MENNONITE LIFE

JULY 1970

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 Kliewer (Drama)
Walter Jost (Music)
Robert Regier (Art)

History and Folklife

Melvin Gingerich, Co-chairman
John F. Schmidt, Co-chairman
Irvin B. Horst (History)
Delbert Grätz (Genealogy)
Gerhard Wiens (Folklore)
Mary Emma Showalter Eby (Foods)

ADMINISTRATION

Orville L. Voth, President
William E. Keeney, Dean
Merle L. Bender, Director of Development
Hartzel W. Schmidt, Controller

MENNONITE
LIFE

July 1970 *Volume XXV* *Number 3*

CONTRIBUTORS

MENNO HILDEBRAND, a graduate of Bethel College (1970), grew up in Manitoba and spent a number of years in MCC work abroad. He will teach at Westgate Collegiate, Winnipeg, next year.

PETER JOHANN KLASSEN (1889-1953) was an outstanding Canadian Mennonite writer and poet of whom J. H. Janzen said, "He is the one who is most widely known in German literature."

ARNOLD DYCK, a well-known Canadian Mennonite writer, is now living in retirement in Germany.

ELMER F. SUDERMAN, professor of English at Gustavus Adolphus College, is translating High German and Low German writings of Canadian Mennonite writers into English.

HAROLD FUNK, a native of Manitoba and a graduate of Bethel College, is now studying architecture at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

ELAINE SOMMERS RICH teaches English at Bethel College and has published numerous poems, articles, and books.

WARREN KLIEWER, formerly professor of drama at the University of Wichita, is chairman of a team nationally presenting programs in the New Humanities Series.

KAMALA PLATT of North Newton, Kansas, has started writing poetry at the age of nine.

DOUGLAS HALE of the Department of History of Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahome, presented this paper at the Oklahoma Academy of Science.

KEITH SPRUNGER, professor of history at Bethel College, is spending the school year 1969-70 in research in the Netherlands and England.

FRONT COVER:

John Kroeker Residence, Manitoba. Photo by Harold Funk.

BACK COVER:

Interior of Shed Roof. Photo by Harold Funk.

PHOTO CREDIT:

Pages 98, 100, 101, 103, 135, and 137 (building, school, and kettle), Mennonite Library and Archives; 137 (family and couples) and 138, Mrs. H. H. Horn, Cordell, Oklahoma; 113-128, Harold Funk.

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 Sommerfeld Mennonites of Manitoba 99
By Menno Hildebrand

Poems by Peter Johann Klassen 108
Translated by Elmer F. Suderman

Aude - Goodbye 109
By Arnold Dyck
Translated by Elmer F. Suderman

Daut Darp—The Village 112
By Harold Funk

On Her Being Arrived at the Age Forty-Two 131
By Elaine Sommers Rich

Matins 132
By Warren Kliewer

Philosophy Lesson 132
By Elmer F. Suderman

Scapino the Poet 132
By Warren Kliewer

Hinge 132
By Elaine Sommers Rich

A Winter Race 132
By Kamala Platt

From Central Asia to America 133
By Douglas Hale

The Puritans of the Netherlands 139
By Keith Sprunger

Books in Review 142
By Cornelius Krahn, Walter Klaassen, William Keeney, Ralph Weber

IN THIS ISSUE we continue the theme of the April issue of *Mennonite Life.* From the featuring of the early Mennonite settlements in Kansas, we turn to the settlements in Manitoba which were established at the same time. Some characteristics of communal living preserved in Manitoba have long been given up in the settlements of Kansas and other areas of the prairie states. ¶ Menno Hildebrand describes in "The Sommerfeld Mennonites of Manitoba" as he learned to know community life in the villages after World War I and as it was related to him by his parents and the community he lived in. The Old Colony Mennonites, most of whom moved to Mexico, continue these forms of life with the greatest rigidity, while others have adjusted themselves to the Canadian environment more than the Sommerfeld Mennonites here featured. ¶ Elmer F. Suderman has translated some German poems by Peter Johann Klassen and a Low German skit by Arnold Dyck, which are related to the Mennonite culture featured in this issue. ¶ Harold Funk, connected with the University of Winnipeg, presents the story of *Daut Darp* (village) of Manitoba in a narrative and in photography as this has never been done before. His aim was to show the communal way of life and the sturdy character of the settlers, and also their dwellings. ¶ Douglas Hale has made a special study of the Mennonite movement from Central Asia to Kansas. This bizarre and exciting chapter in Mennonite history has been well presented. Numerous illustrations help to make the story even more vivid. Keith Sprunger, now on leave in Europe, reminds us of the 350th anniversary of the Puritan migration from the Netherlands to New England. In "Books in Review" a number of significant books are presented, dealing with migrations and utopian settlements and with "Orie O. Miller, The Story of a Man and Era."

Mennonites in Central Asia. (Top) *Estate of the Khan in Khiva, Central Asia* (1900). (Bottom) *Mennonites at Köppental in Aulie Ata, Central Asia.*

The Sommerfeld Mennonites of Manitoba

By Menno Hildebrand

THE MENNONITES OF Manitoba are of German-Russian background with roots in the Netherlands. In the 1870's, a large number of the Mennonites in the Chortitza and Molotschna settlements in the Ukraine were alarmed in regard to the introduction of universal military conscription and the possible Russianization of their private schools. One-third of the population came to North America. Most of the Mennonites migrating from the Molotschna settlement chose the U. S. A. and those from the Chortitza settlement and its two daughter settlements, Bergthal and Fürstenland, went to Manitoba. The Canadian government was more generous in guaranteeing them privileges and in providing safeguards which would make it possible for them to continue their traditional economic, cultural and religious life. They established themselves on the East Reserve and the West Reserve separated by the Red River.

Early Mennonites of Manitoba

By 1877, the East Reserve consisted of 38 villages occupied by 700 families with some 3,500 people. The West Reserve had, at this time, 25 villages. In the two reserves together, some 110 villages were established during the first decade of the settlements. The village names were in part transplanted from West Prussia to Russia and from there to Manitoba and later again to Mexico and Paraguay. Among the names were Chortitza, Steinbach, Blumengart, Rosengart, Reinland, and Sommerfeld.

The communal or village life was traditional among the Mennonite settlements in Manitoba as well as in the U. S. A. In the U. S. A. this practice was most fully developed in the Goessel area in Kansas. (See April issue of *Mennonite Life.*) However, here the communal style of living soon disintegrated. In Canada, it survived in some form to the present. Many of the features of the communal village life included the architectural practices reaching back to the coastal areas of the North and Baltic seas. Traveling through these countries one finds to this day the practice of having the dwelling place, the barn, and the shed connected or under one roof. Along the Vistula River the Mennonite settlements became known as *Mennoniten-Dörfer.* More fully, however, a certain style or pattern of village was developed in Russia where the "non-resistant" Mennonites settled in the wide open and unprotected steppes of the Ukraine. As settlers, they had to huddle together in order to survive. The village, the communal pasture, the adjacent strips of land, and many other features including the school, the cultural life, the use of the Low German language, and foods, some hailing back to Prussia, Russia, and Poland, became "a way of life." The challenge of the Canadian environment and other causes introduced an adjustment to the new environment or a breakdown of this "way of life." Numerous religious splinter groups originated on the East and West Reserves of the Mennonite settlements in Manitoba. Some were not willing to adjust themselves while others felt the need to do so. It would be impossible in this context to name all issues at stake. Only a few will be mentioned.

These settlements were, as a rule, managed by their spiritual and economic leaders. Deviations from the established patterns were almost impossible. When they occurred, they would usually cause the origin of a new group. Among the issues were the traditional settling in villages and the distribution of the land according to traditional practices. The desire to move out of the village onto the land caused many problems. The school question was a continuing source of irritation. By the time World War I had come, Mennonites were challenged to introduce the English language and improve their standards of teaching. These and other issues caused the largest and most conservative body known as the Old Colony Mennonite Church and

also some members of the Sommerfeld Mennonite Church to migrate to Mexico and Paraguay. The number of Old Colony Mennonites in Mexico today is approximately 30,000.

Another source of irritation was the challenge of the more evangelistic influences which reached the settlements and caused the introduction of new methods and forms of the religious education and worship including the introduction of the use of the English language. Below is a table of the major groups of Manitoba Mennonites indicating the date of their origin and their location. Some of them, such as the Canadian Mennonite Conference and the Mennonite Brethren, received a considerable influx of membership after World War I and are consequently larger in number, numbering about 10,000 or more while the Old Colony and the Sommerfeld Mennonites lost many through their migration to Mexico and Paraguay.

The largest and most conservative group of Mennonites developing in the early pioneer years in Manitoba were the Old Colony Mennonites. This name was derived from the fact that the Chortitza settlement was the oldest Mennonite settlement in Russia. As stated previously, the largest number of Old Colony Mennonites moved to Mexico. A slightly less conservative group was the Sommerfeld Mennonite Church which originated in 1890 and a group more progressive than either of the others was the Bergthal Mennonite Church which had its origin in 1880 and spearheaded educational progress, founded the Mennonite Collegiate Institute at Gretna and the organization of the Canadian Mennonite Conference. It is the Sommerfeld Mennonite Church which we are dealing with in this article.

Manitoba Mennonite Conferences

Church	*Year Founded*	*Location*
Chortitza Mennonite Church	1874	East Reserve
Kleine Gemeinde Mennonite Church	1874	East & West Reserves
Old Colony Mennonite Church (Reinland)	1875	West Reserve
Bergthal Mennonite Church	1880	West Reserve
Church of God in Christ, Mennonite	1882	East & West Reserves
Sommerfeld Mennonite Church	1890	West Reserve
Mennonite Brethren	1890	East & West Reserves
Evangelical Mennonite Brethren	1894	East Reserve
Canadian Mennonite Conference	1902	East & West Reserves
Rudnerweide Mennonite Church	1937	West Reserve

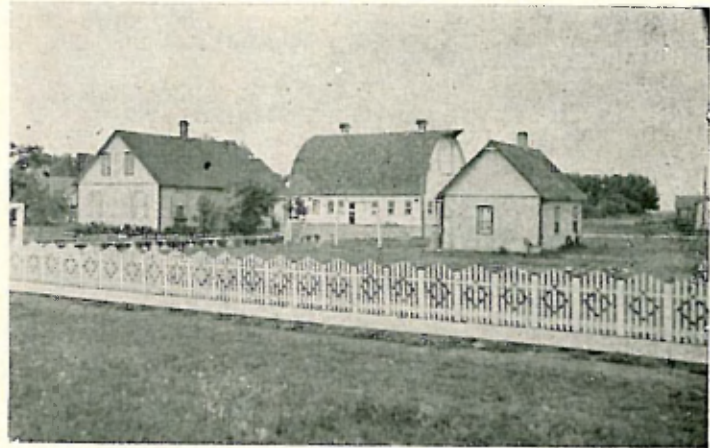
Teaching and Preaching

The fact that the Sommerfeld Mennonite Church has no Sunday school is rooted in tradition. The church has always had private schools in which Bible was taught. Even though private schools have gone out of existence, Bible is still taught in Manitoba schools. The initiation of a Sunday school program would have meant copying the Bergthal Mennonites from whom the Sommerfelder group had split earlier on this very issue. The Sommerfeld church has no mission outreach as such. Interestingly, however, the group supports the work of the Mennonite Central Committee.

Ministers are elected from members of the congregation. There are no other prerequisites, such as education or fluency of speech. The number of ministers in each congregation depends on the need. Provincial boundaries act as district boundaries for the church; no minister elected in Manitoba is expected to serve in a Sommerfeld church in Saskatchewan. However, a minister does not restrict his ministry to one church. Each minister takes his turn in preaching in every

(TOP, LEFT) *Traditional shed, barn, and dwelling place in a Mennonite village of Manitoba.* (BELOW) *A modernized farm in a Mennonite village in Manitoba.*

(TOP) *Village street in an abandoned Mennonite village in Manitoba.* (LEFT) *Teenage girls dressed in their traditional garb in a Mennonite village.*



church. Twice a year the ministers have ***Sitz*** (a meeting) at which the itineraries are worked out. The elder (bishop) is included in this itinerary as well.

The elder, who is elected by the congregation from one of the ministers, is the only one who can preside at baptismal services and at communion services. For weddings and funerals the individuals involved may have the minister of their church. The ministers and the elder have a special black costume worn only at church functions. This consists of a black shirt, black vest, black trousers, black socks, black shoes, and a black tuxedo-like coat, known in Low German as a *Predja Scheestje.*

A Worship Service

Let us attend a worship service. The service begins at 9:00 o'clock. All the pews on the left side of the church are used by the women and those on the right by the men. On the right side in the rear of the church is a small room known as a ***Stoftje*** where the preacher and the *Vorsänger* (song leaders) assemble before the service. An identical little room can be found on the left side where the women hang their coats and take care of their babies when necessary. The men hang their coats in a lobby at the church entrance. The rear pew is always reserved for the youngsters who are old enough to sit without their parents. However, once you have joined the church you no longer sit in the rear pew.

At 9:00 o'clock sharp the four or five *Vorsänger* proceed to the front of the church and take their places on an elevated platform behind a low railing. One of them announces a song. Every member brings his own hymnbook because there are none in the church. The hymnal has no notes, and songs have up to twenty-four verses, all in High German. The congregation usually sings from five to seven verses, but the song leader never announces how many verses they

will sing. Consequently, one must watch the song leader after every verse to see if he will start another one. Congregational singing is slow and not very musical, thus giving the singer ample time to meditate on what he is singing. The Sommerfelder feel that music or fancy melodies distract from the meaning of the song.

During the third verse of the second song the preacher walks to the pulpit and joins in the singing until the hymn is finished. Then, after a long introduction he beckons the congregation to kneel in silent prayer. Everyone kneels, putting their heads on the bench seat and resting their heads on their arms. Then for an hour the minister reads his entire sermon word for word in High German. Many sermons are hand-me-downs and have been used by generations of ministers, although preachers are at liberty to write their own. Following several more congregational hymns, the preacher makes some Low German comments on his sermon and dismisses the people.

Fastened to the wall at the rear of the church is a small wooden box with a slot on top. Anyone wishing to contribute money to the church may do so while leaving the church. This is done very inconspicuously. During the fifteen years I attended the church, I never saw anyone put anything in that box. Yet, when the *Tjotjevoda* opened it after the service there was always something inside. Regular church dues are collected once a year by assigned men.

The *Tjotjevoda,* or custodian of the church, lives with his family in a small house on the church property. His duty is to do the janitorial work for which he gets free rent and utilities. Usually he is a hand laborer, earning his living by means other than farming.

The Church Building

The church buildings may vary in size but not in actual layout and architecture. All churches are rectangular and have a plain gable roof. A small lean-to built on to one end of the church always serves as the only entrance. The men hang their coats and hats in this lobby. All churches are painted white with four-pane windows evenly spaced around the building. The inside of the church is also painted white with grey trimmings. The trimmings include the baseboards, the doors, the pews, the floor, the railing on the stage, as well as the window ledges. The floors do not have linoleum or rugs. Traditionally the churches have had no basements. Right in the center of the wide aisle leading to the pulpit is a large pot-bellied stove. The windows have no drapes or curtains, only blinds that can be drawn to keep out the sun.

Communion Service

Communion services are held twice a year, once in October and later on Pentecost Day. On the Sunday before communion, known as *Vorbereitung*, a special message is preached on preparation for communion. It is strongly emphasized that there be no ill feelings between the members. If there are, they should be made right before taking communion. The elder (bishop) presides over the communion service and is aided in the distribution of bread and wine by the ministers and deacons. Everyone drinks the fermented wine from a common cup. Before anyone takes a drink of wine he looks into the eyes of the person beside him, they both nod, and he then takes a sip. With a white handkerchief he wipes the rim of the cup where he has placed his lips and passes on the cup. The white handkerchief is also used to hold the unleavened bread until all are ready to partake. The elder goes between the pews breaking the bread, and after all have received a morsel, he says a prayer and they eat together. Very often when a person is on his deathbed, he will request communion. Fellow church members regard this as an indication that the man is ready to meet God in death, and at his funeral they remark, *"Er ist selig gestorben"* (He died in peace).

Funerals

Traditionally all the older men and women used to prepare for themselves special outfits to wear in the coffin. For a man it was simply a *Sterbehemd*; for the woman it was a *Sterbehemd* and a *Sterbemütze*. These *Sterbehemden* were simply white outfits with a simple collar and no sleeves. It was actually more like a drape since only the head was visible in the coffin. The woman's *Sterbemütze* was a simple white head covering. The oldest daughter in the family would usually be informed where this apparel was stored in the case of death. Until recently bodies were not taken to an undertaker. When my grandmother was on her deathbed in 1948, she told her children that if they took her body to an undertaker she would get out of her coffin at the funeral to haunt them.

When a death, which usually occurred in the home, was announced, neighbors and relatives and a minister would come immediately. A number of women would wash and dress the body while the others joined in hymn singing and scripture reading. At this time the family decided on a date and time for the funeral, and then sent out a personal invitation for the occasion. On the back of the invitation appeared a list of names of those who were invited. The invitation was delivered to the first person on the list who carried it to the second person on the list, and so on down the line.

At the church the coffin is placed just below the pulpit and is always open during the service. During the last song all the people file past to view the body. The order of a funeral service is identical to a worship service. After the people have all viewed the body the minister invites them to a *Trauermahl,* which is a light lunch of *Zwieback,* sugar cubes and coffee. This meal is held either at the church or in a relative's home.

In the rare event of a suicide the coffin remains in the church lobby during the service, and the people then view the body on their way out.

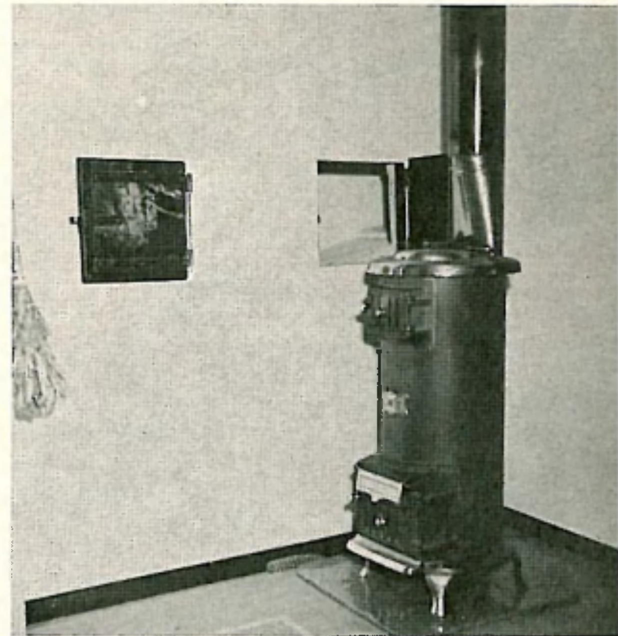
Church Membership and Baptism

In the spring of every year the church holds a membership class. Every young person wishing to participate must find some church member to register him for this class. Very often the *Tjotjevoda* is asked to perform this duty. In this membership class they use as their text the catechism. Instructions in this book are given on two Sunday mornings at the regular worship service. Each candidate memorizes the whole catechism in German. The minister asks the questions and the candidates stand up in turn to answer. Because they always sit in the same order, some candidates memorize only the answers that will be required of them. Half of the catechism is recited the first Sunday and the other half the next Sunday. These services are usually longer than the ordinary services and always take place on the third and the second Sunday before Pentecost. The first Sunday before Pentecost is *Vorbereitung* (preparation), while on Pentecost Sunday baptism and communion take place.

Just prior to baptism the candidates are asked to repeat the ten articles of faith in the catechism. They are also asked if they have confessed their sins and are ready for baptism. They answer "yes" in unison. The elder then asks the congregation if there is any reason why baptism should be forbidden. After a few minutes of silence he assumes that there are no objections. The candidates then kneel and he proceeds with the baptism.

The bishop puts his left hand on the candidate's head and holds a pitcher of water in his right hand. As he stands by each candidate he repeats a little speech ending with these words, *"Ich taufe Dich im Namen des Vaters, des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes."* At the three words, "Father, Son and Holy Spirit," he pours water three separate times on the

(TOP, LEFT) *Among the old tools and equipment found in a Mennonite village is the wooden trough* (Brej-troch). *See page* 106. (TOP, CENTER) *Interior of an old Mennonite church at Chortitza, Manitoba.* (RIGHT) *The small door in the "wall" opens the old-fashioned brick oven and stove which was used to heat the house and bake the bread.*



(LEFT, BELOW) *The traditional well in a farmyard in the Chortitza village.* (BOTTOM, CENTER) *Mrs. Jacob Hamm, Neu-Bergthal, with baking pan in front of traditional outdoor "bake-oven."*

candidate's head between his thumb and index finger. The candidates, all dressed in black, remain kneeling until the elder extends the hand of fellowship and helps each one to his feet. While shaking hands firmly he says, "*Stehe auf Bruder (Schwester), ich heisse Dich herzlich willkommen in der Gemeinde des Herrn.*" (Rise brother, I welcome you into the church of the Lord.)

Ban, Holidays, Names

The scriptural ban is very seldom exercised among the Sommerfeld Mennonites in Canada except in the case of young men who join the armed forces. Upon their return from military service they find themselves out of the church, but socially they are not isolated as is the case among the Old Colony Mennonites. They may retain their church membership by publicly confessing their sin in a congregational meeting. However, only a very few young men have done this: most seek church affiliation elsewhere.

On religious holidays there is always a church service. They celebrate three holidays at Christmas, three at Easter, and three at Pentecost. These are known as first, second, and third holidays. The Sommerfeld Mennonites traditionally get together as a family at least three times a year, and food is always plentiful on such occasions—at least one meal and often two are served.

The names and the system of naming among the Sommerfeld Mennonites are noteworthy. English names or unusual German names are frowned upon and therefore seldom used. Because of this there is a great similarity of names within the different families. Local observations have demonstrated that most people have the names shown in the following list:

Boys		Girls	
	Low German		Low German
John	*Hauns*	Margaret	*Jreet*
Jacob	*Jasch*	Mary	*Marie*
Henry	*Hendritj*	Tina	*Tien*
Peter	*Peta*	Helen	*Leen*
Abram	*Abraum*	Susie	*Sus*
Cornelius	*Tjnals*	Annie	*Aun*
George	*Jeet*	Gertrude	*Trut*
David	*Doft*	Sarah	*Susch*
Bernhard	*Behnt*	Eva	*Eev*
Diedrich	*Derk*	Henrietta	*Yett*
William	*Wellm*		

The system of selecting names for children is done according to an unwritten law. The first boy in a family is named after his paternal grandfather, the second boy is named after his maternal grandfather, while the third boy receives his father's name. The same holds true for the naming of the girls. After the first three boys and girls the parents are free to choose names they like, and it is common to name them after favorite relatives. It is considered an honor to have a baby named after you. Usually the relative whose name has been used is obliged to give the infant a gift.

Because of the great duplicity of names, *Etjenomes* (nicknames) are readily adopted, and there are usually interesting stories behind each name. Here are a few examples: ***Bridje*** Johann Hamm, ***Jude*** Johann Doerksen, ***Lunze*** Johann Peters, ***Kota*** Klassen, ***Tjieltje*** Wiebe, ***Hingst-leida*** Rempel, ***Koh-dokta*** Klassen, ***Tjotje-voda*** Sawatzky, ***Tsoppe*** Driedger, and ***Vea-sinja*** Friesen.

Upon marrying every young man takes upon himself a *teschen-lata* (middle initial). This is not only proper, but also necessary because of the duplicity of names. Each son in the family adopts the same *teschen-lata*, which is derived from the first letter in his mothers' maiden family name. For instance if a mother's maiden name was Susie Wiebe, her sons' *teschen-lata* would be "W". If there is some good reason, such as a man living nearby who has the same name and *teschen-lata*, then a boy's initial may be taken from his father's Christian name. Under this system, if the father's name is John, all his sons would have the *teschen-lata* of "J".

Language

The everyday language of the Sommerfelder is Low German, and the language used in worship is High German. The schools taught High German in the days when they were controlled by the church. It is amazing how these conservative Mennonites have preserved the Low German which they acquired in West Prussia over three hundred years ago. Their use of High German dates back to the middle of the eighteenth century when it was slowly introduced into the congregations with great opposition in West Prussia.

The Sommerfeld language is the best measure of the extent to which outside forces have influenced their lives on all levels, despite the fact that they have resisted this tenaciously. However carefully the Low German has been nurtured, numerous foreign words have slipped in.

To this very day many Sommerfeld and Old Colony children do not learn English until they begin to attend school at the age of six. Only a few decades ago English was not used in most of the homes.

The High German used in the church is not a contemporary literary German. The Bible they use is an old version of the Luther translation, and the sermons are also very old because they have been handed down from one generation to another. Therefore it has been possible to hang on to a poorly mastered old version of High German in the church. No contemporary German literature is being read.

Socializing in the Community

The Sommerfelder have very few planned social

functions, yet they socialize perhaps more than many organized groups. Their main way of getting together is simply by going to visit some families among their acquaintances. Visits are always made voluntarily, that is without invitation. Except for weddings and funerals and inviting the preacher in for Sunday dinner no other invitations, formal or informal, are made. On Sundays and holidays one can expect to get company in the afternoon and again in the evening. If you do not happen to get company, you go to see someone. Children under twelve usually accompany their parents while the older children go to places themselves where there are children of their own age. Sunflower seed raised in Manitoba is always roasted on Sundays and served to the guests. The hulls are deposited on the floor. A meal is served whether people arrive in the afternoon or evening. The light afternoon meal is called *Vaspa* (Vesper) and the hostess serves *Zwieback,* coffee and a variety of sweets.

In addition to Sunday visiting, birthdays are also occasions for socialization. It is common practice to celebrate the mother's and father's birthdays. Friends and relatives arrive for the evening meal of that day, unannounced and uninvited. Gifts are not customarily given.

Courtship

In the process of this socializing young people meet and fall in love. When a young man finds a young woman he likes, he simply goes to visit her. The girl invites him in and they get better acquainted. Only Sunday nights are reserved for courtship visits. Whenever a young fellow has the audacity to go and see his girl friend on a Wednesday night, everyone knows things are getting serious. The length of courtship varies.

When the young couple wants to set a wedding date they consult with the bride's parents who will be footing the bill. Being farmers they will not want to have the wedding in the busy seasons such as seeding time or harvest time. Once the date has been set the young couple must go talk with a minister to make arrangements with him. Then exactly two weeks before the wedding day the marriage bans must be read in church. As soon as the bans are ready everyone knows the wedding will take place in two weeks. This calls for an engagement celebration known as a *Velafnis.* Somehow the *Velafnis* is kept a big secret until the bans are read. The more the people are surprised the greater the success of the engagement party. Very often even younger members of the bride's and groom's families do not know about it until they hear the announcement in church. Right after church the families of the bride and groom, as they are now called, proceed to the bride's home for dinner and *Vaspa.* The following Sunday the same group meets at the groom's parents. During these meetings plans are finalized for the big day.

During the two weeks between *Velafnis* and *Tjast* (wedding) the young couple has a busy schedule. They are expected to visit all the groom's uncles, aunts, and grandparents as well as those of the bride. In horse and buggy days this was quite an undertaking. If there are older married brothers and sisters, they too must be visited. It is considered an honor to have the *Brut-lied* as your guests.

Weddings are a great occasion for all. They are held at the bride's home since the churches do not have facilities for weddings. Very often they take place outside on the lawn under the shade of large trees. Wooden planks are set up for benches. In case of bad weather the wedding can also be held in the *Schien* (storage shed section of the barn) or even in a large rented tent set up for the occasion. Friends and relatives provide the extra table service that is necessary for the large crowd, and they also bake the *Zwieback.*

Most weddings begin at one o'clock on Sunday afternoon. Only invited guests come, though on rare occasions they will have a *Frie-tjast* where anyone may come. The dress of the bridal couple is very plain. The bride is required to wear a black dress (or any other very dark color), and the groom wears an ordinary black suit. The church will not marry them if the bride is dressed in white. It became customary for the bride to change into a white gown immediately after the vows were made, and this was quite acceptable to the church as long as she was in black during the actual marriage ceremony. In accord with their plain dress, brides wore no corsages and had no attendants.

Whether the wedding is solemnized in church or at the bride's home the reception will be at the bride's home. A Sommerfeld reception is quite different from receptions as we know them today. There is no receiving line. After the service everyone is seated around long tables to enjoy a good meal. A traditional wedding meal consists of *Borshtsh, Plume-moos,* baked ham, bologna, potato salad, *Zwieback,* cheese, sugar cubes, and coffee. There are separate tables for the men, for the women, and for the children. Guests are usually so numerous that they have to eat in at least two sittings, for it is not uncommon to invite two hundred families to the wedding.

After the meal the men visit around, the women wash dishes, and the children engage in vigorous play. At about 5:30 people go home to do their chores. Then they come back again to watch the young couple unwrap their wedding gifts. At this time the women are busy again setting the tables for another meal, serving what was left over from the afternoon meal. The younger set gather themselves in a well swept granary and begin dancing to the music of perhaps a violin and an accordion. This goes on till about midnight when everybody goes home.

Sommerfeld Mennonite Church of Rudnerweide.

Silver, Golden and Diamond anniversaries are celebrated in a more modest way. They, too, are usually held in the home and only close friends and relatives come. No invitations are sent out for these occasions. Only one meal is served and no dance is held since young people usually shy away from these anniversary celebrations. No gifts are shared on these occasions. The preacher has a short sermon and a few songs are sung.

There have been a few mixed marriages in Sommerfeld circles. Usually these have been with the Ukrainians living just east of the Mennonite settlements in Manitoba. Some of these Ukrainians have moved right into Mennonite settlements. If a boy decides to marry a Ukrainian girl, the girl usually joins the Mennonite church. However, if a Mennonite girl marries a Ukrainian boy they usually join the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

Another celebration worthy of notice is the *Fenstatjast* (window wedding). This is really not a wedding but rather the name given to a house warming party. When a family constructs a new house they are expected to have a *Fenstatjast* when it is finished. Before the furniture is put in, the surrounding neighbors are invited for a dance and a full course meal. Sometimes a *Fenstatjast* is held even when a family has merely built a large granary which would be a suitable place for a dance. Of a new house they say, *"It mott enjeklunjt waure"* (Break-in the house with a dance). The *Fenstatjast* has no religious connotations whatsoever, and it may well be a carry-over from the German *Richtfest* which is celebrated as soon as the roof rafters are up.

Killing Bees

Another great time for socializing is when the hog slaughtering bees are held in November. These occasions require an enormous amount of preparation by both the men and the women. The women must see to the food and get containers ready for storing all the meat, sausages, and lard. The men must prepare a place for slaughter and gather together all the necessary equipment. Usually the barn is immaculately cleaned for this purpose. Equipment like the *Brej-troch, Schwiens-lada* (ladder), *Worscht-stoppa* (sausage maker), *Fleesch-schnieda* (meat cutter), and *Rea-hälta* is borrowed from neighbors who all own at least one piece of equipment for this occasion.

The great day is preceded by much planning. Approximately five to eight couples must be invited to come and help, and a day must be selected that will not conflict with other scheduled killing bees. The day begins at 5:00 a.m. when all the folks come for breakfast. The men always eat first. Then while the women are eating their breakfast, the men go to the living room and get out their grape-baskets which hold assortments of knives and whetstones. It is a sight to behold them all spitting on their whetstones and sharpening their knives. Each knife has a special purpose. One is to cut the throat to facilitate bleeding, one to get the bristles off the skin, and another to separate the skin from the fat.

As soon as there is enough light outside the men leave the house and proceed to shoot the pigs. Usually from three to six old sows are killed in one day, depending upon the size of the family where the slaughtering is taking place. After a sow has been killed it is put into a *Brej-troch* (wooden trough). The host has three *Mia-gropes* (cauldrons) ready with boiling water. After the sow has been thoroughly scalded the men scrape off the bristles. One man is usually selected to do the eviscerating. For this job the scalded pig is hung to the ceiling by its hind legs. At this point the women's work begins. As the eviscerator makes his incision down the belly side of the pig, two women stand ready with a large wash tub to collect the entrails as they come out. These are dumped on a large table where the women trim the fat from the intestines. Great care is taken not to perforate the intestines because they are later used as casings for the sausage. After the intestines are emptied of their contents and turned inside out, they are thoroughly rinsed with a mixture of bran, salt and water. Finally two women pull all the intestines between two metal knitting needles which are tied together to scrape off any loose tissues. They are then ready to be stuffed with sausage meat.

Meanwhile the men are busy cutting up the rest of the pig into desired parts and cuts of meat. Two kinds of sausages are made. One is a plain pork sausage (*Reetja-worscht*) that is put into the casing of the small intestine and later smoked. The other kind is a liver sausage (*Leva-worscht*) which is put into the casing of the large intestine and then boiled. The meat from the head is boiled and ground into a head cheese (*Sill-tjees*). The hams and the shoulders are well salted and stored in a large wooden crate until spring when they are smoked. The ears and the feet

are preserved in a whey solution until winter when they are ready to eat (*Sill-fleesch*).

During the day all the latest gossip is hashed through and new gossip is started. Besides breakfast the people stay for two more meals. Most of the work is finished by two o'clock so the people just sit and visit. When they get ready to leave the hostess hands each couple a package of fresh meat. This package always contains one liver sausage and a chunk of cooked spare ribs (*Rep-spea*). Upon leaving each woman will ask the hostess, "How many pails of lard did you get?" This measures the success of the kill; the more lard, the greater the compliments.

Schisms

Change is inevitable. No matter how hard the Sommerfeld Mennonites have tried to keep the status quo, things have changed. In 1935, a group under the leadership of a minister, Wilhelm Falk, broke away from the Sommerfeld Church to form the Rudnerweide Church, now known as the Evangelical Mennonite Mission Church. This group wanted evening services, music in the church, Sunday school, and a mission outreach. Besides this many Rudnerweide Mennonites claimed to have had radical conversion experiences and felt they could no longer have fellowship with the Sommerfelder. The Sommerfelder in turn would not give in on any point and so the split took place.

Gradually young brides became so daring as to come to the marriage altar in white wedding gowns. Some were forced to go and change while others were married in white. News soon got around which ministers would marry in white and which would not. Naturally all the young couples flocked to the three ministers who would marry in white, thus leaving the rest of the ministers without marriages.

This created jealousy, especially on the part of the elder who opposed the wearing of white gowns. In September 1951, the elder called a special brotherhood meeting to discuss this issue. (Only men attend such meetings as women do not have a vote in the church.) However, no discussion was held. After the usual opening the elder asked those ministers to stand who thought it was all right to marry brides in white apparel. Four ministers rose to their feet. The elder denounced these ministers in public and took away their preaching licenses. Three of them joined the Bergthal Mennonite Church and one of them repented and was accepted back into the fold.

In 1958 another big issue arose in the church. This time it was whether the church buildings should be wired for electricity. The majority of the people wanted electricity. However, a goodly number felt they could not pray under electric wires even though they had electricity in their homes. When the majority voted for electricity, the dissenters broke away to form the Reinland Mennonite Church under the leadership of Cornelius Nickel.

Changes

Since 1948, when many of the more conservative Sommerfeld Mennonites migrated to South America, many changes have taken place in the church. The order of service is still the same as it was in 1890, the language is still High German, as yet there are no musical instruments in the church, and the churches are still white with grey trimmings. The aisles, however, in many instances are covered with plush colorful carpets. The churches now stand on full basements which are divided into Sunday school rooms. The basements have kitchens and all the facilities needed for wedding receptions for all weddings (as well as the receptions) are now held in the church. The brides wear corsages and white gowns, and may even have attendants. The wedding menu has become so varied that even the traditional *Borshtsh* and *Plume-moos* are no longer served.

The old funeral costumes for the dead are no longer used. All funerals are open to the public, and professional undertakers take care of the body. The *Velafnis* (engagement celebration) is now optional and is seldom celebrated. The pig killing bees are very rare now. Even visiting around has declined considerably. With the advent of television and radio old time socializing has waned.

The children all attend public school and learn English well. Although school attendance is compulsory only until age sixteen most of the children go on to high school. High German is still taught in public school, but not enough for the children to understand what is being said in church and Sunday school. This causes great dissatisfaction with church among the young people. They still understand Low German, but the archaic High German is definitely beyond their comprehension. The latest trend now is to have wedding ceremonies performed in Low German so the young people will get some of the meaning.

In social life and family life the Canadian Sommerfeld Mennonite is no different from any other citizen. Only in church life does he still cling to traditional practices.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The most complete bibliography dealing with the Mennonites in Manitoba can be found in the article, "Manitoba," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. III, pages 457-466. The *Mennonite Encyclopedia* also carries numerous other articles under the names of the groups listed above.

Mennonite Life featured the Mennonites in Manitoba in the following issues: October, 1948, July, 1949, April, 1951, April, 1957, and July, 1956.

The most thorough recent studies dealing with the Old Colony Mennonites are Leonard Sawatzky's "Mennonite Colonization in Mexico," Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, 1967, and Calvin W. Redekop's *The Old Colony Mennonites*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969, 302 pp.

Poems by Peter Johann Klassen

Translated by Elmer F. Suderman

Drought on the Prairie

Like a fiery crucible the sun comes up
And heaven is red as man's blood.
Not a cloud can be seen in the sky.
No dew revives the withering seed.
Heaven is locked; no rain falls.
The farmer harvests terror, anguish and dread.

Earth is dry; what lives is exhausted.
The farmer's plenty, greedy for rain, turns yellow.
And men and animals, trees and grass,
Parched with thirst, faint for life-giving showers.

But waterspouts of sand dance like spooking phantoms
Driven by winds of storm through dying fields
Annihilating, destroying, taking what little remains.
In vain men shriek to heaven a cry of distress.

Death and the Old Man

A cold winter's day, the wind icy-cold.
A poor old man, crooked, stooped,
Bent down with firewood,
Loudly moaning walks wearily homeward,
His heavy load bending him almost to the ground.
Finally, exhausted, he tosses
The bundle on the ground and sits on it.
And then, his eyes fixed on his sorrow,
He gives free rein to his complaint:

"O God, why am I so poor?
Since birth I've been cold, never
Slept in a warm bed, never known good fortunes—
Only need. Oh, if death would finally come
To relieve me from my misery.
I am old and weak—And my wife
And child, hungry, sit in a small, cold room.
How much better, if I were dead."

Death needs no second invitation
To claim his own. He came quickly
Almost before the old man had finished.

"You called? What do you want?
I'll be glad to help
If you'll just tell me what you need.
Shall I swing my scythe now
A little early?"

After Death had spoken
And was waiting eagerly for a reply,
The old man, frightened, broken,
And quivering, answered:

"I thought . . . Well, I thought . . . I thought I'd ask
If you'd help me carry my wood home."

At Evening

When the sun goes down
A part of me fades with the dying day,
A something that I have loved and longed for
Vanishes with the retreating day.

That something which suddenly becomes the past:
A word which has hurt someone,
A task unfinished, an hour wasted:
With these my wounded heart becomes acquainted.

When the evening star winks
And a nightingale sings in the nearby bush,
I find fresh courage for a new day:
Where I have failed today, I will succeed tomorrow.

Small Pleasures

A little farm, your own flock,
A sweet wife, heaven's gift,
A small child, heaven's greeting,
Are the perfect answer to a great wish.

A friendly word at the end of the day,
An hour's rest in a friendly home,
A child who babbles "Father":
Who asks for more, is not worthy of these.

A small fortune not coveted by thieves,
No one caring what you do or do not do—
If you can be satisfied with these,
Then a part of heaven is yours now.

My Confession

O Canada, my homeland,
I will make my pledge to you and
The ancestral Fatherland
For the Lord God to hear.

In word and deed and life
I will be your true citizen.
What is mine is yours, what is yours mine.
All my efforts are dedicated to you.

You gave your helping hand,
Welcomed me to your shores
When I found no room
In my ancestral land.

You offered yourself as my home,
Offered your unlimited vastness
As a field of work for the stranger
To prepare his own home.

The freedom which you granted me,
How pleasant it felt, after the chains.
Here I have never been burdened with compulsions,
Can pray freely to God now.

You have a high and dear place in my heart.
I am yours everywhere.
I'll serve you truly and forever and ever.
I'll pray God's blessing on you.

Yet if I am to be of any use to you
I dare not lose myself.
There is a "Something" that is mine
I can feel it in my heart.

That "Something" is the German blood
The spirit of the German ancestry
The German language—highest good—
The German Mother's admonition.

The German word, German loyalty
And the faith of my fathers.
These I cling to wherever I am.
No one will rob me of them.

O Canada, I am ready
To give myself to you entirely
To serve you faithfully always
Reach for the sun with you.

Yet one thing is not for sale:
My blood and my language.
In these I see the happiness of my children.
Therefore, I watch over them faithfully,

That I might keep them pure and German
In nature and in kind.
They never became, never will become too old.
They will remain mine as they have always been.

(Copyright, Elmer F. Suderman. The original German poems were printed in Peter Klassen's *Grossmutters Schatz* . . . (Superb, Sask., 1939) and other publications.)

Aude - Goodbye

By Arnold Dyck
Translated by Elmer F. Suderman

Old Mrs. Wiebe and Mrs. Harder, both women in their forties, are standing at the gate on the street and saying good bye to each other. They have been saying good bye for some time now but can't seem to get away.

Mrs. Wiebe: Yes, I have potatoes on the fire; I should have gone a long time ago. Good bye once more. (Turns to go.)

Mrs. Harder: Good bye. Come again (She remains at the fence).

Mrs. Wiebe: (After a few steps she stops and turns part way toward Mrs. Harder.) Annie Bergen, you've heard about her, haven't you?

Mumtje Wiebsche enn Mumtje Hoadasche, beide gute Vierzigerinnen, stehen am Strassenzaun und verabschieden sich. Sie haben das schon eine Zeitlang getan und kommen doch nicht voneinander los.

Wiebsche: Jo, etj hab Eadschocke op'm Fia, etj mot nu aul sea gone, audee noch 'emol. (Wendet sich zum Gehen.)

Hoadasche: Audee, komm wada! (bleibt am Zaun stehen.)

Wiebsche: (bleibt nach ein paar Schritten auch stehen, bei halber Wendung): Daut von Boatsche Auntje, daut woascht du woll aul jeheat habe?

Mrs. Harder: Annie Bergen? No, I haven't heard anything about her. What's with her?

Mrs. Wiebe: Really! You haven't heard that? (She comes back to the gate.) I thought the whole world knew about that.

Mrs. Harder: No. At least I don't. But that's the way it is if you never see anyone. What kind of shenanigans has she gotten started again?

Mrs. Wiebe: Started again? Had she ever started something before?

Mrs. Harder: Well, of course; have you already forgotten about that?

Mrs. Wiebe: I can't quite remember. When was it exactly? Or do you mean that story people were telling each other last year in Spring?

Mrs. Harder: Last year in Spring? I don't know anything about last year. That's the way it is if you never get out of the house. What were people saying then? What I had in mind happened year before last in the Summer. What was it then?

Mrs. Wiebe: When?

Mrs. Harder: Well, last year in Spring.

Mrs. Wiebe: Oh, I don't remember that very well anymore. And maybe it wasn't even Anne Bergen: maybe it was really Anne Bartel; I always confuse the two. But what about year before last in the Summer? I heard nothing about that. What was it. something bad?

Mrs. Harder: Well, now; when people start gossiping then you can imagine what it was. And about Anne Bartel, you said? Are they talking about her, too? What do they say about her?

Mrs. Wiebe: You mean that thing about last year in Spring?

Mrs. Harder: Yes, the thing you just mentioned, that which you aren't sure whether it was about Anne Bartel or Anne Bergen.

Mrs. Wiebe: I think it was about Anne Bartel after all and not Anne Bergen. But who told you about what happened year before last in Summer?

Mrs. Harder: Well, well! Now I'm completely in the dark about whether it might not have been Anne Bartel after all.

Mrs. Wiebe: Yes, that's what I thought. Because Anne Bartel's . . . But who told you that? Old Mrs. Janzen?

Mrs. Harder: Who else? Who else brings up such stuff?

Mrs. Wiebe: That's exactly what I figured. That old Crone can spell out something in such a dry fashion, even if there's nothing to it. Again yesterday, she fed me a long line, none of which I believed.

Mrs. Harder: About whom was this then?

Mrs. Wiebe: O, about Mitchtje Tielmann (she jumps.) Good gosh, my potatoes. I have to run. Good bye. (Quickly walks a few steps to the left.)

Hoadasche: Boatsche Auntje? Nä von däa hab etj nuscht jeheat. Waut es met däa?

Wiebsche: Wo, daut hast du nijh jeheat? (kommt zurück) Etj docht, daut wisst aul aule Welt.

Hoadasche: Na etj weens nijh. So es daut, wann eena met tjeenem Mensche tooptjemmt. Waut haft de dann aul wada aunjegone?

Wiebsche: Wada aunjegone? Haft de dann aul 'emol waut aunjegone?

Hoadasche: Na wo wull doch nijh, hast du daut dann aul vejäte?

Wiebsche: Etj kann mi nijh besenne. Wannea wea daut dann? Oda meenst du, waut de lied sitj toojoa em Farjoa vetalde?

Hoadasche: Toojoa em Farjoa? Von toojoa weet etj nuscht. So es daut, wann eena nijh ut'm Hus tjemmt. Waut vetalde sitj de Lied dann? Waut etj meend, daut wear aul äwatoojoa em Somma. Waut wea daut dann?

Wiebsche: Waut?

Hoadasche: Na daut, von toojoa em Farjoa.

Wiebsche: O, daut weet etj aul nijh got. Enn vleijht wea daut uck nijh Boatsche Auntje, vleijht wea daut Boatels Auntje, de beid senn je emma toop. Oba von äwatoojoa em Somma, doavon hab etj nuscht jeheat. Waut wea daut dann, waut Schlajhtet?

Hoadasche: Na hea, wann de lied aul waut vertale, dann kaunst di aul dentje. Enn von Boatels Auntje, sajst du, räde se uck? Waut dann?

Wiebsche: Du meenst daut von toojoa em Farjoa?

Hoadasche: Jo, waut du sajst, daut du daut aul nijh weetst, auf daut Boatsche Auntje wea oda Boatels Auntje.

Wiebsche: Etj meen, daut wea doch Boatels Auntje enn nijh Boatsche Auntje. Oba wäa vetald di dann daut von äwatoojoa em Somma? Daut von Boatsche Auntje?

Hoadasche: Na hea, nu si etj selwst gaunz biesta, auf daut aum Enj nijh uck Boatels Auntje wea.

Wiebsche: Na, daut docht etj mi aul, wiels Boatsche Auntje, de es . . . Oba wäa vetald di daut dann, doch nijh de ole Jaunsche?

Hoadasche: Wä, woll sest. Wäa brinjt sont emma op?

Wiebsche: Daut docht etj mi foats. De ole Schlorr kaun so dreajh waut hanleaje, wo obar uck nuscht aun so es. Uck jistre wada vetald se mi een langet Strämel, woavon etj nuscht jleew.

Hoadasche: Von wäm wea dann daut?

Wiebsche: O, von Tielmauns Mitschtje . . . (erschrickt) Hach heet, mine Eadschocke! Etj mot ranne, audee. (macht hastig ein paar Schritte nach links.)

Mrs. Harder: Good bye. But wait a minute. About Mitchtje Tielmann? She's even related to you.

Mrs. Wiebe: (Comes back.) Related to us? She's no more related to us than to you.

Mrs. Harder: To us? Well, I'm always thankful for that kind of relative when people start talking about them. But it would be just like Mitchtje to do something like that. I'll have to tell Dave about this; he always thinks so much of his relatives. And you say Mrs. Janzen told you about all this yesterday?

Mrs. Wiebe: Yes, yesterday soon after dinner.

Mrs. Harder: That's like her. And before evening she stood here at the fence, right here, and for a half hour she gave me a long palaver. I had Lizzie's little Abraham with me—Lizzie had to go along; I insisted—the kid was lying with a wet diaper in the cradle yelling, and Mrs. Janzen wouldn't leave. But she didn't tell me anything about Mitchtje Tielmann. If she knows something worth knowing she runs to someone else; but she won't tell me. Well, she can just wait and see; I won't tell her anything anymore, either. But what was it she told you about Mitchtje Tielmann?

Mrs. Wiebe: (Looks to her side between the wings) Good Lord. Here comes my Margaret on the run (Walks toward her to the left.) I'm coming! What? They're burning? Pour some more water over them. What? With the dipper! Yes, yes, I'm coming. (Turns again to Mrs. Harder) Well, you would really not believe what I heard about Mitchtje. She always looks like she couldn't count to three. And then all at once—*bautz!*

Mrs. Harder: Good night! You make me curious. What . . .

Mrs. Wiebe: (Breaks in) Yes, even if Mrs. Janzen is an old liar, but when she knows she knows. She knows everything. No one in this village has ever gotten married without her being the first to know about it—and a long time before it happened.

Mrs. Harder: Yes, that's true. If only she didn't always imagine it.

Mrs. Wiebe: Yes and didn't drag it out so even after one has gotten her as far as the gate at the street. She just stands and stands, and talks and talks. Yesterday again. I had dumplings in my pan, heating them up . . . My gosh, my potatoes! And here comes Margaret again, all worked up. Now I must run; good bye (Moves reluctantly toward the wings.)

Mrs. Harder: (Follows her) Wait! Wait a little. (still following) What did you hear about Mitchtje Tielmann? What was it you heard?

Mrs. Wiebe: (Without looking back) She has (the rest of the sentence is indistinguishable).

Mrs. Harder: (Loud) What? What has she done? (Stands until Mrs. Wiebe is offstage and then says to herself): What did she say? What exactly was it?

Hoadasche: Audee, wacht'n bät, von Tielmauns Mitschtje? Daut's je dann noch jun Frindschoft.

Wiebsche (kommt zurück): Frindschoft! Dauts met ons nuscht dolla Frindschoft aus met ju.

Hoadasche: Met ons? Na etj bedank mi fe son Frindschoft wann de Lied daut eascht em Jeräd habe. Oba de Mitschtje wurd daut litjne, daut mott etj Dofte vetale, de bilt sitj emma so väl en op dit Frindschoft. Enn jistre sajhst du, vetald de Jaunsche di daut?

Wiebsche: Jo, jistre aul bold no Meddach.

Hoadasche: Son Tjrät, enn verowent stund se hia aum Tun, kratjt hia, weens 'ne haulwe Stund enn kalbäatjad mi waut väa. Etj haut Liestje äa Obraumtje bi mi—Liestje musst met op'e Beschtaund —, daut Tjind lach naut en'e Weaj enn brelld, enn de Ole jing nijh. Oba von Tielmauns Mitschtje haft se mi nuscht vetald. Wann se waut Jescheidet weet, dann rannt se no aundre, mi sajt se nuscht. Na, wacht mau, di woar etj uck nuscht mea vetale. Oba waut wea daut dann met Tielmauns Mitschtje?

Wiebsche (schaut zur Seite, zwischen die Kulissen): Harguttje, nu tjemmt onse Jreettje aul aunjerannt! (schreit in Richtung der Seitenkulissen nach links,) Etj kom aul!—Waut!—de brenne aun?—Jeet doa 'n bät Wota too!—He?—Met'm Schaptje!— Jo, jo, etj kom aul. (wieder zu Hoadasche) Na, daut wurscht du von de Mitsch meist nijh jejleewt habe. Ar sitt'et emma so, aus wann se nijh bott dree tale kaun, enn dann nu met eenmol—bautz!

Hoadasche: Hea, du moakst mi jrodentoo nieschiarig, waut . . .

Wiebsche (unterbricht): Jo, wann de ole Jaunsche uck aules leaje deit, oba weete, daut weet se. De weet aules. Em Darp haft sitj noch tjeena befriet, waut se nijh lang verut jewisst haft.

Hoadasche: Jo, daut es so, wann see sitj daut mau nijh emma aules utdentje deed.

Wiebsche: Jo, enn nijh emma noch so lang schluad, wann eena se aul bott'm Gaussetun haft. Se steit dann enn steit, enn vetalt enn vetalt. Jistre uck wada, ej haud Tjieltje en'e Paun toom Äwabrode . . . Hargoms, mine Eadschocke! Enn doa tjemmt Jreettje uck aul wada aunjerannt, nu mott etj aul sea dreble, audee! (läuft schwerfällig ab.)

Hoadasche: (schreit ihr nach): Wacht! na dann wacht doch! (läuft ihr nach) Waut wea daut dann met Tielmauns Mitschtje, he?

Wiebsche (ohne sich umzusehen): De haft (das Weitere ist nicht zu verstehen).

Hoadasche (laut): Waut, waut haft de? (bleibt stehen, da die andere schon weg ist, zu sich) Waut säd se, waut wea daut bloss . . .? Jo, daut wer'et

Yes, I guess that's it. Yes, yes, that's exactly what it was. Well, I'll say! Such a Mitch! (Looks up at the sky and then shakes her head.) Well, I'll have to tell this to Dave right away. Such a girl! Such a Mitzie! (Shakes her head and goes quickly off stage to the right).

woll. . . . jo, jo, daut es 'et uck jewast.—Nä oba Lied etj saj, sone Mitsch! (Grimasse der Empörung, dann Kopfschütteln). Na daut mott etj oba foats de Ditjsche vetale. Sone Mitsch! (Kopfschüttelnd mit hastigen Schritten ab nach rechts).

Copyright, Elmer F. Suderman. The Low German version of *Audee* is reprinted from Arnold Dyck, *Onse Lied en ola Tiet* (Steinbach, 1952).

Daut Darp

(The Village)

By Harold Funk

While driving along the rural roads
Of southern Manitoba,
One wonders why a grove of trees,
Interrupting the Prairie horizon,
Should polarize in one defined place
And appear unusually different from
The trees that grow in lines in open fields
Or along the river banks and twisting stream.

Perhaps the difference lies in
Some form of meaning or symbolism.

And then upon closer observation
One finds in among the cottonwood trees,
Now century-old,
Buildings squatting low,
A unique village,
A total human environment,
A *Darp.*

And all its unifying factors
Uphold the values of a people—
Life, place, community—
Unconsciously expressed visually and sensually
In tangible and intangible forms
By a pioneering people called Mennonites.

Apart from interest for Mennonite history,
Their struggles with governmental harassment,
Their search for faith, hope and life,
I see communicating within these villages
Through various visual and sensual elements,
Architecture and order,
A true expression of community.

There is here within the village
No mistake about the question of
Purpose, place and people.

The community is real.
Values become apparent.

And one deeply admires
The concreteness within which statements are made
Either consciously or unconsciously.

Submerged within the visual and sensual community,
One begins with appreciation
To perceive what meaning
This unconscious attitude might have had in the past—
In the past because,
Sadly enough,
Today the *Darp* suffers from
Disintegration and deterioration.

With the exception of two villages,
Reinland and *Sommerfeld,*
Which are most intact from all the villages,
The unifying factors
No longer characterize the same community
They once did.

However, in spite of the fact
That some family units stand vacant or no longer exist;
That traditional community principles and concepts
Have been deviated from today;
That there now exists clearly within the villages
Infiltration of external influence;
That the rows of cottonwoods that once
Followed both sides of the central street
As they still do prestigiously within *Sommerfeld,*
Were cut down in all the other villages
When they were being serviced with electricity;
That villages are no longer intact

Continued on page 129

Aerial View of the Reinland Village

Daut Darp

(The Village)

Photographed by Harold Funk

Manitoba Mennonites

The Mennonites of Russia settled on the West and East Reserves of the Red River in Manitoba starting in 1874. They continued their communal way of life as had been their practice in Russia and prior to that in West Prussia. They established numerous villages and farmed the land adjacent to their dwelling places. The triangle shape of this village indicates that the growth made it necessary to expand into another direction. Many of these villages are still in existence. Of others, the groves of trees are the only reminder of their past. The following pages tell the story of *Daut Darp* (The Village).

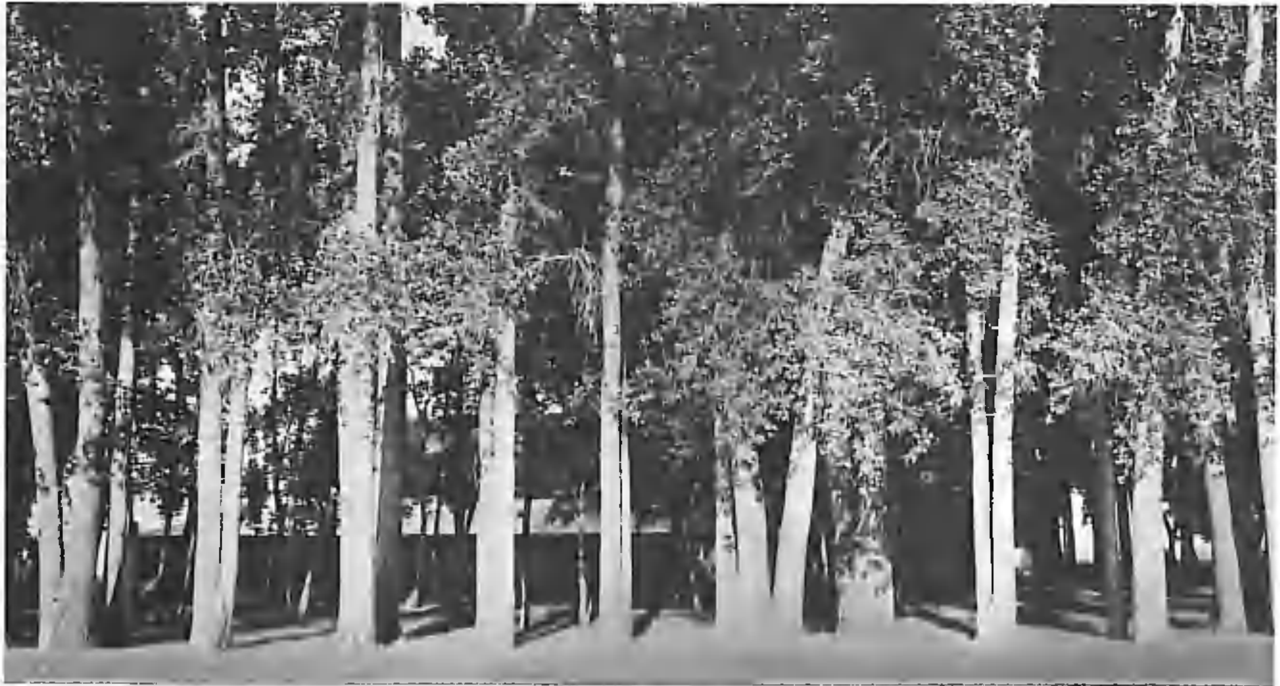
Views of the Reinland Village - Manitoba

A distant view of the village. Wheat is a primary crop raised in Manitoba.

Entering the village, Reinland.

Many trees along the village street of Reinland have been cut down.

A grove of trees along the village street.



Sommerfeld

The summer kitchen is linked to the dwelling place.

Ens Residence Reinland

The G. G. H. Ens dwelling place, barn, and shed is featured on this and the following page.

Connecting link between summer kitchen (right) and house.

Mr. Ens reading in the parlor and showing the wooden Schlopbenk *(couch-bed)*.

Peters Residence at Reinland

The traditional barn windows are enlarged and smaller in number.

Traditional smokehouse linked to the summer kitchen.

Suderman Residence at Reinland

Building Material

Cow barn shows signs of modernization.

Architectural Details

Interior of shed.

(LEFT) *Light shines through the small barn windows (see also on the right).*

Detailing and Decoration of Barn and Shed

Traditional large door of the shed.

Life at Home and in the Village *(Darp)*

Modernization and Adaptation

The traditional summer kitchen (above) has been modernized (right). Modern dwelling place (below) has replaced the traditional structure. The connecting summer kitchen has been omitted.

(TOP) *The Mennonite farmer has moved onto his own land and adapted the buildings to the common pattern.*

Deterioration and Mechanization

And have lost their proud heritage of homogeneity—
In spite of all these degenerative forces
Present in the villages today,
One still recognizes the unifying factors.

The feeling they give allows one to reconstruct
The sense of community
The Mennonites once had,
The sense of community,
I envision, they deeply loved in Russia
And had to leave
In search for a new faith, hope and life.

Community is focused upon and reinforced,
In concrete form,
Through traditional principles and concepts,
Through a clear and obvious order,
Through repetition of architectural form,
Through the choice of methods and materials,
Through subtle use of decorative details.

A discipline within the people calls for a village
Scrupulously divided up into
Family allotments along a common,
Central street-like corridor.

The allotments recede back deeply from the street.
Each family occupies one allotment of
Five to seven acres,
With larger portions of land allotments
For crops and cattle near by.

Order is further expressed
Within the organized family allotments.
In the back are luscious and extravagant
Vegetable and fruit gardens:
In the front, smaller lush flower gardens;
In between, the building complex.
To the house-barn complex are related
Two other spheres of small buildings:
Those related to the barn and further back,
Those related to the house
And closer to the front.

If one looks carefully,
There exists here in the village
An ordered composition
Throughout all the family allotments.

The unprecedented concept
Of linking together the
Most intimately related buildings,
In terms of associated functions,
Must be the highlighting explicit
Principle within the village.
The house and barn-shed
Are linked together in every case.
In some instances the summerhouse too
Is linked to the house.

The 'link' concept is expressed in two ways:
The one is a 'connector' between two buildings,
For example, summerhouse to the house.
Sometimes the house is turned perpendicular
To the barn with the summerhouse being the connector.
This kind of linking house to barn
Seems to be an improvement
Over the other traditional method of linking
The house and barn together
Through a common wall.

Linking buildings together is uniquely
Adaptive to the Canadian Prairie physical environment.
The idea originated in the Netherlands,
Possibly for reasons of proximity,
And for reasons of economics of space
And building materials.
In Russia the link served the all important factor
Of security from wandering bandits.
In Canada the link became the weapon
That conquered the long, cold, harsh, blizzardous winters.

Ironically, the concept of 'linking',
Indigenous within the *Darp* architecture,
Is also reflected within the concept of 'community':
Dependence of one building to another,
Dependence of one community member to another.

The steeply pitched roofs of all buildings
Are direct translations
From the days of thatched roofs,
Notable Prussian days,
And early pioneering days in Russia and in Canada.
Evidence of this translation
Is provided in the way early log rafters
Supporting rye straw-thatched roofs
Were simply covered over with
More dependable, conventional, shingle roofs.

This proud architecture within each family unit—
Having a long history inscribed deeply into its form,
And having immigrated with the people
To various parts of the world—
Is repetitious throughout the village,
On the narrow-long parcels of land, and
Reinforces the sense of community,
So obvious and beautiful.

The architecture is simple and functional.
It reflects the craftsmanship and needs of the people.
Methods and details reflect
Unsophisticated tools: the saw, the hammer,
The chisel, the square, the level.
And materials reflect their nature.

Both inside and outside walls are
Stacked-up two by six fir members
Faced with one by six horizontal boarding.

Floors are built directly on dry soil packed tightly.
Today, the floors are still firm
And the soil still dry.
Exposed muscular beams spaced arm lengths apart
And decked with heavy boards,
Handsomely frame the space below
And support the lofty space above
Once used to store grain.

Rooms are flung around a centrally located,
Built-in brick stove.
The concept of room organization
Is informal, each room servicing the other.

A window type is repeated in a uniform spacing,
With corresponding room partitions.

In the skeleton structure of the barn
One sees a delicately complex
And carefully integrated system
of dowel joint detailing,
Delightfully expressing the nature of wood,
And the limitation of tools available.

Sincere and honest articulation
Of details, of methods, of materials
Are meaningful
And implicitly convey community.

In the barns two window types are used:
The one, a continuous narrow band
of small windows in between supporting members,
Directly below the ceiling,
And in between the joists,
Allowing a rhythmic quality of light
To enter the interior space.
As the light falls on the structural elements
Space is structured.
The other, punched holes in the wall,
Which originally adapted itself to the characteristics
Of adobe brick bearing wall construction,
As in some barn structures in Russia
And now adapted to wooden structures in Canada.
The quality of light is weak
And the space less.

There are the decorative and artful subtleties
Within the architecture that go
Deep into the soul and sensitivity of the community.

Conscious effort is made to highlight
The criss-crossing diagonals,
Which give rigidity to the barn doors.
Sometimes an excessive amount of
Diagonals are introduced
And boldly expressed by white paint.

A delicate distinction of care
Is given to the window shutter,
An interface between physical environment
And Man.
As parts, the frame and the panel,
Grooved around the edge and
Carefully fitted together
To express a rectangle, reveal
And highlight themselves
As dominant visual features within the village.
Unity of mind and unity of aspiration
Within the village community
Tend toward the same colors
To express visual features.

Within these various cohesive elements,
The practices, the principles,
Lies the visual power of the community.
They are common to all
And shared by all
And express one existent will.

But community is also focused upon
Through various proxemical awarenesses.
Proxemics is concerned with the use
And perception of space, the relationship
Between man, space and object.

It seems over the years that
A feeling of personal distance
Has been established within the village—
A distance that reinforces the idea
Of a community—a *Darp*—
While still identifying the individual
And his opportunity to prosper.

There are several reasons why the spacing
Of family units from each other
Feels right.
Linking buildings together
Displaces a minimum amount of land,
Giving emphasis to mass and void
Necessary in establishing
The appropriate proxemical distance.
If the buildings were detached,
The critical ratio of mass to void
Would be lost, and
The composition of the separate buildings
Would increase distance within the village
And effect the cohesiveness of the *Darp.*

Territorial extensions of each family unit
Have their boundaries
Both visually and sensually,
Physically and psychologically.
Fences around the perimeter of each unit
Clearly define one family territory from the other.
And the decorative designs of each one's fence
Help express the individual within the community.

The custom of planting evergreen, poplar,
Cottonwood, and fruit trees on each unit
(usually more dense in front)
Further help give each family unit
A sense of enclosure,
Both physical and psychological separation.
Trees reinforce enclosure
And help visually to block out the neighbor.

The trees stand monumentally in
Memory of Johann Cornies,
And symbolize his great effort
In helping give the village a quality of order,
And introducing the tree into the village
As a necessary environmental and visual element.

The olfactory sense of 'place' in the air,
Assures one of the village being a farming community.

The *Darp* is a collection
Of invisible bubbles of spaces,
Packed tightlv together
Like many cells
That seem to imply the intangible link
Of 'overlapping' of personal space.
Vital and necessary in creating community.
Only in a community where all share in the same values,
Only where one religion, one social, one subsistent
Attitude is nourished and held to,
Only where everybody focuses on a centrally located
Meetinghouse and school,
Is overlapping a necessary binding element.

As one gradually moves through the *Darp*
And experiences the unifying factors
In one broad sweep,
One is deeply moved to see them
All function harmoniously together,
To suggest dialogue
And convey a message of life, place, and people
In all the various subtleties.

And as one leaves the *Darp*
With these sensating pulses
Of the uniqueness of the *Darp*,
One is also deeply moved to see it being destroyed.
For today the community is no longer intact.
As barns and homes are torn apart
So also the community is torn apart.
The people are alienating their
Indigenous architecture and all
Its unifying factors
With fashionable ideas
And forcing them to coexist
Within an alien community.
And as the aged cottonwoods are leveled to the ground
So, too, is the *Darp* losing its original meaning
And fading away into the past.

The empirical form of the village concept
Is disappearing, and
Will die an unwilling death
Because of lack of insight to
All its strengths and all its weaknesses.
The Prairie and the community
Must merge and always be friends.
Each is dependent on the other.
Today, where farming on the great Canadian Prairie
Tends toward corporations and shareholding,
The principles, the concepts,
The way community is achieved
Through various visual and sensual means,
Are still valid.
The *Darp* will live on, perhaps in a different form
But with a similar spirit.

On Her Being Arrived at the Age Forty-two

(*Echo of Milton*)

By Elaine Sommers Rich

How soon hath time, that subtle thief of youth,
Stolen on wing my two and fortieth year.
Doth inward ripeness now begin to appear?
Hath pruned-off foliage shown the fruit of truth?
Or are the autumn peaches all uncouth,
Flecked with dry rot in this my full career?
Is there a song fit for my Lord to hear?
Or cacophonous apples for the tooth?
I know that winter snow will come one day,
(Oh, in Thy gracious orchard be my root!)
That blizzard winds upon unharvested fruit
Will pelt it to the earth for slow decay.
'Tis singing peaches only, garnered by,
Are worthy of the great Fruitgatherer's eye.

Matins

By Warren Kliewer

God bless newspapermen,
Used-car dealers,
And all the politicians in the courthouse.
God bless the women with gray eyes
Who ride busses from their own kitchens
To other kitchens at six a.m.
God bless the secretaries who can't wake up
Because they stayed up to watch the Late Show
And now are making typing errors.
God bless grade-school girls
Who walk to school in unpressed dresses
Out of style.
God bless old football-players
Who now play golf.
God bless the salesmen who walk
From block to block with order books and cases,
Who stop and sigh when they think
No one is looking.
God bless the mannequins at
J. C. Penney's and the Three Sisters.
God bless all human beings
Who stand upright with soft
Unprotectedly outward facing bellies.

Philosophy Lesson

By Elmer F. Suderman

What can a man know? I had agonized
Over the question a long time and had
Almost concluded that the answer was
Nothing. "Do you know anything?" I asked
My wife. "Yes," she said, "I do." Surprised that
She, always reticent in answering
My philosophical questions, should be
So sure, I pursued the point: "What do you
Know? Is it something you can teach me?"
"I know how to rake leaves and that's something
I can teach you." I objected, argued
That this was not the kind of knowing
I had had in mind. I did not want
To learn to rake leaves. There were too many
More important things for me to learn.
Scarcely looking up from the dishes
She was washing, she quietly replied:
"Too bad. Then you're lost already!" I could
Not argue with that kind of logic and
Turned back to Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason.*

Scapino the Poet

By Warren Kliewer

I am a seal bouncing bright-colored balls between my
nose and heaven.
I am a cricket holding back the winter
with screeches.
I am a hound with howls commanding the moon
to brighten.
I am a hare bringing at great speed the news
of the year of the miracle.
And the folly of despair is self-evident
to me.

Hinge

By Elaine Sommers Rich

At the old people's home
two venerable ladies,
one stooped in body,
another in mind,
showed me gilt-framed pictures
of their grandparents.
"They would be 130
if they were living."

The ladies said to me,
"I am a hinge where
a century and a half
of history bends,
its sense remaining longer
than calcium or thought."

A Winter Race

By Kamala Platt
(age 9)

Snowflakes race across the fields
Like tiny white race horses
Skipping over fences,
Jumping over rocks,
Coming by the millions,
Racing to be first,
Now crossing the finish line
And landing on the ground.

From Central Asia to America

By Douglas Hale

There is a slender bond of faith which links the Netherlands, West Prussia, the valley of the Volga and the deserts of distant Turkestan in Central Asia to some of the prairie farmsteads of Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and even to Canada and South America. This bond includes the principle of nonresistance—the stubborn refusal to bear arms in the service of the state. Fidelity to this principle has driven pious Mennonites from their tidy homes and productive fields for centuries; it has turned them into a migratory people never quite at home in a world of violence and war.

An Epic of Wandering

One colorful though tragic episode in this long epic of wandering involved a small band of Mennonites in a journey through Central Asia which for some was to end ultimately on the plains of Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma. In terms of dangers overcome, hardships endured, resolution required, and religious conviction affirmed, the story of the Turkestan trek rivals the most heroic and stirring sagas of the American pioneer. It is the purpose of this article to recount this chapter in the story of a faith in order that more may become aware of the diverse strands which have been woven into the fabric of their history.

One of the most important areas of Mennonite concentration in Germany lay in the alluvial lands of the Vistula Delta, near Danzig and Marienburg. During the sixteenth century hundreds of Dutch Mennonites had found refuge here from religious persecution in their homeland. Alternately tolerated and oppressed in Prussia, Catherine II of Russia and her successors lured many of these hardy peasants to the vast and undeveloped steppes of the tsarist empire.[1] By imposing a general requirement for military service, the Prussian government speeded up the migration to Russia.[2] About ten thousand Mennonite settlers, by now German in speech and custom, were thus transplanted to the raw and deserted plains of the Ukraine and the Middle Volga. Superior farmers, they pioneered the Russian wastelands and prospered. Concentrated in four major colonies, Chortitza, Molotschna, Samara, and "The Trakt," their numbers had increased to 45,000 by 1870.[3]

Under the most autocratic regime in Europe, the Russian Mennonites were allowed to live in comparative freedom. They introduced improved breeds of cattle, prolific strains of wheat, and developed a prosperous milling industry. Despite increasing population pressure on the land, these thrifty peasants turned the steppes into flourishing fields and orchards.[4]

America or Asia?

By 1870, however, this unaccustomed freedom and prosperity were suddenly threatened by a new program of reform. The special privileges heretofore enjoyed by the Mennonites were to be curtailed: their local government and their schools would be subjected to government control; their exemption from the armed services was to be replaced by an alternative service.[5]

The Mennonite communities were now faced with the choice of either compromising their cherished convictions or leaving the country. Already emigration fever was raging through the colonies, and advance agents had been sent ahead to spy out land on the western prairies of Canada and the United States. Throughout the spring of 1874 thousands of pious farmers made the hard decision. They disposed of property gained through so much sacrifice and labor at ruinous prices; they equipped themselves for the long journey, turned their backs on their pleasant villages, their loved ones, and friends, and broke the intimate bond which held their communities together. Within a decade some 18,000 emigrants had settled in Kansas, Dakota, Nebraska, or Manitoba, bringing with them their hardy strain of winter wheat which would transform the Great Plains into the breadbasket of America.[6]

Those who were left behind faced the future with anxiety and apprehension: how were they to reconcile the teachings of their faith with the requirements of the law? Especially was this a concern among the uncompromisingly pietistic congregations which had emigrated from West Prussia only twenty-five years before and settled on the Volga River. Many of these people had brought with them the chiliastic expectation that Christ's second coming was at hand. Their leader, Klaas Epp, Jr., convinced a number of the most devout brethren that their destiny lay not on the western plains of America but eastward, in the great mountainous heart of Central Asia. Epp, a curious blend of practical farmer and religious visionary, had concluded from a

study of the book of Revelation and intensive reading in the German mystics that the resurrected Christ would receive his chosen people somewhere south of Samarkand. Indeed, he subsequently calculated that the long awaited day of judgment would dawn on March 8, 1889, and proceeded to convince all who would listen to him that he was a prophet of the Lord sent to redeem a remnant of the church. By the summer of 1880 he had persuaded some one hundred families to join him in this pilgrimage to the east to receive the risen Christ.[7]

Central Asia

Epp's goal was the new Russian territory of Turkestan[8] which had been only recently incorporated into the tsar's empire and in which Russian armies were still engaged in the conquest and subjugation of its native peoples. A vast region half the size of the United States, less than three percent of its land area was arable. With the exception of the valleys of its three great rivers, Turkestan was a desert; precipitation averaged from only four to eleven inches per year, and the chief city of the province, Tashkent, received but eleven inches of moisture annually. Within this great inhospitable basin there lived some seven million people, about half of whom followed the nomadic herdsman's existence, wandering from oasis to oasis with no bond of political cohesion beyond the tribe. The Turkic peoples—Uzbek, Kirghiz, Kazakh, and Turkmen—were in the majority, but the Iranian Tajiks were numerous in the south. It was in this southern quadrant, along the irrigated valleys of the Syr Darya, the Amu Darya and Zaravshan rivers, that the population was concentrated.[9] Here also were the cities of Samarkand and Bukhara, left as dilapidated souvenirs of the once mighty empire of Tamerlane.

In the course of conquest, Russia had absorbed the tribal territories, reduced the two remaining states, the khanates of Khiva and Bukhara, to vassal status, and confiscated vast tracts of land from their Moslem owners. The Governor General of Turkestan, General Konstantin von Kaufmann, eager to develop the economy of his province, was an avid colonizer, and assured the Mennonites of abundant land and a hospitable welcome. The Russian conscription law, moreover, did not immediately apply to the inhabitants of newly conquered Turkestan. The Lord, it appeared, was opening a door to his faithful church as proclaimed in Revelation, 3:8.[10]

Encouraged by Kaufmann's assurances of support, a number of families from several colonies resolved to emigrate, sold their property, and made preparations for the great trek. On July 3, 1880, the first party bade their sad farewells and set out from the Trakt settlements on the Volga.[11] The ten families of this first detachment drove their covered wagons confidently east across the fertile plains to Uralsk on the Ural River where they glimpsed their first impressions of Asia: Kirghiz tribesmen, camels, and fermented mare's milk. Thence they plodded along the sandy basin of the Ural to Orenburg, the eastern terminus of the railroad and the beginning of desert travel. Following the Russian mail route, the pilgrims struck a southerly course through the Kyzyl Kum Desert, 250 miles without permanent human habitation. Dragging themselves through the sand, searching desperately for isolated water holes, the travelers at last arrived at the Syr Darya River, though they left three children's graves behind them to mark their passage through the desert.[12]

Plagued by brackish water, the party wound its way along the Syr Darya and up into the foothills of the great Tien Shan mountain range. At last the Mennonites were in settled country again, and as they struggled across the rushing mountain rivers rejoiced that their goal, Tashkent, was not far away. On October 18, after a journey of fifteen weeks, the exhausted band of wanderers took up winter quarters at Kaplan Bek, an abandoned government stud farm twenty miles from Tashkent. Twelve of their number had died in the course of their seventeen-hundred-mile journey.[13]

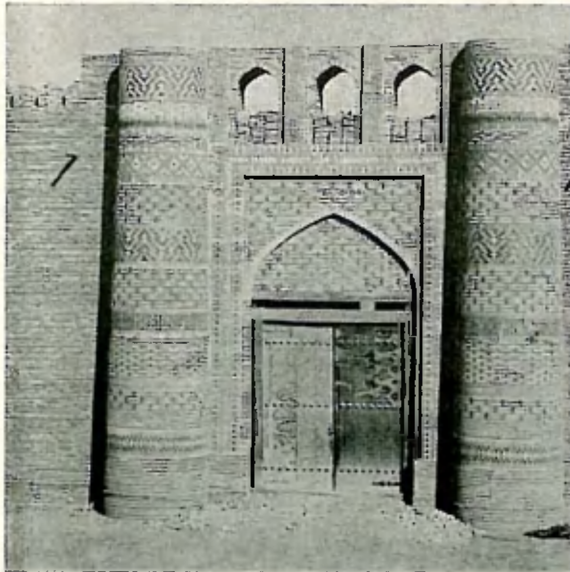
Assured by Governor General Kaufmann that their children were permanently exempt from military service and that land would be found for them in the spring the Mennonites set about industriously to turn the dilapidated stables of Kaplan Bek into shelter habitable for humans. Soon they were joined by twelve additional families, the second detachment of emigrants who had left the Volga colonies a month later. A third group consisting of fifty-six families arrived in December and took up quarters in Tashkent itself.[14]

The winter, though mild, inaugurated a time of increasing troubles for the wanderers. Typhoid fever struck their overcrowded camp; twelve new graves were filled by springtime. In March, 1881, Tsar Alexander II was assassinated, and the accession of his son to the throne portended a much harsher policy toward non-Russian nationalities in the empire. The Mennonites' patron, Governor General von Kaufmann, fell victim to a stroke soon thereafter, and his successor abrogated their complete military exemption. The brethren were given only until July, 1881, to vacate Kaplan Bek, but the land which had been set aside for their settlement was heavily encumbered by debt and wholly unsuitable.[15]

Klaas Epp Loses Followers

Worst of all, bitter dissension broke out within the once so united body of believers. About fifty families, sobered by the hardships of the winter, turned against Epp's prophetic leadership and decided to settle on a tract of land near Aulie Ata, about 150 miles northeast of Tashkent in the Alexander Mountains. Here their

(LEFT) *Shows adjustment of Mennonites to means of transportation in Central Asia.* (RIGHT) *Interior of Mennonite Church,* Am Trakt, *Samara, from where Mennonites moved to Central Asia (Christmas tree in corner of church was used before* 1880 *among the Mennonites of Russia).* (BELOW) *Cattle market in Khiva, Central Asia, where Mennonites settled.*



(TOP) *Mennonites traveling in Central Asia to settle in Aulie Ata.* (LEFT) *The castle of the Khan of Khiva.*

young men would be subject to government forest work in lieu of military service, but the majority preferred to accept this compromise with their principles rather than continue their aimless wandering.[16]

After days of fervent prayer, the smaller faction of some twenty-five families determined to push on to the west, trusting that the Lord would prepare a place for them in the neighboring khanate of Bukhara. Though notorious for its slavery, brutality and backwardness, Bukhara had not yet discovered the modern western marvel of military conscription; here the Mennonite remnant might be free to practice its faith in a Moslem land.[17] The travelers descended a rocky trail from Tashkent and made their way along the fertile valley of the Zaravshan River. Instead of sand and stone, the summer abundance of orchards, vineyards, and grain fields now greeted their eyes. The simple Mennonite peasants marveled at the decayed magnificence of Tamarlane's Samarkand and noted with considerable shock the scandalous morals of its Tajik inhabitants.[18]

No sooner had the emigrants crossed the border into Bukharan territory, however, than they were immediately expelled by the local ruler, justifiably suspicious of all things emanating from Russia. The weary caravan camped for two months on Russian soil and then in November, 1881, tried once again to settle in the bleak no-man's-land lying between the domains of the khan and the tsar. This time they were allowed to lay out a village and erect their sod huts before Bukharan riders descended upon them, arrested their leaders, and drove them out again. The despondent colonists had no choice but to spend a bitter winter in the mud stalls of a Russian caravanserai. Convinced as many were that the second coming was at hand, they spent their days in song and prayer as their mud walls dissolved in the winter rains.[19]

There was one encouraging development, however—the fourth and final party of emigrants, consisting of forty families and led by Klaas Epp himself, had arrived in Turkestan in the summer of 1881 and joined the miserable refugees huddled on the Bukharan border the following year. With his ever growing pretensions to prophesy, Epp sowed discord in his path but at least provided a resolute and uncompromising leadership to his flock. His confidence in his mission was vastly enhanced in July, 1882, when the Khan of Khiva offered the Mennonites a plot of land not far from his capital, 450 miles to the northwest. It appeared at last that their prayers had been answered, and the emigrants joyfully prepared for what they hoped would be the final stage of their journey.[20]

Their route led them through the sands of the Kara Kum Desert and down the great Amu Darya River. Wagons were useless in this terrain; the women and children were loaded on camels while the young men took the horses by a more difficult route. After a journey replete with the now familiar hardships of desert travel, they arrived at their destination, an overgrown mud flat on the banks of the Amu Darya, early in October, 1882.[21]

On this unpromising terrain the little community of sixty families set themselves again to the arduous task of building a new home. They constructed crude dugouts on the high ground, grubbed out patches of the river bottom for cultivation, and surrounded their modest plots with walls and hedges against the depredations of wild hogs, jackals, and an occasional tiger. The chief predators were of the biped variety, however. Wild Iomud tribesmen, having been dispossessed of their land by an earlier conquest, began to raid the settlement nightly as soon as they learned of the fidelity of its inhabitants to the principle of nonresistance. These bandits stole forty-six horses and twenty-five head of cattle, wounded several of the men, and in June, 1883, murdered an inoffensive farmer as he tried to protect his wife. In desperation, the Mennonites hired two Cossacks as guards, who by reputation alone kept the Iomuds at bay. But, tender consciences inquired, was this not sanctioning the use of force if not directly resorting to it themselves?[22]

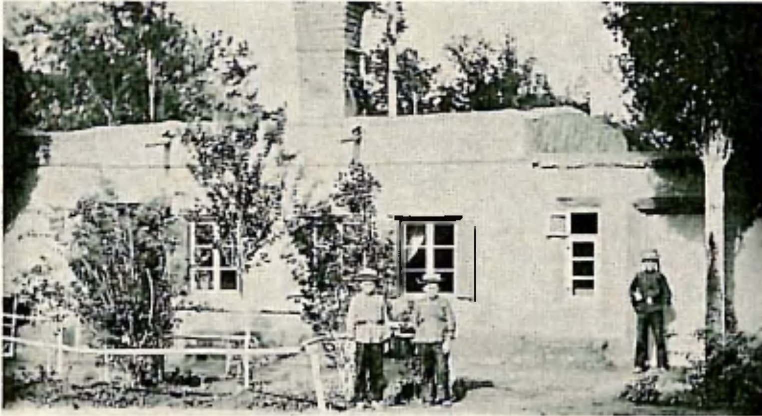
The colonists were at last delivered from this dilemma by the Khan of Khiva who invited them to settle at Ak Mechet, an oasis not far from his capital. Under Epp's leadership, forty families accepted the Khan's protection, built a new colony, and found work as carpenters, cabinet-makers, and tailors to supplement the meager yield of their land. Here this small island of Mennonites would remain for half a century until Stalin's program of agricultural collectivization decimated and scattered them once again.[23]

The Trek to America

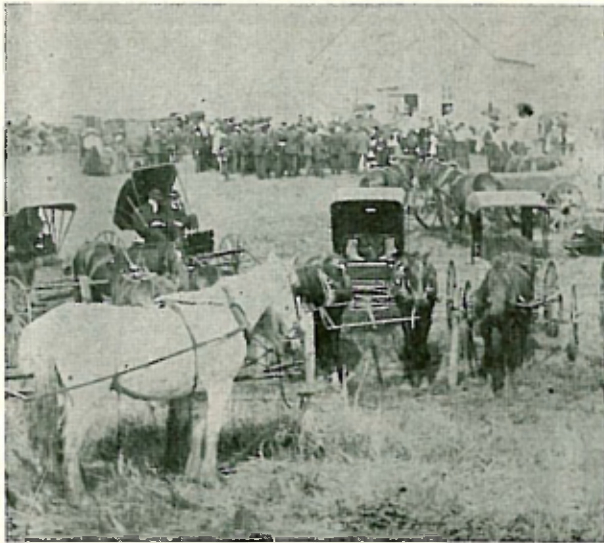
By the spring of 1884, a smaller group of some twenty families had at last become disillusioned by Epp's increasing fanaticism. Finally convinced that the desolate path of their wandering was not the way of the Lord after all, they resolved to leave Khiva forever. Desperate from privation and suffering, they appealed to America for aid, and their brethren in Kansas, Nebraska, and Indiana responded generously. In April, 1884, this party began a three-week's journey through the trackless salt wastes along the western shore of the Aral Sea and across the Ust Urt Plateau to Orenburg. Joined by a handful of refugees from Aulie Ata, they travelled across Russia and Germany by rail and embarked at Bremen for America. Totally destitute, the veterans of the great trek arrived among their coreligionists in Kansas and Nebraska the following September.[24]

Life was hard and the cost of land was high in the prairie states. For the young men, especially, the chance to own a farm and found a family appeared bleak

(Top, right) *Martin and Marie Klaassen and children before their departure to Central Asia. Below is a wedding picture of the couple, Oct. 18, 1855.* (Below) *Mennonite home in Central Asia and schoolchildren and teacher in front of schoolhouse.*



(Below, left) *Jacob Klaassen and Jacob Jantzen of the Herold Mennonite Church of Cordell, Oklahoma. Kettle below was used by Mennonites migrating from Samara to Central Asia.*



The Herold Mennonite Church at Cordell, Oklahoma, in 1907.

indeed. In 1892, however, the opening of the Cheyenne-Arapaho territories in western Oklahoma to white settlement offered the immigrants from Russia new hope for a better life. For more than a decade Mennonite missionaries had ministered to the Indians in this area, and their farmer brethren from Kansas and Nebraska were soon to follow. By 1893 well over a score of Mennonite families had acquired homesteads around these mission stations in what would become Blaine, Custer, and Washita counties. Pioneering came naturally to this hardy stock, and by the year of statehood the number of Oklahoma Mennonite congregations had increased to thirty-seven, incorporating almost two thousand members of the faith.[25] Among these were many who remembered well the exodus through Turkestan.

Today, a few miles off the great main street of America, U. S. 66, the traveller can still find the descendants of these Mennonite pioneers. On prairie farms housewives still talk *Plattdeutsch* on the telephone; they still bake *Pfeffernüsse* for Christmas as their grandmothers did in Russia a century ago. And tucked away in storerooms and attics are battered samovars, great brass-bound chests, and other family treasures which survived the long wilderness journey through Central Asia. There they are to remind all who will listen of the fantastic variety of human experience which went into the shaping of their lives and the making of their country.

NOTES

* The author wishes to express his appreciation to the Oklahoma State University Research Foundation for the generous support which made this study possible and to Mrs. L. D. Williams, Dill City, Oklahoma, and Mrs. H. H. Horn, Cordell, Oklahoma, for graciously allowing him access to family documents in their possession.

1. C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites* (Newton, Kan., 1957) 263-274, 284.

2. Article 34 of the Prussian Constitution of 1850 provided that *Alle Preussen sind wehrpflichtig.* Ernst R. Huber, ed., *Dokumente zur deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte* (3 vols., Stuttgart, 1961-1966), I, 404.

3. Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites,* 411; Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus* (Altona, Manitoba, 1962), 15; Franz Bartsch, *Unser Auszug nach Mittelasien* [Vol. V in *Historische Schriftenreihe des Echo-Verlags*] (North Kildonan, Manitoba, 1948), 5-6.

4. C. Henry Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites* (Berne, Ind., 1927), 22-44.

5. G. E. Reimer and G. R. Gaeddert, (*Exiled by the Czar: Cornelius Jansen and the Great Mennonite Migration, 1874* (Newton, Kan., 1956) 43-45, 52-54, 63-64; H. Seton-Watson, *The Decline of Imperial Russia, 1855-1914* (New York, 1952), 52-54.

6. Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites,* 92-131. On the contributions of the Russian Mennonites to the American wheat industry see J. Allen Clark and B. B. Bayles, *Classification of Wheat Varieties Grown in the United States in 1939* (Washington, D. C., 1942), 102-103.

7. Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites,* 455-460; Bartsch, *Unser Auszug nach Mittelasien.* 5-21, 70-81. Among the most powerful millenarian influences among this group of Mennonites was the work of the Christian mystic, Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling (1740-1817), a Marburg professor, physician, and protege' of Goethe. See Eduard Manger, "Jung-Stilling," *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig, 1875-1912), XIV, 697-704.

8. In accordance with established usage, the term "Turkestan" will be used hereinafter to refer to that portion of Central Asia which was incorporated into the Governor-Generalships of Turkestan and the *Steppe* and the tributary Khanates of Bukhara and Khiva.

9. Michael Rywkin, *Russia in Central Asia* (New York, 1963), 22-28; R. A. Pierce, *Russian Central Asia, 1867-1917: A Study in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, 1960), 5-13; W. P. and Zelda K. Coates, *Soviets in Central Asia* (London, 1951), 21-22; and Edward Allworth, ed., *Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule* (New York and London, 1967), 92-95, 112-130.

10. Bartsch, *Unser Auszug nach Mittelasien,* 21; [Jacob Klaassen], "Asienreise: Grandfather's Description of the Trip to Central Asia, 1880" (trans. by Henry Klaassen, unpublished mimeographed MS, Laird, Sask., 1964), 2. For Kaufmann's colonization policy, see Pierce, *Russian Central Asia,* 107-114.

11. Throughout this paper dates in Russian territory or the khanates are expressed according to the Julian calendar; all others are rendered in accordance with the Gregorian calendar.

12. Bartsch, *Unser Auszug nach Mittelasien,* 24-35; Jacob Jantzen, "Memories of Our Journey to Asia" (trans. by Margaret Horn, unpublished mimeographed MS, n.p., 1958), 4-6.

13. Bartsch, *Ibid.,* 35-38; Jantzen, *Ibid.,* 7.

14. Bartsch, *Ibid.,* 38-45; Klaassen, "Asienreise," 21-23; [Margaret Horn], "History Dates and Experiences of Peter and Marie Abrahms Horn, Their Ancestors and Descendants" (unpublished mimeographed MS, n.p., n.d.), 4.

15. Bartsch, *Ibid.,* 45-49; Jantzen, *Op. cit.,* 7. See Eugene Schuyler. *Turkistan: Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja* (2 vols., New York, 1876), for a contemporaneous description of the route traveled and many of the sites visited by the Mennonites.

16. Bartsch, *Ibid.,* 49-50, 81-82. The Aulie Ata settlement was to remain more or less intact throughout the Revolutions of 1917, the Civil War, and Stalin's collectivization program. See Cornelius Krahn, "The Mennonites of Russia Today," *Mennonite Life,* XXIV, no. 3 (July, 1969), 117, and "Aulie-Ata," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia,* I, 190, by the same author.

17. Bartsch, *Ibid.,* 50; Klaassen, "Asienreise," 24.

18. Bartsch, *Ibid.,* 52-53; Klaassen, *Ibid.,* 26-29; Jantzen, "Memories of Our Journey to Asia," 7-9.

19. Bartsch, *Ibid.,* 54-60, 63; Klaassen, *Ibid.,* 29-35.

20. Bartsch, *Ibid.,* 60-69; Klaassen, *Ibid.,* 36.

21. Bartsch, *Ibid.,* 71-72; Klaassen, *Ibid.,* 36-42.

22. Bartsch, *Ibid.,* 72-75; Klaassen, *Ibid.,* 42-44; Horn. "History Dates and Experiences of Peter and Marie Abrahms Horn," 6; *Christlicher Bundes-Bote* (Berne, Ind.), April 15, 1884. On the Iomuds, a Turkic tribe, see Pierce, *Russian Central Asia,* 33-34, and Allworth, *Central Asia,* 147.

23. Bartsch, *Ibid.,* 76-81, 83-89. By 1899 the Mennonite population of Ak-Mechet consisted of 140 souls living in adobe huts and 132 bodies in their cemetery. See Smith. *The Story of the Mennonites,* 461, and Franz Bartsch and Cornelius Krahn, "Ak-Mechet," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia,* I, 29-30.

24. Klaassen, "Asienreise," 44-56; Jantzen, "Memories of Our Journey to Asia," 26-30; American Mennonite Aid Committee, "Minutes" (MS in Bethel College Historical Library, North Newton, Kan.), Apr. 4, 10, 18, May 9, and Aug. 7, 1884; *Der Herold der Wahrheit* (Elkhart, Ind.), Oct. 15, 1885.

25. Jacob Klaassen, "Memories and Notations About My Life" (trans. by Walter Klaassen, unpublished mimeographed MS, n.p., 1966), 4-10; Horn, "History Dates and Experiences of Peter and Marie Abrahms Horn," 4-5; M. E. Kroeker, "The Mennonites in Oklahoma to 1907" (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1954), *passim;* Edmund G. Kaufman, "Mennonite Missions Among the Oklahoma Indians," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XL, no. 1 (Spring, 1962), 41-54; Cornelius Krahn, "Oklahoma," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia,* IV, 33-36.

The Puritans of the Netherlands

By Keith Sprunger

IN THE SUMMER of 1620 a group of exiled Englishmen —known to history as the Pilgrim Fathers—set off from Holland for England and then America. Traveling to England on the *Speedwell,* the party joined others waiting there; after weeks of discouraging delay and several false starts, the Pilgrim expedition sailed in earnest for the American wilderness on September 6, 1620. The Pilgrims went in the *Mayflower,* the *Speedwell* having been abandoned because of unseaworthiness. After two months at sea, the wayfarers at last sighted land, Cape Cod; next came a quick exploration of the coast and the choosing of a site for the new settlement at Plymouth. These events of 1620 have been often commemorated and reverently remembered.[1] Now, in 1970, the *Mayflower* lives again. Both in the Netherlands and in England, 1970 is the occasion for a 350th year celebration. Plymouth, England calls her celebration "Mayflower 70."

During 1969, the Netherlands paid tribute to some of her great sons: Erasmus, Rembrandt, and Arminius, among others. The Rijksmuseum memorialized the 300th year of Rembrandt's death with a major exhibit; Rotterdam honored its Erasmus in an exhibit marking five hundred years from his birth. A smaller exhibition of the University Library of Amsterdam focused on Arminius and the Remonstrants, 1619-1669. And now in 1970 come the Pilgrims.

Holland and the Pilgrims

The Dutch experience of the Pilgrims was the middle chapter of three, coming between England and then finally America. The story began in England among Separatists who took exception to the policies and practices of the established Church of England. The English church, although Protestant in its theology, was not a thorough-going reformed church because of its all-inclusiveness of the general population and its ceremonies smacking of the Roman Catholic Church. It was a compromise church designed to envelop everyone, to the distress of more eager souls who desired a full Calvinist reformation of the Genevan style. A large Puritan faction, working from within the church, ceaselessly maneuvered to force a further reformation; although disappointed and thwarted by official policy, most Puritans gritted their teeth and stayed in. Some radicals did not. Those who separated from the church in order to found their own thoroughly-Godly congregations were the Separatists (also called Brownists, after the first separatist, Robert Browne), a position in the eyes of the English government nearly as disruptive to law and order as Anabaptists appeared to be to continental rulers. To become a Separatist in those days, leaving the official churches and gathering into conventicles, was a risky and foolhardy and courageous act sure to bring persecution. Most early Separatists were eventually forced into exile. One of these illegal congregations grew up at Scrooby in Nottinghamshire under the preaching of Richard Clyfton and John Robinson. This group, which was compelled into several migrations, is the original Pilgrim church.

The Pilgrims, like most early seventeenth century English religious refugees, took shelter in the Low Countries. The Dutch, to their great credit, led the world in religious toleration after the Reformed Church had been established; they permitted sects of all kinds to live and worship among them, to the disgust of surrounding governments. Joseph Hall of England, the later Bishop Hall, condemned Amsterdam: "Loe, there is a common harbour of all opinions, of all heresies; if not a mixture."[2] For that very reason—to reach that welcome harbor—the early Puritan nonconformists became exiles in Holland. William Bradford, the Pilgrim leader who also became their first historian, recalled how "they resolved to goe into the Low-Countries, wher they heard was freedome of Religion for all men."[3]

The first Pilgrim exodus from Scrooby, England, to Holland took place in 1608; eventually a goodly company reached Amsterdam. After a short stay there, the Scrooby group in 1609 decided to move to Leiden, not however without some additions and subtractions to the original Pilgrims from Scrooby. Richard Clyfton, for one, stayed behind in Amsterdam. As the Pilgrim church took shape, John Robinson was pastor and John Carver deacon. Later William Brewster became ruling elder. The story of the Pilgrim Fathers in Holland is largely the story of the Pilgrims in Leiden, "a fair and bewtifull city." For the next eleven years (1609-1620) they held forth in Leiden; and even after the migration of 1620, the larger part of the group remained behind.

In Leiden the Pilgrims found the freedom of worship for which they had yearned. Their members grew to about three hundred. Pastor John Robinson, although preacher of a Brownist congregation, gave intellectual and religious respectability to their cause; he was one of the fine religious spirits of his time. Economically, the Pilgrims, who found their livings primarily in respectable but modest trades (especially textile weaving), fared moderately well. As a whole, they were not conspicuously successful but neither were they in open want. "And at length they came to raise a competente and comforteable living, but with hard and continuall labor," said Bradford. The center of their life was in the John Robinson house, located in the *Kloksteeg* by the *Pieterskerk.* The years passed, and in time the English aliens would surely have been completely absorbed into the stream of Dutch life, as was already happening.

But as every schoolboy knows, the Leiden Pilgrims became the American Pilgrims. The attraction of having a place of their own, even though in the wilds of America, glistened irresistibly. Having little capital of their own, the Pilgrims found backing in England from merchant adventurers, who agreed to finance them. So, when the opportunity of land in America became a real possibility, Robinson's congregation decided in favor of immigration. According to Bradford the reasons were pressing enough: their hard lot in Leiden, the temptations to their families in Holland, and more idealistically, "a great hope and inward zeall they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way therunto, for the propagating and advancing the gospell of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for the performing of so great a work."

In 1620 the *Mayflower* sailed, carrying one hundred and two passengers plus captain and crew. Only a minority were actually Leiden Pilgrims, but their religious aspirations colored the entire enterprise. Robinson and a good part of the congregation remained in Leiden. Although some later followed after, Robinson and many others never made the trip to America. He died at Leiden in 1625 and was buried in the *Pieterskerk,* honored now as pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers on two plaques placed by well-meaning American admirers. With the *Mayflower* began the great New England religious migration. Bradford wrote, "So they lefte that goodly and pleasante citie, which had been their resting place near 12 years; but they knew they were pilgrimes."[4]

Although the "Pilgrim Fathers" are the best publicized of the seventeenth century English refugees in the Netherlands, largely due to the enthusiasm of their American admirers, they were part of a much larger pattern of English religious migration, much of it to the Low Countries. There were in the Netherlands of the early seventeenth century about two dozen English and Scottish congregations serving dissenters, merchants, and soldiers. Many of these too were "pilgrims" for the sake of their religious views, but since most never made the move to America, or came much later, they are much less known and hardly ever commemorated. Nevertheless, the development of the religious views of the Pilgrims in Holland is hardly comprehensible without taking into account the broader religious environment.

Pilgrims and Anabaptists

When the Pilgrims arrived in Amsterdam in 1608, they were by no means the first English dissenters on the scene. Three other English churches already functioned: the Ancient Church of Francis Johnson, a rigid Separatist congregation which had come over in the 1590's; another was the English Reformed Church, meeting in the *Begijnhof,* a Puritan-Presbyterian congregation united with the Dutch Reformed Church; and the third was John Smyth's congregation, which met in Jan Munter's Bakehouse. Smyth soon adopted Anabaptist principles, moving him far to the left wing of the Puritan spectrum. These Amsterdam congregations represent the variety of religious views of English refugees—mainline Puritan, Separatist, and Anabaptist. The English Church of the *Begijnhof,* whose congregation dated from 1607, still survives and meets regularly in its original building. This English Reformed Church is one of only two English and Scottish churches of the Netherlands having a continuous existence from the seventeenth century. The other ancient British church is the Scottish Church (Presbyterian) of Rotterdam, established in 1643. In Amsterdam, by 1611 Johnson's church had torn asunder from internal dissension into two factions, the old part still shepherded by Johnson and the new group under Henry Ainsworth; the result was now four distinct Separatist groups in Holland (Amsterdam and Leiden) in addition to non-separating Puritans of various kinds.[5] The conflicting ideologies of the churches proved incompatible and led to frantic and unseemly controversy. One of the reasons motivating Robinson's congregation to remove to Leiden was to escape the turmoil of Amsterdam separatism.

In Leiden, the Pilgrims were again only one among other English communities. About two years before the Pilgrim arrival, a Scottish-English church in communion with the Dutch Reformed Church, financially supported by the city magistrates, established itself. Its first ministers were Robert Drury, 1609-1616, and Hugh Goodyear, 1617-1661. Both Drury and Goodyear were Puritans but of the non-separating type while Robinson, of course, preached separatism. Consequently, the two congregations, like-minded in many ways, lived apart from each other.

The religious views of the Pilgrim Fathers matured in Holland. Maintaining the proper stance among the various ecclesiastical establishments was important for Robinson, as it was for all the participants. For Robinson and his flock, it was an evolving experience. Originally, Robinson pronounced the usual separatist doctrine that a gathered, separated congregation could and would have no spiritual ties with the larger Anglican Church, including its non-separating Puritans. His attitude toward the established Reformed Church of Holland was less hostile but also aloof. Yet the Pilgrims, like most Separatists, were convinced Calvinists, supporters of the doctrines of the Synod of Dortrecht, and over a period of years this larger theological framework brought Robinson's church out of total Separatism and a few steps toward the usual Reformed and Puritan positions.[6] Robinson was prepared to smooth over many differences with the Dutch churches as well as with the non-separating Puritan brotherhood (not that these more respectable groups particularly cared to claim him, tarnished as he was with Brownism). The Dutch experiences went far toward moderating Robinson's views and consequently those of his church. And in the New World, Plymouth was the more ready to work with the non-separating settlements. Noteworthy also was the Pilgrim experimentation with democratic congregational life, which together with their voluntarism, gives the Pilgrims a role in the development of free church concepts.

Anabaptism was something else, however, and the Pilgrims could not so easly adjust to the new views of John Smyth, their former cohort now veering off into Anabaptism.[7] One of Holland's influences upon English Puritans was its effect upon Smyth, originally the leader of a small Amsterdam congregation of Separatists. Then he began to voice doubts. Separatism (eventually absorbed into Congregationalism) centered itself in the church covenant, a statement of purpose to which all members adhered when joining. The church was to be gathered by the covenant. Smyth ventured beyond Separatism to embrace the doctrine of believers' baptism, with its concept of a church gathered of adult, baptized believers.[8] In 1608, Smyth took the step of undergoing believers' baptism to supersede his infant baptism in England, and subsequently he rebaptized his entire congregation. What made the event the more notorious was that Smyth baptized himself. Not only had he become an Anabaptist—almost the ultimate degeneracy in Puritan eyes—he was a Se-baptist (Self-Baptizer).

Through John Smyth the English pilgrims in Holland, if not specifically Robinson's "Pilgrims," intersected with Dutch Anabaptism to give a richer tone to the mosaic. On second thought, Smyth repented of his bold Se-baptism and decided to join his congregation with the Waterlander Mennonites of Amsterdam, at least if they would have him. But part of his rebaptized congregation refused to follow in this new direction and departed from him. The faithful remnant petitioned to the Waterlanders for admission in 1610. Smyth died in 1612 before the union was complete. Not until 1615 were Smyth's followers accepted into the Waterlander brotherhood.

John Robinson's shock over Smyth's joining the Anabaptists is indicative of the official Puritan abhorrence toward anything Anabaptist. The Separatists were everywhere condemned, but one tag they refused to wear was "Anabaptist." In fact, as Robinson protested once against charges of Separatist collusion with Amsterdam Anabaptists, his only connection with Anabaptists was the common use of streets and markets, where all inhabitants of necessity must tread together.[9] Otherwise he would have nothing of these Anabaptists. The experience of John Smyth, however, does provide clues to the infiltration of Anabaptist ideas into Puritanism.

Altogether, the Netherlands was a crucial part of the Pilgrim story. When there was nowhere else, the Dutch cities opened themselves to these English refugees and tolerated their religious idiosyncrasies. Equally important, the Netherlands is where Pilgrim religion—and in part the English free church tradition—developed to maturity. Freedom to practice religion meant freedom to experiment and to innovate. The existence of a spectrum of English churches abroad, likewise practicing their religion, provided the environment.

In 1620, the first contingent of Pilgrim Fathers departed for America. Pastor Robinson bade them Godspeed, commending "them with most fervente praiers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutuall imbrases and many tears, they tooke their leaves one of an other: which proved to be the last leave to many of them."

1620-1970

Commemorating the *Mayflower* and the Pilgrims is a major undertaking this year in Europe. In Leiden, the *Strichting Pilgrim Fathers Herdenking 1970* is sponsoring a series of events which began in April with a ceremonial re-enactment of the handing in of the petition to the city magistrates in which the Pilgrims asked for permission to settle. Leiden also maintains a permanent Pilgrim Fathers Museum. In Amsterdam, the English Reformed Church has planned an exhibition. The English city of Plymouth is promoting a much larger celebration, "Mayflower '70," running from May 2 to September 30 and comprising 270 separate events spread over twenty-four weeks. This, says Plymouth, constitutes "the most ambitious programme of its kind ever staged in England's magnificent West-country."

But amidst the fanfare of 1970, one might well ask if the event of 1620 was really all that significant? It

is impossible to be so smug about the Pilgrim achievement—and implicitly so superior about the American experience of democracy and freedom—as were the orators of 1920 on the 300th anniversary celebration. Still, there is virtue in remembering brave and moving events; and Pilgrim contributions to democratic community life, toleration, and freedom of religion, however imperfect, were notable for the time. The "Mayflower Compact," the foundation of government in Plymouth, carried the spirit of all worthwhile government when the Pilgrims created themselves into a civil body politic "for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid, and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

NOTES

1. For literature on the Pilgrims, see, for example, H. M. Dexter and M. Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims* (London, 1906); D. Plooij, *The Pilgrim Fathers from a Dutch Point of View* (New York, 1932); and American Heritage, *The Pilgrims and Plymouth Colony* (New York, 1961). [Study in Holland for the author was aided by the American Philosophical Society and the Social Science Research Council.]
2. Dexter, *Pilgrims*, p. 420.
3. W. T. Davis, ed., *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, New York, 1908, p. 32.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
5. H. M. Dexter, *The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years*, New York, 1880.
6. Alice C. Carter, "John Robinson and the Dutch Reformed Church," *Studies in Church History*, III (1966), 232-41.
7. On Smyth, see Johannes Bakker, *John Smyth*, Wageningen, 1964.
8. Walter H. Burgess, *John Robinson*, London, 1920, p. 143.
9. Bakker, *John Smyth*, p. 61.

Books in Review

Ejected Visionaries and Utopians

Frederick A. Norwood, *Strangers and Exiles. A History of Religious Refugees.* Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1969, two volumes, pp. 496, pp. 527, $25.—.

Frederick A. Norwood has treated an unusually exciting topic and spent years in research dealing with *Strangers and Exiles* so that he dedicated the results to his "three girls Florence, Mary Beth, and Pam, who began to think that I had gone into exile."

The author tells the story of religious refugees and ejected pilgrims throughout the Judeo-Christian history. This is a two-volume "Church history" with a very unique purpose and an unusual framework. Those selected were individuals and groups standing up for convictions and ideals not commonly shared. They were the leaders or prophets, utopians, nonconformists, and mostly in the minority ejected by the majority. It is the story of refugees and martyrs, mostly for the "sake of Christ."

The two volumes constitute a unit presented in four parts and consisting of thirty-eight chapters. In Part I the author traces his topic through the Old and New Testaments and relates how the early persecuted church turned into a persecuting establishment which thus created "sectarian" refugees.

In Part II the Reformation and Post-Reformation Era is treated with questions concerning religious persecution and the resulting refugees, be they Lutheran or Catholic, Reformed or Anabaptist, Anglican or Puritan. This is the period of the emergence of denominationalism and some beginnings of religious freedom. The Anabaptists and other radicals have received more than their share of attention (chapter 16, "Radical Reformers," I, 411-48).

The second volume, Part III, "From Old World to New World (1685-1914)" begins with the "Jews in and out of the Ghetto" and presents the Huguenots, Waldenses, Salzburgers, and the Mennonites with a special chapter on the "Alexanderwohl Mennonite Migration" (II, pp. 139-73; 219-21; 226-34), and other "Immigrants and Refugees in America."

Part IV: "From Roving Refugees to Migrating Masses" is devoted to the age of disruption, World War I and II and totalitarianism and its victims. In additional chapters the upheaval and reshaping of the Near and Far East and the population dispersion around the world are presented. In the final chapters the stories of "Refugees for Conscience Sake" (including the Mennonites, II, pp. 426-39) and "The Church Is There" (relief and resettlement) are treated. The volumes contain charts illustrating some of the movements and migrations and a bibliography (pp. 479-511).

Generally speaking, one could say that after years of painstaking work, not many new sources and materials have been presented. Nevertheless, the approach and the arrangement of the overwhelming amount of information available is sufficiently unique to justify the labor and research and the publication of these volumes. Henceforth, anyone interested in the problems resulting from discrimination, religious intolerance, and religious and other wars will have a ready source of information in this book. The author has given us a handbook of information in regard to the birth of tolerance as well as the reoccurrence of intolerance, persecution, and martyrdom even in our day. He did not by-pass the emergence of new nations, the problems arising from changes of government and the resulting exiles and refugees. Those interested in the forces which bring forth global and territorial upheavals and the reshaping of the population will find these nearly thousand pages a very helpful source of information. It is also significant to learn in what way "The Church Is There."

BETHEL COLLEGE *Cornelius Krahn*

Communal Settlements

Hermann Schempp, *Gemeinschaftssiedlungen auf religiöser und weltanschaulicher Grundlage.* Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1969, pp. 362, DM 46.—.

This book deals with community settlements on a religious and philosophical basis throughout the history of mankind. Utopians and conviction-motivated visionaries reach out for the impossible and are often ejected from their disturbed and mistrusting environment. Schempp has undertaken a seemingly impossible task to relate and describe all major efforts in radical communal settlements from the earliest times to the present. After having presented his ideological base or thesis of the communal groups from the days of early Christendom to the various shades of modern socialism and communism, he proceeds to present the various forms of settlement. His major categories are "Sectarian Communism," "Settlement Communism," and "State Communism." He closes with a summary of results. In an appendix, statistical tables of most of the treated settlements are found.

Under "Sectarian Communism," the early Christian and later monastic communal settlements of the Middle Ages are featured. However, we soon find ourselves transplanted to the American frontier where such efforts as that of C. P. Plockhoy, Ephrata, the Moravians, Shakers, Amana, and the Hutterites are presented. The European counterpart includes the communal settlements of Herrnhut, Korntal, and the more recent efforts of Eberhard Arnold. Under "Settlement Communism," such groups as the Mormons, Dukhobors, and the Mennonites are described. The modern efforts in Israel, such as the Kibbutz, are classified as "Intermediate Settlements." In the final chapter, "State Communism," collective living in Soviet Russia and China are featured.

The contemporary Mennonite may be surprised to find himself, or at least his ancestors, as a part of "Settlement Communism" side by side with modern differently orientated ideologies. And yet the author states that as far as the "length of time and size of settlements" are concerned the Mennonites, including the Hutterites, rank first. The Mennonites lived "communally" in the *Holländer-Dörfer* along the Vistula River of Danzig and continued to do so on the steppes of Russia and the prairies of America. (See "Kansas Mennonite Settlements" in *Mennonite Life,* April 1970.) The author also traces some forms of communal living among Mennonites to South America (pp. 199-226). The Hutterites are treated under "Sectarian Communism." Among the 242 listed communistic settlements there are 156 Hutterite colonies.

The bibliography is impressive and helpful. Naturally, the inclusivenesss of the topic is of such magnitude that an exhaustive list would be impossible. It could be considered presumptuous to undertake a study on such a wide basis with such a great variety of utopian efforts in communal living. On the other hand, this approach presents helpful insights which on a narrow basis could not be achieved. This makes the many factions and groups of the present and future aware of the fact that ideals and efforts like theirs have inspired and led others to try communal living in many groups of all ages and at many places. Above all, it also gives those who have never heard of efforts to realize such utopian dreams a chance to get acquainted with them.

BETHEL COLLEGE *Cornelius Krahn*

Radical Reformers

Gordon Rupp, *Patterns of Reformation,* London: Epworth Press, 1969, pp. xxiii +427. 63 shilling.

This new book from Britain's foremost Reformation scholar is a major contribution to Reformation research in English. It will quickly establish itself as authoritative.

The book deals with three individual and one team of reformers who rarely get thorough treatment in major books on the Reformation. They are Johannes Oecolampadius, Andreas Carlstadt, Thomas Müntzer, and Joachim von Watt (Vadian) and Johannes Kessler. We have here a group of not second-rate, but second magnitude reformers with different approaches to the work of reformation from Luther, who still appears to be the norm. Rupp does us a signal service in letting the genius and force of these men come through, not by comparison but by a careful and always sympathetic examination of their work on its own merit. That was relatively easy with Oecolampadius and Vadian, but much more difficult with Carlstadt and Müntzer.

And yet it is precisely in the studies of these two men that Rupp's fairness most clearly emerges. For a long time Rupp has projected to his readers the feeling that for all the tragedy of his life Carlstadt was the "fool" at the Reformation court. Some of that emerges again, but never really to the detriment of Carlstadt. He gets credit where credit is due, as for example on pp. 105 and 118-119. The portrait that emerges is that of a man who wanted desperately to be more than he really was, making up in volume and noise what he lacked in profundity. All in all it is a careful, critical examination of his life and contributions.

The Müntzer chapter is much the longest of the four and turns out to be remarkably positive. Rupp shows Müntzer to be an imaginative and creative theologian in his own right, here agreeing with the judgment of Karl Holl. The chapter is an important contribution to Müntzer research, showing him to be essentially a medievalist in his theology, but a reformer nevertheless, especially in his liturgical work.

The reviewer is more firmly convinced than ever of the spiritual relationship between Müntzer and Anabaptism, especially on the basis of the discussion of Müntzer's view of conformity to Christ including the notion of the suffering of Christ in his members (pp. 285-292). This relationship is especially illustrated by Rupp's lengthy discussion of the relationship between Müntzer and Hans Hut (pp. 325-353), who depended on Müntzer at almost every point of his thinking.

The stories of Oecolampadius and Vadian-Kessler are much less dramatic but represent vivid and interesting portraits of men who worked quietly but effectively for the establishment of a new Christian order in Basel and St. Gall respectively.

Rupp is at his best in this book. He is always interesting; his narrative style even when dealing with technical matters never falters. Historians with such a knack for the right turn of phrase and adding humour withal are rare birds indeed. He describes William Farel: "This explosive person reverberated like an interminable jumping cracker [firecracker to American readers] as he bounced among the cities in the next months, in an aura of theological sparks and smoke" (p. 21). Müntzer is described as "one

of the most fascinating and tragic of God's delinquent children". He is also a brilliant translator in that he has a special nose for idioms. *"Verworfene Dienstmagde"* become Cinderellas; *"Ich meine, sie können dem Heiligen Geist eine Nasen drehen"* becomes "they cock a snook at the Holy Ghost" (they turned up their noses at the Holy Ghost).

He makes a very uncomplimentary comment about Conrad Grebel on p. 322. Perhaps if Rupp spent the time with Grebel that he obviously spent with his brother-in-law Vadian, he would modify that unkind judgment.

Two small errors caught the reviewer's attention: a misprint on p. 222 in line 27, and on page 180 the context suggests that in line 15 it should read "longer version" rather than "shorter version".

WATERLOO, ONTARIO *Walter Klaassen*

A Man and the MCC

Paul Erb *Orie O. Miller, the Story of a Man and an Era* Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1969. $7.95

Paul Erb dubs Orie Miller as both Mr. Mennonite and Mr. MCC. This characterization probably belongs more to Orie Miller at this juncture than to any other living American. He is the only man to have a continuous major role in the Mennonite Central Committee in the fifty years of its life. And the MCC has no doubt done more than any other single factor to foster unity and shape the nature of the Mennonite churches in the United States and Canada during the past half century. No group of Mennonites anywhere has lived outside the influence of the work of the MCC, and most of them would know of Orie Miller's work and influence rather directly.

While those of us who are not "Old" Mennonites may be aware of Orie Miller's contribution in the MCC, we may not be as fully aware of the many other areas of work and influence within his own brotherhood. The many faceted activities are suggested in chapters which describe his labors as an educator, in foreign missions, in peace work, and as a churchman. We may also be unaware of the extent to which his reach is ecumenical, as exemplified by his service in the American Leprosy Mission, the New York Biblical Seminary Board, and the National Council Division of Foreign Missions.

Paul Erb suggests some of the contradictions in Orie Miller's life. He points out how aloof Orie Miller remained from manual labor. Yet one of his basic axioms for building Mennonite unity was what he called "elbow theology." If Mennonites could work together elbow to elbow in service, they would grow together in theology. Some projects he justified on this ground alone, even if it were only in such tasks as washing dishes together at a conference center.

In other places Paul Erb points to the sophistication of the world traveler. It stands in constrast to the man who can burst into tears over frustration in reaching an agreement. In the same way Orie Miller could be ecumenical and could forget mistakes of workers, but he also had a strong sense of righteousness that could lead him to treat certain people as dead in the eyes of the MCC as a consequence of a moral lapse.

While Orie Miller was Executive Secretary of the MCC and while P. C. Hiebert was chairman all decisions were recorded as unanimous. This device probably supported an organizational unity when Mennonites often were unsure as to whether it was right to cooperate with Mennonites not of their own views. Some have wondered if a healthier growth would not have taken place if the Mennonite leaders could have faced and worked through their differences rather than glossing over the strains and tensions with a unanimous vote on every issue. The new era may be instructive, because it is clear that the differences will not be shoved under the table. The measure of the unity achieved through the Orie Miller era may well be the ability of Mennonites to acknowledge that they are not always in full agreement but still hold each other as brothers working together "in the name of Christ."

Paul Erb tries hard to give a fair and accurate picture of Orie Miller. At times he seems to be trying to acknowledge that the great man has clay feet and is not an idol made entirely of pure metal. Some of the intimate personal details raise feelings of uneasiness, posing the question of whether the demands of honesty need to go to such lengths when the stated purpose of the book is "to write a segment of Mennonite history as exemplified in this career. . ." (p. 7).

At the first Peace Section Assembly in Chicago in November, 1969, someone questioned the wisdom of some past decisions of the MCC. Orie Miller was large enough to acknowledge that he and his colleagues could have erred in their judgment. He did in turn ask who had the vision of where the Mennonite church should go in the future.

Anyone interested in a major segment of Mennonite history in this century and insight into a major personality who shaped it and was shaped by it will find the book interesting. The illustrations enhance the book considerably. An appendix lists the positions and assignments held by Orie Miller down to the present. The mere cataloging of these is impressive in terms of the growth of the church. By using the biography of Orie Miller, Paul Erb has put flesh on the bare bones of fact.

BETHEL COLLEGE *William Keeney*

Target, G. W. *We, The Crucifiers*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1969. 159 pp. $1.95.

We, The Crucifiers is a different kind of devotional book. It includes contemporary men, especially Christians, among those who continue to crucify Jesus Christ. The author indicts good people for their legal and respectable sins. The book is strongly evangelical and practical but avoids narrow fundamentalist and sentimental pietistic tendencies. The writer sees the cross as a symbol of what continues to happen in history but also believes in the uniqueness of Christ's death as God's atonement for human sin.

One of the startling and realistic parts of the book is the writer's detailed and vivid description of crucifixion and its modern analogy—death by the gallows, the electric chair, the gas-chamber, the firing squad, and others. The crucifixion is sober history, not abstract theology.

We, The Crucifiers is stimulating reading for Lent or any time. The book is disturbing but assures us "that, as we have Crucified Him, we may now know THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST."

NEWTON, KANSAS *Ralph Weber*

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

The Christian Press
159 Henderson Highway
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

MENNONITE LIFE
North Newton, Kansas

Annual subscriptions $3.00
Single copies 75 cents