MENNONITE LIFE

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CONTRIBUTORS:

CORNELIUS KRAHN, editor of *Mennonite Life*, spent a part of the summer in the U.S.S.R. about which he reports in this issue.

CHARLES CHATFIELD is professor at Wittenberg University, Springfield, Ohio. He presented lectures on this and related topics at the Gandhi Centenary Colloquium at Haverford College and at Bethel College.

ROBERT FRIEDMANN, a senior Anabaptist scholar and regular contributor to *Mennonite Life* and other periodicals, passed away on July 28, 1970.

GERTRUD PAULUS RENO lives in Goleta, California, and has close contacts with the Temple Church which she features.

ALVIN J. BEACHY, professor of Bible and Religion at Bethel College, recently accompanied a Menno Travel Service tour to the Holy Land.

JACOB A. DUERKSEN, formerly Chief of Gravity and Astronomy, U.S. Coast and Geodedic, Washington, D.C., now devotes his time to Mennonite research.

GERHARD WIENS, professor of German, University of Oklahoma, pursues studies in Low German and folklore, which are published in *Der Bote*, *Mennonite Life*, etc.

JAMES R. JAQUITH is professor of anthropology, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. He is doing research among the Old Colony Mennonites of Mexico.

MELVIN GINGERICH, Goshen, Indiana, recently made a tour of the Younger Mennonite Churches around the world.

CLARA K. DYCK has obtained her M.A. degree at the University of Manitoba in the field of German and English.

RUTH (MRS. ALLEN) EITZEN, Barto, Pennsylvania, is a writer and artist.

MRS. J. E. ENTZ (nee Anna Epp), Newton, Kansas, is the great-great-granddaughter of Mr. and Mrs. David Hiebert who entertained Czar Alexander I.

ORVILLE L. VOTH, President of Bethel College, presented "On the Quality of Discontent" as a baccalaureate address at Bethel College, May 24, 1970.

DAVID D. EITZEN, emeritus professor of psychology at the School of Theology at Claremont, presented a paper "Higher Education—Cause for Celebration" during the inauguration of Eldon W. Graber as President of Freeman Junior College.

FRONT COVER:
St. Basil Cathedral on Red Square, Moscow.

BACK COVER:
Lenin Mausoleum on Red Square, Moscow.

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With this issue the twenty-fifth anniversary of the editing and publishing of *Mennonite Life* is completed and commemorated. It begins with the article "Russia Revisited," which describes an event of great personal satisfaction. The observations and the illustrations are all based on this trip. ¶ Charles Chatfield makes an excellent contribution in his article about the American peace movement of the last decades. A book by him in this field is at the publishers. Not entirely unrelated is Robert Friedmann's presentation featuring briefly the fifty year effort of the Society of Brothers in communal living. The last days of Friedmann's life were devoted to this writing and to his interest in seeing his contribution published. ¶ Gertrud Paulus Reno unfolds a panorama of a branch of Russian Mennonites who aimed to establish a "Temple Church" as "Friends of Jerusalem" and who were ultimately transplanted to Australia. This fictionalized account is followed by a brief chronological treatment of this event. Alvin Beachy presents in a brief article the summary of a recent stimulating and challenging book written by Frank H. Epp on the topic *Whose Land Is Palestine?* ¶ J. A. Duerksen offers some little known facts about Russian Mennonite migrations under the title "Some Remained Behind." Gerhard Wiens and James R. Jaquith deal with Russian Mennonite linguistic and folkloristic peculiarities. Wiens has come up with a large collection of nicknames, while Jaquith is proposing plans for solving linguistic difficulties of the Old Colony Mennonites of Mexico. ¶ For the first time a scholar—Melvin Gingerich—has undertaken to locate and appraise archival records found in the "mission fields," or in Younger Mennonite Churches around the world. This should lead to a better appraisal of successes and failures when research is done in this field. ¶ Orville L. Voth analyzes in "On the Quality of Discontent" the present American scene, including the college campuses, from a Christian-Anabaptist point of view. ¶ The paper by David D. Eitzen was originally presented at Freeman Junior College and appears here in an abbreviated form. Mrs. J. E. Entz adds a folkloristic account to the history of the Mennonites in Russia.

Russia Revisited

By Cornelius Krahn

Moscow—Dream or Reality?

IT WAS LIKE a dream—was I really in Moscow? Were my eyes seeing imaginary things from the ninth floor of the largest Intourist hotel of Russia? What I seemed to see was the Moscow River flowing gently past the Kremlin wall to the right and a church with five golden onion-shaped towers to the left.

Gradually, it became an established fact that I had returned to my homeland and that I was now in Moscow, the capital of Russia. It began to seem as though the years since the time I left Russia had just been a few short weeks. Doubts and questions about the place where I was were now scattered by listening to the conversation of the passers-by or reading the inscriptions and signs. There was no doubt that it was the Russian language that we heard and read. Soon my fellow travelers and I joined in the use of this language. Words which seemed to have been submerged in the subconscious reappeared bright and ready to be used at this unusual moment. Russian is a melodious language. Thus, who would not want to hear it and use it as often as possible?

What had not all happened since I had left. Across the Moscow River from our hotel we saw an out-dated

The Moscow River flows gently past the Kremlin Wall.

The golden onion-shaped towers of the church next to the hotel.

The hotel "Rossiya" next to the Moscow River and Kremlin.

Under the smokestacks is a neon-lit slogan about "the electrification of the whole country."

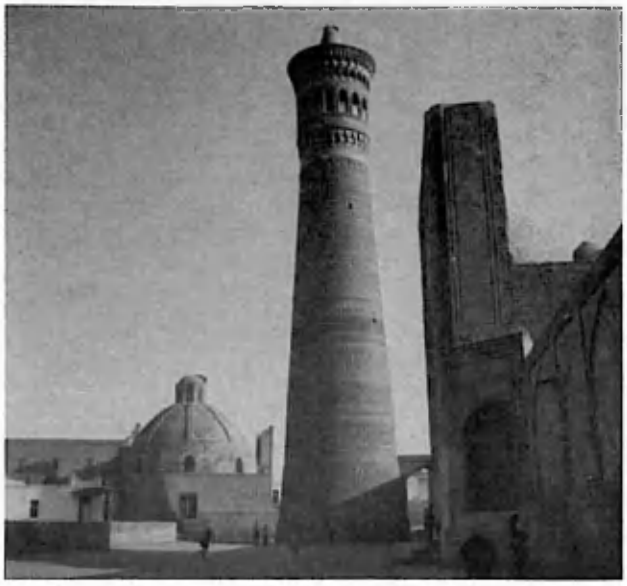
neon-lit slogan, "Communism is the realization of Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country." Why out-dated? Because that task has most definitely and fully been completed. The electrification of the country is today taken for granted as are the sun and moon in the sky. This could be said about many other promises and expectations of Marxian socialism in Russia.

The Blooming Desert

This Canadian-USA friendship tour consisting of some 40 fellow travelers, spent one day in Moscow to get the feel of the capital of the country and then proceeded to other cities. We left Moscow airport on an Aeroflot plane late in the evening and flew straight southeast some 3000 miles to Alma-Ata, the capital of the Kazakh SSR. As our plane descended through the clouds, we suddenly faced the rising sun over the Thien Shan Mountain peaks, some of which were snow-covered. They were magnificent and awe-inspiring. On the other side were nations such as China and Mongolia. This was indeed a very far away and a very strange country. The map tells us that there is a cluster of S. S. Republics of which the native population is Turkic or Mongolian. Some of them were observing their 2500th anniversary. Here one finds cities that are as old as the oldest centers of civilization, shrines of religion and castles of rulers either in perfect condition or in ruins—both telling a tale of ancient history. Some ruins date back to the times of Alexander the Great when he came for a visit. Here Mohammedan Arabs established themselves in the Middle Ages, creating an Arab-Mongolian culture. I was aware of it and yet surprised when I heard that at places about 10 percent of the population are Jews, who had joined the Arabs in their migration to Central Asia. Thus the tale ascribed to Roger Williams that Russia is of such magnitude and has such a checkerboard population that the ten "lost tribes" of Israel have likely been in Russia all the time and never lost at all. Genghis Khan and later Tamerlane made this a stronghold of their empire.

The visit of the old cities and capitals, Alma-Ata, Tashkent, Samarkand, and Bukhara, will remain unforgettable. The Soviet government and the local republic governments are in the process of rebuilding and preserving hundreds of mosques, castles, tombs, minarets, and madrashas, in addition to modernizing the cities, the agriculture, and the economy of these ancient countries. Here lived the famous scientist Ulugh Bek

Minaret and mosque—typical for Central Asian structures.



Mosque Bibi-Khanym in Samarkand under reconstruction.

A Yurta at the foothills of the Thien-Shan Mountains near Alma-Ata. The family makes Kumiss *(sour mare's milk). The girl on the left was bringing us two dishes for a try-out. In front we see the roasting of sheep feet.*

Typical sidewalk "tea house" in Central Asia. On the wide benches the Kazakhs sit for hours sipping their tea.

Some mosques, tombs, and cemeteries in Central Asia date back over a thousand years.

who, among many other achievements, discovered the length of the solar year in the thirteenth century to within one minute and two seconds of today's measurements. The performance of *Swan Lake* in Tashkent proved that the appreciation of Western culture goes hand-in-hand with the ancient.

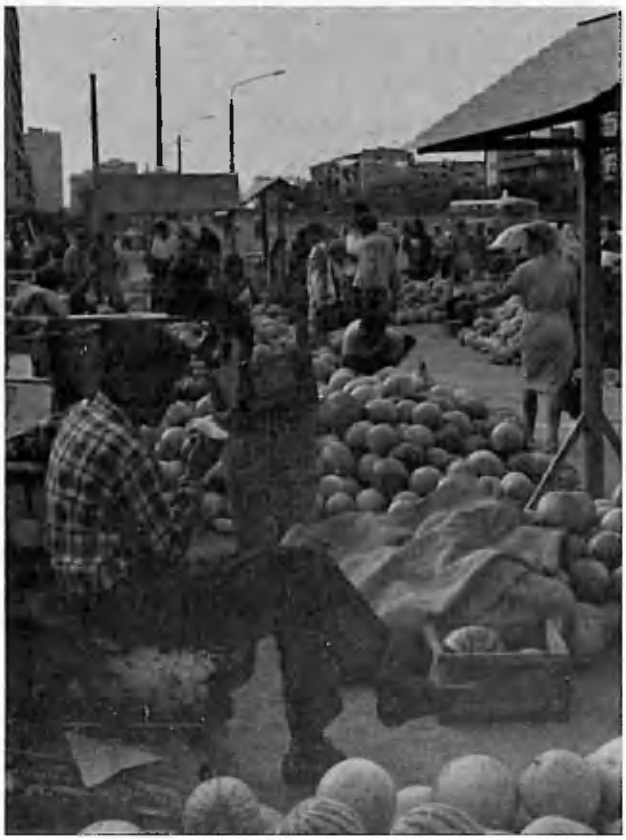
Before we proceed from this area located adjacent to China, Afghanistan, Pakistan, beyond the Caspian Sea, let me relate an experience we had in Alma-Ata. When we arrived at the Alma-Ata airport, we noticed some visitors who had spent the night there in order to greet their relatives among our travelers. That was an extremely touching scene. Relatives met for the first time in decades after many hardships. The Intourist bus took us from the airport to the hotel. How overwhelming was the sight before us! Some 50 to 60 people were standing at the curb with flowers in their hands. Some had come from far away areas to meet relatives. They had not seen each other for decades. When the bus stopped they burst wholeheartedly into the song, "Nun danket alle Gott" (Now thank we all our God). There was hardly a dry eye among the people in the bus nor those standing at the curb. I had immediately recognized two of my cousins with their children. Barely was the door opened and everyone located his relatives or friends. Only one more incident in this strange land.

Some of the fifty to sixty people who had come from far away places to meet their relatives at Alma-Ata.

Tashkent has a modern city interspersed with the ancient city. We visited one of the many kindergartens and a number of bazaars (*open markets*), *where watermelons were the most common produce.*

Intourist had arranged for the tourists and relatives to have a picnic in the mountains on the shores of the Lake Issik Kul. The next day the bus took first the tour members and then returned to bring their guests. Thus, the group settled down to visit along a swiftly flowing stream in a beautifully wooded area. Here we were in seclusion and "among ourselves" using High German, Low German, Russian, and occasionally English. In addition to the picnic lunch, some bought *Shashlik,* here known as *Shishkebab,* from a near-by "hamburger stand." It was most touching when a group started singing the old hymns which had been a comfort to those who were some 3000 miles away from their former Ukranian home. After they had exhausted their supply of hymns, they sang some of the old German folksongs they had learned in elementary and secondary schools. When they sang the song, "Wenn ich den Wanderer frage, wo gehst du hin," which was followed by the sad answer, "Hab' keine Heimat mehr," it touched all very deeply and made all long for that which they had lost or which they sought.

After our visit in Central Asia, the group departed via Aeroflot to Simferopol on the Crimean peninsula for a two-day visit of this beautiful semi-tropical place on the Black Sea. From here a train took us to Zaporozhe, the former Alexandrovsk, a center of the former Chortitza Mennonite settlement.



Zaporozhe

Soon we reached the large Lenin Lake, created in the Dnieper River by raising the water level to cover the rapids by the erection of a huge dam and a large electric power station. The trip along the lake was an unusual event. As in the olden days, the passengers were offered melons, fruit, and vegetables at the depots. After we had quenched our thirst, we were discouraged to drink water. Cases of cholera had been detected not far away.

After the arrival in Zaporozhe, we found ourselves in a modern city of over a half a million population which was celebrating its 200th anniversary. The original name of the city was Alexandrovsk. Among the founding fathers were some Mennonites who had established factories here. We had an opportunity to visit this industrial center in which the first Russian combines were built in 1938. Two Mennonite engineers received the high distinction of having Moscow representatives pin the Lenin Order on their coat lapels.

The next day we took a boat trip around the Chortitza Island on the shores of which Mennonites established the first settlement in 1789. We also saw the Dneproges electric power station which is one of many on the Dnieper, Volga, and other rivers. The chief engineer spent an hour telling us the story of this source of electricity and its use. In a matter-of-fact fashion, he related his story and then took us to a memorial at the dam. A simple marker showed the grave of an unknown hero. We were told that when the Germans were leaving Zaporozhe in 1943, they made all efforts to destroy the electricity producing dam. After the retreat of the Germans, a young Russian was found dead near the dam. In his hand was a sharp instrument which he had used to cut the cable through which the Germans had intended to blow up the dam during their retreat. They killed him when they saw what he had done. Standing around the marker of the unknown man, we listened to the sermonette of the engineer after which he invited us to bow our heads in silence. Was this a religious, national, patriotic or communist service?

The delegate Jacob Höppner was buried on his farm on Chortitza Island, where later generations erected a monument to his memory. The tombstone and the monument were visited by the Mennonite group, summer 1970.

The collective farm visited by the group had just built a new village and a paved street.

A Collective Farm

A very informative visit was a drive from the former Chortitza Mennonite village to a collective farm near Sofievka, not far from the former Molotschna Mennonite settlement. The land area of the farm was nearly 20,000 acres. It was started in 1929 and had undergone several mergers. The farm owns 40 tractors, 13 combines, 920 cows, and several thousand sheep, pigs, and poultry. There were 1721 people belonging to the collective farm of whom 680 are working, 640 are pensioned, and the rest are children. The workers are pensioned at the age of 55 (women) and 60. Education, medical care, and hospitalization are free. Each family owns its own house, has a garden, and possibly a cow or sheep, pigs, and chickens.

The collective farm chairman and four of his specialists in agriculture gave us some basic information about the collective farms in Russia. The arrangement between the farm and the government is based on a five-year contract. The government buys from the farm a certain amount of grain (winter wheat primarily), milk, silk, sunflower seed, meat, etc., etc. If the collective farm has produced more than the contract pro-

The milkers of the collective farm were ready for the evening milking.

vides for, the government buys the surplus for a double price or it may be sold at open markets. One could see how the mouth of the Canadian farmers started watering. After this introduction, the group proceeded to inspect the feeding of 400 milk cows. We saw the production of the silage, consisting of corn which was still green and other feeds mixed together. All this was done under trained specialists. When we asked the specialist about the history of the red cow, he said it was introduced by Mennonites and improved by breeding specialists. All breeding is done by artificial insemination. There were a few bulls but we were told they were out of tradition and for inspiration only.

After our visit, we proceeded to a grove, past beautiful fields ready for sowing winter wheat. In the grove we found a table laden with food. The usual salad, smoked tongue, borscht, stuffed peppers, steak, pastry and fruit were followed by coffee, milk, and honey. The Russian toastmaster was well-qualified to handle his glass swiftly and to express words of friendship smoothly.

Chortitza and Molotchansk

When the Germans in World War II withdrew from Zaporozhe and the Mennonite settlements of Chortitza and Molotschna, they took along the remaining population including the Mennonites. Little was known of what happened to the settlements and Mennonite villages in the Ukraine since that time. We were among the first to visit the centers of these villages at Chortitza and Molotschna. It was and still is generally assumed that the villages were mostly destroyed during the last war. This was not the case in Chortitza and Halbstadt. Driving through the village streets, we stopped wherever we found public buildings such as schools, hospitals, factories, etc. Many pointed out the homes in which they were born. I located the school I had attended. When I came to the place where I

In Rosenthal near Chortitza, the editor visited the place where he was born and the elementary school he attended. Between the two he crossed the Chortitza River, which still had ducks as in the olden days.

The backyard of the Chortitza Zentralschule (*secondary school*) *and the girls' secondary school. Teachers and students were just getting ready for the next school year.*

Lenin monument in front of the teachers' training school (Pädagogische Schule) *at Chortitza. It was still used for the same purpose for which it was built.*

was born, I found the brick structure had been replaced by a smaller building. The villages were kept about the way they were left by the departing owners. A later visit may make it possible to determine the actual conditions. The industrial centers were functioning in both Chortitza and Halbstadt (Molotchansk).

The trip to Molotchansk was unusual. It was a special. It was not on the itinerary. Nevertheless, because of a request it was made possible for twelve members to visit this former center of the Molotschna Mennonite settlement. The trip took us through the adjacent German Lutheran settlement, known as Prishib. We could easily recognize the former German villages and structures on the way to Molotchansk. There were no signs of deterioration or neglect on the streets nor in the fields, yards, or houses. Out in the open we saw one church which was not in use and in disrepair.

Through Intourist we had hired four taxis to make this approximately fifty-mile trip. The cost was only ten dollars per person. It seemed that some of the chauffeurs were more than just good drivers. Their stiffness melted when we arrived in Molotchansk where a friendly young man greeted us on the street and introduced himself as the chairman of the Soviet Council of the town (mayor). He was extremely helpful and showed us around. He was evidently delighted to have some contact with foreigners who showed interest in his city. When we parted after a two-hour visit, consisting primarily of photographing the landmarks of the town, our friend waved at us and said, "Until we meet again."

At this occasion it is in place to say a word about the Intourist services. They were good everywhere, but particularly so in Zaporozhe, where the interpreter and guide, Larissa, was extraordinarily understanding and helpful, as was her supervisor, Ivan Ivanovitch, who gave her constant support in her responsibility.

Back to Moscow

When our plane arrived at the Moscow airport, my wife, daughter, and I had a surprise. We had left Kiev before breakfast and were now ready for a good breakfast at Moscow. On our way, we met my brother and three sisters. On one hand this was expected and yet it was overwhelming. We had expected this to happen but did not dare believe it until it was to be reality. After all, a separation of over four decades becomes almost a permanent separation. One must get used to seeing and actually feeling the brothers and sisters. The first day was to get re-acquainted. In this process I had the embarrassing experience of seeing myself in the face of my brother. Although he is younger, it always seemed to me that I looked into a mirror when I saw him.

It was like a dream to spend three days with my brother and sisters—who had traveled more than two days from their home in the Ural Mountains—in Moscow in

It was like a dream to spend three days with relatives after decades of separation.

The 700-Year-Old Oak of Chortitza is a landmark under government protection. The marker describes its significance.

Water (Voda) *is one of the many drinks which one finds in the automats in large cities.*

The native Kazakh guide, Saule, receives through our tour leader, Gerhard Lohrenz, a token of appreciation from the group she accompanied during the three weeks of travel.

the largest hotel, facing the Kremlin and Moscow River. We made a boat trip together on the Moscow River. They were overwhelmed by the luxury in the rooms and the meals we shared together. They could not believe it when we walked through the interior of

One of the many churches of Moscow which the tour group visited. Many of them are being restored as national monuments of architecture, art, and history.

At the close of the service in the Baptist Church on the last day in Moscow, the congregation sang "God be with you till we meet again."

the Kremlin and saw the magnificence and splendor of Russian czars in a museum and the richest collection of Russian art in the Tretyakovskaya gallery. They could not grasp that all this happened to them nor could we believe it had happened to us. And yet, it was reality as it was to others who spent up to ten days with relatives in their homes. The last evening the whole group went to a Russian Baptist service. In closing the congregation sang in Russian "God be with you till we meet again." Some wiped their tears and all waved their handkerchiefs. The next morning we ended our Russian journey by flying to Winnipeg where we arrived in the evening. We had had a most memorable trip!

(*Those interested in a tour of Russia in the summer of 1971 should contact Menno Travel Service, 726 Main St., Newton, Kansas 67114 or the editor of* Mennonite Life *who has been asked to serve as tour leader.*)

Nonviolence and the Peace Movement: The Americanization of Gandhi

By Charles Chatfield

IN THIS CENTURY there has grown up alongside the ancient tradition of pacifist nonresistance a liberal pacifism which has coupled the repudiation of violence with a commitment to social change. Whereas earlier the tradition of the Peace Churches formed the context from which absolute pacifism was interpreted, today liberal pacifism is so pervasive in peace and reform movements that it forms the context from which many young people review traditional nonresistance. How did this come about?

The changing image of Gandhi in America may provide a clue to the transformation of the move-

ments for peace and social justice as they contributed leadership, constituents, techniques, theory, and problems to one another.

I

Mahatma Gandhi was endowed by American pacifists with a sainthood born of their own needs long before he wrought the miracle of a free India. The leading pacifist minister of World War I, John Haynes Holmes, first heard of Gandhi in 1917, and he popularized the Indian's ideas even before he read them firsthand. He used Gandhi as the text for sermons and articles saying that men could follow Jesus' way and still be politically relevant. He serialized Gandhi's biography in his *Unity* magazine beginning in 1926. He compared Gandhi and Jesus so often, indeed, that young Reinhold Niebuhr concluded, "his one absolute is Gandhi's perfection."[1]

As a matter of fact, for Holmes and his colleagues pacifism was an essentially religious faith. It was an eternal principle which almost conveniently was relevant to the search for social justice. Viewing Gandhi from that context, Holmes absolutized his way. He stressed its universality and he minimized the extent to which it was defined by time and circumstance. John Haynes Holmes first used Gandhi's image in order to assert the power of nonviolence, an assertion which was required because of the transformation of pacifism and the American peace movement during World War I.

Men and women who refused to sanction any war were limited before that war mainly to members of the historic Peace Churches. They were nonresistants, obedient to religious commandments, but not much interested in challenging the authority or policy of the state except where it impinged upon them as military service. They were ready to make their separate peace in wartime. The leaders of the established peace societies before World War I, on the other hand, tried to internationalize the policies of the government. But they never questioned its authority, even over their lives. They mostly represented or accepted the gospel of personal success. They valued private influence and public eduaction more than political action. They expected that rational rather than broadly democratic decision-making would replace war with arbitration, international law, a Hague Court, or other devices. They dominated well-financed organizations such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and they accepted war when it was declared.

A new peace movement gathered force in the United States when in 1914 fighting broke out in Europe. It was led by men and women who had been active in social reform movements of the Progressive Era—Jane Addams and Lillian Wald, John Haynes Holmes and Oswald Garrison Villard, Max and Crystal Eastman, Eugene Debs, and others. For over a decade they had acted in the belief that industrialism and urbanism were undermining the democratic process and the ultimate worth of the individual, and now they began to see that war was but a more grotesque threat to their liberal values.

Accordingly, between 1914 and 1917 they formed societies to oppose military preparedness and American involvement, to join Europeans in trying to mediate the war there, to provide constructive alternatives to fighting, and to bind in a protective fellowship all those who rejected war on religious grounds. They formed the groups which provided leadership and organization to the peace movement for over a generation: the Women's Peace Party (its successor was the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom), the American Friends Service Committee (A.F.S.C.), and the Fellowship of Reconciliation (F.O.R.)[2] Moreover, they attracted not only antiwar socialists, but also young men and women who were introduced to social conflict in the context of war and who virtually staffed the pacifist movement up to World War II.[3] These societies eventually were sifted of persons who would support the World War I effort so that they were left in the hands of a new breed of action-oriented liberal pacifists.

During the war pacifists, like traditional nonresistants, were subjected to intense pressures to conform. Their headquarters were raided, their meetings disrupted, their mail and literature censored, and they were threatened, imprisoned, and humiliated. Not only conscientious objectors, but anyone who questioned the justice or value of the war was subject to abuse. Pacifists of various political persuasions concluded from all this that war and authoritarianism were inseparable and equally objectionable.

War, they now said, was an essential part of an unjust social order. This was the fundamental perception of liberal pacifists in World War I, and it had two immediate corollaries. First, as they objected to war and authoritarianism, so their analysis of war was instrumental—what as a method it did. Second, as they viewed injustice as a concomitant of war, so they became committed to peace and justice. That development of thought can be traced in the biographies of such religious pacifists as Kirby Page, John Nevin Sayre, and A. J. Muste, of such conscientious objectors as Harold Gray and Evan Thomas, of such philosophical pacifists as Randolph Bourne and Max Eastman, and of such an antiwar socialist as Norman Thomas, who joined the Socialist Party at the dictates of his pacifist conscience.

How, then, did the peace movement of World War I help to fashion modern nonviolence? It provided leadership and organization for socially active pacifists, and it illumined the essential perception which they would explore for over a generation: that the cause

of peace and justice is, like the curse of violence and authoritarianism, indivisible. But the transformation of pacifism into a movement for social justice without violence required the assertion that there was power in nonviolence. That was why the image of Gandhi was important to John Haynes Holmes.

In his book, *New Wars for Old,* published a year before he heard of Gandhi, Holmes made a convincing argument that war could not bring peace, that force invariably creates counter-force and violent contest.[4] If men want peace, he said, they must find alternatives to fighting. Thus, although Holmes accepted nonresistance because it seemed right in itself, he recognized that in the context of the war others would accept it only if it were an effective alternative to fighting. Granted that peace was ideal and that nonresistance was in the world's prophetic tradition, still, what would it avail under fire? Holmes instinctively grasped the requirements of a pacifism which had been transformed by the war into an active force for peace and justice, but at this point he could only offer an assertion of the effectiveness of nonviolence. Gandhi became the name of that assertion.

II

Many pacifists shared Holmes's interest in Gandhi in succeeding years. They hailed India's non-cooperation campaign and the 1930 March to the Sea. Jane Addams and lobbyist Dorothy Detzer said young people should be "pouring" into India to learn nonviolence.[5] In lieu of that, pacifists created a literature with which to teach Gandhi, and their classic work was written by Richard Gregg.

Trained in law, Gregg had been in India with his brother-in-law for three months before the war. After his return to America he worked with labor, ending up as a statistician and economics counselor for the railway shopmen. In the midst of a nation-wide strike he came across an article about Gandhi. He read more, took courses in agriculture, worked on a farm for a season, and sailed for India again early in 1925. He spent the next four years there, including seven months at Gandhi's spiritual retreat. He returned to produce the analyses which culminated in 1934 in *The Power of Nonviolence.*[6]

The book is, of course, a classic exposition of the concept of *satyagraha,* the philosophy of social action which Gandhi was molding then into a powerful force for Indian independence. It was not written in the language of the Indian seer, though. It employed instead the vocabulary of social psychologists and even militarists in order to demonstrate that violence inevitably is self-defeating, and that the principle of nonviolence is in accord with western ideas about human nature and political strategy. For the most part it was theoretical and hypothetical. It presumed a sort of natural theology of pacifism; but it was valued more as an explanation of a form of social action. It seemed to demonstrate the power of nonviolence just when the movement had come under sharp attack from the political left.

For in the decade after World War I liberal pacifists had become involved in domestic reform as well as peace work. Their initial efforts were hesitant. They rather expected to Christianize the social order through good will and social intelligence, in the spirit of the prewar social gospel. They sponsored conferences, attempted reconstruction projects in Appalachia, started labor colleges. They provided supporting staffs for strikes and even joined picket lines. By the time of the Depression the Fellowship of Reconciliation had given official support to unionization and had field representatives in the midst of bitter labor struggles. Many of these persons became infected with a radical social passion. Some became active in the Socialist Party.

The deeper into the labor movement liberal pacifists got the more they found their wartime perception confirmed: social conflict could be resolved only by achieving a measure of justice. But what if justice could not be accomplished peacefully? If violence were necessary to end oppression, could socially concerned pacifists counsel peace?

That was a hypothetical question, but it could seem very real in 1933-34, at the bottom of the Depression, amidst a resurgence of left-wing groups, and before the great organizational drives of labor. The question split both the pacifist F.O.R. and the Socialist Party, as personality conflicts and factional divisions in both organizations revolved around the abstract issue of whether violence—it was expressed as class war—would be endorsed if it proved necessary to obtain social justice. When radicals put the question in that form they were able to demand loyalty both to the victims of oppression and also to a pervasive Marxist interpretation of conflict. In order to repudiate violence while affirming social justice, liberal pacifists made a distinction between coercion and violence. They assumed that nonviolence involved social as well as spiritual power, and therefore they welcomed Richard Gregg's apparent demonstration of that power.

Gregg was writing in the midst of this controversy and, as an F.O.R. council member, partly in response to it. His chief interest was "to get people to understand and use nonviolent resistance." His chief problem was to persuade people that "nonviolent resistance can really be powerful."[7] His chief contributions were four: (1) he put the discussion in terms of western notions of human behavior and social strategy; (2) he introduced the element of discipline to account for the power of both violent and nonviolent movements, and he joined group to self-discipline; (3) he made a tenuous distinction between violent and nonviolent coercion; and (4) he reintroduced the convertible

relationship of means and ends into the discussion of pacifist ethics.

This was all very important because it marked the thrust of nonviolence afterward. The essential thing for Gregg was to develop that "spiritual unity of mankind" which finds "its reflection in material things."[8] Any act which denies that unity is a violent act, so that coercion must be interpreted in relation to the means by which it is employed and the ends it serves. Ends and means, conditions and values, justice and peace are indivisible, Gregg said, so that coercion might be regarded (although dubiously regarded) as one step in the process of nonviolent action. That is to say, nonviolent coercion might be regarded as a part of the technique of redistributing power so as to reach an approximation of justice, so as to unite people. Gregg's analysis endured and became a model for handbooks on training and techniques of nonviolent direct action because it seemed to demonstrate, in the name of Gandhi, the social and political power of organized nonviolence.[9]

What did nonviolence contribute to the peace movement, then? Theory and clarity. At the same time that Gregg and the F.O.R. council wrestled with nonviolence and coercion in the labor movement, pacifist leaders were evaluating the use of economic sanctions abroad —against Japan in Manchuria, Italy in Ethiopia, Franco in Spain. Conventional measures had not secured peace, and many internationalists advocated collective sanctions as an alternative to war. About 1931 leading pacifists had done so. By about 1935 they had chosen strict neutrality instead because they believed that in the absence of international order economic sanctions would concentrate divisive world power and lead to war, rather than to the reconciliation of national interests. Liberal pacifists did not reject the use of pressure in international affairs; but they did reject the foreign policy analysis of collective security advocates. Moreover, they advocated forms of neutralism which they regarded as constructive, thus imbuing foreign policy with their principles of nonviolence.

The F.O.R. emerged from its domestic disputes a stronger, surer organization with a staff ready to take on larger tasks and a membership dedicated to nonviolence. It could not otherwise have been such an important political force in the neutrality controversy of the thirties. The neutrality controversy stirred the nation and brought new recruits to liberal pacifism, especially from college young people. Thus, the peace movement contributed a new constituency to nonviolence, because the young men and women who would take the next steps in nonviolent action were drawn from this antiwar movement. During World War II they turned to civil rights and there they tried to implement the power of nonviolence.

III

The Congress of Racial Equality was formed in 1942 by young pacifists who had been active in antiwar work. They were financially supported by the Fellowship of Reconciliation at first, their local chapters were usually formed around F.O.R. members, and their actions were emulated by conscientious objectors in the Civilian Public Service camps and prisons. In a half dozen years they developed many techniques which would be implemented on a broad scale in the fifties and sixties: the sit-in, the stand-in, the breaking of restrictive covenants, the freedom-ride, and even the March on Washington. Martin Luther King, Jr., had learned racism in the South, but he had learned of Gandhi in the North, and when in 1956 he stood out among the leaders at Montgomery there were at his side two northern apostles of nonviolent action—Bayard Rustin of CORE and Glenn Smiley of the F.O.R. When, for a variety of reasons, a mass constituency for civil rights had developed in the South, the conjunction of pacifism and Negro protest was no longer symbolic; it had become an historical force.

What, then, did nonviolence in the cause of racial justice contribute to the peace movement? Techniques of action, for one thing. Nonviolence was applied against conscription during the war in the form of walk-outs and work-stoppages in prisons, and afterwards in nonpayment of taxes, nonregistration for the draft, and even draft-card burning. It was applied to the nuclear arms race by pacifists who could be found climbing fences into restricted military reservations, picketing biological warfare centers, swimming out to Polaris missile submarines, refusing to cooperate in civil defense exercises, and trying to sail into nuclear testing zones. It was directed at the assumptions of the Cold War itself by pacifists who walked from San Francisco to Moscow and from Quebec to Guantanamo.

Moreover, the application of nonviolent direct action to peace work found organizational expression. It was among the ephemeral schemes of the Committee for Nonviolent Revolution formed from the ranks of nonregistrants and C.P.S. resisters in 1946. It was apparent in debates within the council of the War Resisters League in the forties. Direct action characterized the Peacemakers which organized around draft resistance in 1948, although a significant wing of that group viewed civil disobedience as an essentially personal witness after the manner of Henry David Thoreau. Nonviolence finally was harnessed by the Committee for Nonviolent Action formed in 1957 by A. J. Muste, Lawrence Scott, Robert Gilmore, and others.

The movement which Martin Luther King symbolized contributed more than techniques to peace work. It added a new organizational base. The organization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in 1960 formalized the protest movement then sweeping

through black students in the South and attracting white activists from the North. Within a half dozen years SNCC had been transformed into a large staff of professional organizers, many of whom had fed in turn into antiwar and youth movements as the Vietnam war escalated in American consciousness. King's own Southern Christian Leadership Conference provided antiwar leadership, and he lent the sanction of a Nobel Prize for Peace won in the civil rights movement to his eloquent indictment of the war. The analyses of leaders in the F.O.R. and the Peace Section of the A.F.S.C. had sharpened in the civil rights engagements, and some of them were prepared in 1966 to join with the War Resisters League in a broadly based coalition which launched the Spring Mobilization Against the War in Vietnam. They assumed that they could tap a new mass basis for implementing Gandhian nonviolent political activity. The politics of nonviolent confrontation appeared to be national.

Liberal pacifists did, in fact, help to tap a significant antiwar population, but they tapped an old dilemma as well. How can nonviolence be institutionalized in a world which accepts violence as a normal social function? That query has sharpened in the years since liberal pacifism left its home in pacifist nonresistance. Both wings of absolute pacifism historically have viewed war and authoritarianism as mutually the enemy, but liberal pacists joined to this perception the Progressive commitment to challenge injustice and violence in the realm of public policy. Historically speaking, those persons who have reached that conclusion and have acted upon it have not needed Gandhi's image any longer in order to assert or demonstrate the power of nonviolence for themselves; in a very real sense, and whatever their accomplishments, they have Americanized Gandhi.

NOTES

1. Reinhold Niebuhr to Kirby Page, February 13, 1932, Kirby Page papers, Southern California School of Theology, Claremont, California.
2. The F. O. R. was founded in 1915 and the A. F. S. C. was formed in 1917 in order to provide alternative service for conscientious objectors to war.
3. These must certainly include: Devere Allen, chief advocate of war resistance in the Socialist Party, and the leader of that Party, Norman Thomas; Frederick Libby, Florence Boeckel and Dorothy Detzer, who managed an influential peace lobby in the capital; Ray Newton, organizer of farm and labor sentiment for the A. F. S. C.; Kirby Page, the influential pacifist speaker and author of the interwar period; Evan Thomas, outstanding C. O. of World War I and chairman of the War Resisters League during the Second World War; John Nevin Sayre, never far from the center of the American and International F. O. R.; and A. J. Muste, active radical who became a chairman of the A. F. O. R. and "Mr. Pacifist" to younger pacifists in the Cold War, among many others.
4. Holmes, *New Wars for Old*, New York: Dodd, 1917.
5. Dorothy Detzer to Kirby Page, November 18, 1930, Page papers.
6. Gregg, *The Power of Nonviolence*, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1934.
7. Gregg to John Nevin Sayre, February 23, 1933, John Nevin Sayre papers, Nyack, New York.
8. *Ibid.*
9. See, for example, Gregg, *Training for Peace: A Program for Peace Workers* (Philadelphia, 1937), and *A Discipline for Non-Violence* (Wallingford, Penna., n.d.); Charles Walker, *Organizing for Nonviolent Action* (1961); and Martin Oppenheimer and George Lakey, *A Manual for Direct Action* (Philadelphia and Chicago, 1964).

Fifty Years Society of Brothers (1920-1970) Their Story and Their Books

By Robert Friedmann

HALF A CENTURY of communal Christian living on three continents during stormy years certainly deserves celebration and reflection along with a look at the books produced as testimonials of this daring enterprise. The Society of Brothers has good reason to rejoice and be grateful for such continuing witnessing to the spirit of the Gospel. This article is an expression of our appreciation for all that has been achieved in the face of nearly insuperable difficulties. I am glad to have Emmy Arnold's delightful book, *Torches Together* (1964), on hand. In this volume, the wife of Eberhard Arnold and co-founder of the brotherhood, tells the story of the inspired beginnings in Germany up to the critical year 1937, when the group left their native country. As I have been in close contact with these fine Christans since 1929, I venture to continue the story to the present.

Beginning and Spread

It was in June 1920 when Eberhard and Emmy Arnold decided to break all ties with the capitalistic society of post-World War I Germany, and to start a new form of living in togetherness, relying exclusively on God's guidance. Eberhard and his small flock of

House in Sannerz, Hesse, where the Bruderhof-Community began in 1920.

Eberhard and Emmy Arnold at Sannerz in the early years of communal living (1921).

Communal dining room at Rhön Bruderhof.

View of the Bruderhof in the Rhön, Germany, in 1934.

followers believed that they would find proper expressions of their vision of discipleship, purity and love. The Book of Acts, chapters 2, 4, and 5, was the model to be emulated. The beginning was difficult, with a stream of idealistic visitors and well-wishers but with very little money or help from any side. It is a miracle that the group survived and coalesced into a genuine brotherhood under the inspiring leadership of Eberhard Arnold. I have heard him many times and can testify to the tremendous power of his words and challenging ideas. After several years of groping, a chance opened at the so-called Rhön *Bruderhof* in Central Germany where the brotherhood consolidated in spite of difficult economic conditions. No one knew much about farming and the publishing enterprise which had been started earlier was not profitable.

In 1920 Eberhard went to America to visit the Hutterites, brothers in the spirit, to establish contacts and continuity in this Christian endeavor. It was then that he was ordained as "bishop of the new Hutterites" in Germany. He also received some economic backing for his work, now understood as a renewal of what Hutterites began four centuries earlier.

When Hitler came to power, it became obvious that he would not tolerate another absolute claim, namely, Christian radicalism. At first the Society tried to evade an open clash by establishing a second *Bruderhof*, called Alm-*Bruderhof*, in the tiny principality of Liechtenstein close to the German border. It was of little avail. Shortly thereafter in 1935, Arnold passed away, depriving the group of its prophetically inspired leader. Two years later the Rhön *Bruderhof* was liquidated by National Socialism. The brotherhood seemed to have come to an end.

Those who remained in Germany and Liechtenstein now fled to the Netherlands where Mennonites were hospitable to them. From there they crossed over into England where a new *Bruderhof* (Cotswold) was started (1937-1941). Soon, however, World War II began, making continuation of the Society in England precarious. The group was compelled to seek new shores, and Paraguay proved to be the only country which would welcome them and allow exemption from military service. Following the advice of their Mennonite friend, Orie Miller, they moved to this faraway country, gradually establishing three thriving colonies near Primavera. They existed there for almost twenty years (1941-1960).

However, no outreach into the main centers of the Western world was possible from Paraguay. Thus a search for a new home continued. In 1954, settlement in the United States began: an old mansion, Woodcrest, Post Rifton, near Kingston, New York, was purchased. This house is the present center of the Society. Here a toy industry was established which provides the needed economic basis for the group. Two more

Eberhard Arnold (on right) visiting a Hutterite colony in Manitoba, Canada, in 1930.

Bruderhofs were established, one near Farmington, Pennsylvania, called New Meadow Run, and one near Norfolk, Connecticut, called Evergreen Colony.

New *Bruderhofs* also appeared in England. The first was a lovely mansion and estate near Ludlow, later at Bullstrode, some twenty miles west of London. In 1966 it was closed down, the property sold to the World Evangelical Crusade, and the community moved to the United States. In Germany, the Sintal *Bruderhof* proved unsuccessful and was abandoned. In 1960, the Paraguay settlement was discontinued and the brethren went to North America or elsewhere.

Today, Woodcrest is the spiritual hub of the Society. But crises were not lacking. A number of former members decided to leave out of disillusionment, but new members and co-workers were won, and many of those who had left returned again, convinced that discipleship-living was the right thing for a committed Christian to do. Slowly, the group grew to more than a thousand, sharing goods and accepting the strict discipline of communal life. Emmy Arnold, now in her eighties, is the matron and rallying point of the Society. It is a great joy to be with her, and I deeply admire her spirit and dedication.

There are strong indications that the group will continue to grow and to witness to the Christian faith amidst a secular society which is sick and no longer offers ways of meaningful living.[2]

The Printed Testimony

Publication ventures have stood in the foreground of the brotherhood activities since the beginning. A group with a strong message, not unlike that of the Anabaptists, naturally felt the urge of mission and outreach. The Brothers wanted to broadcast the message of the Gospel, a message of discipleship and the realization of God's Kingdom in the present. Thus the printing of books and a magazine became urgent, in

Outdoor communal meal at Main House on Rhön Bruderhof (1934).

Emmy Arnold on wagon decorated for harvest festival in early thirties.

spite of all economic hardships. The first phase of the publishing venture occurred in Germany where the *Quellen* (sources), subtitled *Lebensbücherei christlicher Zeugnisse aller Jahrhunderte,* came to a premature end in the early 1930's.

Later in England and in Paraguay, a magazine called *The Plough* was produced from 1938 to 1960. In the Cotswold *Bruderhof* another publishing enterprise, "Plough Publishing House," was established and then discontinued due to the migration to Paraguay (1941). In 1963, its activities, worthy of admiration, resumed at Woodcrest *Bruderhof,* Rifton, New York.

It appears advisable to discover the spiritual roots from which these activities sprang. I believe that there are three roots which still provide the inspiration for the ventures mentioned: *Root One*: Eberhard Arnold's

View of Woodcrest Bruderhof at Rifton, New York, June 21, 1970.

Communal gathering in front of dining hall at Evergreen Community, Norfolk, Connecticut, 1968.

prophetic vision and rediscovery of both Old Testament prophetism and New Testament revelation of the Kingdom to come. The early Christian church (perhaps up to 150 A.D.) added further inspiration to this vision. *Root Two*: The work of the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, primarily that of the Hutterites with their emphasis upon communal living; and *Root Three*: The discovery of the works of the Blumhardts, father and son, little known outside of Germany, yet carrying a potentially explosive Christian message.[2] How are these roots reflected in the printed work of the Society?

Eberhard Arnold's Message

His message originated in a genuine Christian experience, what the Gospel of John correctly calls "rebirth." One must have heard Eberhard to realize what genuine inspiration could do. He spoke with the tremendous power of creative suggestiveness. Loyal friends often took his spontaneous talks down in shorthand, thus preserving the messages and instructions to the present. It was precisely this vision which in 1920 prompted Eberhard and his wife to move out of Berlin, and to try and return to a way of brotherhood and discipleship. It was a beginning similar to that of the Anabaptists in the 1520's.

At Woodcrest, all these prophetic addresses and table talks have been translated into English and are being published as the basic books of the brotherhood. *Love and Marriage in the Spirit* (222 p., 1965); *When the Time was Fulfilled. On Advent and Christmas* (215 p., 1965; this volume contains talks and writings by Eberhard Arnold, Emmy Arnold, Christoph Blumhardt, and Alfred Delp.); and *Salt and Light. Talks and Writings on the Sermon on the Mount* (309) p., 1967) have appeared. I am inclined to agree with the late Thomas Merton that these books have the authentic ring of Evangelical Christianity. Whoever reads them will be enriched in his spiritual search as they are "salt and light" for the honest seeker.[3]

Another book by Eberhard Arnold, *The Early Christians* (469 p., 1970), has just been published. It is a revised version of *Die ersten Christen,* Arnold's first volume in the *Quellen* series, containing some 350

texts of the early Christian witnesses, covering the period of 70-180 A.D., together with introduction and comments by the compiler. Next to the New Testament, these were the texts with which Eberhard felt most akin.

Evangelical Anabaptism

In 1925, Eberhard Arnold discovered an old Hutterite codex dated 1578[1] in the Ducal Library of Wolffenbüttel, Germany. Instantly, he recognized the inner kinship between his own Christian vision and that of the Hutterites four centuries ago. At first, Eberhard wanted to publish a complete edition of the Hutterite *Kleingeschichtsbuch*, but the critical situation in Germany in the early 1930's prevented the conclusion of this project.

Later, in England, the brethren discovered in the Library of the British Museum a copy of Peter Riedemann's *Rechenschaft unserer Religion, Lehr und Glaubens* (written in 1541, published in 1565) and decided to produce a reprint of this basic book. In 1938, a modernized German edition appeared, and in 1950, an excellent English translation was produced. A new edition has just been published.

The Society published English translations of at least four genuine Hutterite writings: Jacob Hutter's last epistle, 1535 (*MQR* 1960); Claus Felbinger's Confession of Faith, 1560 (*MQR* 1955); Article Three of the Great Article Book, 1577, dealing with *Gelassenheit und Gemeinschaft der Güter* (*MQR* 1957); and a modern paraphrase of Andreas Ehrenpreis' *Sendbrief* of 1650 (*MQR* 1960).

Works by Blumhardt, Father and Son

Both Christoph Friedrich Blumhardt (d. 1880) and his son, Christoph Blumhardt (1842-1919) were Lutheran ministers in Southwest Germany. They leaned towards a pietistically tinged *Gemeindechristentum* in which the main emphasis was on the transformation of life through faith. As Vernard Eller pointed out in his *Christian Century* article, 1969, their main contribution appears to have been a "theology of hope," as it it called today. While American Protestantism paid little attention to the work of the Blumhardts, Europeans took notice. Men like Karl Barth, Hermann Kutter, Leonhard Ragaz, Paul Tillich, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer were deeply influenced by the work of the younger Blumhardt.

It was in the small resort Bad Boll in Württemberg that the Blumhardts began discipleship-living with their followers. They were not fully organized nor did they practice a community of goods. They considered their group as a preparation for the expected coming of the Kingdom in the here and now. It was this experiment which attracted Eberhard Arnold to the Blumhardt message.

In recent years the Society of Brothers decided to make this message better known in the English speaking world. They translated a selection of Blumhardt's sermons with a helpful introduction by R. Lejeune of Zurich, editor of Blumhardt's writings. The book is entitled *Christoph Blumhardt and His Message* (238 p., 1963).

In 1969, a second smaller volume was produced by the Plough Publishing House entitled *Action in Waiting*. It combines an essay concerning Blumhardt written by Karl Barth in 1916 with a brief meditation by Christoph Blumhardt called "Joy in the Lord" (referring to Phil. 4:4-9). Here then we find a positive tone which brightens our mood of despair.

These are the books presented to us at the end of the fiftieth year of the Society of Brothers. They contain a message which all true seekers will gladly receive. The story and the books are a challenge and a comfort; the assurance that whoever seeks the spirit in true dedication will find it.

FOOTNOTES

1. The *Mennonite Encyclopedia* contains two pertinent articles: "Eberhard Arnold" in Vol. I, 162-4, with bibliography, and "Society of Brothers" in Vol. IV, 1126-7.
2. Vernard Eller, "Blumhardt, Father and Son," in *Christian Century*, October 8, 1969.
3. Two smaller addresses of Eberhard Arnold were published last year: "History of the Baptizer Movement in Reformation Times," in *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 1969, 213-239; and "The Spirit of the Risen Lord," in *Mennonite Life*, 1969, 142-3.
4. For details see article "Hasel" in *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, II, 262-3, and R. Friedmann, *Schriften der huterischen Taeufergemeinschaften* (Vienna, 1965, 63 f.).

Barbara

By Gertrud Paulus Reno

ONCE UPON A TIME—these words sound as though a fairy tale were to follow. But even "once upon a time" fairy tales were new! Once upon a time there was the original happening, the original telling by one whose voice vibrated with the impact of recent experience. And here is the story of Barbara.

Barbara Schmidt of Steinbach, South Russia, eleven years old (sketched by author).

"It is a pity to have her grow up!" Nikolai Schmidt of Steinbach, South Russia exclaimed. "Our little *Kukla* (doll), the last one of our babies."

"What a dreadful thought," his gentle wife said in a shocked voice. Nikolai fondly stroked the obstreperous brown curls back from the child Barbara's forehead as her mother continued in a firm voice. "But of course she must grow up. We'll send her away to school. She'll get married and have children. Of course she will grow up."

Barbara stared at her parents with large dark eyes and blushed, for it wasn't the custom in Mennonite families to make a child the center of a discussion. Not when the child was present.

"Maybe we could take her with us on our next shopping trip to Odessa," Mother Schmidt said in a more conciliatory tone.

"That's a splendid idea. You see, this English wool merchant I am meeting at the Hotel *K* mentioned in his letter that he is planning to bring along his eleven-year-old daughter. The girls can entertain each other." Turning to his wife, Nikolai continued. "There is much business Mr. Graham and I will have to discuss. With the fortunate extention of our grazing lands I hope to increase our flocks—perhaps to forty or fifty thousand head. As I've told you, Katharine," Nikolai went on, "he says in his letter that the plant in Manchester can use any amount of the fine quality wool such as they received from us last year."

"I am eleven years old," interrupted Barbara.

Traveling to Odessa

The journey to a city the size of Odessa was a three day affair. Several teams of horses were required to pull the coach in which the women could ride with some measure of comfort. At least one guard on horseback rode beside the main carriage because of the precarious terrain. With scarcely any road at the beginning of the trek, rivers to ford, and sudden hills and inclines, the family wagon had to be sturdy and yet not too cumbersome. All along the way rest periods with tea were indispensable and almost ceremonial. There could hardly be any traveling without many helping hands to take care of necessities such as bedding, clothes and dishes.

When camp was made at night several men always took turns watching out for signs of danger. Barbara never forgot the eerie wail of wolves held at bay by the camp fire.

Danger threatened them in the daylight hours as well as the nighttime. One afternoon the travelers were alarmed by the sudden appearance in a cloud of dust of shaggy wild horses, trampling and snorting alongside their own startled teams. The guards shouted and cracked their whips, desperately urging the racing teams on to greater speed in order to escape the unwelcome pursuers. The carriage swayed wildly back and forth.

Barbara pressed her handkerchief against her mouth to choke back her screams of fear. Then she heard the calm voice of her father. "You must understand that there really aren't any wild horses," he explained to her older brother Nikolai, Jr. Dumbly, Barbara pointed to the slowly disappearing horde in protest at her father's statement.

"Probably descended from tame horses. Escaped from long forgotten battlefields, and other runaways," said her brother as though he had known this interesting fact all along.

A rest stop had to be made at the next convenient location to calm their trembling beasts. A rub-down and feed would surely restore the faithful animals, not to mention a comforting cup of tea for the rest of the party. Life was exciting, thought Barbara, with constantly new surprises.

When the Schmidts finally reached Odessa the two young girls were introduced in the plush lounge of the famous old hotel. Barbara found herself suddenly speechless. A timid handclasp and slight hasty curtsy. Painfully bashful, she kept her eyes on the carpet. The fathers talked quite fluently in Russian so no one had anticipated that the girls would have a language barrier!

They were taken to a little alcove with a small table and chairs where dainty cakes were served with ice cream. Barbara forgot some of her shyness in the excitement of sampling her first taste of ice cream. She decided she did not care for this delicacy, but she did make up her mind to learn English.

In School

School had been very important to Barbara ever since her first day there when she was five. Although so young, she had been given permission to attend perhaps because she had made a nuisance of herself at home with her eagerness to learn to read. Every bench and chair in the huge school was occupied. Friedrich Lange, Barbara's first teacher, maintained near perfect control of the crowded room through his outstanding kindliness and his talent for imparting knowledge. As a teaching device the monitor system was employed, thus making it possible to meet the requirements of the many different levels of achievement in the various subjects. Soon even Barbara was able to hear others recite their lessons. Her chief difficulty was her extreme shyness. However, a big boy—that is, big in comparison to a five-year-old—who sat across the aisle from her helped to overcome this trouble. This was Wilhelm Neufeld who later was to be known throughout the Mennonite denomination as a genuine friend to all.

This school at Gnadenfeld was directed and maintained by the Mennonite community. Already elementary Russian subjects had been introduced, particularly reading, writing, and the grammar. In addition there were all the usual school subjects in German plus religious instruction. Hymns and psalms were learned by rote. Trite sayings and words of wisdom used in penmanship practice, rules of grammar, and much mental arithmetic stayed with Barbara in her mind: years later she could rattle them off at will. She could also readily recall a great number of hymns and Scripture selections which served as a solace and comfort to her. Somehow it seems to prove the efficacy of the teaching methods of that time. And Barbara did love school. An abacus—a memento which she had saved many years—was always a curiosity to her children.

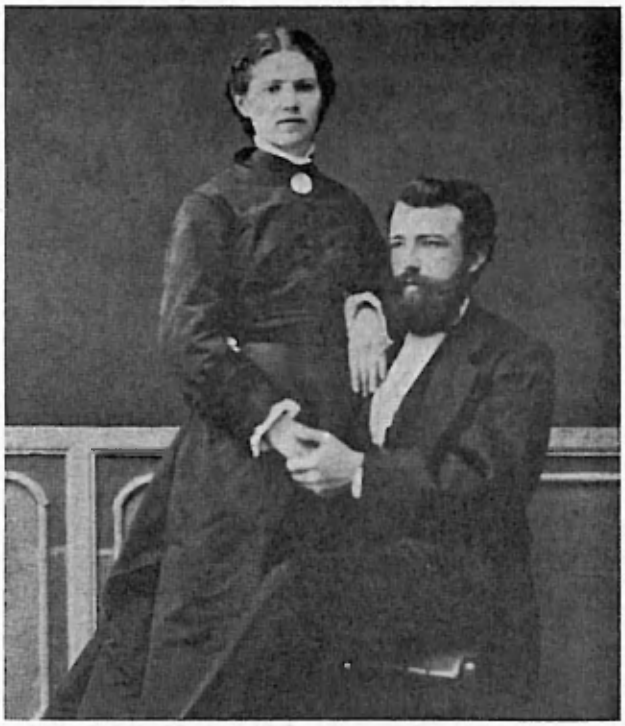
Life at the Kuban River

When the virgin land of the North Caucasus region on the Kuban River was first offered to the diligent Mennonite agriculturists of the Molotschna settlement for merely a few kopeks per acre, Nikolai and his family had been among the first to accept. They were exemplary settlers and remarkably successful.

Barbara had a happy innocent childhood even after the Nikolai Schmidt family had moved from Molotschna to the North Caucasus. Time for play during the summer season was almost endless: Barbara and her sister Marie wandered far over hilly fields and meadows. There were wooded areas, too, where along the edges a profusion of wild berries grew. Strawberries of a quality and aromatic flavor never again encountered anywhere. Blond and blue-eyed Marie was sturdier and more courageous than Barbara. The sisters explored along the creeks and bounced on the planks the maids used for the washing or for bleaching the new linen supplies which they spread on the green banks. They laughed and sang together.

"Your school work this summer will be to learn to milk a cow, and you will be taught to scrub a floor!" Mother Schmidt announced one day. "No one knows what the good Lord has in store for you." And indeed, many years later in Kansas Barbara showed her children how to milk a cow when the Peter Dyck family presented them with a gentle bovine named Beauty.

A number of cottages and small buildings surrounded the main dwelling or homestead, all spaced apart at



Barbara's Wedding Picture. Married to Christopher Paulus, 1878.

convenient distances for both privacy and protection. Here lived "faithful and devoted" hands with their families: the blacksmith, the gardener, and the carpenter; skilled people all extremely necessary for the operation of the Schmidt's estate. The less skilled—the kitchen and the stable help—they too had their places and quarters. Barbara always noticed the friendly relationship between the workers and her parents; any ill will was unthinkable in those days.

Nikolai Schmidt did not neglect his children's happiness. The blacksmith, Tchaikovsky by name, fashioned a swing or merry-go-round for them. In the center a tall sturdy pole supported a wheel from which ropes were hung. These ropes had handholds within easy reach for the youngsters to grasp on the run, and they would swing around until their toes hardly touched the ground. Pet twin fauns found forsaken in the forest enjoyed this game immensely, each loping close to his own mistress. It was a play consuming many happy hours.

On another occasion Nikolai Schmidt brought home a black wooly bear cub acquired from a gypsy band he had encountered on his way to the city. The fun and laughter the cub Bruno caused with his cute and clumsy antics were endless. He played with kittens and puppies, jumping out from behind doors or peeking out from under a purloined newspaper, gleeful at the surprise he caused. Bruno was hand-nursed as were all the other motherless pets. They all slept in a far corner of the kitchen, which naturally was in a separate building for it housed the great built-in stove and ovens. This huge kitchen and workroom made a cozy corner for these creatures.

The Nikolai Schmidt family and several other families had established themselves in a region which had a miraculous fertility of the soil and other happy circumstances, making it seem that they were especially blest. They held fast to the Mennonite faith: a positive approach conscientious objection to military service; affirmation instead of the oath; and baptism undergone voluntarily as a pledge and testimonial rite. These were some of the beliefs for which they were once driven across the face of Europe, persecuted, vilified and put to death. Now, in the North Caucasus they were finally blessed with this bountiful and peaceful life.

Nikolai Schmidt pondered their spiritual condition and development. He realized the importance of education—his own had been insufficient. But how could one discover a good balance between the lack on one hand, and worldliness on the other? Assuredly, the Bible should remain the source of spiritual guidance. His mind and heart filled with these and similar ideas, Nikolai assisted more and more often young men in their efforts to seek university training in Switzerland, Germany, and Moscow. He also helped with the planning of hospitals and better schools.

Barbara remembered this benevolence of her father's, having observed it while sitting quietly with her mother doing needlework. Her father kept no records of aid given to others. A hearty handclasp, that was all. The eager and grateful expression on the countenance of the young student required no promises. They all had the best intentions, and made repayment if and when possible. This had always been the Mennonite way.

And God blessed the undertakings and the holdings of these people who had had the courage to settle on the new land. Their wheat fields stretched out for miles and miles, and the happy flocks of sheep numbering many thousands grazed peacefully on far-flung green pastures.

Sheep Shearing

Barbara delighted to tell about the sheep shearing. This project called for great accuracy and a delicate sensitivity, and these special skills were often found among the Cherkess tribesmen. A chief or headman made all the arrangements well in advance. It was a sight to see their caravan ride in on the appointed date—as though they were storming a fort! The skilled workmen rode first seeming "all of a piece" with their horses. Then followed the wagons with the families and the camp equipment. The women were famous for their beauty, it was said. However, being Moslems they went about veiled.

The actual shearing, akin to an exotic dance, seemed to be all rhythm. With magical speed a sheep was grabbed by its hind legs with one hand while the other deftly inserted the shears into the fleece. Then one-two-three twists of the wrist and the fleece fell away one snow white piece! A couple of weeks passed and the job was done.

The headman appeared in the office where Nikolai Schmidt already awaited him and presented a bill which—according to Cherkess custom—was about double the agreed upon price. Schmidt never haggled. He had anticipated the amount and held it ready. The headman smiled from ear to ear; he liked doing business with this man. He bowed his way out, leaped on his sturdy horse, and galloped away.

Sadly Nikolai looked after the Cherkess. It was known that in the sixth century they had accepted Christianity but then adopted Islam in the eighteenth century. The Cherkess people resided in the upper valley of the Kuban River where they fought against the Russians almost constantly. The quieter times were due to the fact that many had left to live in Turkey and Palestine. The remainder were fierce and wild with a reputation for horse-thievery and kidnapping maidens.

A Storm

No place, it has been said, is the sky arched so high, the horizon so far out, and the plains so endlessly far-reaching as right here in this part of Russia. The effect is overpowering. And never is this felt with such force as immediately preceding a summer storm. Suddenly the sky is black except for the faint distant flickering of lightening around the horizon. And when the thunder starts gently and melodiously rolling, the beauty is hypnotic.

Barbara and Marie put down their sewing. Although still early in the afternoon the room was dark. They looked at each other.

"I wonder what the mill pond is like now," Barbara said.

"Waves must be quite high and the boat bouncing!" laughed Marie in excitement.

"We could make music on our guitars," suggested Barbara.

"To go with the thunder," Marie added.

No one saw them leave the house with their guitars and run down to the pond. The boat swayed so precariously that it was tricky getting into it. They did not bother to do any tuning—everything went up and down in jerks and starts.

"We won't untie it. It will be just as much fun this way." Marie's hands were still on the landing post fumbling with the rope when a large hand covered her own. Barbara was sitting tight, holding both guitars. Neither of the girls had noticed Nikolai coming towards them with his firm stride.

"What a reckless, foolhardy thing to do!" their father said sternly and motioned for them to hurry home for shelter. "Tempting God!" And after a pause: "Tempting Providence!"

And that was exactly what people said when Nikolai and Katharine Schmidt made their great decision to give up this "almost-paradise," this enterprise limitless in its scope, so beautiful, profitable, and promising to be beneficial to them all. Relatives and friends alike shook their heads.

Friends of Jerusalem

In later years Barbara often felt called upon to explain this step her parents had taken which changed the entire course of their lives. The idea of gathering the "children of God"—of founding colonies among Christians who had seriously dedicated themselves to the establishment of the Kingdom of God here on earth —had appeal among many spiritual-minded people in the mid-nineteenth century. This idea was stressed in the *Warte*, a religious magazine edited by Christopher Hoffmann in Germany and which found its readers in many religious communities in Germany, France, Switzerland, South Russia, and even in America.

Hoffmann was a dynamic teacher and lecturer. Young Mennonite men who studied with Nikolai's assistance in Germany now returned to Russia imbued with vital convictions concerning the gathering of God's children. This resulted in a spiritual movement which took concrete form in 1866, when the first Temple colonies or churches were founded in South Russia.

"Let me tell how it happened that my parents became involved with the Temple colonization movement," Barbara invariably remarked when this subject came to the fore. She was fifteen at that time and old enough to grasp some of the deeper meanings of happenings around her.

"Father was just leaving for his daily inspection tour when a carriage drove up towards the house. Father stopped to meet the occupants and asked them in. Two impressive gentlemen came in with Father, who introduced them to Mother. Soon we heard that they were from Jerusalem in the Holy Land where they were engaged in gathering the children of God according to Scripture. It seemed a sincere empathy was established at once between them and the entire household. Their names were Christopher Hoffmann, son of the founder of Korntal, and Christopher Paulus, one of the six sons of the famous Beate Paulus and formerly of the Salon School for Boys. They were hoping to arouse interest among devout and sympathetic Mennonites in the building of a Temple colony in Palestine.

"There was a great need in Palestine for experienced agriculturists, and the observant visitors were impressed by their tour of the Nikolai Schmidt estate. They saw the building in progress and the mill run by a turbine

Jerusalem in 1920. The Friends of Jerusalem settled here.

motor—perhaps the first in Russia. They appreciated the well organized establishment and invited Nikolai to visit the Temple colony at Jaffa in Palestine. They described the condition of the land there as realistically as possible: while shamefully neglected by the Turkish government and pitiful in its needs, it also possessed a mysterious beauty that had fascinated mankind almost from the beginning of time.

"You should see the fields as Jesus saw them after the rains," Hoffmann said in a voice that vibrated with his love for Palestine. "The countryside is ablaze with dazzling color: flowers of many kinds. That is what Jesus saw when he said: 'Solomon in all his glory. . . .' "

"Relatives, friends and neighbors filled the house to have a glimpse of the travelers from the Holy Land and to ask many, many questions. In the answers it was stressed that there was a need for skilled men; not only agriculturists, but artisans and builders as well. Matthäus Frank was there, the builder of the mill with its turbine-driven wheel. Like others present, he made his decision. Palestine was a hope and a challenge, and life gained a new dimension when at evening prayer the prophetic words were read: 'And they shall beat their swords into plowshares.'

"It was so real to us," Barbara would pause in the telling. "There was the land of all these promises! And it was lying abandoned under hostile rule. We all comprehended the need. We saw how welcome we should be. Not everyone present that evening was able to go, but everyone was interested."

Nikolai Schmidt's visit to Palestine was a prolonged one. He helped to lay out the colony just outside the Jaffa Gate of Jerusalem. He built several houses and laid the cornerstones for others. These stone structures with red-tiled roofs included his own house where he planned to bring his family, and a grain mill to be run by Matthäus Frank who married Barbara's older sister. And the school, called "Institute," was nearly completed before he thought of returning to get his family. Because the district was the Rephaim Plain, the colony received the name of "Rephaim." and the first baby born there, a daughter of Nikolai, Jr., also had the name "Repha."

Upon returning to Russia, Nikolai Schmidt was confronted with an excess of transactions which needed to be concluded before they could set out for Palestine. In his desire to be both just and generous, he found himself planning and checking out innumerable obligations from dawn till dusk. But Nikolai, Jr., was of immeasurable assistance to his family. Barbara had only recently passed her sixteenth birthday, and Marie was secretly engaged to Dietrich Dyck, a young college student.

The voyage by ship from Odessa was known to be a dangerous one, for the Black Sea was a treacherous waterway. Verifying its reputation, a terrifying storm arose on the Black Sea, lifting their ship above the waves only to hurl her down again into bottomless pits and chasms. While administering to his family, Nikolai became suddenly ill with pneumonia and died, but not before his wife promised solemnly to take the family to Jerusalem. Young Nikolai somehow induced the captain to turn the ship about and anchor at Taganrog, where the beloved father and husband was laid to rest. Going back to the old home at the Kuban, they waited a year before once again undertaking the journey to Jerusalem. Nikolai Schmidt, Jr. bravely assumed his father's place, though Katharine Schmidt supervised gently to see that her husband's wishes were carried out.

The impact of the first wondrous sight of the Holy Land, especially Jerusalem and its environs, has been remarked upon and praised since early history. God took Moses by the hand on a high mountain top and pointed the glorious sight out to him. Jesus looked upon Jerusalem and wept. Godfrey of Bouillon refused the crown where his Lord had worn the crown of thorns. Forever admired and coveted and fought over, only to be laid desolate again!

The exact number of Mennonites who joined the Templers would be hard to calculate definitely. Those who came to Palestine and became involved both spiritually and actively in building the Kingdom of God became paragons of achievement. The idea of the colony was to show by example, rather than with words.

But the first view! The exaltation and lofty emotions that almost bordered on rapture overcame these young people, Barbara, Marie and their friends. They learned entire chapters by heart from the Bible. Psalms and hymns. It certainly was not showing off or a display of piety; much rather a spontaneous enthusiasm and happiness from having found a precious jewel.

Barbara never tired of the outings and tours on foot, on donkeys, or even camels. Unfortunately, the swaying gait of the camel often produced seasickness to which Barbara had not even succumbed on the Black Sea. But there were hundreds of places, authentic and not, that brought the stories of the Bible to life.

It was amazing to see the fragmented religions proclaimed by hundreds of peoples in so many languages; it drew the Templers (and Mennonites) more closely together—almost isolating them. For the new settlers the adjustment to colony life had been simple and easy. The tremendous amount of work necessary in pioneering kept everyone occupied serving each other.

Happily ever after

Barbara, sitting at the front window of the family home on Gaza Road, occasionally glanced out where the garden in full bloom filled the air with a sweet aroma. Planted by her mother when they first arrived, the garden had become a showplace and was visited by many Templers on their way to their *Saal*, or meeting house. (The Schmidt family home still stands today and is located just a block or two from the Jerusalem Railway Station.)

Barbara was alone at home busy with a bit of sewing when she saw their honored friends Christopher Hoffmann and Christopher Paulus turn in at the gate. She arose quickly and opened the door, welcoming them heartily as she took their hats and canes.

"Isn't Mother Schmidt at home?" she was asked after the weather had been taken care of.

"She's in Haifa, visiting sister Katharine who gets homesick, you know. Yesterday Abram Dueck was here in Jerusalem on business. Since he came in his carriage it was a nice opportunity for Mother to ride along back with him."

There was a lengthy pause. Then Barbara asked: "Was there anything special?" Again a pause. Barbara excused herself and went to the kitchen for refreshments. The guests silently watched her spread the little white cloth and place a few dishes and glasses. Then Christopher Hoffmann motioned her to come and be seated.

"This is a formal call," he said. "We came to ask your hand in marriage for young Christopher Paulus."

It was the sixth of June, 1878, a beautiful day.

Present Temple Society Headquarters, Victoria, Australia.

A Mennonite "Zionist" Movement?

By Cornelius Krahn

MENNONITES HAVE SINCE the day of their origin undergone influences from other religious movements and the culture of their environment. On the other hand, they have also influenced other movements and the environment in which they lived. This was recently demonstrated to me during a trip through the Ukraine and some Mennonite villages of Chortitza and Molotschna. All traces of Mennonite life, institutions, and individuals had been totally removed from these settlements by the end of World War II. Nevertheless, there were many signs of a lasting cultural and economic influence of these settlements, continuing to this day. This could be said about other countries, places and movements which bear the stamp of their influence although they have been bodily removed.

Here we deal briefly with a movement which entered a segment of the Mennonites of Russia as a stream flowing through and taking along some of them into an entirely different setting. The Mennonites of the Molotschna settlement underwent strong influences of the pietistic movements which had reached them from various places in Germany. The influence which the Württenberg pietist, Eduard Wüst, exerted on the Mennonite brotherhood over a century ago, which led to a general spiritual revival and the founding of the Mennonite Brethren Church in 1860, is quite well known. A similar influence was exerted through a pietistic movement, having its origin in the same area, leading to the establishment of the so-called Temple Church (Friends of Jerusalem) in South Germany and the transplantation of a branch of it to the Molotschna settlement of Russia. Next to the Mennonite Brethren settlement the Templers established a settlement on the Kuban River in the foothills of the Caucasian Mountains. When the Temple movement of South Germany established a settlement near Jerusalem in Palestine, numerous Templers of Mennonite background from the Kuban settlement joined them.

Germany

The Temple Church (*Deutscher Tempel* or *Jerusalemsfreunde*) was organized on June 19, 1861, by Christoph Hoffmann, a Lutheran clergyman, at a meeting of the Friends of Jerusalem at Ludwigsburg near Stuttgart, Germany. The movement rooted in Württemberg Pietism. Gottlieb W. Hoffmann, the father of Christoph Hoffmann, had founded the separatist settlement of Korntal near Stuttgart. Philipp M. Hahn influenced Christoph Hoffmann regarding the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth and called all true believers "out of Babel," to which he later added the notion of gathering them in Palestine in order to be enabled to "build the temple of God" (Eph. 2:21-22; I Pet. 2:51). Already in 1854 Hoffmann had started the paper *Süddeutsche Warte*, an "organ for the gathering of the children of God in Jerusalem."

First the group established a school at Kirschenhardthof, near Marbach, Württemberg. Close co-workers of Hoffmann were G. H. Hardegg and Christoph Paulus. In 1858 a delegation went to Palestine to investigate settlement possibilities. In 1860 five young men were sent thither as pioneers. In 1866 a settlement was established near Nazareth, and in 1869 the colony of Haifa was established. Jaffa, Sarona, and Rephaim followed. Christoph Hoffmann was the leader of the movement. When he died in 1885 he was succeeded by his son, Christian Hoffmann.

The Pietism of the Temple movement was soon given up and was replaced by a humanistic-rationalistic philosophy. Many of the former friends of Hoffmann turned their backs on him. The rationalism of the University of Tübingen which he had fought in his early days he now embraced. The emphasis on an undenominational, nondoctrinal enlightened Christianity, living a good life, remained with the Templers. They were good business people and promoted cultural endeavors.

Russia

The contact between the Temple movement of Württemberg and the Mennonites of the Ukraine was established through Nikolai Schmidt, who had traveled in South Germany and became acquainted with the school of Kirschenhardthof. As a result Johannes Lange of Gnadenfeld attended the school and became a teacher of the Gnadenfeld *Bruderschule*. His influence as a disciple of Christoph Hoffmann in the school as well as in the community was objected to. A long-drawn-out controversy took place in which the ecclesiastical and civil authorities and the government became involved.

Johannes Lange was imprisoned in Halbstadt in 1863. Twenty Mennonites then signed a document organizing the *Evangelische Mennonitische Gemeinde* of Gnadenfeld which was the beginning of the Temple Church or the Friends of Jerusalem in Russia (1863). In 1866 representatives of this new group obtained permission and established a new settlement in the Kuban area near the Caucasus Mountains.

In 1868 a delegation rented an estate from Count Orbeliani for thirty years. The Gnadenfeld Templers were joined by those of Württemberg background living in Bessarabia and established the Tempelhof settlement. On the other side of the Kuma River Orbelianovka was established by Württemberg settlers only. In addition two villages were established on the Kuban River named Alexanderfeld and Wohldemfürst. With few exceptions all Templers moved to these new settlements. Common names were Lange, Schmidt, Goerzen, Goerz, Arndt, Hausknecht, Rempel, Hübert, and Görke. The pioneer life was difficult, but soon some prosperity was achieved. Great emphasis was placed on education and the development of the cultural life. The two villages on the Kuban River were located adjacent to the Mennonite Brethren settlement. In religious matters the Mennonite Church, the Mennonite Brethren, and the Temple Church, each went its own way, but they co-operated in matters pertaining to the economic and cultural life of the community. When Hoffmann published his five epistles in 1877-82 which explained the doctrines of the Trinity, pre-existence of Christ, reconciliation, and justification in a rationalistic manner, many of his Mennonite followers deserted him.

In 1896 the thirty-year lease of Tempelhof and Orbelianovka expired. In 1896-97 the group then started the villages of Olgino and Romanovka near Sukhaya Padina, consisting of 30 farms with 4,860 acres.

Palestine and Australia

Around 1870 some Temple Mennonites moved to Palestine. When in 1902 the Temple settlement Wilhelma near Lydda was established, Mennonites from Wohldemfürst and Alexanderfeld, including Heinrich Sawatzky, Jakob Friesen, Franz Friesen, Johann Friesen, Jakob Goerzen, and Peter Decker, joined this settlement. A photograph of the Temple Council in Palestine in 1935 shows the following members of Mennonite background: Heinrich Sawatzky (Wilhelma), Theodor Fast (Jerusalem), Nikolai Schmidt (Jerusalem), Kurt Lange (Bethlehem), Jacob Decker (Wilhelma).

Among them was Christopher Paulus who taught art at Bethel College (1902-1905). He had married Barbara, the daughter of Nikolai Schmidt. Their daughter Gertrud Paulus Reno is the writer of the story "Barbara."

This meeting on the pages of *Mennonite Life* most likely constitutes the first contact with a "lost tribe" of the Mennonites since their internment at the time when modern "Israel" was in the making. Their evacuation to hospitable Australia took place without the help and knowledge of the leading American Mennonite agencies, including the Mennonite press. The Mennonites had had their places of refuge and expectation of the Lord in Münster (1535) and Central Asia (1880). Now we can add the story of another form of "Zionism" which came to an end in Palestine because of an unfavorable political constellation and claim to the country by the "true" sons of Abraham.

We have never had a report about oranges raised by Mennonites in Palestine nor from someone who slept in the Fast Hotel, still in existence in Jerusalem. Soon we should know more about this unusual chapter of Mennonite history.

The following recent development of the fate of the Templer is based on a letter dated July 31, 1970, from Dr. R. Hoffmann, President of the Temple Society of Australia.

All Palestinian members of the Temple Church were German citizens at the time of the outbreak of World War II. Their young men were drafted in August 1939, and the remaining members of the Temple Society were interned by the English government on September 3, 1939, with the rest of the German citizens living in Palestine. Their property became subject to the Public Custodian of Enemy Property in Palestine.

During the war a number of Templer were repatriated to Germany in exchange for people of Palestinian citizenship. In 1941, a part of the interned Templer of Palestine were sent to Australia where they remained interned. At the end of World War II the members of the Temple Society found themselves in Palestine, Australia, and Germany. The Mandate government of Palestine prohibited the return of those abroad and declared that those still in Palestine would also have to leave the country. Meanwhile, the Arab-Jewish conflict worsened and caused chaotic conditions. When the English gave up their Mandate they interned the remaining Palestinian Templer on the Island of Cyprus, from where one part went to Germany and the larger to Australia. The Templer in Australia received permission to settle there permanently. The Australian government assisted the Templer in trying to repossess the property left behind in Palestine.

A larger number of the Templer in Germany was transferred to Australia starting in 1950. In 1967 those remaining in Germany established a center in Stuttgart-Degerloch, Felix Dahnstr. 39. The headquarters in Australia are located at 152 Tucker Road, Bentleigh, Victoria (see illustration). Sixty percent of the 1,350

Templer live in Australia, primarily in Victoria. The Templer of Germany and Australia publish a German and English *Templer Record.*

During the course of time the West German and Australian governments have succeeded in obtaining a renumeration for the confiscated property of the Templer in Palestine. This had been promised by Israel at the time when the German Bundesrepublik agreed in 1952 to pay reparations for property damages and for their treatment of the Jews in Germany.

Whose Land is Palestine?

A Review by Alvin J. Beachy

Frank H. Epp, *Whose Land Is Palestine? The Middle East Problem in Historical Perspective.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Erdmans Publishing Co., 1970, 283 pp., $6.95 (paper: $3.95).

According to President Nixon, no spot on earth so threatens the peace of the whole world as does the situation in the Middle East. So far as this reviewer knows, there is no one book that presents a better historical perspective on the present crisis in the Middle East than does Frank H. Epp's *Whose Land Is Palestine?* The book aims to be neither pro-Arab nor pro-Israel, but seeks to help the reader understand the historical forces that have given rise to the present crisis, and then on the basis of these, attempts to define what could possibly be a just solution.

The first thing to remember is that the strategic location of Palestine as the gateway to the three continents of Africa, Asia, and Europe, has always made its control desirable so far as the great powers of history were concerned. Secondly, its location has made it an oasis in the desert, and therefore a desirable place to live. Because of this some of the earliest settlements in Palestine date back as far as 7,000 years before Christ. Neither the Israelites, as the descendants of Abraham, nor the Arabs, as the descendants of Ishmael, can lay claim to the territory on the basis of the familiar claim, "we were there first."

Jews tend to link their right to Palestine as descendants of Abraham, and to the history of ancient Israel from 1250 B.C. to 5-6 B.C. and from 440 B.C. to 63 A.D.; the Arabs link their right to Palestine with the fact that they have been in the area much longer than the Jews. They have lived in Palestine for centuries while most Israeli citizens are recent immigrants.

As Frank Epp observes, much of the difficulty within Palestine can be traced to the holy "trinity" of ancient religions, namely god, soil, and people. The area is simply too small to hold all those who consider it their "sacred soil." Christians, as Dr. Epp notes, were at first saved from devotion to this ancient "trinity" since they saw their mission as one to make the whole world sacred. With the dawn of the Constantinian era, however, this changed, and Christianity too had its holy places within Palestine. The recovery of these from the Moslem Arabs eventually became the basis for the unholy Crusades.

Pre-Islamic Arab tribes had often invaded Palestine from their desert homes in search of *Lebensraum.* Then with Muhammad there was a fusion of military and religious dynamics, and the Moslems soon captured and controlled Palestine. Jerusalem became a Moslem holy place because of Muhammad's vision in which the city was the point of his ascent into heaven.

The Umayyad dynasty—which extended Islamic rule from Persia into Central Asia, India, Syria, Egypt, and Spain (661-751)—was naturally interested in the Arabization and Islamization of its empire. However, Christians in the West have often been ignorant of the degree of Moslem toleration shown toward Christians and Jews because Islam shared a common monotheism with these rival faiths. Jews in Palestine actually fared better under Arab Moslem rule than they had under Christian rule.

Moslem Arab culture and Moslem tolerance for

Christians as well as Jews were, however, forgotten at the time of the Crusades. The cry was now to wrest the holy places connected with the life of Christ from the infidel and the Turks. The fact that the rather advanced and often tolerant Moslems were now simply seen as infidels by the Christians is one reason that the Crusades became so barbaric. In the capture of the holy city, Christians indiscriminately massacred the Moslem population, including women and children.

Strangely enough, as the Christian Crusades ended and modern Europe began to emerge, Britain and her Protestants suddenly discovered that Palestine (still in the control of the Ottoman Turks) belonged to the Jews. The early church fathers as well as the reformers of the sixteenth century had had little interest in the prophetic word as a prediction of a literal return of the Jew to Palestine. This interest seemed to arise from the British desire to drive the Ottoman Turks out of Palestine rather than from a longing to fulfill prophecy. The publication of George Stanley Frober's book, *A General and Connected View of the Prophecies Relative to the Conversion, Restoration, Union, and Future Glory of the Houses of Judah and Israel, the Progress, and Final Overthrow, of the Anti-Christian Confederacy in the Land of Palestine; and the Ultimate General Diffusion of Christianity,* did much to link British imperial ambition with the prophetic fulfillment of Scripture.

The guilt, either conscious or unconscious, which Christians felt for the way the Jews of Europe had been treated, both during and after the Crusades, must not be overlooked as one more factor in this sudden determination of nineteenth century Christians to restore Palestine to the Jews. The Jews had entered Europe voluntarily after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. and were at first welcomed as aids to Europe's economic development. But later they were shoved into its ghettos whose tragic outcome was seen in the German concentration camps of World War II.

This guilty conscience of the West, coupled with the birth of Zionism and British imperialism, all resulted in a considerable migration of Jews to Palestine from various parts of the world before World War I. The discovery of oil in the Arab lands and Winston Churchill's 1913 conversion of the British navy from coal to oil provided additional reasons for driving the Ottoman Turks out of Palestine.

To accomplish this goal the British needed the help of both the Jews and the Arabs. Unfortunately, Britain made conflicting promises to both groups in return for their assistance. This conflict of interest is best illustrated by the Balfour Declaration which, though unacceptable to the Arabs, was the basis for the partition of Palestine after World War II. The United Nations finalized the decision to partition with a great deal of pressure from President Harry S. Truman.

What has never been recognized by the Western world or by Israel itself, is that great injustice was done to the Palestinian Arabs by the creation of the modern state of Israel. These people were often forcibly evicted from their homes; deliberate terror tactics and murder were employed by the Israelis to drive them out. Although the displaced Palestinian Arabs actually numbered 700,000 people, so prominent a person as Prime Minister Golda Meir denied in a speech delivered on March 8, 1969, that they existed at all. "How can we return the occupied territories? There is nobody to return them to. There was no such thing as Palestinians. . . . It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist." (p. 253)

The Palestinian Arabs—comprised of both Moslems and Christians—however, did and do exist. Their deep unhappiness at the injustice done to them is one of the sources of conflict in the Middle East today. The conflict will not be resolved until some kind of justice is meeted out to them. Dr. Epp suggests these four steps in the attempt to meet the demands of the Palestinian Arabs for justice.

1. That British, French, American, and Canadian Christians admit themselves and persuade their governments to admit the repeated violation of the human rights of the Palestinians.

2. That Christian people help Palestinian Arabs tell their story to the world.

3. That additional injustices be forestalled by preventing any further expulsions of Arabs from occupied territories to make room for Jewish immigrants.

4. That there be a declaration of the right to return, or that reparations be made.

Christians of America and Europe, Dr. Epp maintains, should not atone for the old anti-semitism directed against the Jews with a new anti-semitism directed against the Arabs.

While Epp is concerned with justice for the Palestinians, he is also concerned with security for Israel. We cannot, he says, ask a people to face genocide for the second time in a generation. "The Jews who have already made Palestine their homeland have a right to stay there, but it would be difficult to accept further immigration until the requirements of justice to the Arabs have been met. Surely Palestine belongs more to the Palestinian Arabs who want to return than to the East European Jews who have never been there." (p. 259)

Many will perhaps find fault with Epp's book on the basis that the return of the Jews to Palestine is, after all, the fulfillment of prophecy. This reviewer is of the opinion that such a view is based upon too narrow a definition of prophecy as the prediction of future

events. The great concern of the Hebrew prophets was for justice between a man and his neighbor. In the pursuit of that concern, the prophets did not hesitate to speak truth to those in power. Today, as in antiquity, the great powers of the world, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., have economic and strategic interests in the Middle East (which has 62 percent of the known oil reserves of the world). Each power is trying to persuade the rest of the world that it is right. "One speaks of the defense of human freedom and the other of human liberation from imperialism. Both slogans are about as close to claiming to act in the name of God as one can get. . . . Both use high-sounding phrases to hide selfish imperial intentions" (pp. 262-3). If the prophetic role is, as Dr. Epp has written, the achievement of justice according to God's will, then one wonders if this cannot be made particularly applicable to the current Middle East crisis.

Some Remained Behind

by Jacob A. Duerksen

From Przechovko to Alexanderwohl, Russia

In 1820, the Przechovko Mennonite congregation near Schwetz, West Prussia, emigrated to the Molotchna colony in South Russia. Mrs. Isaac Fast, a daughter of elder Peter Wedel, relates the beginning of the migration in her paper "A Description of Alexanderwohl, its Beginning and Migrations" in these words: "Thereupon every one entered the wagons and the whole caravan started to move toward Russia. Our father, Peter Wedel, elder of the 'Wedel Church,' as it was then called, was twenty-seven years old in 1820, the beginning of May, when he led the entire group composed of thirty families with thirty large traveling vehicles from Pschokowka, West Prussia to Russia."

Although the quotation does not state that the group included all the members of the church, the reader concludes that the entire membership of the Przechovko congregation emigrated to Russia. Actually at least one family remained in Prussia, the Andreas Richert family, the parents of David Richert who later married Sara Dürks. The David Richert's lived in Deutsch Konopat, West Prussia, where their oldest son Heinrich was born in 1831. The following year, 1832, the David Richert's also emigrated to Alexanderwohl, Russia. It is not known whether the parents, Andreas Richerts, ever emigrated to Russia.

Another family, Jacob and Anna Schmidt, did participate in the 1820 emigration. However, they did not stay with the caravan to its destination. They stopped at the halfway mark and settled in Karolswalde, near Ostrog, where some of their friends had settled several years before. Three years later in 1823, they too emigrated to Alexanderwohl in Russia.

Alexanderwohl moves to Kansas

Under the leadership of elder Jacob Buller, the Alexanderwohl congregation in Russia emigrated in the summer of 1874 to central Kansas near what is now Goessel. Mrs. Isaac Fast again comes to our rescue by giving us an account of this emigration. She writes: "The emigration became a reality in the summer of 1874. In July, practically our whole Alexanderwohl congregation left the Molotchna colony in Russia and went to America." Mrs. Fast clearly indicated in the above quoted statement that some remained behind and yet many people are of the impression that the entire Alexanderwohl congregation came to America in 1874.

Heinrich Unruh and his family remained behind. He later became a prominent leader of the Mennonite church in Russia in the educational and religious field. P. U. Schmidt states: "On July 20th 1874 the entire village of Alexanderwohl with the exception of two families left Russia to seek and establish a new home in America." He does not say who remained in Russia. Undoubtedly one of the families to whom P. U. Schmidt refers is the Heinrich Unruh family. Unfortunately, he does not state whether both families were members of the Alexanderwohl Church or not. It is well known that not all inhabitants were members of the Alexanderwohl Church. On the other hand, the Alexanderwohl Mennonites drew many members from neighboring villages and churches when they went to Kansas.

Origin of the Alexanderwohl Mennonites

The marker near the Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church, Goessel, Kansas, states that the Alexanderwohl

Mennonite Church originally migrated as a body from the Netherlands to Germany. This is an oversimplified and somewhat inaccurate statement of facts. Most of the Danzig and West Prussian Mennonite churches were originally composed of Dutch Mennonite refugees. But the Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church can serve as an example, showing how open and aggressive the early congregations were.

The nucleus of the Przechovko church in West Prussia, the mother church of Alexanderwohl, was probably composed mostly of Mennonites from the Netherlands who settled about 1540 near the city of Schwetz. In the following century additional families from Moravia, Sweden and Danzig were added to this congregation. Also several Lutheran families in the neighborhood joined the Przechovko Mennonite church. (J. A. Duerksen, "Przechowka and Alexanderwohl", *Mennonite Life*, April 1955, pages 72 to 82.

Brenkenhofswalde to Gnadenfeld

The emigration of the Brenkenhofswalde congregation from Brandenburg, Germany to Gnadenfeld, Molotchna, Russia, is another case in point. Cornelius Krahn tells of the Brenkenhofswalde emigration in *Mennonite Encyclopedia*: "This settlement (Gnadenfeld) originated (in Russia) when Wilhelm Lange, elder of the Brenkenhofswalde and Franztal Mennonite Church of Brandenburg, Germany, led his congregation of 40 families to Russia in 1834, where Mennonites of the same background had settled a few years before." This sentence implies that these 40 families comprised the entire membership of the church.

B. H. Unruh cites strong evidence in his paper in the 1941 *Christlicher Gemeinde-Kalender* that at least two brothers, A. Voth and B. Voth, members of the Brenkenhofswalde Church, remained in Germany when the main body of the congregation emigrated to Russia in 1834. His statement is based on a marker found in the Brenkenhofswalde cemetery. On the wooden marker was an inscription telling the story of the Brenkenhofswalde settlement in 1765 and of its church and the emigration to Russia in 1835. The inscription is signed by A. Voth and B. Voth. Both were now Lutherans, but they had a "Mennonite" name. This is a good indication that a Voth family stayed behind.

From Volhynia to Kansas and Dakota

In midsummer of 1874, the Swiss Mennonites of Kutusofka, about 45 miles northwest of Berdichev, emigrated to Moundridge, Kansas. In his book *Unser Volk und seine Geschichte*, P. R. Kaufman tells of the farewell service on the last day in Russia: "Many acquaintances and friends had gathered for the farewell services. Naturally many tears were shed on this occasion. However, the farewell was not as sad as it would have been if some of our people had remained behind in Russia."

Actually, some did remain in Russia. At least the families of Freni Kaufman Kind and Joseph Kaufman, Jr., remained in Russia. In his work, "The Elder N. and Fannie Kaufman Record," page 20, Menno S. Kaufman writes, "Freni Kaufman Kind remained in Russia with her family. . . . In 1876, at the age of fourteen years, Napoleon R. Kaufman and his mother, and somewhat later his father, Joseph, emigrated to America. Limited financial means delayed the emigration of some when the large colony from Kotosufka emigrated."

In his *Genealogy* diagram of Johannes Schrag, the author, Peter Bachmann, states that Andreas Schrag, one of the sons of Johannes Schrag, emigrated with his family about 1796 from Falkenstein, southwest from Lemberg, now Lvov, to Russia. Benjamin Schrag, a descendant of Andreas Schrag, emigrated with his two sons Johann and Julius during the First World War from Eduardsdorf, Volhynia Russia, to Lemberg. This story shows that at least one Schrag family was also left behind when the Swiss Mennonites emigrated to America in 1874.

The October 1954 issue of *Mennonite Life* contained an article by Martin Schrag entitled "The Swiss-Volhynian Mennonites Background", and an illustration showing a tombstone for Peter and Magdalena Graber with the respective years 1805-1885 and 1820-1891. This indicated that Peter Graber belonged to those who remained in Russia during the emigration in 1874. The fact that the inscription on the tombstone is in the Russian language indicates the progress made in the Russianization of those who remained.

These few items call attention to the fact that generalizations or sweeping statements can gradually be taken as historical facts. As new records become available, efforts must be made to correct errors and to present the accounts as they transpired.

Village Nicknames Among the Mennonites in Russia

By Gerhard Wiens

EVEN THOUGH THE culture of our Mennonite settlements in Russia was largely German, several factors, in the course of the generations, set us apart from the people of the country of our origin. They were: very limited contact with Germany, our isolation within the Russian environment, our distinct way of life, and the recognition of our Low German dialect as our "Mennonite" mother tongue. We realized more and more how different we were from all other Germans and we eventually became the *Mennonitenvolk*. We were *Menniste*—not just a religious group, but a people.

The period of our growth as a people (roughly the nineteenth century) was long enough to allow the evolution of a folklore of our own.[1] A fascinating and rather distinctive element of our folklore was the Low German nicknames which we gave to our villages.

Nicknames

It would seem that every one of our villages had a nickname. I had always remembered the nickname of my own village (Lindenau, in the Molotschna settlement) and those of our neighbors, but had forgotten any others I ever knew. Fascinated by the robust humor which lives in these ingenious and often bizarre creations of the popular imagination, I decided some years ago to make a study of them or at least to save as many as I could from oblivion. Since my articles concerning our life and folklore which had been appearing in the *Bote* had elicited warm responses from readers who fondly remembered the olden times, I issued a call for our village nicknames.

I wrote the article in Low German and gave it a title which would startle any old-timer from Russia into reading it: *Rollkoakeschluckasch, Piezjeriedasch enn Prachabraodasch.*[2] These were the nicknames which I had remembered. I told my readers what I knew about the tradition and asked them to write me what they remembered. I had to justify my request as part of a serious scholarly endeavor, for I knew that many would consider our ludicrous nicknames unworthy of a scholar's attention, however fond of them they might be themselves. Despite this, one great-grandmother chided me gently, saying a professor should have better things to write about than such foolish names. And she sent me not one foolish name.

But others did. Within a few weeks I had received more than a dozen letters, some of them half a dozen pages long. The response was heartwarming, the letters delightful, and their writers obviously delighted. When I compiled the information received, I had the nicknames of all the villages of my own vicinity and about twenty more from both our "mother colonies" (i.e., the two original colonies: Chortitza, the "Old Colony," settled in 1789; and Molotschna, begun in 1804). I also received explanations of the origin of some nicknames, reports of customs associated with them, and some related stories. By the way, the kinship between our Low German word *Etjenaome* and the English "nickname" is fascinating: "nickname" comes from the older "a nekename", a corruption of *an ekename*: *eke*, meaning "also", is a cognate of High German *auch* and Low German *etje*, which occurs only in *Etjenaome;* a nickname thus is an additional name, an "also-name", as it were, an *Auch-Name.*

Village Nicknames

But here is a sampling of our village nicknames. Our string of thirteen villages, my own Lindenau lying about the middle, had these nicknames:

Altenau—*Haowamies* (oat mice)
Münsterberg—*Dwoajbiedels* (bags of curds)
Blumstein—*Bobbatstjarschte* (*bobbat* crusts; *bobbat*—a meat pastry)
Lichtenau—*Prachabraodasch, Prachawaste* (beggar roasters, beggar vests)
Lindenau—*Rollkoake, Rollkoakeschluckasch* (roll cakes, roll cake swallowers)
Fischau—*Piezja, Piezjeriedasch* (frogs, frog riders)
Schönau—*Krauntjemaltjasch* (crane milkers)
Tiegenhagen—*Heatjt, Heatjteriedasch* (pike, pike riders)
Muntau—*Krauje, Tjirre, Kraujeschluwe, Kraujenasta* (crows, crows' shells or hulls, crows' nests)
Halbstadt—*Rode Hunj* (red dogs)
Neu-Halbstadt—*Glomsbiedels* (cottage cheese bags)
Petershagen—*Tjräft, Tjräftschluwe* (crayfish, crayfish shells)
Ladekopp—*Koape, Koapedoarms* (carp, carp guts)

The exuberance of the imagination in these names

and their realism identify them as true products of the people. How old these nicknames are we cannot say, but my oldest correspondents (in their eighties) remembered them from their childhood. One correspondent suggested that they arose during the *Podwodentiet* ("carting time"), that is, during the Crimean War (1855), when our great-grandfathers supplied and transported large amounts of food to the Russian army. Young men from all the villages of both colonies were thrown together for the first time, and natural rivalry and local patriotism led to more or less good-natured raillery. It could be that this meeting gave impetus to the proliferation of nicknames, but it was not the cause. Local pride and various degrees of antagonism toward others have been part of social psychology ever since there were tribes or units of human habitation. (Witness the feuding between Fort Worth and Dallas, between California and Florida.) Our nicknames were products of the eternal human contest.

From the Molotschna colony I can account for 13 nicknames besides the 13 in my own row of villages, a total of 26 out of 58 possible names. These others are:

Alexanderwohl—*Krauje* (crows)
Blumenort—*Huppupsnasta, Kuckucksnasta, Kurreijoalinja* (hoopoes' nests, cuckoos' nests, Russian thistle yearling colts)
Franztal—Kwaustreddasch (Kvastreaders)
Friedensdorf—*Prachawaste* (beggars' vests)
Fürstenwerder—*Huppsfleaje* (fleas)
Gnadental—*Forzvesaola* (though amusing, the name is too crude for translation)
Grossweide—Bolleleidasch (Bull Leaders)
Hierschau—*Kosefelt* (goat field)
Konteniusfeld—Kosifelda (Goatfielders)
Landskrone—*Kraujenasta* (crows' nests)
Ohrloff—*Prachawaste* (beggars' vests)
Pastwa—Paunkoake (Pancakes)
Pordenau—*Komstgnoagasch* (cabbage chewers)
Rosenort—*Kraujenasta, Schmauntletjasch, Schmauntangeltjes, Rotkoppje Distle* (crows' nests, cream lickers, cream anglers, redheaded thistles)
Rückenau—*Noadspogge* (north frogs)
Rudnerweide—Suri Kruschtje (Sour Wild Pears)
Sparrau—Spoalinja (Sparrows)
Tiege—*Huppupsnasta, Kuckucksnasta* (hoopoes' nests, cuckoos' nests)
Tiegerweide—*Aotpoaschintjes* (stork hams)

From the Old Colony I received the following nicknames:

Chortitza—*Hunjsbraode* (roast dog)
Einlage—*Welsgnoagasch* (catfish gnawers or chewers)
Kronsweide—*Poggeleidasch* (frog leaders)
Neu-Chortitza—*Aufjebroakne Massasch* (broken-off knives)
Neuenburg—*Deiwschlappasch* (dew draggers)
Neuendorf—*Rollkoake, Jäwelbräda* (roll cakes, gable boards)
Nieder-Chortitza—*Tscherkesse* (Circassians)
Osterwick—*Maodeschietasch* ("maggot flies" is a polite translation)
Rosental—*Kruschtjekwaus* (wild pear *kvass*, a sour drink)
Schöneberg—*Krauntjemaltjasch, Utjeblajhte Fuppe* (crane milkers, tin-lined pockets)
Schönhorst—*Bobbatstjarschte met Fiasteena* ("bobbat" crusts with flint-stones)

For one of the villages of Memrik, an older daughter colony, I received the nickname *Kwausdrintjasch*. There, it was said, a party could get high on five kopecks worth of *kvass*.

The sources of our village nicknames seem obvious in some cases and quite puzzling in others. Local conditions of life or landscape could be expected to give rise to descriptive names. For example, I am sure that our neighbors, the good people of Fischau, were the *Piezja* or *Piezjeriedasch*, i.e., the frogs or frog riders, because the village was half surrounded by ponds with a million frogs in them whose croaking on balmy summer evenings drowned out the song of the nightingales. Tiegenhagen, according to one correspondent, was called *Heatjt* or *Heatjteriedasch* because the pike in the Molotschna River flowing by it were big enough for the people to ride on. Muntau was teased with *Krauje* or *Kraujenasta* because, even though we all had woods with innumerable crows' nests in them, in this village the woods were situated right by the main road at one end of the village, not behind the farmsteads and away from the road as in the other villages, and every traveler passing through Muntau was made aware of its abundance of crows and their nests.

My 83-year-old correspondent from Blumenort surmised that the inhabitants were called *Kurreijoalinja*, Russian thistle colts, because a short distance from her village a Siberian-olive hedge ran all the way across the steppe and, during the long days of wind in autumn, dead Russian thistle plants in the shape of huge rolling tumbleweeds would collect against it to form a wall of great height. However, she wondered plaintively, why particularly colts, why not for instance calves or heifers?

The Old Colony village of Neuenburg had the nickname *Deiwschlappasch*, dew draggers, because, being situated in a deep valley, it had frequent heavy morning fog, and the villagers often had to hitch their horses to a contraption of boards to drag the fog out of the village.

Food and Nicknames

The other most common source of the nicknames was the food known or assumed to be the favorite of the village. We Lindenauers were the *Rollkoake*,

roll cakes, which were thin squares of dough, fried in deep fat, which expanded into balloons of crispy goodness and were particularly delicious with watermelon. As in many other cases, our nickname appeared in both the plain and the adorned form: *Rollkoake* and *Rollkoakeschluckasch* (swallowers or devourers). The same tendency to embellish is apparent in *Piezjeriedasch, Heatjteriedasch, Krauntjemaltjasch, Tjräftschluwe, Prachabraodasch, Koapedoarms* and others. Other names derived from foods were: *Dwoajbiedels, Bobbatstjarschte, Glomsbiedels, Komstgnoagasch, Schmauntletjasch,* and *Welsgnoagasch.*

Some nicknames seem to have come from a corruption or a mockery of the village's name. The *kopp* in Ladekopp seemingly was corrupted into *koap,* though this presupposes an abysmal lack of sensitivity to shadings in sound. Similarly, one of the nicknames of Rosenort being *Rotkoppje Distle,* my guess is that "redheaded thistles" is an attempt to ridicule Rosenort ("Roseville", as it were) as the place not of roses but of thistles.

I know of two cases where the nicknames were invented to rhyme with the name of the village: *Kronsweida—Poggeleida* and *Jnaodentaola* (Gnadental)—*Forzvesaola.*

For several of the remaining nicknames my correspondents offered more or less farfetched explanations. The origin of these names remains a mystery, all the more impenetrable for such outlandish ones as *Prachabraoda,* roaster of beggars; *Krauntjemaltjasch,* crane milkers; *Aotpoaschintjes,* stork hams; *Aufjebroakne Massasch,* knives with tips broken off.

It is of interest to note how many different nicknames were sometimes showered upon one village. On the other hand, the same appellation was often given to a number of villages. One correspondent reported a very deserving nickname but regretfully conceded that he could not vouch for its authenticity: *Mesttjniepasch* (manure beetles).

While we may see the psychological explanation of our village nicknames in the age-old antagonism between tribes and localities, the vigor of our creativity was probably due to our extreme clannishness. Not only did we shun contact with the surrounding Russian population and even, to a considerable extent, with our non-Mennonite German neighbors; the circumstances of our life also encouraged some isolation of every village from its neighbors. There was so little social contact that children and youths of different villages, when they did chance to meet, kept their distance or approached one another with reserve or a chip on their shoulders. When such hostile camps faced each other, it was not long before those insulting nicknames started flying across no-man's land. Further developments of the encounter might range from a tiresome repetition of the insults or variants thereof to a *Tjielerie,* a donnybrook.

Wit and Folklore

It seemed immensely funny to our people when some wit would rise to the occasion and provide a clever twist to the hoary nickname or extemporize an apt application to the situation at hand. Writes one correspondent: As a teenager I was standing with a schoolmate one afternoon, in the late nineties, by the gate of my grandfather's place in Tiege (the *Kuckucksnasta,* cuckoo nests). A sleigh full of youths and girls from Blumenort (the Russian thistle colts) drove by and a young man shouted to us, "Boys, go inside, or you'll freeze fast to the cuckoo droppings!" My pal shot back, "We'll cover ourselves with Russian thistles!"

My delightful correspondent goes on to report: The people of Petershagen were teased with "crayfish shells". When someone driving through the village would show the people on the street, with his fingers, the sign of what crayfish do with their claws, then it was not certain he would get out of that village with a whole hide.

One old correspondent relates a story from her mother's youth: My mother and her brother were driving toward Fürstenwerder, the village of the fleas (*Huppsfleaje*), and were nearing the opening of the street where the village herd was customarily driven out to pasture. When they saw a couple of boys approaching, my mother said in a loud voice to her brother, "Look, they're driving the fleas out to pasture!" The brother had to apply the whip to the horses promptly to get out from under the rain of clods which was descending upon them.

To be sure, the teasing was often quite good-natured and, as a matter of fact, mutually appreciated. Writes one *Oltkolnia*: We of Einlage, situated on the Dnieper which was full of the best fish, were called the catfish or catfish gnawers and actually we were proud of it. The land of Neuendorf bordered on ours and the Neuendorf road went past our fields. The people of Neuendorf were the roll cakes. One noonday when my uncle was sitting by the roadside at the edge of his field eating his lunch which consisted of roll cakes and watermelon, a boy from Neuendorf came along the road. "Boy," my uncle called to him, "would you like a roll cake?" Came back the prompt rejoinder, "Sir, do you have a piece of catfish to go with it?" My uncle had a sense of humor and liked to tell the story about the alert boy.

The jeering tale is a natural companion to nicknames of localities. Out of several which I received I select one. Variants of it were sent me by three correspondents. Two could not identify the village and one did so with uncertainty. This village, it seems, had no clocks, but the people knew how to help themselves. With a long rope they tied a boar to a pole outside the village. When the boar, while grazing or just from boredom, had wandered around the pole

enough times to have wound all the rope around it—then the time was noon. Between noon and evening he obligingly unwound himself again—and it was quitting time. Some rationalist, dissatisfied with the story's implausibility in relying upon a hog's perambulations, changed the story so that now the boar was being driven, and not around a pole but a thick tree. The third version let him graze again, but tied him to a big wild-pear tree.

We had another derisive tale which Rabelais, I believe, would not have been ashamed to allow for his own, but I am not Rabelais enough to publish it. Hence no tale, only the observation that in it our two colonies ridiculed one another in an identical story: whoever the teller was, it was always the other colony which was made the butt of the joke—a case of patent plagiarism which speaks ill for the teller but well for the tale.

In conclusion let me share with you a peek into the very workshop of folklore. At least such it seemed to me. I felt I was witnessing the birth of a legend when I read in this correspondent's letter how he had invented many a jeering tale himself in self-defense. He, a Molotschner, had married an *Oltkolnia* and had lived in the Old Colony afterwards. The only Molotschner among all these Old Colonists, he had lain awake nights thinking up ways to counter their nasty attacks. Out of a number of his tales I select one which shows the characteristics that would make it indistinguishable from a folktale. Its background is the historical fact that our ancestors, who came to settle the Molotschna villages in 1804, wintered in the Old Colony on their way from Prussia. Now, according to my correspondent, during that winter an Old Colonist had stolen a wheelbarrow from a Molotschner's wagon. With the aid of that wheelbarrow the thief, and by and by all the Old Colonists, learned to walk on their hind legs.

NOTES

1. Cf. my article, "Volkskunde der Ruszlandmennoniten," *Der Bote*, March 19, 26, and April 3, 1958.
2. *Der Bote*, October 31, 1961.

Low German in Mexico

By James R. Jaquith

AS A CULTURAL form, the writing and reading of *Plattdeutsch* (Low German) is ill-developed among Old Colony Mennonites (hereafter OCM) in Mexico. So far as this writer's investigations show, almost all writing done by these people is in *Hochdeutsch* (High German) and in the Gothic German alphabet since this is what is taught in OCM schools. Occasionally, when it is necessary to communicate in writing to Mexicans, Mennonites will write in Spanish, although few know enough of that language to write it fluently and it is only the men who know some Spanish. It would appear that the only writing of *Plattdeutsch* done by the OCM in Mexico is on an informal and experimental basis in letters. From one point of view this is strange, since *Plattdeutsch* is the routine vernacular language of these people. Thus, it is the language they use more than any other and one might expect that it would be written as a matter of course. From another point of view there is no reason at all to expect that *Plattdeutsch* be written for the writing of this language is not taught in the schools. Readers of this report should understand that the OCM in Mexico regard its schools more than anything as devices for preparing its young people to participate effectively in the religious life of the community. Since the Bible used by the OCM, the *Gesangbuch* and the *Märtyrer-Spiegel* are all in *Hochdeutsch*, this is the language taught. For the same reasons, Gothic writing is retained even though Germany as a nation gave it up after World War II and at least one publication read by some members of the OCM—*The* (Steinbach) *Post*—now prints *Hochdeutsch* in Roman letters. The retention of Gothic is, as a matter of fact, consistent with at least two aspects of OCM ideology. The first and perhaps the most obvious is that the sacred writings mentioned above are already committed to Gothic and to change would smack of profanation. The second is that writing is a channel which allows for communication with peoples other than one's own and the more such channels that are active at any one time the more difficult it is to maintain the apartness that OCM leaders traditionally have desired (see James R. Jaquith, "Multilingualism among the Old Colony Mennonites." *Mennonite Life*, July, 1969).

It is a fact, however, that many members of the Mexican OCM, particularly today's "younger generation," are not really interested in the extreme ideologically-based isolationism preached and practiced by many of their elders. This is not to suggest that they want to lose their distinct identity as Mennonites. It does suggest that many young people want to know something of the country in which they were born and

raised. They want to know, among other things, the Spanish language and those customs which will help them adjust more effectively to the increasingly Mexican-Mennonite blend of their world.

It is in this context that vernacular literacy seems relevant. If control of Spanish is viewed as a desirable long-range goal, the ability to read and write *Plattdeutsch* with real fluency would appear to be a reasonable first step. Linguists and knowledgeable educators have long been aware that the most effective approach to the literacizing of language minorities is first to make them literate in their own language. This is primarily so that nonspeakers of a national language will accustom themselves and become sensitive to writing as a distinct cultural phenomenon. Secondarily, it has the effect of assuring members of the language minority that their own native language is a vehicle worthy of being written and read.

So, then, if it seems desirable to make available an alphabet for writing *Plattdeutsch* in the Mexican OCM, what kind of alphabet should it be? One question is: Should it employ Gothic letters and as many *Hochdeutsch* orthographic conventions as possible? Gothic letters have the disadvantage in the present context that they cannot contribute to the long-range acquisition of written Spanish. Another question is: If Roman letters are used, which letters and combinations of letters should represent the various sounds of *Plattdeutsch*? Most of what follows is in answer to this last question.

Theoretically, it doesn't make much difference which letters are assigned to the sounds of a language to form an alphabet. The point is simply that there should be a consistent and predictable relationship between any given sound and any given letter. It turns out that there are 35 distinctive sound units (called *phonemes* by linguists) in the *Plattdeutsch* spoken by the Mexican OCM. The problem here is double: to assign letters according to the principle specified above and to do so in such a way as to facilitate literacy in Spanish. This means that the constructor of such an alphabet must be aware that Spanish and *Plattdeutsch* share some of the same sounds. It turns out that 19 (or 54%) of the sounds of *Plattdeutsch* also occur in Spanish. (These are numbers 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, and 33 on the alphabet chart below.) This fact provides a major orientation or direction which can be exploited in the design of a really practical alphabet for *Plattdeutsch* in countries where Spanish is the national language, e.g., Mexico, Paraguay, Bolivia. That is, by using letters from the Spanish alphabet for those *Plattdeutsch* sounds which also exist in Spanish, slightly more than half of the alphabet is already constructed.

The second major strategy is a negative one: to avoid using Spanish letters or letter combinations for *Plattdeutsch* sounds that *do not* exist in Spanish. There are 16 of these (numbers 2, 4, 10, 13, 14, 16, 20, 22, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, and 35 on the alphabet chart below). This is to avoid confusion on the part of *Plattdeutsch* readers who would learn Spanish and on the part of Spanish readers who would learn to read *Plattdeutsch* (*Plotdiytsh* in the new alphabet). Actually, some compromises with this latter principle were unavoidable, primarily because of the practical problem that the printshop (*draekariy*) owned and operated by members of the OCM did not have the necessary diacritics. The version that resulted, however, has the advantage that with the exception of one letter (No. 10 on the chart), it can be written on any typewriter and it is a letter which can be installed simply on any machine.

Proposed Alphabet

	Kliyne Latren	Grawte Latren	Nowen Fe Day Latren	Viyed Fe Deyn Ütdruc
1.	a	A	a	han (han)/Sp. cal
2.	ae	AE	ae	aek (etj)
3.	ay	AY	ay	zay (se)/Sp. iay!
4.	aw	AW	aw	gawt (got)
5.	b	B	bay	büuc (buak)/Sp. boca
6.	c	C	cay	cep (kopp)/Sp. cara
7.	d	D	day	düuc (duak)/Sp. daga
8.	e	E	e	vet (witt)/Sp. yeso
9.	ey	EY	ey	ney (nä)/Sp. ley
10.	ə	ə	ə	nej (noch)
11.	f	F	aef	faya (vea)/Sp. fin
12.	g	G	gay	gawt (got)/Sp. gol
13.	h	H	ha	hont (haunt)
14.	iy	IY	iy	viy (wi)
15.	j	J	jet	daj (dach)/Sp. reloj
16.	k	K	kay	kowak (tjôatj)
17.	l	L	ael	leyven (läwen) /Sp. lavan
18.	m	M	aem	maensh (mensch) /Sp. mesa
19.	n	N	aen	yana (jana)/Sp. llano
20.	ng	NG	aeng	shlang (schlang)
21.	o	O	o	mon (maun)/Sp. mono
22.	ow	OW	ow	mown (môn)
23.	p	P	pay	piyet (piat)/Sp. piojo
24.	r	R	aer	frü (fru)/Sp. freno
25.	s	S	aes	hüs (hus)/Sp. casa
26.	sh	SH	aesh	shlownen (schlônen)
27.	t	T	tay	tiya (tia)/Sp. tifo
28.	u	U	u	hunt (hunt)
29.	ü	Ü	ü	hüs (hus)
30.	uw	UW	uw	vuwa (woa)
31.	v	V	vaeev	viy (wi)
32.	x	X	ex	vax (wajh)
33.	y	Y	iy iy	yow (jô) Sp. llano
34.	z	Z	zaet	zaya (sea)
35.	zh	ZH	zhaet	cruzhel (krusjel)

The alphabet offered here, while in principle universally applicable to *Plotdiytsh*, is most advantageously

applicable in areas where Spanish is the national language. By applying the procedures outlined above, alphabets maximally useful in English-speaking areas (Canada, U.S.), Portuguese-speaking areas (Brazil), etc., could be produced. The Arnold Dyck and other Gothic-letter alphabets for Plotdiytsh which have come to the writer's attention are not good technically in that they are inconsistent in their observance of the one-letter-one-sound principle. Moreover, they are now minimally useful in *Hochdeutsch*-speaking areas which have changed to Roman letters.

The alphabet presented above has been circulated to about 100 OC Mennonites, including schoolteachers (*shawlliyeren*) and preachers (*preydyash*). The ultimate reception of this more or less radical innovation depends on a variety of factors and will be the subject of a future report.

To illustrate, a Plotdiytsh poem, "Miene lewi Mam es doot" (*Miyne layve Mam aes dawt*), will be presented, first in traditional Gothic, then in the new alphabet.

Miene lewi Mam es doot

Miene lewi Mam es doot,
Woat kenn Woet mea redi,
Noch mi halpi enn di Not,
Oda fer mi bedi.
Giſtri wea jee noch amm Deſch.
Fründlich en tofredi;
Schauſt em Hus geſund enn freſch
Deed noch to Tweeback knedi.
Licht ſo ſtell enn es ſo blaus,
Deit ſick nich mea rehri;
Es gannz ſtraum enn inga Glaus,
Need kom latzti ſehri.
Aulli Dabeit ſteit nu ſtell,
See woat nuſcht mea dohni;
Ach, daut Hoat mi bräcki well,
Daut jee nu well gohni.
Aus eck wea noch junk enn kleen,
Onſchuldig, oneafohri,
Haft jee mi ſo veele mol
Kunnt fer Ongleck ſcheen bewohri.
Stab eck mi bi boaſti Foot,
Troff een Noagel oda Spletta,
Naum jee mi ſchwind up de Schot,
Kutzt daut aullis beta.
Aus eck ging no Diſtrikt Schol,
Aulli lewi Morgi,
Moak jee mi daut Amaki voll,
Deed mi got vejorgi.
Aus eck aul gewoſſi grot
Enn von Hus gigoni,
Wann eck ea beſeeki kaum,
Deed jee emma mi bemohni.
Moak eck ea uck Kumma, Graum,
Derch miene domni Renki,
Wea jee got enn wees daut kaum,
Wo daut ea deed kränki.
Lewi Mam, jag blos en Woet,
Lot di doch eaweeki;
Weaſcht mi emma doch ſo got,
Wann eck kaum di mol biſeeki.
Miene Mami jagt nu nuſcht,
Licht ſo fredlich, ruhig, ſtell;
Hus es eenſaum, veel to grot,
Enn daut Hoat mi bräcki well.
Miene lewi Mam es doot,
Kann keen Woet mea redi,
Noch mi halpi enn di Not,
Oda fer mi bedi.

Miyne layve Mam aes dawt

Miyne layve mam aes dawt
vowat kayn vuwet maya reyde,
nej miy halpe aene nawt,
awda faer miy beyde.

Yestre viya saz nej om daesh,
frentlex en twafreyde;
shoft aem hüs yezunt en fraesh.
Dayd nej taw tvaybac kneyde.

Lext zaw shtael en aes zaw blos;
daeet zek nex maya riyere;
aes gons shtrom aen unya glos,
rayd tawm latste fiyere.

Ole owabeet shtaeet nü shtael,
zay vowat nusht maya dawne;
aj, dot howat miy breyaeke vael,
dot zay nü vael gowne.

Os aek viya nej yungc en kliyn,
enshuldex eneyafoware,
haft zay miy zaw feyle mowl
cunt faer enylaek shayn bevoware.

Shtad aek miy de bowafte fawt,
tref ayn neyagel awda shplaeta,
nom zay miy shvend epe shawt,
cust dot oles beyta.

Os aek yengk now Destrect Shawl,
ole layve merye,
müuc zay miy dot amake fel,
dayd miy gawt fezerye.

Os aek ol yevese krawt
en fen hüs yegowne,
van aek eya beziyeke com,
dayd zay aema miy femowne.

Müuc aek eya us cuma, grom,
daerx miyne deme reyngke,
viya zay gawt en vays dot com,
vaw dot eya dayd kreyngke.

Layve mam, zay blos ayn vuwet,
lowt diy dej eyaviyeke;
viyesht miy aema dej zaw gawt,
van aek com diy moyl beziyeke.

Miyne mamiy zaxt nü nusht,
lext zaw freydlex, rüex shtael;
hüs aes aynzom, feyl taw grawt,
en dot howat miy breyaeke vael.

Miyne layve mam aes dawt,
con kayn vuwet maya reyde,
nej miy halpe aene nawt,
awda faer miy beyde.

Historical Records of the Younger Churches

Melvin Gingerich

If the nineteenth century was the great era of Protestant missionary expansion, the last hundred years has been the period of recent Mennonite foreign mission outreach. It was in 1851 that the first Mennonite missionary Pieter Jansz sailed to a foreign shore, Java, in the Dutch East Indies. At the end of the nineteenth century the first American representatives of Mennonite mission boards arrived in India to found missions in that country. The period of great expansion of American Mennonite foreign missions has, therefore, come about in the last seventy years. By 1965 a total of 786 Mennonite missionaries from North America were serving abroad in 42 countries.

How well have the historical developments of the Mennonite churches in Latin America, Africa, and Asia been chronicled? If records were kept, how well have they been preserved? Where are they located today? How large a volume of authentic records are still in existence? What guide lines for the creation and preservation of historical records are being followed by these churches today? To find answers to these questions was one of the assignments given to this writer by the Mennonite organization COMBS (Council of Mission Board Secretaries), the Mennonite Central Committee, and the Mennonite Historical and Research Committee. Consequently in the first half of 1969 this writer, accompanied by his wife, made a four and one-half month trip to visit Mennonite churches in Latin America, Africa, and Asia in the interest of obtaining historical information and to encourage the writing and preservation of the story of "God's mighty acts" among the brethren of many nations and cultures. This report will summarize briefly the status of the records in each area that the writer visited.

The Mennonites have been in Puerto Rico twenty-five years. The non-current records, beginning with the Civilian Public Service program, are housed in an office in the Luz y Verdad building in Aibonito. At the present time (1970) the Puerto Rico Mennonite Conference is bringing together additional materials for the writing of a history of the Mennonites in Puerto Rico.

In Jamaica the officers of the Mennonite Church have been record conscious and have built up a good collection. Here there is also much interest among the national pastors in creating a more complete set of records pertaining to their congregations. Elmer Lehman in Costa Rica has accumulated an excellent file of records pertaining to the work of the Conservative Mennonite Church of that country.

In Colombia, Glendon Klaassen maintains the files of the General Conference Mennonite mission at the Bogota Mennonite Church. Some earlier records are at Cachipay. The local leadership at the church in Ibaque is enthusiastically creating a set of records pertaining to the Ibaque Church. Many Mennonite Central Committee records are filed in the MCC center in Asuncion, Paraguay. In the Menno Colony, Martin Friesen has collected many documents, some of which originated in Russia. The problem of how to create a central archives for all of the Mennonite colonies is one to which the history-minded leaders are giving increasing attention. Now many valuable pages are still in the possession of individual families. An inter-colony fireproof archives is needed.

In Argentina the Mennonites have established their official archives in the Bragado Mennonite Church, where they have deposited significant correspondence and other records. In Montevideo, Uruguay, the Mennonite seminary has established a historical library which contains some archival materials. In the same city Gustav Reimer, in behalf of the German speaking colonies, has collected Mennonite history books, periodicals, and manuscripts. In Brazil Enrique Ens of Curitiba is collecting historical records which he is using in his writing of the story of Mennonites in Brazil. Cecil Ashley of Sao Paulo is collecting the records pertaining to the Mennonite missions in Brazil.

In Africa the Ghana Mennonite Church is taking steps to systematically create and preserve its records. The mission records are in charge of one of the Mennonite missionaries. Peter Falk is taking steps to have historical manuscripts gathered at the Union Seminary in Kinshasa, Congo. This will include records pertaining to the Mennonite churches of the Congo Inland Mission. The MCC records are housed in the Kinshasa MCC office. The Tanganyika Mennonite Church records are located in their headquarters building in Bukiroba near Musoma, Tanzania. In Ethiopia the Mennonite missionary records are in the headquarters

office in Addis Ababa. The leadership of the Ethiopian Mennonite Church understands the significance of church records and is taking measures to set up their collection.

In India both the Old Mennonites and the General Conference Mennonite missions have valuable records but they have not been brought together to central archives. Because of climatic disadvantages, the preservation of records is difficult in India and so plans are under way to microfilm the old record books, which display the admirable respect for history that the early missionaries had. In Hong Kong considerable MCC records remain in their offices but the files are incomplete. In Japan fairly complete files of the activities of the Mennonite and the Brethren in Christ missionaries exist in Obihiro, Tokyo, Osaka, Miyazaki, and other places. MCC records remain in Honan-cho in Tokyo. In Taiwan Peter Kehler has a collection of records covering the Mennonite General Conference activities in the island. The records of the Mennonite hospital in Hualien are in the charge of Roland Brown. The early MCC records of their work in Taiwan are also in the Hualien hospital. The MCC records of Indonesia, stored in Pati, Java, are in excellent condition. Important documents on the early history of the Mennonites in Indonesia are still in existence Djojodhardjo, the leader of the Javanese Mennonite Church, has issued directives that hopefully will result in the centralization and preservation of these old documents as well as in the writing of the more recent church history.

From the above account, it should be clear that a sense of history exists in the younger churches around the globe. Part of my assignment was to stimulate this interest and to offer help out of my experiences as a historian and archivist when questions concerning policies and procedures were asked of me.

Traum-Wahrheit

By Clara K. Dyck

Am Ufer führte der Pfad entlang
Wo die Winde und Wellen tobten;
Der Fuss hielt schritt mit dem innern Gesang,
Und all ihre Kräfte lobten
Den Meister der herrlich die Geisterwelt
Vorspiegelt im flimmernden Abendrotzelt.

Stumm zischend tauchte die glühende Glut
Mutwillenlos sich hinunter;
Kühlt brennende Wang in der eisigen Flut;
Entschwindet—verblendent munter—
Wirft um sich den Schleier—grau-mollig-dicht—
Erstickend in Jubel-Angst, Seelenlicht.

Da, plötzlich, hält einsam der Wandrer inn';
Fühlt fröstelnd die dämpfende Flut ihn umwehn;
Ruft: "Gott! Ach—mein Leben! Wo soll ich wohl hin?
Soll so—im Moment nun—Alles vergehn?
—Ich hab's ja erfleht—so oft, so oft—
Doch nun, da es hier . . . . . wie unverhofft!"

Hoch, glotzend, und steil, die Felsenwand steht,
Kahlen Hauptes, im Alter, erhoben,
Gedenkend der Spuhren die längst verweht,
Der antwortlos Fragen verstoben.
—Der Sand sieded fort unterm bäumenden Fuss
—Und die Wellen schlagen—Gruss um Gruss.

Die Flut ist versunken im stillen Meer;
Die Ebb lispelt leise ein 'Lullaby';
Nackte Menschheit spielt im Sand hin und her,
In der blendenden Sonne Arzenei.
Die Winde?—sie schliefen im Westen ein.
—Frische Äste schauckeln nieder vom Stein.

Letters to Daughters

By Ruth Carper Eitzen

They have written to daughters.
A crazy mother
has written to her daughter,
and relieved herself of madness,
bequeathed to her in turn.
A sane mother
has written to a daughter.
She has been heard only
with a polite, unreceiving smile.
Where did she get such a dutiful
daughter?
Now I too will write to my daughter.
What will I say to my nay-sayer?
"I wish to give you a grand,
a monumental selection
of sanities
and madnesses.
How fascinating it will be for you
to stroll among them, to pick and choose:
'I'll have one of these
and two of those
and that one over there!'
Help yourself, daughter, pick
and choose, try them on
and pirouette before the mirror,
see them three ways.
All are free, take what you want
and clothe yourself
in the mani-colored
magnificent
and passing
mode of humanity."

A Diamond Ring from the Czar

By Mrs. J. E. Entz

IT WAS IN THE spring of 1818 that David Hiebert, a lay teacher and preacher living in Lindenau, a Mennonite village in the Molotschna, was surprised by a visit from a government officer. The official told him that in four weeks Czar Alexander I would visit the Mennonite colonies and stop at the Hiebert home for breakfast. A week later the same official came again and ordered that 400 horses be readied for the use of the Czar and those who would be with him. Other orders followed.

Everyone was busy in the village. The horses were groomed and exercised, the yards weeded, swept, and strewn with sand. Flowers were everywhere. The village road was evened, and no one was permitted to drive through the village as the time for the royal visit approached.

Finally the day arrived—May 21, 1818, a beautiful day. Everyone was there to see the Czar and the procession. The Mennonites lined up on one side of the street while the schoolteacher and his pupils, all dressed in their best with bouquets of flowers in their hands, were stationed at the head of the road. The other people stood on the opposite side. No one was allowed to smoke. The royal procession consisted of nineteen horse-drawn coaches; however, none of the colony horses were used.

The Czar occupied the sixth coach, an open equipage drawn by six horses. Slowly the royal parade advanced. The Czar smiled graciously, greeting his subjects to the left and to the right of the road. Humbly the assembled throng bowed deeply in homage to the royal visitor. Hiebert tells how he and his wife stood

at the door of their house waiting to welcome the Czar. The carriage halted and "Czar Alexander I approached us. My wife addressed him saying, 'If I have found favor in the eyes of your majesty, I would like to offer this small gift.' With that she proffered a beautiful bouquet of flowers. He graciously accepted the gift. We then invited him into our humble home; whereupon the Czar said, 'The host and hostess (*Wirt und Wirtin*) must come in also.'

"We had prepared the *Grosze Stube* (parlor). A table was spread with a cloth; on it were two candlesticks and many flowers. Nearby stood the serving table upon which bread, butter, onions, and ham had been placed.

"Our distinguished guest walked up and down the room several times, then said, 'Oh, I see food here.'

" 'Yes,' my wife answered, 'if I may serve your majesty, I beg that you will eat here.' Quickly we placed the chairs. One had been made especially for the occasion, and I placed it at the head of the table. However, the Czar did not accept this place of honor.

" 'No,' he said, 'the mother of the house is to take the place of honor.'

"We were all overwhelmed, and my wife protested, 'I am much too lowly to sit at the same table with my lord.'

"The Czar then kindly took her by the hand and led her to the fine chair at the head of the table saying, 'We are all just people; God created us alike.'

"His majesty ate with apparent appetite and inquired as to our well-being as well as to the welfare of all the new citizens. He wanted to know how long the Mennonites had been in Russia and if they liked the country. Then he asked, 'Are there any complaints or is there dissatisfaction?' We answered that we were grateful for the kind reception that had been given to our people. Then he asked my wife whether she had any special wish or desire. 'If it is in my power,' he said, 'I will grant it.'

" 'Yes,' said my wife quietly, 'my greatest wish is that neither my sons nor my sons' sons be required to go into military service.'

" 'Your wish is granted,' our Czar replied; 'your children and children's children shall enjoy my grace.' With these words his majesty gave her the diamond ring as a pledge of his promise."

On the Quality of Discontent

By Orville L. Voth

THAT THERE IS discontent and dissatisfaction; unrest and protest in society and on college campuses today is no news. That most older adults and many younger adults view this phenomenon with alarm and great distress is also well known. That some see what is going on as an expression of hope may be news to many of us although we are likely to dismiss such optimism as either naive or a minimizing of the quality of campus unrest or the seriousness of the student's attitude about matters of deep concern to them. Personally, I am undecided about whether to be hopeful about the consequences of the present unrest. I believe that this is a manifestation of something serious and important, but whether the ends and outcome will be a meaningful future or more of the same is an open question—unless perhaps we as Christian educated people can discern the underlying causes of the troubles that plague our society and then provide adequate bases for dealing with these roots of unrest. Permit me to suggest a couple of ideas—perspectives if you please—which might be considered in thinking about the quality of discontent and appropriate responses to it.

Disturbed about Being Disturbed

First of all, as educated people we can hardly be disturbed about being disturbed. After all, one of the characteristics of a truly educated person is that he must be a dissatisfied person. "If he has been exposed to enough of the greatness of the past, and the possi-

bilities of the future, he must remain permanently dissatisfied with the present." Wherever the student has gotten his vision; whatever "he may have learned of the true, the good, the beautiful . . . or of sin and grace . . . such exposure cannot help but give the student a perspective in terms of which he must endure a state of permanent dissatisfaction."[1] This state of anxiety can be positive and is in fact a goal of higher education. Higher learning is, at its best, never comfortable.

The problem, then, is not that there is discontent—education has left its mark and this is a sign of hope. A real cause for worry is not the student action but student apathy—and the same charge can be directed to the citizenry of our nation and the world. Discontent is not a quality to be avoided but a trait to be encouraged.

The more basic question of concern is: What are we discontented about; what are the real issues of discontent and dissatisfaction today? And having examined this: What are the Christian alternatives to the answers being given by violence, fear, repression and/or apathy?

Issues of Discontent—Society

The issues about which much unrest is focused are obvious to all of us: the Vietnam war, the nuclear threat, and the black/white conflict are easily identified as embitterments about which much campus activism revolves. Buell Gallagher in an address at a recent meeting of the American Association for Higher Education identified other social problems of such serious dimensions that they were labeled a "mandate for change."[2] Recent studies indicate that many public officials (and private citizens for that matter) know little, understand less, and care nothing about the problems of the ghetto, poverty, population, violence, drugs—or at least they want to *do* little, less, or nothing. These are indeed troubles that plague our society and about which we rally in colleges and universities with "relevant curricula," peace marches and demonstrations, teach-ins, voluntary action programs, re-examination of contracts with the defense department, re-examination of the college-community relationship, questioning of the status of ROTC, etc. I do not mean to depreciate these steps at all. In fact these responses of higher education reflect a basic strength and "flexibility, which . . . will assure productive changes and will help us avoid dangerous polarizations."[3]

These are some of the issues about which dissent, discontent, and discord swirl with such great energy and agitation today. And there are those who believe that out of these issues will come a restructuring of our colleges to make them more relevant to these issues—to say nothing about our churches and other institutions which affect social change. But there are others who believe that what is going on today is not confined to these particular issues. An example is John Seeley of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions who writes, ". . . the thrust of the movement's critique, and that which lends force to the action and the sense of irreconcilability to the issues, is that these—and larger matters such as the drift of war toward biocide; the mindless spoliation of nature and probable poisoning of the environment; the total corruption of men's minds by mass propaganda in small matters and large; the progressive alienation, constriction and truncation of the human being in such a society; the dominance of technological thoughtways in which means float free of or determine ends—[all these] are the climactic, characteristic, and inseparable results (and, in a sense, aims) of the existing order. The indictment is drawn not in terms of reversible deviation from a right path, but in terms of persistence to a path so patently bound for hell on earth that a fresh beginning by new men, based on entirely new assumptions and with entirely different aims is required and inescapable."[4]

A Deeper Issue—Man

This is a far deeper analysis and reaches to the very basis of our society. This message is one which says the Vietnam war will pass, the militant and very vocal college unrest will pass, the present black separatism will pass, the intensity of the radical and violent revolutionaries will pass; these are not the basic issues as real as they may be in dividing us. Seeley suggests, as do others, that the real need is for new men with new assumptions and new objectives!

Now whether you speak of new men in Seeley's words and/or in Christian terms, the message is that the real issues today are in the hearts, wills, and minds of men. Indeed, in every generation the wrong in the world has been in the minds, hearts, and wills of man and it is to these same needs that the claims of a radical Christian faith, when properly understood, are directed. Whatever else may be suggested by an analysis of discontent today the inescapable conclusion is that the faults in human relationships, the weaknesses of society's structure, the perversion of moral and ethical values—all issue from the evil in man's nature. The proper approach to these problems is obviously, then, to deal first with evil in man at the personal level—a project to which the claims of Jesus Christ are specifically directed.

Now this is not a popular approach today—especially among young radicals. Even such an astute observer and Christian radical as Arthur Gish assigns this approach to the limbo regions of fundamentalism and political conservatism.[5] Indeed, if I could go no further I would have to agree with Gish, for the radically new man will find expression of his faith in

the real world about him or else his claim to a radical Christian faith can be seriously questioned.

Eschatology without Foundation

On the other hand, the voices from the New Left movement are equally unsatisfactory. The suggestions from this movement for dealing with discontent are insufficient in spite of their emphasis on Anabaptist-like practices—nonviolence, concern about persons as individuals, integrity, simple life. As Gish points out in a recent book, "One quality of discontent lacking from the New Left is that they do not see sin as having a 'personal origin' but rather as a 'result of a perverted social structure'."[6] In fact, the "eschatological vision" of the New Left is without adequate foundation for there is no religious basis for their values, goals, and visions, according to Gish. The result is that the New Left sees the problems of society in terms of evil systems rather than evil men. Their new life styles are therefore primarily directed toward replacing and destroying the system without recognizing that man himself is responsible for evil systems as a result of his own evil nature. Langdon Gilkey has presented clear evidence in his book, *Shantung Compound,* that a fundamental need of human society is to learn to deal with the facts of man's nature. Unless this is recognized the social structures erected by the New Left will be no better than those structures being destroyed and replaced; the New Order will be only a more recent version of the Old Society, complete with the same evils we have had with us throughout our history.

A New Man with a New Vision

What is suggested, then, is that we are in desperate need of a radical faith that gives rise to a new man with a new vision. The ultimate meaning and expression of this radical Christian faith in society needs, of course, to be worked out and applied by the community of believers. And I would suggest that we can get valuable insight into this problem by studying the early church and the Anabaptists with their life styles, their understanding of living as if the kingdom of God had already come, and their establishing of some new alternatives within the community. These are recognizable contributions of the profound Anabaptist vision of a new order—and yet as profound as these were, one of the most significant contributions from our Anabaptist-Mennonite heritage is that while acknowledging man's evil nature there is also hope for his renewal and rebirth. In Jesus Christ the Anabaptists saw the power available by which man might overcome his baser instincts and tendencies—to discover those insights, resources, and energies which enabled them to live their new alternatives. It is this synthesis of the new man with their vision of a new social order that enabled the Anabaptists to live and work within the real world. This is the real genius of the tradition.

On the pragmatic level we need to realize that for some of us new alternatives may mean visible symbols as it did for earlier Anapabtists. These symbols may include simple life styles but it never means hostilities that prevent communication; for some of us new alternatives suggest peace marches and rallies but never psychological violence that destroys the capacity for patience, tolerance and love; for some, new alternatives find no symbolic expressions but this never means condemnation of others who find community in such symbolism; for some new alternatives mean new institutions but never an anti-institutionalism which destroys old wineskins; but for all of us, new alternatives must be based on new men with new visions to be offered to mankind but never imperialistically and self-righteously imposed; for all of us our new personhood together with the necessary quality of concern and discontent can develop properly only through the complete submission to the rule of Jesus Christ. This is a price that few—even the most discontented today—are willing to pay, but I submit that unless our discontent and our alternatives are based on such a radical Christianity our brave new world will become another frightened old world for the next generation.

I close by repeating again that the evil in the world has always been in the hearts, minds, and wills of man and it is to these needs that the claims of Jesus Christ are directed. It is here that we will find a new interpretation of life—a new purpose—which alone is the answer to our discontent. Institutions are, after all, necessary for community for they "are the vehicles through which it gives structure to its life and its convictions, and passes on these convictions to the next generation . . . it is through the institutions of the Christian church and through our Sunday school classes, and through the books we have read . . . that we have come to such sensitivities as we have . . ." about faith, commitment, and social issues.[7] Institutions are made by man and made up of men and, therefore, if hearts, minds, wills, emotions, and purposes of man are redirected, appropriate discontent must and will develop—followed by appropriate actions, resulting in a new order. It is to these needs that the claims of Jesus Christ are directed. It is His purpose to make of us new people whose life styles, whose relationships with others—whether in agreement or disagreement—demonstrate that God's kingdom is now. The results will be unimportant in terms of goals to be reached. The important thing is a complete self-commitment, perhaps best expressed by the prayer of Ignatius Loyola:

"Teach us, O Lord, to serve thee as thou deserv-

est; to give and not to count the cost; to fight and not to heed the wounds; to labor and not to ask for any reward, save that of knowing that we do Thy will. Through Jesus Christ our Lord."

FOOTNOTES

1. Brown, Robert McAfee, "Those Revolting Students: A Look at the Undergraduate Generation," *North Central News Bulletin*. January 1967, p. 22.
2. Gallagher, Buell G., "The Troubled World: Mandate for Change in the Troubled Campus," Address at Opening Session at 25th American Association for Higher Education, Chicago. March 1, 1970.
3. Beinecke, William S., "Conflict and Human Progress," Commencement Address, Union College. June, 1969. p. 9.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Gish, Arthur, *The New Left and Christian Radicalism*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1970. pp. 94-104.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
7. Kaufman, Gordon D., "A Vision for a Mennonite College," Address at the Inauguration of Dr. Orville Voth, Bethel College, Feb. 5, 1967.

Higher Education—Cause for Celebration

By David D. Eitzen

What is higher education? It is going beyond the rudiments of learning such as recognizing words, increasing one's vocabulary, forming simple declarative sentences to communicate personal feelings and opinions, and describing experiences. Higher education is learning refined ways of analyzing and organizing data. Higher education is becoming immersed in the history of the past so one can orient himself about the present and elect a *con fortare* direction into the ambiguity of futurity. The faith of our fathers and mothers is the marrow of our value-stature.

The human being is distinguished from other levels of creation and motivated to reflect upon his own reflections and thus to assume responsibility to deal creatively with the raw materials of the reality in which he lives and moves and has his being. This illustrates the *objective* dimension of higher education.

We are the beneficiaries of a marvelous government, quite regardless of the political party in power. Ours is a sensitive democratic culture. Educationally this means that anyone has the privilege to go to school to develop and to actualize his interests to the limit of his creator-endowed capacities in tax-supported institutions. 'Tis plain marvelous!

But—our culture is punctuated with ever so many private schools which are frequently church related. Why? There must be many reasons; I nominate only one. Public education has become a mastodon of mass schooling, dictated by popular demands. Hence, the preponderance of offerings in the physical sciences and in technology. Frankly it pays to have degrees of advanced learning and skills.

Such learning is prone to be quantitative and normative. That is to say—a thing is good if 66% of the random sampling regard it so. Those who deviate from such norms are plain kooks. But throughout history there have been the remnants of people who held that there are cardinal values which transcend popular opinion. Mass schooling is prone to be quantitative and more or less self-preservation orientated. Private education is dedicated to be qualitative in that it is conscience-sensitized. Said one Christian mother to her daughter who became a freshman in a state college last week, "Use your head and follow your heart." This sounds cleanly Christian. Now—in a church-related college such a student would be supported in this.

We need to ask ourselves three questions: a) Am I content with mass-schooling which is tax supported? b) If I favor conscience-sensitized education, am I sure that the idiom of the values to which I was introduced when I was in college is negotiable in dealing with the confusions of today? c) Am I willing to pay double and triple or more for value-qualitative education?

Only he can celebrate who experiences a sense of "Being," rather than merely possessing things, even knowledge. The Old Testament poet in the book of Proverbs puts it crisply thus: "Get knowledge; and with all thy getting, get wisdom." To become wise is to become insightful; that is, to become objective about one's subjectivity as a human being. A sense of integrity and authenticity is the prime requisite of "Being." The Bible's description of the nature of God is found in the poignant phrase, "I am who I am." (Ex. 3:14) And this is the image of God in which each student is created.

The only way in which any one of us is redeemed from his finiteness is to enter into a complementing relationship with fellowmen; with the elements of nature; as well as with God. Paul describes spiritual maturity as being "laborers together with God," and Jesus said, "My Father worketh hitherto: and I work." Sister Corita, currently a famous Christian artist, says,

"In order to prepare for the celebration of life we need to *make* love, *make* believe, and *make* hope with all ordinary people and the stuff around us."

This is the uniquely indispensable role of the private college, particularly the church-related college. By this I mean a love-oriented philosophy of education. And Jesus defined "loving" in the Sermon on the Mount thus, "Be you *all-including* in your good will as your Father in heaven includes all." (Matthew 5:48, Charles Cutler Torrey Translation from the Aramaic)

TO YOUNG REVOLUTIONARIES

by Elaine Sommers Rich

Can figs grow from thistles?
Grapes from thorn?

Can freedom come from oppression?
Oats from corn?

Look for an answer in all seeds
that fly, that lie in the earth.

The end is in the means,
the tree in the seed.

Take heed. Take heed.

EVENTIDE

by Lorraine J. Kaufman

Gray shadows steal across the evening sky,
And clouds as soft as velvet snuff the light
When gray November days are fused with night.
A hush descends and muted sounds imply
Contentment reigns for bird and beast. Then I
Find rest. My earthly cares have taken flight
On wings of darkness, now are lost to sight.
A peace enfolds the prairies broad and high.

My life shall some day meet its eventide.
The now shall fuse with that eternal day
When earth's gray shadows all shall softly flee.
I rest content that He will be my guide
Along the road. How well He leads the way!
Then peace and joy I'll know eternally.

Books in Review

Gerald C. Studer, *Christopher Dock: Colonial Schoolmaster*. The Biography and Writings of Christopher Dock, Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1967, 445 pp., $8.95.

In the volume *Christopher Dock: Colonial Schoolmaster*, Gerald C. Studer presents in detail the life of this early American educator. The book is the product of intensive research on Dock's European background, his reasons for coming to America, his first residence in Pennsylvania, and his church affiliation.

It is not until Chapter 12 that Studer discusses the sources of Dock's educational thought. As one who is more interested in Dock's contribution to educational philosophy than in the details of his life, I waded through several hundred pages of biographical information before getting to what seemed to me the most significant contribution of the volume.

In spite of the fact that Christopher Dock in his Christian modesty was hesitant in permitting his writings to be published, he has been made somewhat of a myth by historians, educators, and artists. The fact that he died on his knees in his classroom praying for his students has also helped to make the ideal "teacher image" for Mennonites. This volume by Studer helps to preserve this Christopher Dock myth.

The last section of the volume contains the writings of Christopher Dock translated from German into English, including his treatise on *School Management*. In *School Management*, Dock reflects his educational philosophy and methodology.

What stands out as his most significant contribution to educational philosophy is his deep concern for the spiritual life of his students.. Studer points out that his deep concern for others stems from his Anabaptist heritage. It is also pointed out that his educational philosophy is similar to that of the great Johann Comenius, who lived about a century before Dock. Dock saw education as a means of preparing the human heart to accept Christ and to grow in Christian virtues, and all else was secondary to this central goal. He perceived children as more inclined toward evil than good. His role as a teacher was to provide that environment in which there would be a minimum of evil and maximum of good. The secret of a well disciplined life was a changed heart and his teaching was directed toward changing the hearts of his pupils. Learning and teaching skills were the means toward this central goal. He believed strongly in rewards and punishments. His rewards ranged from material gifts to praise, and punishments from labels such as "lazy" to corporal punishment. He made use of the monitor system in assigning some students to help others. Even though he was a perfectionist, insisting on correct answers and diligent performance, he was tolerant with the slow child who was diligent. He had a highly structured classroom for he regarded time as sacred and idleness as a vice.

This volume by Studer is a valuable contribution in the realm of early American education. It is especially valuable in that it contains the writings of Christopher Dock which enable the reader to see this saintly educator as a human being struggling with many of the same problems that contemporary Christian educators still face.

BETHEL COLLEGE *Justus G. Holsinger*

Emil J. Waltner, *Banished For Faith*. Freeman, South Dakota: Pine Hill Press, 1968, 221 pp, $5.50.

Waltner states that the purpose of his book is "to give the present generation the story in the language they can read." It is in this area that Waltner makes his major contribution. He has added poetry and other descriptive materials heretofore available only in German. As one speaks in person to the author, one feels the pulse and vibration of a movement that exists behind the printed word, and realizes that Waltner is contributing to a way of life.

The book does an excellent task of describing the European struggles of both the Hutterite Brethren and the Swiss Mennonites. Waltner also manages to include valuable insights into the Low-German neighbors of these two groups. One wonders why these various groups never could cooperate enough to merge their groups in the common struggle for survival.

While this book has been written for the lay reader, it also merits the attention of the scholar. The translations seem to be well done with particular reference to genealogy. There are interesting bits of folklore—Waltner is a good storyteller—and many interesting reports of early frontier life.

One could criticize the book from the standpoint of sentence structure and composition; but one soon loses sight of this as one becomes immersed in the struggle to keep the faith as the dominant theme in the life of the brotherhood.

FREEMAN JUNIOR COLLEGE *Eldon W. Graber*

Urie A. Bender, *Soldiers of Compassion*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1969, 319 pp., $4.95.

This is a valuable documentary type book about the Mennonite Central Committee Pax (alternative to military service) program. The author's method in chapter 2, "Men of Pax," is to select Paxmen who have served in one of eight different countries (Germany, Greece, Paraguay, West Pakistan, Algeria, Congo, Crete, and Vietnam), to introduce a Paxman briefly, then to have him present his experiences in his own words. This creates unevenness of literary quality but gives the reader a broad glimpse of the wide variety in Pax work. A Pax worker may try to develop a new strain of sweet pepper for Greek farmers, work in a dispensary that serves hinterland Berbers, help transport building materials in the Congo, or try to find meaning to life in Vietnam. Over 200 of the pages of the book (including 24 of excellent photos) go into this detailing of the Pax experience, "painting a picture of Paxmen in their natural habitat," as author Bender calls it.

In chapter 3 he evaluates the Pax program; in chapter 4 he traces its history. The three appendices provide valuable information, e.g., the names, home addresses, places and periods of service of the 674 men who served in MCC Pax to June 1, 1968. The best piece of writing in the book is the beautifully-done three-page dedication to Greek Alexander Mavrides, symbol of the many interpreters and go-betweens who have made the Pax program possible.

NORTH NEWTON, KANSAS *Elaine Sommers Rich*

Eberhard Arnold, *The Early Christians*. Rifton, New York: The Plough Publishing House, 1970, 466 pp., $10.00.

It is easier to get hold of Buddhist literature or the legends of the Anglo-Saxons than it is to find the writings of the men who for the first century or two wrote the literature of Christendom—yet neither of these are half as universal or virile. Then when once in a century someone like Anne Fremantle does edit and publish *A Treasury of Early Christianity*, she attempts to cover nearly a millennium. If any serious and literate Christian passes up an exposure to the first couple hundred years of Christian faith and life, he is neglecting an irreplaceable source of nourishment and delight. Yes, delight, for those immediate successors to the Apostles and their fellow-believers are as gay as they are great.

The Early Christians is an unusual collection of early Christian sources covering the period A.D. 70-180. There are 350 texts, including little-known sayings of Jesus, acts of early martyrs, attacks by anti-Christians, laws and edicts issued against Christians, and writings in defense and explanation of the Faith. There are also texts and hymns used in early Christian assemblies and "family meetings," such as baptisms and communions.

When the attitude toward the organized church is today one of suspicion or antagonism, it is praiseworthy that Plough should publish in English a book that allows the testimonies of those earliest Christians who lived in the period between post-Apostolic Christianity and the emergence of the institutional church to be heard today. Furthermore, the release of this book is an appropriate act in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the communal experiment for which Plough Publishing House is a servant.

This book is the first of the life-long scholarship and leadership of the founder of the Society of Brothers, Eberhard Arnold. The book is devoted, just as he was, to the daily practical application of the early Christian message and spirit. As Arnold said: "Without taking sides, we have tried to highlight all the trends which led from living faith to a practical life of love in trust and loyalty under Christ's direction." This book was first published in German in 1926.

Plough has made a name for itself in the bookmaking world for the beauty and quality of its publications, having won several awards from the printing industry. This again is a strikingly beautiful book with its fine paper and binding and its five black, gold and red illuminated capitals beginning each sub-section of the Introduction. Eight crimson interleaves bearing a gold symbol divide the eight chapters entitled: Introduction and Survey; State, Society and Martyrs; Christian Self-Portraits; Confession of Faith and Scriptures; Lord's Sayings, the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, and Letters; Meetings and Worship; Proclamation and Prophecy; and Annotations. The entire text of the

Didache (or The Teaching of the Twelve) is included because of its great significance. The annotations and indexes comprise 152 pages, making it an eminently useful work to both scholar and layman without at the same time cluttering up the text with footnotes of commentary and bibliographical detail.

There is much exciting material here for use in public worship and devotional reading. There are some unexpected attitudes revealed and topics discussed, such as the relation of church discipline to the communion service or the ethics of abortion. *The Early Christians* provides a kind of sequel to the Acts of the Apostles in a more comprehensive sense than any of the chronicles of contemporary spiritual renewal do, for here are authentic vignettes of that life together that is prejudiced neither for nor against the supernatural confirmations of Christ's presence and blessing among the believers such as is too often found among Christians today.

SCOTTDALE, PENNSYLVANIA *Gerald C. Studer*

Ernst Behrends, *Der Steppenhengst* (a novel). Bodman: Hohenstaufen Verlag, 1969, 388 pp., $5.00.

Ernst Behrends features in this novel the Mennonites of Russia during the second half of the past century. The book is written very interestingly, keeping the reader in suspense to the end. The story begins at the village Gnadenfeld at the Molotschna settlement. It includes the Mennonite settlement of Trakt in Samara, the migration from there to Central Asia, and the Siberian Mennonite settlements. The book can be described as being a historical, religious, and cultural novel. Thus far, few novels of such scope have been written on this subject. Mention could be made of such writers as Arnold Dyck, Peter Epp, and Rudi Wiebe. The first two succeed masterfully in catching the spirit and life of the Russian Mennonite settlements, while the latter falls short since he presents a distorted picture. The *Steppenhengst* supercedes everything written thus far in extensive treatment, picturesque style, and content, featuring life among the Mennonites as it was. Of course, occasionally the writer borrows practices observed in his own environment in Germany which were not true among the Mennonites in Russia. It is amazing, however, how intimately the author is acquainted with Mennonite sources and how many personal contacts he has made with Russian Mennonite refugees in Germany, thus enabling him to present an accurate portrayal.

The central character of the novel is Johann Unruh, who is identified with the *Steppenhengst* and is a lover of horses. Johann was born on the day that Johann Cornies died and was named after him. Both he and his father were great admirers of Johann Cornies. In the turmoil of religious and cultural upheavals they remained "sober" and realistic. Nevertheless, it was hard for Johann Unruh when the religious revivals of the past centuries broke the ties between friends and relatives. His fate was different from that of Hans in Arnold Dyck's *Verloren in der Steppe*. Hans was a dreamer and an artist, while Johann loved the soil and farm life even though he was cultured and did much reading. Nevertheless, Johann Unruh was also a dreamer and seeker.

Behrends describes the establishment of new settlements in the Crimea and at the Kuban and the beginning of the Mennonite Brethren movement. The Russian environment with the Mongolian or Tatar invaders and neighbors are also treated. The educational life, contacts with Mennonites abroad, and the mission fields are dealt with, and even the migrations of the Friends of Jerusalem are included.

Johann Unruh is featured as the central figure of four generations of the family. He himself could not marry the girl he liked because she was his cousin, and the second woman whom he could never forget was Elisabeth, who belonged to Klaas Epp's group which migrated to Central Asia. This event plays a significant role in the novel. After the death of Suse, whom he married, Johann proceeded to Central Asia, but Elisabeth declined to marry him. Consequently, Johann Unruh goes to Siberia where he becomes one of the pioneer settlers of the striving Mennonite villages.

The novel features numerous other leading and significant representatives among the Mennonites of Russia. The agricultural and industrial life is successfully and accurately presented. Cultural and linguistic peculiarities are used to full advantage. The author includes in this panorama the characteristics of the Russians, the Cossacks, the Tatars, and other ethnic groups which surrounded the Mennonites. It is not surprising that Behrends misses occasionally some points in his detailed presentation of a group of people far away.

VANCOUVER, B. C. *N. J. Klassen*

Aganetha Fast, *Out of My Attic*. Freeman, S. D.: Pine Hill Press, 1970, 128 pp., $2.50.

Could a missionary be a millionaire? Aganetha Fast tells of the trials of being a paper millionaire in her book of reminiscences of missionary life in China from 1917 to 1949. *Out of My Attic* is not a dusty tome from a dead mission field. It is the good-humored narration of the funny and touching incidents of mission life. What would you do if you found that Chinese parents did not want to send their little girls to your mission schools because of your practice of encouraging them to unbind their feet? You discover that women with big feet are known to be prostitutes. Or what happens when a husband waits behind a gate, hatchet-like knife in hand, to kill his wife for attending Sunday church services?

Could you fill your own aching tooth following mail-order directions? How would you do it? These and many other incidents are described in humorous detail in Miss Fast's vignettes of her work. She lived in Chinese towns with such names as Pure Bounty, Abundant Fertility and Southern Joy City to proclaim the new faith of the "Happy Sound," the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Tips collected from ancient Chinese proverbs conclude this brief account.

Aganetha Fast, now retired in Mountain Lake, Minnesota, has continued a life of active participation in church and community life since conditions forced missionaries to leave China in 1949. Her book is a memento of an interesting personality. It is available from the Freeman Junior College Bookshop, or from the Faith and Life Bookstore in Newton, Kansas.

FREEMAN JUNIOR COLLEGE *Martha F. Graber*

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