz Family Record, 1853-1966*. Scottsdale, Pa., 1966, 40pp.

Armour, Rollin Stely. *Anabaptist Baptism; a Representative Study*. Scottsdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1966, 214pp. (Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, No. 11). (See Review).

Bargen, Bernhard. *Our Church Yearbook; a Guide*. Newton, Kan., General Conference Mennonite Church, 1966, 15pp.

Bensing, Manfred. *Thomas Müntzer und der Thüringer Aufstand, 1525*. Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1966, 284pp.

Benson, Lewis. *Catholic Quakerism*. Published by the Author, Brielle, N.J., 1966.

Beuningen, P. Th. van. *Wilhelmus Lindanus also inquisiteur en bisschop*. Assen, 1966.

Brendler, Gerhard. *Das Täuferreich zu Münster 1534-35*. Berlin, Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1966, 187pp.

Broer, W. *Gefundeerd en vast; Afscheidspreek*. Hoorn, 1966.

Brunk, George R. *Musical Instruments*. Crockett, Ky., Rod and Staff Publishers, 1966, 21pp.

Charles, Howard H. *Alcohol and the Bible*. Scottsdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1966, 29pp.

- Conference on International Education, May 26-27, 1966. Council of Mennonite Colleges, Council of Mission Board Secretaries and Mennonite Central Committee, n. p., 1966, 66pp.
- Cross, Harold E., ed. *Ohio Amish Directory*; Holmes County and Vicinity. Millersburg, Ohio, 1966, 262pp.
- Detweiler, Bill. *The Old Morality*; a Clear Call Back to the Moral Standards of the Eternal God, as He Gave Them in "The Ten Commandments." Orrville, Ohio, The Calvary Hour, 1966, 62pp. (Twelve radio sermons)
- Erickson, Donald A. *The Amish and the State School Statutes*; a Position Paper. n. p., 1966, 13pp.
- Fast, Arthur H. and Wall, O. J., eds. *The Lustre-Larlan-Volt Story*. n. p., 1966, 64pp.
- 500,000 Doopsgezinden; een schets. Algemene Doopsgezinde Societeit, Amsterdam, 1966.
- Franck, Ira S. *My Search For an Anchor*. Philadelphia, Pa., 1966, 129pp.
- Goering, Mrs. John D. *Von Riesen-Friesen Family Record*. n. p., 1966.
- Günther, Waldemar; Heidebrecht, David P.; and Peters, Gerhard J. *Onsi Tjedils*; Ersatzdienst der Mennoniten in Russland unter den Romanovs. Yarrow, B. C., Columbia Press, 1966, 312pp.
- Hirschler, Paul, compiler. *Jacob Rings Family History*. Bluffton, Ohio, (Howard Raif), 1966, 175pp.
- Hoeben, Jan. *Zeven eeuwen Haarlem*. Haarlem, 1966.
- Hoekema, C. P. *Verslag omtrent de veertiende vergadering der Vereniging tot ondersteuning van Doopsgezinde wezen*; 100 jaar Wezenverzorging in de Broederschap. Haarlem, 1966.
- Horst, I. B. *Anabaptism and the English Reformation to 1558*. Nieuwkoop, 1966.
- Janzen, A. E. *Mennonite Brethren Distinctives*. Hillsboro, Kan., 1966, 31pp.
- Janzen, Waldemar. *A Basic Educational Philosophy for Canadian Mennonite Bible College*. Winnipeg, Man., Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1966, 15pp.
- Kauffman, Daniel. *New Frontiers—Stewardship and Mutual Aid*. Scottsdale, Pa., Association of Mennonite Aid Societies, 1966, 67pp.
- . *Stewardship for Mission in the Local Congregation; the General Manual*. (Rev. ed.) Scottsdale, Pa., Mennonite Publishing House, 1966, 72pp.
- Kaufman, Edmund G. *Living Creatively*. Newton, Kan., Faith and Life Press, 1966, 169pp.
- King, Myron A. *A Well-Ordered School*. Crockett, Ky., Rod and Staff Publishers, 1966, 31pp.
- Klaassen, Walter. *Christian Life and Renewal Week*. Goshen, Ind., Goshen College, 1966, 27pp. (Reprints of eight messages given at Goshen College, February 7-11, 1966.)
- Klassen, William. *The Forgiving Community*. Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1966, 253pp.
- Knipscheer, L. D. G. *Vietnam en wij*. Doopsgezinde Vredesgroep, 1966, 20pp.
- Krahn, Cornelius and Gingerich, Melvin. *The Mennonites*; A Brief Guide to Information. Newton, Kan., Faith and Life Press, 1966 (Revised), 20pp.
- Loewen, Solomon Leppke. *The Family of David D. Ediger*. Hillsboro, Kan., 1966, 81pp.
- Manual for Staff and Unit Assistants*. Goshen, Ind., Goshen College, 1966, 75pp.
- Mast, Russell L. *Sermons on the Ministry*. Miyakonojo, Miyazaki, Japan, General Conference Mennonite Church, 1966, 39pp. (Japanese trans.)
- Meihuizen, H. W. *Het bergrip Restitutie in hiet Noord-westelijke Doperdom*. Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink en Zoon, (1966), 27 pp.
- Mueller, Amelia. *There Have to Be Six*; A True Story About Pioneering in the Midwest. Scottsdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1966, 255pp.
- New Life for the Church*. Hayama, Japan, The Lacy-kan, 1966, 132pp. (Seventh Hayama Missionary Seminary Conference, January 5-7, 1966)
- 100 jaar eenheid 1866-1966*. Aalsmeer, 1966. (Mennonite church).
- Oyer, Verle, and Margaret. *Joseph and Mary (Burkey) Birky, Pioneer Parents*. Foosland, Ill., 1966, 121pp.
- Penner, Archie. *How Church Practices Communicate Our Faith*. Steinbach, Man., Evangelical Mennonite Conference, 1966, 7pp.
- Rich, Elaine Sommers. *Tomorrow, Tomorrow, Tomorrow*. Scottsdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1966, 91pp.
- Roth, Alice and Willard. *Becoming God's People Today*; the Church's Mission in an Urban World. Scottsdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1966, 31 pp. Leader's Guide, 31pp.
- Roth, Lorraine. *History and Genealogy of Joseph and Anna (Kauffman) Roth, 1851-1966*. Kitchener, Ont., 1966, 78pp.
- Sauder, Menno. *The Golden Truth*. Selections from the *Bloody Theater or Martyrs' Mirror* by Thieleman J. van Braght. n. p., 1966, 108pp.
- Schäufele, Wolfgang. *Das missionarische Bewusstsein und Wirken der Täufer*. Band XXI, "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Lehre der Reformierten Kirche," Germany, 1966, 328pp.
- Schrock, Iona (Hartzler). *Sycamore Grove Centennial, 1866-1966*. Garden City, Mo., Sycamore Grove Mennonite Church, 1966, 104pp.
- Stadtland-Neumann, Hiltrud. *Evangelische Radikalismen in der Sicht Calvins*. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1966.
- Steenbeek, B. W. *Doede van Amsweer*. Wageningen, 1966. (Against Mennonites).
- Trueblood, D. Elton. *The People Called Quakers*. New York, Harper and Row, Publishers, 1966, 298pp.
- Tschetter, Peter S. *Hutterian Brethren of Yesterday and Today*. Minburn, Alberta, 1966, 22pp.
- Verheus, S. L. *Honderd jaar vergadering van Moderne Theologen*. 1966.
- Weaver, Arvan and Hoover, Maynard. *Twenty-five Reasons Why We Consider Amillennialism an Erroneous Doctrine*. New Paris, Ind., 1966, 7pp.
- Wenger, John C. *God's Word Written*; Essays on the Nature of Biblical Revelation, Inspiration, and Authority. Scottsdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1966, 150pp. (Conrad Grebel Lectures, 1966)
- . *The Mennonite Church in America*. Vol. II, *Mennonite History*. Scottsdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1966, 384pp.

BOOKS—1965

- Bachman, Emma (Krehbiel). *Family Recollections of the Zion Mennonite Church Community Located Near Donnellson, Iowa*. Bluffton, Ohio, Howard Raid, 1965, 42pp.
- Bauman, Herold E. *Mennonite College and Federal Aid*. New York, 1965, 51pp.
- Beekhuis, J. C. *As gele pompiereen begjinne to praten*. Feanwalden (Friesland), 1965.
- Bremer, H. *Geweldloze weerbaarheid*. Amsterdam, 1964.
- Brunk, A. C. *Biography of Christian David Esch, M.D.* n. p., 1965, 12pp.
- Buskes, J. J. and Rost, Nico. *Daar gaat een dominee voorbij*. (S. Loelofs). Amsterdam, 1965.
- Cornelius, Carl Adolf. *Berichte der Augenzeugen über das Münsterische Wiedertäuferreich*. Münster, 1853 (Aschendorff reprint, 1965), 488pp.
- Dekker Jzn., Jan. *Brieven aan Krommenieers van een Out-Wormerveerder*. Wassenaar, 1965.
- Eger, Henrik. *Wuppertal-Bethel Exchange Program, 15th Anniversary*; a Documentation compiled and edited by Henrik Eger. North Newton, Kan., Bethel College, 1965, 40pp.
- Epp, Elizabeth Ruth (Jantzen) and Bruno. *A History and Register of the Heinrich J. Jantzen family (1862-1965)*. Clearbrook, B. C., 1965, 20pp.
- . *A History and Register of the Johann Epp Family*. Clearbrook, B. C., 1965, 35pp.
- Epp, Theodore H. *Should God's People Partake in War?* (4th. ed.) Steinbach, Man., Evangel Book Shop, 1965, 35pp.
- Ewert, Lydia (Siemens), compiler. *The Johann Siemens Family: Six Generations*. n. p., 1965, 33pp.
- General Conference Mennonite Church. *A Christian Declaration on Capital Punishment*. Newton, Kan., Board of Christian Service, 1965, 10pp.
- Godshalk, Abraham. *A Description of the New Creature; from Its Birth Until Grown up "Unto a Perfect Man; Unto the Measure of the Stature of the Fullness of Christ."* Ephrata, Pa., Lester R. Sauder, 1965, 76pp. (Reprint).
- Gorter, J. *Doopsgezinde Gemeente Terhorne*. Rede Gehouden bij het 100-jarig bestaan van het kerkgebouw, 24 September 1965.
- Haarlem. *Jaarboek*, 1964.
- Hartz, Amos and Susan. *Moses Hartz Family History, 1819-1965*. Elverson, Pa., 1965, 28pp.
- Hassan, Hazel (Nice). *The Nice Family History; Descendants of Henry Clemmer Nice (1822-1892)*. Normal, Ill., 1965, 217pp.
- Hostetler, John A. *Hutterite Life*. Scottdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1965, 39pp.
- Kerber, R. P. *Genealogical Register of the descendants of Peter Dyck of Neuenburg, Chortitza Colony, South Russia*. Saskatoon, 1963.
- . *Genealogy of Hans Kerber of Gr. Lubin, Kreis Schwetz, West Prussia, 1737-1994*. Saskatoon, 1965, 12pp.
- Klerk, Jos de. *Haarlems muziekleven in de loop der tijden*. Haarlem, 1965.
- Koerjemaans, A. J. *Dopere Ketterijen*. Amsterdam, 1965.
- Mennonite Central Committee Peace Section. *Background Papers; Church-State Study Conference, Chicago, Illinois, October 7-9, 1965*. Akron, Pa., 1965, 124pp.
- Mennonite General Conference. *Our Mission Is One; an Interpretation of the Mennonite Church's Work in the World Today*. Scottdale, Pa., 1965, 31pp.
- Mezynski, Kazimierz. *O Mennonitach W. Polsce*. Gdansk, 1961.
- Miller, Robert W. and Hutchison, Frank L. *The Vietnam Refugee Program; a Report*. Akton, Pa., Mennonite Central Committee, 1965, 22pp.
- Peachey, Joseph N. and Sylvia. *Favorite Amish Family Recipes; a Cookbook from Kishacoquillas Valley*. Aylmer, Ont., Pathway Publishing Corp., 1965, 253pp.
- Peter, Karl. *Social Class and the Conception of the Calling; Toward a Constructive Revision of Max Weber's Hypothesis*. Edmonton, Alberta, 1965, 158pp.
- Peters, Victor. *All Things Common; the Hutterian Way of Life*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1965, 233pp.
- Rombach, J. H. *Inventaris van het archief van de Doopsgezinde Gemeente te Alkmaar*.
- Siemens, Johann. *The Johann Siemens Family Tree; six generations; an account by Johann Siemens; preface by Lydia Siemens Ewert; excerpts from the diary of John F. Siemens; introduction by Delton Franz; the John F. Siemens Family tree*. Chicago, 1965, 65pp.
- Structuur, bestuur en instellingen van de Vereenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente te Haarlem*.
- Unruh, Wilfred J. *A Study of Mennonite Service Programs; a Historical and Empirical Study Prepared for the Institute of Mennonite Studies, Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries, Elkhart, Ind., July, 1965*. Elkhart, Ind., Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1965, 11, 352, 116pp.
- Wadel, Walter J. *Wadel Family History*. n. p., 1965, 38pp.
- Wiens, Delbert. *New Wineskins for Old Wine; a Study of the Mennonite Brethren Church*. Hillsboro, Kan., Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1965, 28pp.
- Wiens, J. B. *Taunty Wellmschy*. Winnipeg, Man., Druck von Regehr's Printing, 1965, 75pp.
- Wolkan, Rudolf. *Rie Hutterer; Österreichische Wiedertäufer und Kommunisten in Amerika*. Nieuwkoop, B. de Graaf, 1965, 200pp. (Photomechanical reprint of the edition of 1918.)
- . *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer; ein Beitrag zur deutschen und niederländische Litteratur und Kirchengeschichte*. Nieuwkoop, B. de Graaf, 1965, 295pp. (Photomechanical reprint of the edition of 1903.)
- Yoder, Joseph W. *How to Begin Reading Music*. Scottdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1965, 16pp.

PERIODICALS—1966

- Adams, Melvin. "The Real Question in Iowa," *Liberty*. May-June, 1966, 7-11, 32.
- "Amish," *Camera*, Lucerne, July, 1966, pp. 36-43.
- "Amish," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, Groningen, January 15, 1966.
- Augsburger, Myron S. "The Church as Creative," *United Evangelical Action*, April, 1966, 12-14.
- Baring, Georg. "Die 'Theologia Deutsch' und die Mennoniten," *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter*, Karlsruhe, 1966, Vol. 23, No. 18: 61-73.
- Bainton, Roland H. "The Paraphrases of Erasmus," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, Jahrgang 57, 1966, Heft 1/2, pp. 67-76.

- "De bjukskerbaerlike dei; mr K. Bijlsma en de P. C.," *Lecuwarden Courant*, Lecuwarden, July 30, 1966.
- Durnbaugh, Donald F. "Relationships of the Brethren with the Mennonites and Quakers, 1708-1865," *Church History*, 1966, XXXV, 35-39.
- Dyke, Samuel E. "The Bachman Family of Cabinetmakers, 1766-1897," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, 1966, LXIX, 168-180.
- Eskew, Harry. "Joseph Funk's 'Allgemein Nützliche Choral-Music' (1816)," *Thirty-second Report*, Baltimore, Md., Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, 1966, 38-46.
- Fast, Heinold. "Bemerkungen zur Taufanschauung der Täufer," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, Jahrgang 57, 1966, Heft 1/2, pp. 131-151.
- Fellmann, Walter. "Martin Buber und Hans Denck," *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter*, Karlsruhe, 1966, Vol. 23, No. 18: 29-35.
- Friedmann, Robert. "Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Hutterischen Brüder," *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter*, Karlsruhe, 1966, Vol. 23, No. 18: 5-12.
- Gingerich, Melvin. "An Effective Acquisition Program for the Religious Archives," *The American Archivist*, Oct., 1966, XXIV, 515-522.
- Goertz, Adalbert. "Aus Mennonitischen Kirchenbüchern Westpreussens," *Ostdeutsche Familienkunde*, July-Sept., 1966, XVI, 221 ff.
- . "Taufen, 1661-1680, in der Mennonitengemeinde Montau, Kreis Schwetz/Westpreussen," *Altpreussische Geschlechterkunde*, September, 1966, XVI, 226-230.
- . "Über die Mennoniten Altpreussens," *Altpreussische Geschlechterkunde*, Hamburg, 1966, Vol. 14, 225-226.
- Hartmanshenn, Herta. "Die Hutterischen Brüdergemeinden in Kanada," *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, Stuttgart, Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, 1966, Vol. 16, No. 1: 36-9.
- Hein, Lydia. "Pastor Lic. theol. Emil Händiges," *Mennonitischer Gemeinde-Kalender*, Weierhof, 1967, 32-39.
- Hildebrandt, Julia. "Antje Brons als Mennonitin," *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter*, Karlsruhe, 1966, Vol. 23, No. 18: 41-58.
- Hinshaw, Cecil. "The Conscience of the Hutterite," *Great Plains Observer*, October, 1966, 10-13.
- "Hollanders uit begin 1700," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, Groningen, January 8, 1966.
- Jacobszoon, J. P., "Van Pinksteren tot Advent," *Bijbel-rooster*, Doorn, 1966.
- Jong, Otto J. de. "Dirk Philipsz en de Doperse Ban," *Hervormd Nederland*, Gravenhage, February 9, 1966.
- Kauenhoven, Kurt. "Mennonitengeschlechter aus Westpreussen und ihre Wanderwege," *Ostdeutsche Familienkunde*, Jan.-Mar., 1966, Vol. 14, 132-3.
- Kermes, Constantine. "Amish Album," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Summer, 1966, XV, No. 4: 2-5.
- "Landgoederen verdwenen . . . glorie van de Vecht bleef," *Gooi-en Eemlander*, Hilversum, April 28, 1966.
- Littell, Franklin H. "The State of Iowa vs. the Amish," *The Christian Century*, February 23, 1966, Vol. LXXXIII, No. 6: 234-5.
- Mather, Boyd P. "That Amish Thing," *The Christian Century*, February 23, 1966, Vol. LXXXIII, No. 6: 245-7.
- Meihuizen, H. W. "Die niederländischen Taufgesinnten," *Mennonitischer Gemeinde-Kalender*, Weierhof, 1967, 43-57.
- . "De tragische Thomas Müntzer," *NAK/Nieuwe Serie*, Deel XLVII, afl. 2 den Haag, 1965-66.
- . "Thomas Asselijn en de Amsterdamse Doopsgezinden," *Doopsgezind Jaarboekje 1967*, Algemene Doopsgezinde Sociëteit, Amsterdam, 47-62.
- Stebbins, Ruth and Fred. "The Mennonites of Kansas," *Kansas!*, 1966, No. 4: 8-9.
- Urban, Waclaw. "Antytrynaryzujacy Anaptartyzm Spiski," *Studia z Dziedziny Antytrynaryzumna Ziemiach Czeskich i Slowackich*, XVI-XVII Wiek, Cracow, 1966, 84-95.
- Wilminck, J. H. "Contacten met buitenlandse Doopsgezinden," *Doopsgezind Jaarboekje 1967*, Amsterdam, Algemene Doopsgezinde Sociëteit, 30-38.
- Wilson, Marion Ball. "Mennonite Maids," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Spring, 1966, Vol. XV, No. 3: 38-9.
- "Zeven vermaningen groeiden uit tot een Doopsgezinde Gemeente," *Aalsmeerder Courant*, Aalsmeer, June 3, 1966.
- Zijl, Pieter. "Doopsgezinde vermaning droeg bij tot instandhouding van het dorp," *Leekster Courant*, April 22, 1966.

PERIODICALS—1965

- Beyerman, J. J. "Een vonnis van de 'Bloedraad' over twee Mennonieten in 1572," *Zuidhollands Jaarboek*, 1965.
- Friedmann, Robert. "Living in a Society of Brothers," *Fellowship*, July, 1965, Vol. XXXI, No. 7: 21-3.
- Gehman, Richard. "Amish Folk: Plainest of Pennsylvania's Plain People," *National Geographic*, August, 1965, Vol. CXXVIII, 227-253.
- Goertz, Adalbert. "Stammbücher aus Westpreussen und Russland in Kanada," *Ostdeutsche Familienkunde*, Neustadt, 1965, Vol. 13, 61-2.
- Hostetler, John A. "The Amish: Rural Communities of Love," *Fellowship*, January, 1965, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, 19-21.
- Isaak, Suse. "Kulturerbe als Brücke," *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, Stuttgart, Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, 1965, Vol. XVI, 81-2.
- Shaner, Richard H. "Kutztown's Mennonites," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Summer, 1965, Vol. XIV, No. 4: 21-31.
- Stayer, James M. "Terrorism, The Peasants' War, and the 'Wiedertäufer,'" *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 1965, Vol. LVI, 227-9.
- Valkenburg, W. W. van. "De voorouders van Pieter van Vollenhoven," *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, Gravenhage, April-May, 1965.

BOOKS RECEIVED, 1966

- Augsburger, A. Don. *Creating Christian Personality*. Scottsdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1966, 128pp. (Conrad Grebel Lectures, 1966)
- Augsburger, David. *70 x 7*. Harrisonburg, Va., The Mennonite Hour, 1966, 24pp.
- . *To Be a Man*. Harrisonburg, Va., The Mennonite Hour, 1966, 25pp.
- . *Where the Action Is*. Harrisonburg, Va., The Mennonite Hour, 1966, 24pp.

- Bontrager, Ernest J. and Ida J., compilers. *Songs That Live*. n. p., 1966.
- Brenneman, Helen (Good). *My Comforters; a Book of Daily Inspiration for Those Who Are Ill*. Scottdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1966, 80pp.
- Coleman, Lyman. *Acts Alive*. Huntingdon, Pa., The Half Way House, 1966, 84pp.
- Daalen, A. G. van. *Simson*. Assen, 1966. (Sermon)
- Ewert, David., *Five Lectures on Creation from a Biblical Perspective*. Hillsboro, Kan., Mennonite Brethren Church, Board of Reference and Control, 1966, 83pp.
- Hill, Dave. *Welfare Kid*. Scottdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1966, 176pp.
- Hostetter, B. Charles. *Life at Its Best*. Chicago, Moody Press, 1966, 128 pp.
- . *The Sex Revolution*. Harrisonburg, Va., The Mennonite Hour, 1966, 24pp.
- Miller, Clara Bernice. *Katie*. Scottdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1966, 288pp. (Fiction)
- The Peril of Neo-Orthodoxy to Saving Faith*. Crockett, Ky., Rod and Staff Publishers, 1966, 35pp.
- Photographic and Activity Report Handbook*. Akron, Pa., Mennonite Central Committee, 1966, 13pp.
- Planning My Stewardship Commitment*. (Rev. ed.) Scottdale, Pa., Mennonite Publishing House, 1966, 16pp.
- Raber, Chester A. *Middle Age; A Test of Time*. Scottdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1966, 31pp. (Home Series Book)
- Selections from Songs We Sing; for use with Bible Lessons for Kindergarten Children, Year II*. Scottdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1966, 29pp. (Herald Graded Sunday School Series)
- Short Story Writing; Suggestions for Beginners*. Crockett, Ky., Rod and Staff Publishers, 1966, 31pp.
- Taal, J. *Door vrij denken tot christelijk geloven*. Utrecht, 1966.
- Wiebe, Rudy. *First and Vital Candle*. Grand Rapids, Mich., William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1966, 354pp.
- Yake, Clayton Franklin. *Superintendent's Manual; Christian Education Through the Summer Bible School*. (Rev. ed.) Scottdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1966, 111pp.

BOOKS, 1965

- Barkman, Paul F. *Man in Conflict*. Grand Rapids, Mich., Zondervan Publishing House, 1965, 189pp.
- Harding, Vincent. *Must Walls Divide?* New York, Friendship Press, 1965, 63pp. (Questions for Christians, No. 3)
- Linden, A. J. van der. *Bijbel cursus*. Drachten, 1965.
- Stoll, Joseph. *The Lord is my Shepherd*. Aylmer, Ont., Pathway Publishing Corp., 1965, 186pp.
- Stutzman, D. J. *The Language of the Death Bed*. (Rev. ed.) Aylmer, Ont., Pathway Publishing Corp., 1965, 211pp.
- Suarez Vilela, Ernesto. *Algo Llamado Perdon*. (Novela) Buenos Aires, Methopress, 1965, 110pp.

Books in Review

Münsterite Anabaptists

Gerhard Brendler, *Das Täuferrreich zu Münster 1534/35*. Reihe B, Band 2: *Leipziger Übersetzungen und Abhandlungen zum Mittelalter*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1966. pp. 187.

This book is unique in at least two ways. The first half is devoted to an evaluating and critical historiography of the Münster Anabaptist kingdom and the second to the author's account of this event on the basis of the sources relating the Anabaptist movement to "the class struggles of the early middle class revolution" (9). This review is no attempt to demonstrate to what an extent the objectivity of the author benefits or suffers because he presents his findings from a Marxian point of view. He claims that there is no such thing as complete objectivity by stating that "a historiography without value judgment is neither possible nor desirable" (9). If research in the realm of the Reformation was dormant in the East since World War II, a marked change is now noticeable. And it is not surprising that "Münster" and "Müntzer" receive first attention. Numerous books have appeared in the East dealing with these and related subjects.

The author provides ample proof that he has done a formidable job in locating, investigating and describing accessible writings dealing with the Münsterite kingdom. One must realize that the subject "Münster" has been treated continually in scholarly writings, fiction and art since 1535. At times the author incorporates areas not strictly belonging to the field of his investigation such as the Peasants' Re-

volt, Swiss Anabaptism and the Reformation in general. The historiography as well as the extensive bibliography prove that Eastern scholars have access to Western sources and books. The author is familiar with most of the German and American publications in this field, making reference to Troeltsch, Weber, Köhler, von Schubert, Ritschl, Stupperich, Bainton, Bender, Williams, Littell, Krahn, Friedmann, Peachey, Hillerbrand and others. His summaries of some older studies and reference to more recent ones makes the book very helpful for those less informed in this field. Not only does he deal with the content of the books but he also breaks the total range of historiography into periods.

According to the author the historiography of the non-Mennonite scholars was long dominated by the views of Luther and Melancthon. Mennonite research originated in The Netherlands which introduced a change. In Dutch historiography a distinction was made between the peaceful Anabaptists and the Münsterites. The first influence of this new evaluation of Anabaptism became noticeable in the historical research by Gottfried Arnold and B. N. Krohn. However, only toward the end of the nineteenth century did this influence become effective. The interest in Anabaptist research increased particularly through Ludwig Keller's provoking views and insights. At the turn of the century the differences between the views of the Lutherans, Reformed and Mennonites in regard to the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century decreased and a considerable upgrading of peaceful Anabaptism followed.

Brendler states that the evaluation of the episode of

militant Anabaptism in Münster is different. Although the revolutions of 1789 and of 1848 introduced views that the event of Münster could have been prompted by social struggles, after the revolutions of 1917 and later, the Münster Anabaptist kingdom is used as a warning example against modern Communism in western countries. Says Brendler, "in the sign of anti-Communism the homecoming of peaceful Anabaptism into the bosom of the church is speeded up" but the "Münsterites remain excluded in the up-grading of Anabaptism in middle class historiography" (69f.).

The author, who displays an unusual familiarity with most of the sources, printed books and articles dealing with the subject of his investigations, does not seem to have had access to the very rich historiography produced by Dutch scholars. This is even more surprising since he rightly points out that Anabaptist research during this century has been preoccupied with the Swiss Anabaptists investigating the lives of the leaders, the theology, its relationship to the Reformation and government, neglecting the investigation of northern Anabaptism particularly of the Münsterite movement (69f.). Brendler presupposes that this is partly due to the possibility that it would again cause discrimination against Anabaptism which has now been reinstated. One must admit that the author himself displays considerable familiarity with Swiss Anabaptist research. The rich Dutch contribution made to the investigation of the relationship between Dutch Anabaptism and the Münsterites seems to have escaped his attention. However, in a footnote he does refer to a book by a Russian author, A. N. Chistozvonov dealing with the Dutch Reformation (70, footnote 87).

It was in The Netherlands where pioneer work was done to reinstate Anabaptism as a wing of the Reformation and where a new view in regard to the Münsterites was initiated. K. Vos wrote numerous articles and books in which he paved the way for a view which took into consideration more seriously the economic and social factors in the rise and development of Dutch Anabaptism which he indicates lead up to the Münster incident. In his footsteps, A. F. Melling concluded, obviously influenced by Marxian views, that the radical eschatological militant type of Anabaptism culminating in the Münster kingdom was the genuine Anabaptism of which, after the defeat of Münster, a withdrawn peaceful wing survived as Mennonitism. The subsequent influence of this view can be traced in numerous European writings. It is therefore surprising that Brendler nowhere picked up a lead to this view.

The author compensates for the omission of the rich Dutch historiography by presenting to the Western scholar in his 17 page *Quellen-und Literaturverzeichnis*, a number of recent works in the German and Russian language listing Marxian writings dealing not only with "Münster" and the Peasants' Revolt but also with the Reformation in general. These and other writings including Manfred Bensing, *Thomas Müntzer und der Thüringer Aufstand 1525* (Berlin, 1966), are ample evidence that Eastern historiography has added to "purely" economic, political and secular historical investigations also in the field of religion. It can be expected that this trend will continue and will enrich Western historiography not only by presenting new sources and opening

vistas for research but also by throwing new light on certain questions because of the new position from which value judgments of the past are made.

The father of Marxian historiography as far as Münster Anabaptism and Thomas Münster are concerned is Karl Kautsky. But even his findings are very critically reviewed by the representatives of present Marxian historiography. Already W. N. Lenin took issue with Kautsky's presentation in his writing *Die proletarische Revolution und der Renegat Kautsky* (1918) blaming him for merely expressing sympathy with the defeated Anabaptists and antipathy with the victorious oppressors. Instead the revolutionary character of the oppressed should have been emphasized (47).

In his own presentation, Brendler uses H. Kerssenbroick and H. Gresbeck as his primary sources. He follows the course of the development of the establishment of the kingdom occasionally pointing out which aspect constitutes an integral part of the "class struggle" and which is accidental or incidental. As an example we cite the introduction of polygamy, of which he says that it constituted a "sectarian experiment" which need not be considered a "revolutionary deed" nor does it give any "reason for moral criticism." With a glance in the direction of Philip of Hesse and Luther he states that this happened also at other places (142).

The author concludes his book by stating that reformations and revolutions do not take place as single acts but as a chain of actions. "The Reformation and the Peasants' Revolt, Luther and Müntzer, moderates and radicals, evangelicals and Anabaptists are links of one historical process." In this context the Münster event is the "tragedy of the historically necessary illusion, which strives toward the impossible in order to pave the way for the possible." It was the "tragedy of the revolutionary visionaries without whose sacrifice mankind never finds itself" (167). Whatever we may think about this conclusion it sounds more "objective" than many of the concluding chapters in the endless presentations of the great tragedy of Münster.

BETHEL COLLEGE

Cornelius Krahn

Hutterian writings

Die Schriften der Huterischen Täufergemeinschaften. Gesamtkatalog ihrer Manuscriptbücher, ihrer Schreiber und ihrer Literatur, 1529-1667. Collected and edited by Robert Friedmann with the collaboration of Adolf Mais. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Denkschriften, Vol. LXXXVI). Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, Graz-Wien-Köln, 1965, pp. 179, 4 plates, folio. About \$7.50.

Robert Friedmann's *Schriften der Huterischen Täufergemeinschaften* is invaluable, both as a reference aid and as a source of orientation to anyone who will henceforth undertake research on the intellectual and religious life of the Hutterites. It tells in a far more complete way than any previous publication in Anabaptist studies what Hutterite manuscripts have survived and where they may be found (including published versions when these exist). This in turn makes it possible for Dr. Friedmann to go beyond an inventory of extant Hutterite writings to what he calls a kind of "objektive Geistesgeschichte," "a deeper insight into the intellectual and spiritual life of the Brothers" from their own writings and those they borrowed from outside their group.

The book is the result of thirty-five years of scholarship beginning in 1928 when the author first saw the need to supplement Beck's *Geschichts-Bücher der Wiedertäufer in Österreich-Ungarn*. In the ensuing years came Friedmann's own discoveries of additional Hutterite manuscripts in Europe, his arrival in the United States as a refugee from Nazism and then, in 1954, the opportunity to visit Hutterite communities in Montana and Alberta and to supplement his knowledge of Hutterite manuscripts in European archives and libraries with that of the sources remaining in Hutterite possession in North America. The discovery of Hutterite sources is a continuing process, as attested to by the inclusion in Friedmann's book of a report by Dr. Adolf Mais of Vienna describing the content of a 1961 "find" of 126 manuscripts and 25 printed works hidden behind the wall plaster of a Hutterite house in Sobotiste, Slovakia. Although Friedmann describes the Sobotiste discovery as "the greatest surprise of Anabaptist scholarship in a century" and assumes that there may be numbers of Hutterite writings unknown to him both in Slovakia and in North America, he concludes that his present volume probably includes almost all Hutterite writings of the years of their literary productivity, from 1529 to 1677. Consciously building on an outstanding tradition of Anabaptist scholarship in Austria, on the work of Beck, Loserth and Wolkan, Robert Friedmann has in this volume precipitated for his successors the bibliographical knowledge of a long and rich career.

The first section of the book, that listing holdings (pp. 11-99), gives the manuscript possessions of twenty-five separate public institutions, libraries and archives in Europe and America, and those of both the Hutterites and the spiritually related Society of Brothers. Descriptions of the manuscripts or references to descriptions of them are included. In this section also are lists of Hutterite manuscripts known to be lost and of the papers (copies of sources on Anabaptism) of Joseph von Beck. The second part of the book (pp. 105-179) is a catalogue of all prose writings of the Hutterites, divided into an alphabetical grouping by author and a grouping of anonymous writings by topic. The author listing gives brief biographical data on the authors (trade, martyrdom, etc.) together with titles of what they wrote. Sometimes there is some description of the writings, where published, where manuscripts are accessible. The Hutterite authors are grouped separately from the non-Hutterite Anabaptist authors. The listing of the anonymous writings gives Friedmann the best chance to make the catalogue into the "objective intellectual history" he desires. This section is divided into dogmatic writings, Bible stories, exegesis, concordances, catechisms, prayers, sermons, services for baptism and missions, congregational ordinances, pedagogical writings, model letters, histories, and medical works. It contains similar, but more extensive, bibliographical aids to those in the author catalogue. Throughout all sections of this *Gesamtkatalog* are paragraph-long interpolations in which the author informs us about any number of things that he believes important to a study of Hutterite sources: how Jesuit confiscations led to the appearance of Hutterite manuscripts in East European repositories, a Spiritual Franciscan writing in Hutterite possession and how it may have gotten there, the poetic talent of a Hutterite hymn writer, etc. These add a dimension to the work that makes it more than just a reference

work.

The *Gesamtkatalog* will be from henceforth the indispensable bibliographical reference in Hutterite studies. It tells where to get any given source and can readily be used as an indicator of what sources best apply to a particular problem, although its utility would have been greatly increased by a title index. Its author hopes that it can go beyond the bibliographical and serve as an introduction to Hutterite intellectual history. Certainly it is rich in implications concerning the intellectual and spiritual life of the brotherhood and points to areas of Hutterite history waiting for study.

Some Hutterites stand out as overshadowing figures of the whole early movement: Jakob Hutter, the founder, whose charismatic leadership echoes in his epistles; Peter Riedemann, his most outstanding successor, writer of hymns and epistles, but best remembered for his classic *Rechen-schaften*, accounts of the faith; Casper Braitmichel, the brotherhood's first chronicler-historian; Peter Walpot, leader of the Golden Time of the late sixteenth century, writer of dogmatic treatises and congregational ordinances; and finally Andreas Ehrenpreis, the last great early leader, who in the mid-seventeenth century crystallized Hutterite life with definitive ordinances and written sermons. The Hutterite manuscripts show that they drew on a broad early Anabaptist tradition, on Michael Sattler, Hans Hut, Leonhard Schiemer and Hans Schlaffer, and that although their relation with other Anabaptist groups was not free from sectarian backbiting, they could use the work of Pilgrim Marbeck or Menno Simons for their edification. Their chronicles stood under the influence of Eusebius, of the thirteenth-century Spiritual Franciscan, Peter Olivi, and of Sebastian Franck; one of their medical manuscripts was permeated with the ideas of Paracelsus. They lived in the world of the Bible, a Zurich Froschauer Bible, and one in which the New Testament Apocrypha had equal weight with the canon (the largest work of the Hutterites was a borrowed early sixteenth-century concordance, which they enlarged to include references to the Apocrypha). Their outer life seems to have been affected by the apocryphal "Epistle of Lentulus," which told of a Christ who never laughed but often wept.

In Friedmann's view one of the big areas of Hutterite research now opening is on their devotional life, on the production under Ehrenpreis in seventeenth-century Slovakia of a series of sermons which continued to be used and read in Hutterite worship ever afterward. "The Hutterite Brotherhood of today is closer to Ehrenpreis than to Jakob Hutter, Riedemann or Walpot." The Hutterite sermons were only available to researchers as a result of twentieth-century contacts with the North American brotherhood, and more recently as a result of the 1961 discovery at Sobotiste. Previously to 1961 none of these sermons were in European libraries or archives. The formalizing of Hutterite worship seems to Friedmann to be a striking example of the living spirituality of the sect rigidifying into the forms of a "denomination," after which the Hutterites "were neither willing nor able to produce anything new." Clearly Friedmann is struggling with the problem of how to keep the vision of the sixteenth-century Anabaptists fresh enough to be relevant and productive now.

This book is an indication of the wealth of the Hutterite written tradition in comparison to that of other early Anabaptist groups. In the circumstances one sympathizes with

the impatience Friedmann has expressed that such a large number of the first *Täuferakten* volumes, seven of eleven, have been devoted to official documents, court records, government correspondence, etc., instead of the doctrinal statements of the Anabaptists themselves. In reading this book of Friedmann's the Anabaptist scholar further discovers what I can confirm from my own research, that in the one *Täuferakten* volume already more or less devoted to Hutterite religious thought, Lydia Müller's *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter*, Volume I, there have been serious errors, particularly in the imputation of authorship. Thus the promise that we will soon be receiving two additional volumes of *Glaubenszeugnisse*, in which Hutterite manuscripts will be published under the editorship of Friedmann, past errors will be corrected and new sources will be made available, is welcome indeed.

All students of Anabaptism will be grateful to Robert Friedmann for what he has made of this *Gesamtkatalog* of Hutterite literature.

BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY

James M. Stayer

Biography

My Search For An Anchor by Ira S. Franck. Philadelphia: Dorrance and Co., 1966 \$3.00.

For a confused age, this book will come as a voice from a spiritual area which the reader may know well from experience. A boy, brought up in the Pennsylvania Mennonite country, sees "another country" and in the shuttling back and forth, he goes through soul-shaking experiences, to find himself both lost and found. Beginning as a Mennonite, he ends by finding a haven in the Episcopalian fold.

It is a typical story—a true one!—of the conflicts in which youth continues to find itself, especially in a general arena of almost continuous warfare. It is this that makes the book so timely: it deals with precisely those social forces which are so powerful today, and which so afflict the young person of today—even in spite of (or perhaps even because of) the idealisms of youth.

The book is a thoughtful book, for thoughtful readers. The author himself is highly appreciative of his Mennonite background, yet is fully aware of some of the limitations of this faith. Granted, it was sometimes a love from afar off, but it is there. As he takes the reader through the "great depression," as a teacher of those days, the reader gets some idea of the problems which teachers felt then and do now. When he comes to the close of his life, the reader feels that the author has struggled valiantly against self-pity and has made a mighty attempt to communicate something both of the joy and the cost of realization of what he had sought to find, his "anchor."

BETHEL COLLEGE

Bennie Borgen

Migrations

Lists of Germans from the Palatinate Who Came to England in 1709. Compiled by John Tribbeko and George Ruperti. Reprinted from the New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, Baltimore, 1965. 44 pages. \$5.00. Wrappers.

The four board of Trade list gives a record of the first 6520 persons from the Palatinate in Southern Germany who arrived in England in 1709. Many of these came shortly thereafter to New York, New Jersey, and Pennsyl-

vania. The original documents are preserved in the British Museum Library in London. The original printing of these lists was long out of print so this is a welcome addition to the very scanty information that one has about the early German immigrants to the American colonies.

The names are grouped by occupation with the age of the head of the household, the notation whether the person has a wife or is single, the ages of the sons and of the daughters together with the church affiliation of each family unit. While only three have been noted as Mennonites, it is interesting to note that persons with such familiar Pennsylvania Mennonite names as Eschelmann, Kolb, Clemens, and Wingert are listed as Baptists. Undoubtedly the Swiss term of *Täufer*, which was the name in common use in Germany for Mennonites, was translated quite literally by the English people to the English equivalent of "Baptist." The list contains questionable spellings. The work is a valuable addition to the very few records that exist concerning these early American settlers.

BLUFFTON COLLEGE

Delbert Grätz

Church, State and Education by Ernest Barker. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957. \$1.35.

This book is one of a series of reissues of works that have stood the test of time. An American edition of nine essays published elsewhere during the past thirty years, this volume presents the British point of view regarding one of the central issues of our time. The relation between authority and individual freedom is presented so that the discussion touches politics, philosophy, history and education.

The essays on Puritanism, and Christianity and nationality have some interesting ideas which substantiate the findings of the Anabaptists many years ago. The book has value for those who seek a historical perspective which is still relevant in our times.

BLUFFTON COLLEGE

Eldon W. Graber

Canada

Thrust and Counterthrust. The Genesis of the Canada-United States Boundary, by H. George Classen, Longmans Canada Limited, 55 Barber Greene Road, Don Mills, Ont.

Thrust and Counterthrust discusses the stabilizing developments in the past hundred years, of the disputed border territory between Canada and the United States. Canada was, at the time of the sharp, often dangerous disputes, still a colony of the British empire. The relationships between the latter and the young American states, the conqueror in the war for its independence, was not as peaceable as it later became. To be sure, the boundary was settled according to treaties, but in the wild and unexplored territories, disputes were bound to arise in which the conquerors of the New World used troops. On the basis of official documents and other sources, the author reports in great detail about the different border incidents. He also relates vividly about the conditions among the officialdom and the settlers, adventurers and goldrushers.

Especially interesting is the so-called San Juan Boundary Dispute which involves the border between the Continental United States and the Canadian Vancouver Island which was to run, in accordance with a treaty of 1846, through the middle of the water street which was, however, hard to visualize. The United States claimed Haro Strait and

the San Juan Island which had already been occupied by the British. Thus San Juan Island was occupied by both governments for many years. Only in 1872 was the border dispute ended by a pronouncement of Germany which had been invited to arbitrate the dispute. Haro Strait became the border and Canada lost San Juan Island.

VANCOUVER, B. C.

N. Klassen

English and Drama

Better Business English, the psychological approach to effective writing, by H. George Classen. Arco Publishing Co., Inc., New York.

Better Business English is a new approach in an attempt to develop a better style in correspondence by making use of a psychological and ethical analysis. The author claims that the modern businessman, officials, and politicians fear to expose themselves or to offend the recipients of their letters. For this reason they use an obscure, camouflaged or hypocritical style. The book is not without humor and satire. In the samples of correspondence, the reader finds suggestions on how to express oneself with precision, modesty, integrity and above all, with clarity. The author was born in Russia, from where he was transplanted to Germany, Paraguay, Argentina and ultimately, in 1950, to Canada. He is now Senior Editor of the Editorial and Information Division of the Department of Mining and Technical Surveys in Ottawa.

VANCOUVER, B. C.

N. Klassen

Three Church Dramas by Olov Hartman, translated by Brita Stendahl. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966, xviii + 153 pp., \$3.50.

The three newly translated plays—"Prophet and Carpenter," "The Crown of Life," and "The Fiery Furnace"—by Olov Hartman, the Swedish pastor, novelist (e.g., *Holy Masquerade*), playwright, critic, and director of the Sigtuna Foundation, are a welcome addition to the growing body of plays written especially for production in the church chancel. They are, as the publisher's title indicates, "church dramas."

Having said that, one has described the limitations as well as the strengths of the plays. This is a kind of writing which is not greatly concerned with, say political or economic life outside the church. To be sure, "The Fiery Furnace" alludes to modern dictators; Eve in "The Crown of Life" is a very modern woman in what she expects of love. But these are not "problem plays." The playwright's interest in the mundane problems of life is slight, and his treatment is perfunctory.

Rather, the *modus operandi* of the themes and forms of these plays is church tradition. The plays are structured not on realistic plots but on liturgy. The characters are not persons but symbols derived from and alluding back to the traditions of the church. The costumes are patterned after vestments. The setting is—indeed, must always be—the chancel. These plays, then, are variations on a traditional theme—the congregation's dramatic re-enactment of sin, repentance, salvation, and praise. The playwright describes both drama and worship as "proclamation and intercession."

The plays are undoubtedly difficult to perform. A long and carefully written introduction describes the style in great detail, and the four photographs vividly illustrate the technique of stage picturization. The plays, then, presuppose a company of actors familiar with, or willing to learn, liturgical movement and vocal tones. The plays are also, I imagine, difficult to watch. For the playwright has presupposed a congregation which is familiar with the Bible and church tradition. In "The Fiery Furnace," for example, we are asked to be able to comprehend several levels of meaning simultaneously: the liturgical form, the story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, the episode of the opening of the Seven Seals in the Book of Revelation, the allusion to modern totalitarian government, and the symbolic transformation of the Old Testament story of salvation from fire into the New Testament story of salvation from sin.

I have listed the difficulties not as criticism but as praise. Easy plays would have been inadequate, for the playwright is attempting nothing less than the creation of a strictly religious art form, as he indicates at the beginning of his introduction:

A new form of religious drama has to be created from the old sources, from the old traditions and the old dramatic forms, from liturgy. Only in this way are we able to create a new religious drama which not only exists beside the real theater but seeks its own form.

Later this is spelled out more specifically:

we endeavor to re-establish the relation between cult and drama which is basic to Christian worship and which, indeed, lies behind considerable sections of Scripture. . . . Church drama depends upon the restoration of this relationship between cult and drama.

As an attempt to create an artistic form uniquely appropriate to a Christian view, therefore, these plays are of great significance artistically and theologically.

WICHITA STATE UNIVERSITY

Warren Klierer

MENNONITE LIFE AGENTS

EASTERN USA

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

Provident Bookstore
Souderton Shopping Center
Souderton, Pa. 18964

CENTRAL AND WESTERN

Eastern Mennonite College Bookstore
Harrisonburg, Virginia

Provident Bookstore
119 E. Lincoln Ave.
Goshen, Indiana 46526

Goshen College Book Store
Goshen, Indiana

Faith and Life Bookstore
720 Main
Newton, Kansas

Mennonite Weekly Review
129 West Sixth Street
Newton, Kansas

Faith and Life Bookstore
Berne, Indiana

The Bookshop
Freeman, South Dakota

A. P. Ratzlaff
Henderson, Nebraska

Mennonite Brethren Publishing House
Hillsboro, Kansas

Crossroads Co-op
Goessel, Kansas

CANADIAN

Provident Bookstore
117 King St., West
Kitchener, Ontario

Mary Kroeker
780 William Ave.
Winnipeg, Manitoba

The Christian Press
159 Kelvin St.
Winnipeg 5, Manitoba

D. W. Friesen & Sons
Altona, Manitoba

Faith and Life Bookstore
Rosthern, Sask.

J. A. Friesen & Sons
Hague, Sask.

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

Harder's Market
Vineland, Ontario

Evangel Book Shop
Steinbach, Manitoba

EUROPEAN

Mennonitengemeinde
Königstr. 132
Krefeld, Germany

Menno Travel Service
Weteringschans 79

Amsterdam Z, The Netherlands

MENNONITE LIFE

North Newton, Kansas

Annual subscriptions \$3.00

Single copies 75 cents

