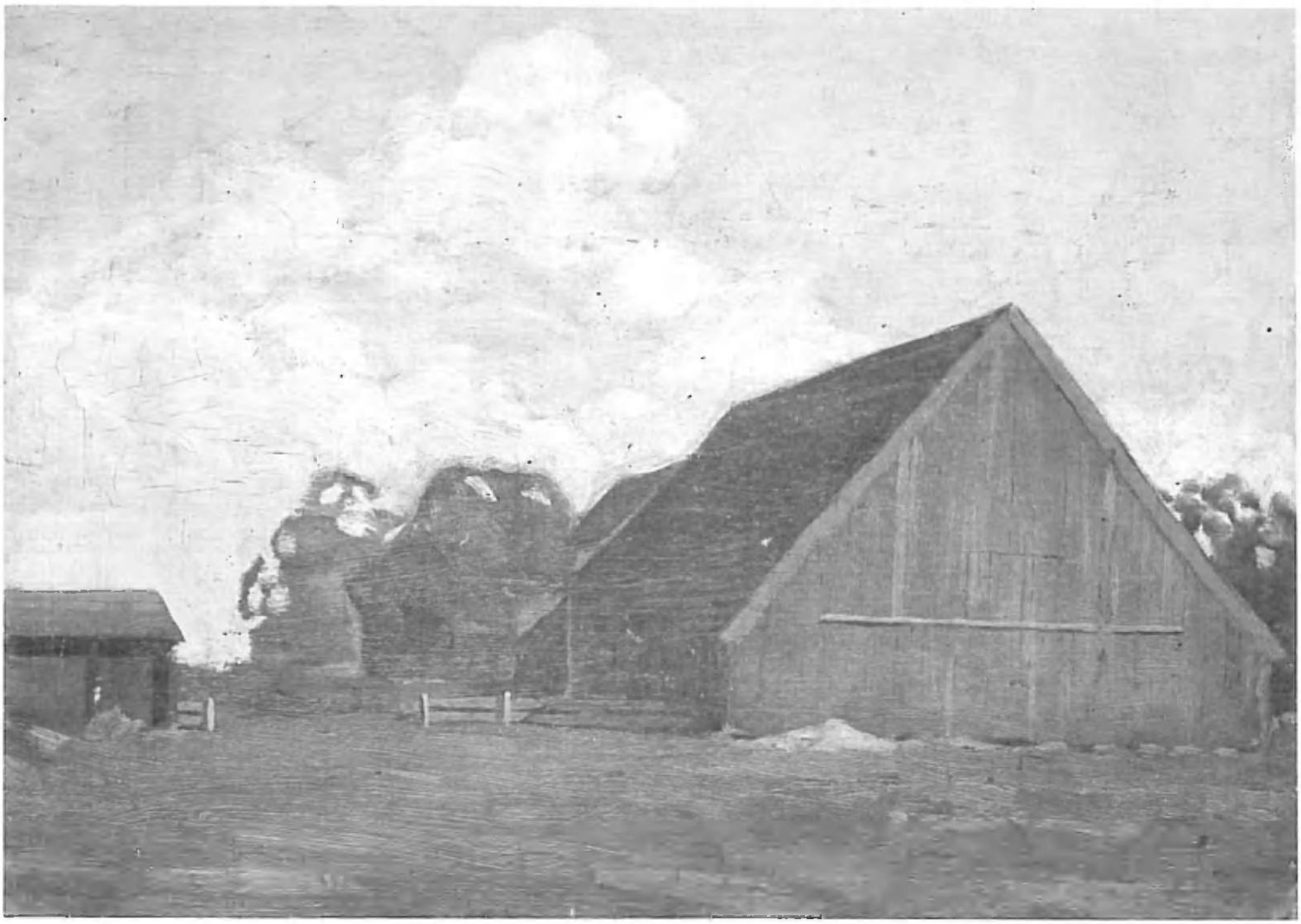
MENNONITE LIFE

APRIL 1971



An Illustrated Quarterly Published by Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas

April 1971 Volume XXVI Number 2

MENNONITE LIFE

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COVER

On the Dnieper River. Oil painting by Arnold B. Dyck.

BACK COVER

Mennonite Farm in Russia. Oil painting by Arnold B. Dyck.

Printing and lay-out by Mennonite Press
North Newton, Kansas 67114

MENNONITE LIFE is an illustrated quarterly magazine published in January, April, July, and October by Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas. Second-class postage paid at North Newton, Kansas 67117. SUBSCRIPTION RATES: One year, $3.00; Three years, $7.50; Five years, $12.50. Single issues, 75 cents.

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CORRECTION

Instead of the "school at Gnadenfeld" it should be the "school at Steinbach" on page 166, October issue, 1970.

IN THIS ISSUE

some emphasis is placed on the contributions of the well-known Mennonite writer and artist, Arnold B. Dyck, who died July 10, 1970. His writings, particularly those in Low German, are still widely read and presented. Through his daughter, Hedwig Knoop, we were able to make use of some of his paintings which originated around 1936. Some of Dyck's writings, and articles about him are listed in this issue. Elmer F. Suderman has undertaken to translate some of the writings of Arnold Dyck into English. Several of these translations have been published in *Mennonite Life*. One, as well as a number of poems by Suderman, are included in this issue. ¶ The contribution by Louis L. Dale is timely and should be widely read. N. J. Kroeker is presenting his second installment of reminiscences about Chortitza on the Dnieper River, while Victor Peters is describing some of his experiences related to the same time and place in Russia. ¶ The contributions of William and Edith Zehr, the founders of Better Film Productions, are unique in a small Mennonite constituency. The Zehrs had an idea and they succeeded in realizing it. The administration of the Mennonite Library and Archives is grateful for the opportunity to preserve this unusual collection of a dedicated Christian team. James C. Juhnke presents a chapter dealing with the Mennonites in Kansas during the Spanish-American war. ¶ The columns, "Mennonite Research in Progress" and "Mennonite Bibliography," are growing in size partly because more and more is being done in this field, and probably also because we are widening the range of Anabaptism and Radical Reformation and are thus becoming more fully aware of research, publications, and activities in this field. We solicit information for the April issue of 1972.

Sex as Public Responsibility

By Louis L. Dale

WHEN THE BEDROOM door is safely shut, what takes place there between a man and woman is strictly personal . . . or is it?

Within the family of man there are five obvious choices in the matter of fulfilling sexuality: heterosexuality with all its variety, homosexuality with all its hiddenness, bi-sexuality with its emotional tightrope walking, autosexuality with all its old wives' tales, or asexuality with all its cultural condemnation. What a person chooses as the primary expression of his sexuality is strictly private. . . . . or is it?

Is Sex a Private Matter?

A pregnancy, within marriage or outside the blessing of church and community, is strictly a matter between the man and woman involved. . . . . or is it?

Venereal disease (which does not come primarily from toilet seats) is just a "personal medical problem" and what transpires between a patient and his/her doctor in this particular concern is of no more public interest than what a doctor tells a patient about cancer or appendicitis. . . . . or is this true?

We have inherited from the past the understanding that sex is the most private of subjects. A legitimate question today (because of the shrinking size of our planet and the problems of today's life) can be and must be raised: Is the privacy of sex so sacred that it cannot—and need not—be changed? Isn't there room for and a need of public responsibility within the matter of our sexuality?

This is the subject with which I propose to deal, but before I begin there are certain boundaries which I want to lay out:

One of my persuasions is that sex is good. Tragedy is the word for the situation in which people find that the thought of their maleness and femaleness in relationship to the opposite sex is a negative one. The word "nasty" should never be applied to our bodies, and in particular to our sexual equipment and desire.

The Sex Drive Is Normal and Good

Sexuality is basic to our identity; it is, no doubt, the basic level at which we experience ourselves. "I am a man," "I am a woman" are words which express what we know, in the most basic sense, of ourselves. How much this is biological and how much this identity is cultural does not matter to me at this point. Identity through our sexuality *is* basic, and I am horrified at the thought of how many little boys and girls are taught both by word and by nonverbal communication that "Sex is dirty." Such teaching is a crime against our creation! When we foster such understanding we are fostering crime against ourselves.

We "meet the world" through what we are sexually, and to think of "us" as dirty or not good is really unthinkable. To even tacitly accept the sex drive within us as less than a normal and good part of us is to deny our very existence. Sexual activity is commonly called "making love." To believe that a man giving himself and taking another in love, to experience a woman as giving herself and taking another in love as less than good is to negate one human life meaningfully reaching out to another. Life would be senseless if this were really true.

Theologically, my understanding has its beginning—and almost its ending—in the great credo of Israel found in the opening chapters of Genesis in which it is recorded that "God created man male and female." Their relationship to each other in the joyful delight of their bodies and spirits is given foundation in Israel's faith and in my own when it is recorded in Genesis, "It is not good that man should be alone," and a partner was created for him, one, bone of man's bone and flesh of man's flesh. The New Testament posits a mystery in declaring male and female shall become "one" in marriage.

This is foundation theology in the matter of sexuality; it is part-and-parcel of creation and of our human experience of our creation. Sex is good, very good, because of its essence in the creation—that activity by which we are directed by God to final meaning. This is personal and theological with me.

And who am I? I am a pastor, and to me this means being one who has deep sensitivity to God as ultimate meaning and to man as him to whom God calls for fellowship.

I am not a magician. I am not a psychologist. I am not a philosopher. I am not a dedicated scholar

per se. I am one raised up within the church to lead the people of God into being that, *people* of God. I understand my role as pastor to be that of a generalist in the community as opposed to the principle of specialist. My highest calling is to help persons to grow into an authentic humanity. . . . I lay out this boundary because you need to understand the ground from which I speak, and be prepared, more or less, for what follows.

Responsible Sex

If sex is basic to creation, if sex is basic to identification, if human values are and can be expressed through our sexuality, we need quickly to agree that sex must be responsible. Fundamental to our understanding of human life is the need for it to be responsible. As the several parts of life join together in a flowering responsibility, then those several parts must be responsible within themselves. Certainly, sexuality, which is so much tied in *with* and *as* what we are, must be accountable to the individual and to the culture within which he lives.

"A quick dip" into the delights of genital pleasure is not responsible sexuality. That, you may feel, is my hangup, or you may believe with me that in order to be really human the human animal must be responsible. . . . . both to himself and to all other men. Responsibility needs to begin in primary relationships.

There is no doubt that there are many rabbits who are disguised in human clothing. They may be male or they may be female. There is nothing more to them, they apparently believe, than the delights of pleasing certain of their anatomical organs. What happens *as a result of that* is just "too bad." *Saturday Review*, in an issue of several months ago, told the story of a middle-aged man who was kept in a home for the mentally retarded, and later in a mental institution, for almost forty years because his mother's lover had left her with a shrug of the shoulder when she told him she was pregnant. She didn't know what else to do but turn to medical help. Unfortunately, she found an unscrupulous medical practitioner who assigned her perfectly normal son to a living hell.

Such things cannot be allowed to happen to human beings because of an irresponsible sexual act.

Venereal disease is growing at an alarming rate in our country, particularly among teen-age youth. Without elaboration, I believe that you will agree that this is a negative statistic which, somehow, must be stopped.

New Values for New Man

There is in our lifetime the birthing of a "new man," as Dr. Carl Rogers calls the new generation. His needs and values and potentials are developing in a radical way. There not only may be, there will be basic changes made. A hymn by James Russell Lowell says, "New occasions teach new duties, time makes ancient good uncouth," and this I accept. However, I believe that any value system which can claim to be human at any level must wrestle with the responsibility of our sexual nature. Sex is basic to identification; sex is basic in its instinctual understanding; sex, within any system with which I am acquainted, is declared to be a "good." However different values may be in the days ahead, those forming those values and interpreting them to their offspring must declare that when sex is fulfilled, in whatever of the five alternatives, it must be understood to be responsible, both to the individuals concerned directly and to the societal structure within which the individuals live.

Should homosexuality be against the law? What is wrong when two consenting adults elect this form of fulfillment?

Should adultery be forbidden by statute?

Should it ever be demanded by law that a woman be limited in the number of children she may bear, either within or without wedlock? If ever a law is passed forbidding the bearing of more than two or three children per woman, what should the penalty be? Is it within the rein of our imagination that children born without permits will be executed? Is it possible that children born beyond their parents' quota of offspring would be reared in state nurseries? Or automatically adopted to other families?

A more basic question is: Can those who engage in male-female sex ever control conception with no possibility of error? If they cannot—or will not—can government exercise any control?

Recently the National Broadcasting Company has being doing a series on welfare in our country. The program declared that almost 50 percent of our welfare programs across the country deal with Aid to Dependent Children. Though I personally defend welfare programs and thank God for the wealth of our nation, I am repelled by the number of children which are being born into situations in which parents are not economically equipped to fulfill their love to their children. I believe a child's birthright is one which declares that he has the right to be loved!

One enters his bedroom or someone else's bedroom, closes the door, and believes that what follows is strictly his own business. That is a value of the past; it is changing, it will change. May I, in the face of the threat of overpopulation, say it *must* change! The "new value," because of the widespread desire to see the fulfillment of humanity, will demand—and live to see—that this comes to pass!

How will it be?

What form will control take?

How can the most intimate, joyous, freeing experience of man come under public scrutiny and control?

We are repelled at the possibilities.

The wave of the future in social relationships is not conformity; it is the flourishing of the individual. Absolute control by government or complete license by the individual gives only a sorry choice. A choice between anarchy and facism is no choice at all. We must come to some middle ground, all the while protecting the individual rights and the public good.

When you begin to think in terms of responsible sexuality—responsible to the fulfillment of the individual and responsible to the society—the mind really explodes.

State Controlled Sex?

We face tremendous choices, or else become jugglers of the first order. We will not admit Uncle Sam to our bedrooms. He's not our type! Yet, we will not let every Tom, Dick and Harry and their sexual partners reproduce irresponsibly, spread disease flagrantly, or negate their own personhood willfully.

What are the alternatives? Or, is there even any business in thinking about such outlandish possibilities?

Perhaps you think what we ought to do is to make contraception available across the board to everyone, married or unmarried, and trust the individual. This would be ideal, but a haunting question remains: Will man be responsible, even in the face of projected disaster?

Perhaps you feel that abortion ought to become as common as any other routine surgical procedure, but there is the awful business that our generations are acting as a bridge from one value system to another in the matter of sexuality, and millions of people will refuse to have anything whatsoever to do with the destruction of a fetus. Thinking of abortion as a panacea, of course, excludes population as a worldwide problem, and when the lack of medical personnel around the world is really understood, the futility of even anywhere reasonable "medically approved" abortion is out of the question.

I confront you here in the terror of our mutual circumstance. It would be so delightful to turn over and go to sleep, escaping reality with unconsciousness. That will not work! Somehow we must wrestle with all our emotional and rational powers. We must become "gut level" conscious of the problems involved, of the tensions with which we must live. We dare not afford ourselves the luxury of not knowing and not caring.

Learning to deal with tensions is, to me, the chief end of learning. We learn the definition of ambiguity, and then we are guided into an existential experience of the ambiguous. We learn to make—and live with—the results of our choices. We learn to live with the unresolved.

We learn to be delighted with great ideas and noble ideals, which are challenges in themselves.

It is not a new idea that sexuality should be under control of the state. Various aspects of sex and sex-related fields are already under rigid, or fairly rigid, laws.

Marriage contracts are tightly bound by statute. . . . .

Homosexuality in most places in the United States is illegal. . . . .

There is tight control of pornography. . . . .

Cohabitation of unmarried males and females is prohibited in many places. . . . .

The legal status of the sale of contraceptives is in doubt in one state in this country. . . . .

Rape and statutory rape are against the law. . . . .

Sterilization of the male (vasectomy) has only recently become legal in Kansas, and some medical practitioners are so unaccustomed to its legality that they are still very timid about the process which many of them still experience as "mutilation". . . . .

The abortion laws across the country are in chaos, presently in the state of rapid change. . . . . and changing so differently from state to state that one seeking an abortion needs the most careful and prompt legal advice. . . . .

It is a sorry spectacle in American life when a Presidential Commission squabbles in public over their report on pornography, being unable to agree on whether or not pornography really affects the young. It is an ever sorrier spectacle when a bill is entered in a State Legislature proposing the outlawing of sex education in public schools.

We have come so very far, our culture believes; yet, there is a widespread inability today to deal with sex personally or socially. I say, "We have a long way to go!"

What I have said here is not something "new" to the area of sex. What I have hoped to share with you is the very real demand for us to consider the possibilities of increased social control, beginning with the understanding *with us* that sex is not absolutely private. It seems to me that this must seriously be considered because of the great threat of overpopulation, the gigantic cost of caring for unwanted children, and the flowering desire of people in a world coming of age who wish for—and are demanding—a better quality of human life.

We have to learn to live with and, where possible, to solve tensions; to be human means to do battle on a worldwide and even eternal scale. Responsible sexuality is one of the locales for humans to do battle. With an oath, we can declare that we won't be bothered, or, as an alternative to not caring, we can begin the slow, painful, real business of finding ourselves in relationship to the problems at hand.

Arnold Dyck - Our Last Visit

By Elisabeth Peters

On the 10th of July I was discussing Arnold Dyck's *Verloren in der Steppe* in my German seminar class. We were considering the Mennonite customs at funerals as described by Dyck in the opening chapter of the first volume. The *Tanten* of the village visit the Toews' home to offer their sympathy and comfort to the family, stricken by the death of Lena, Hänschen's three-year-old sister. The women arrive at various times of the day bringing with them pitchers of milk or cream, ingredients for the *Begräbniszwiebäckchen*, at the same time offering their condolences. Hänschen, a five-year-old and quite incapable of the realization of death and its finality, is puzzled: why do the tears well up in their eyes while they tell him of the beautiful, happy place where Lena now is, where there is no pain or sorrow and all is bliss? In keeping with the Mennonite inclination to moralize, they ask Hänschen whether he does not wish to die and join Lena in heaven. Hänschen answers in the affirmative, but with some reservation, *Ja, aber erst nach Weihnachten.* A lively discussion followed as members of the seminar pointed out more quotations which bear out Dyck's love of life. Someone mentioned the episode with the cuckoo: Hänschen asks the ominous bird how many more years he has to live, and the cuckoo calls again and again, *beruhigend lange.*

Toward the evening of the same day we received word by telephone that Arnold Dyck had passed away. On adjusting our time to the European clock we noticed that death had come to him in the very hour when the students and I were concerning ourselves with Hänschen's preoccupation with it. A mere coincidence, and yet, somehow comforting, in the knowledge that in his hour of passing our thoughts were with him.

And so our Mennonite society has lost its greatest writer, the recorder of its traditions, the chronicler of its past, the literary documentarian of its quaint *Volkstümlichkeit,* the frolicsome humorist, the gentle *Mahner* of his people. This article does not purport to evaluate his work and its meaning to our society or the world of letters, but rather is intended as a tribute to an author-artist, a fine man, and a dear friend. His death leaves the world a little poorer, a little less friendly, and for many of us much emptier.

Arnold B. Dyck's 80th birthday celebration with Victor and Elisabeth Peters in Germany.

Dyck lived to be past eighty-one, yet death came to him too soon. He was always interested in the life pulsating around him, be it in the Manitoba prairies or in the moors of Germany, but his main concern ever was his own Mennonite world. He was not always in the best of physical health, but he loved living, and I cannot help but feel that if the choice of time of death had been given him on the 10th of July, he would again have answered: *Ja, aber erst nach Weihnachten.*

Arnold Dyck lived in our home for one winter, giving my husband and me as well as our children the opportunity to get to know him intimately. We always called him "Mr. Dyck," not "Herr Dyck" or "Onkel Dyck" as he would have been addressed according to general practice, since we used only Low German in our conversations. Although he was seventy-six at the time, he was singularly alert and of astounding vitality. How he enjoyed walking against the wind in the rains of autumn or the snows of winter! He always set a brisk pace, often disregarding the traffic light at the corner, to the horror of our neighbors. Returning home after a long walk, he would relax in the easy chair just to the left of the fireplace, and, looking into the flames, begin to converse on the most diverse topics,

Arnold B. Dyck (standing) as a 17 year old student at a business school in Ekaterinos'av, Russia, 1906.

be it world-affairs or local happenings, but always, somehow, coming back to what was nearest his heart —Mennonite life, past or present.

Dyck was a moderate man with tremendous powers of discipline. I have never heard him pass harsh judgment, no matter how much opposed he might personally be to the concerns under discussion. Greatly interested in Mennonite endeavors, he was promptly at the door when the postman arrived on days when *Der Bote* was due. Often he expressed anxiety about the trends and attitudes of our society, yet of his relationship to "his Mennonites" one must say: *Er verurteilte ihre Enge, aber ihre Seelen sprach er frei.* (He condemned their narrowmindedness, but not their souls.)

Sometimes, on days when the German weeklies had reported the death of a former friend or a classmate of the Chortitza *Zentralschule,* Dyck stayed up in his room during the evening, joining the family only long enough to bid us good-night. We needed no explanation, for we sensed the situation of an aging man whose world was becoming emptier with the death of those who were once young with him many years ago. After a day or two had elapsed, he felt the need to talk about his loss. He would draw up his chair close to the fire on a snowy afternoon, and in his deep, sonorous voice begin to relate some of the experiences of by-gone days that had bound him to the ones that had passed away. He was getting lonelier, but every Wednesday afternoon after his *Nachmittagschläfchen* he went downtown to meet with Bernard Bott, the former editor of a German paper, for a cup of coffee. Quite by accident I came upon them one time, but they were so engrossed in animated conversation that they did not notice me, and I left quietly, not wishing to disturb them. Last spring, Bernhard Bott died suddenly, leaving a great void in Dyck's life.

Three years ago, my husband and I visited Arnold Dyck's daughter, Hedwig Knoop, in Darlaten, Germany. Toward evening we briefly visited the peat fields nearby and made a short detour to the Darlaten *Friedhof* to the beautification of which Hedwig and her husband Willem had contributed generously of time and effort. We were surprised and impressed by the beautiful arrangement of this small country churchyard. Tall trees surround the grassy turf, green hedges border the grave-sides, marked by natural stones. There are benches for weary wanderers who make the cemetery the goal of their *Spaziergang,* and only the whisper of the winds in the treetops and the soft chirping of the many birds break the silence there.

Here Arnold Dyck, who had lived with his daughter during the last years, found his last resting place. Hedwig writes of her father's funeral: "It was a dismal, rainy day when we buried Father, but just as the casket was lowered, the clouds parted, and the sun made the grave look friendly for a moment." We are glad that we have seen the Darlatener *Friedhof,* and know that now and then a breeze will waft the fragrance of heather over the grave, and the birds will sing near one who loved them so well. And we, his friends, can only bid him: Rest well, Mr. Dyck, and know no more sorrow.

Engagement picture of Arnold B. Dyck and Katharina Vogt, 1918.

Arnold Dyck - At the End of the Road

By Hedwig Knoop

After an hour's delay Lufthansa's flight, which was carrying our father from Canada to Germany at the end of October, 1968, arrived in Frankfurt. It was Father's first flight, and I was very anxious to hear how he had been affected by it. Mainly I was eager to see him again, and I wanted to find him as soon as possible among the arriving passengers in order to be able to carry his luggage since he was now 79 years old.

I noticed him among the first arrivals through customs. Fortunately, he showed no special signs of exhaustion. He recognized me with his first searching glance around the people waiting in the terminal, and a relieved, "Thank God, there you are!" appeared on his face.

We immediately proceeded to the waiting car, and as we left the maze of the giant parking lot and turned onto the highway, he leaned comfortably back in the seat and said, "So, and now drive slowly; I would like to enjoy the drive." The weather was brilliantly beautiful. His delight in traveling, in driving, and in looking around remained his constant joy. Even the drive to the hospital, which was to be his last, he took with the joy of traveling. "Drive slowly," he said again; "A drive is the best medicine for me."

A grown granddaughter, an adult grandson, and three half-grown grandchildren awaited his arrival at Darlaten. Also waiting was a son-in-law, who had built for Father a room of his own in the annex to which we immediately took him. He examined the bed: "Yes, it is good." He examined the view from the window: it was also good, although confined by the mixed woods in our yard. Then, in addition, there was a wardrobe, a bookshelf and a desk. Yes, that was enough; that was good. My father had always lived his days in Spartan simplicity.

Immediately on the first day my father inspected his bicycle that had been stored with us from his last visit. "Let's have it repaired immediately," he said; "then I can enjoy all of the autumn with it." Now it became a daily event for father, dressed in the parka he had purchased and equipped with a little green travel bag, to mount his bicycle and start his day's journey. With eyes open to everything, he pedaled away from our house in the moor near Hanover. Into the moor country, into the nearby villages and farther surroundings he was irresistibly drawn; in fields and groves, in the magnificent and not so magnificent, he dreamed along.

The roughness and strength of the Niedersachsen farm houses made out of deep red linkerstone with their gigantic, undentable, straw covered roofs, their cultivated flowery front gardens, and finally the children playing in front of the house or on the roads, as well as the parents hard at work in the fields—all of this Father could not look at enough. In order to discover new feasts for his eyes, he looked daily for new roads. These often led him into fields or paths which forced him either to turn around, or lift his bicycle over graves, or pull it under fences. Tired, indeed often exhausted, he returned home after three, four, five hours of riding for perhaps more than thirty kilometers. With a deep but satisfied sigh he let himself fall on the stool in the kitchen near me and was grateful when I offered him his lunch. His record was a day's performance of 170 kilometers which he accomplished as a seventy-year old not long after he had broken his thigh.

Following dinner Father retired to his bedroom and lay down for awhile. Later I would always ask hopefully, "Did you sleep well?" But almost always the answer was negative, for he was seldom permitted the satisfaction of deep sleep. He would explain to me with great objectivity how he managed to obtain, even if by stealth, at least a little rest: he counted slowly forwards and backwards to 100; then he would repeat poems, both Russian and German, which he had memorized in his childhood. On such occasions he would take the opportunity to criticize the modern unrhymed poems since they could not be memorized and would, therefore serve no such practical value for the grandfathers of the future.

After his afternoon sleep he would join us for a pleasant coffee break. Usually there were just the two of us who sat together and talked about the past, the present, and the future, about right and wrong. Our conversations ranged from world politics to family affairs. But underlying all our conversations were the

A wheat field in Manitoba. Chalk drawing by Arnold B. Dyck, 1936.

Top: Manitoba country road. Oil painting by Arnold B. Dyck, 1936.

Bottom: Shocks, wheat field, and farm in Manitoba. Chalk drawing by Arnold B. Dyck, 1936.

Scene in Manitoba. Chalk drawing by Arnold B. Dyck.

Mennonites; their achievements and their destiny continually occupied us.

Father liked to devote the rest of the afternoon and evening to his reading. After that he would do some writing. He would gladly have fulfilled the commission to write a play for the Manitoba Sunflower Festival in Altona. But after he had prepared a rough draft, he discovered that he simply no longer had the energy to work out the details and put them on paper. Nevertheless, letters were a writing obligation which he continued to the end, for his relationships with like-minded friends of many years gave depth and warmth to his otherwise lonely existence.

He was always punctual about eating his evening meal and prepared it himself. Punctuality was a distinctive characteristic of his daily routine, and only the offer of an automobile ride could change his strong sense of a well-ordered day. While working in the kitchen he required quiet above all else. Our noisy boys had to be sent out, and the kitchen in general had to be vacated so he would have room to work. Every evening and also each morning he prepared for himself a dish without a name made out of rolled oats, honey, eggs, and milk. This satisfied him, nourished him, guaranteed that his weight would remain the same, and also spoiled his appetite. No matter how good something may be, it is never without its drawbacks.

We set aside a number of his evenings to read together. That is, at my request Father read to me his last, yet unpublished, book, "Das Steppendorf im Bürgerkrieg." What I had previously heard by word of mouth about the destruction and bitter end of the Mennonite villages in Russia now unfolded before me in ordered, poetic, overpowering form. This authentic work neither bemoans nor accuses, only delineates. It is impartial and extremely vivid. It is the final volume of *Verloren in der Steppe* and can stand as Father's parting words to his readers.

One of the high points of the last days of his life was the arrival in Europe of his friends, Victor and Elisabeth Peters, who were to live in Göttingen for a year. To his great delight they visited him on numerous occasions during this time: at Christmas, on his eightieth birthday, and finally once again with Dr. and Mrs. Kurt Kauenhoven when they took him to visit Göttingen, a visit which gave him new life and from which he returned filled with enthusiasm. The sudden appearance of his young friends, Jack Thiessen from Winnipeg and the Schusters from Leer, along with the production of an Arnold Dyck recording, was for him an extraordinary stimulation. And finally, he was looking forward to a visit with the Henry Dyck family from Mansfield, USA. Dyck is working presently on an English translation of *Verloren in der Steppe* and wanted to use this occasion for consultations with Father. Unfortunately, however, this visit came after Father was already in the clinic so that he could only depend on me to make arrangements. Such visits proved to him that he had not been forgotten in the loneliness of old age, that many more of his contacts with the Mennonites than he had suspected had remained because of his books. Of special importance for Father was a visit from Gerhard Friesens from Wilhelmshaven. Gerhard Friesen, widely known as Fritz Senn, was honored by Father as the greatest of the German-speaking Mennonite writers.

In the last half year of his life father began to complain of weariness and increasing bodily discomfort. Because of this his joy in his wanderings and bicycle rides was severely curtailed because the pain in his legs became increasingly greater, so that finally he had to give up his excursions altogether. Eventually even his walks, which became more and more difficult for him, had to be confined to strolls around the yard. This lack of his usual activity brought about new disagreeablness which he tried to control through the use of water, employing a Kneipp or Müller method. From his youth Father had persistently practiced this method and, according to my knowledge, he had never spent a single day in bed at home.

Now, however, it appeared that his proven remedy no longer availed and father accepted medical assistance. When he began to complain of pains in his chest the doctor placed him in a private clinic where they diagnosed his sickness as pneumonia. Shortly nephritis complicated his illness, and after six painful days and nights in the clinic father closed his good blue eyes for the last time on July 10.

His son, who had hurried from Ottawa, was able to attend an unpretentious funeral in the chapel in Darlaten. Only a small group of mourners, among them his well-wishers from the village, accompanied Father to his grave. As the coffin sank into the earth the sun, which had been hidden on this rainy day, broke through the clouds and transformed the graveyard into a friendly setting of bright-colored flowers and shining trees of life. In such natural, simple beauty the world bid farewell to a man who had sought that same naturalness, simplicity, and goodness during his lifetime. A rock, some shrubs, and flowers grace his gravesite in the small friendly graveyard in Darlaten Moor.

Translated by Elmer F. Suderman

Arnold Dyck in Mennonite Life

Issues of *Mennonite Life* which contain either writings by Arnold Dyck or articles about him are the following: July 1948, April 1959, January 1960, January, April, and October 1969, and July 1970. Copies of these issues are available for 75 cents each by writing to *Mennonite Life,* North Newton, Kansas 67117.

Arnold Dyck - An Appreciation

By N. J. Klassen

ARNOLD DYCK REACHED the ripe age of 82 years. Looking back at his life work we can certainly say, "His work was devoted to the Mennonites." As a writer featuring the Mennonites, he has become known far beyond the circle of his own people; he is counted among the most significant literary figures among Canadians of German descent. Since his coming to Canada after World War I, he devoted his time and talent to literary efforts and publications. He was dedicated to the heritage of his people and its perpetuation in Canada. He published 15 volumes dealing with the Mennonites in Russia in the *Echo-Verlag*. Dyck intended to add another volume on the Chortitza settlement, but this dream was not realized.

The two volumes of the *Warte Jahrbuch* (1943-1944) and the *Mennonitische Auslese* (1951) are treasures of literary and artistic quality, as well as significant records of Mennonite culture. Among the ten literary products in the High German and the Low German languages written by Arnold Dyck, *Verloren in der Steppe* is most outstanding. In the main character, Hans, we recognize the author's reminisces of his own childhood. These five volumes are a superb narrative account of Mennonite life in the Chortitza settlement at the turn of the century. The author left with us a continuation of the story which will be published as volume six.

Arnold Dyck experienced many disappointments in his span of life and work. Because of their lack of interest in the promotion of the cultural heritage of the old country, the younger generation in Canada did not have the appreciation which was necessary to inspire the author. Dyck was unable to continue the publication of *Die Warte, Die Mennonitische Auslese,* and the *Echo-Verlag* publishing enterprise. Consequently some of his literary products remained unpublished. In 1961 Dyck wrote, "My mood and joy to work have been dampened. I find no solution for the fate of the *Echo-Verlag*. There is no one to take it over."

Nevertheless, numerous persons recognized his significance as a writer-artist and publisher and tried to support him. Many of his writings, especially the humorous Low German prose and plays, became well known through their presentation in a number of communities. On the pages of *Mennonite Life, Die Mennonitische Welt, Der Bote,* and in other magazines, his writings were reviewed and articles about the significance of the author appeared. Possibly unknown to the author while he was living in seclusion with his daughter in Darlaten, Germany, a number of prominent Mennonite scholars and writers were busy translating some of his Low German and High German writings into English, which are to be published. This is a definite sign that his writings will be transmitted to future generations.

Dave Niedarp and the Spook

By Arnold Dyck

DAVE NIEDARP HAD been at the Cornelius Warkentines' helping with killing pigs. He had also helped them kill a few drinks. Now he was ready to go home.

But first he stumbled along for a ways with Peter Schellenberg, even though it was a little out of his way. Peter had convinced Dave to walk with him because he wanted to hear the end of the story Dave had come into the middle of when old man Kozlovsky had suddenly decided it was time to go home: the night watchman was beginning his rounds.

Peter Schellenberg was a tease and full of the devil.

The two walked away past the gardens and Niedarp finished his story. Then he said goodnight, turned back, and took a footpath which started there and went directly into a woods. It was the closest way home.

Peter stopped, followed Dave with his eyes for a little while, grinned a little, and called after him, "Niedarp, you better use the street. There is a spook in those woods that will haunt your legs today."

Niedarp only laughed.

"Well, just don't tell me later that I didn't warn you."

"You can rest assured about that Peter; you've told me." To himself Niedarp said, "Let the spook come; we'll see who will haunt whose legs."

The good companionship, the fat pork, and the drinks had made Dave quite cheerful—and a bit unsteady on his feet.

In the middle of the woods ran a stream. As Niedarp came to the stream he stopped short, that is as short as possible after a few drinks. The stream—he hadn't thought about the stream. It hadn't been necessary, of course, for it had been flowing there for a least one hundred years. As long as Niedarp could remember a bridge had crossed it. But maybe he should have thought about it. Even though the plank was three inches thick, it was only twelve inches wide and didn't have a handrail. Only twelve inches wide, and now in the middle of it sat Peter Schellenberg's spook swinging himself.

Niedarp stood still, shoved his cap to one side, and scratched his head behind his ears—scratched his head and argued with himself.

"Dave," he said, "don't cross the bridge. You'll fall into the water."

"Nonsense; you certainly won't. Go ahead. Cross it. You don't want to go all the way back just because of a little water."

"Don't do it! Your walk isn't too steady today; you'll miss the bridge and walk right off it! Then what will your wife say when you come home wet as a drowned rat?"

"Both of you lie down and mind your own business. I can take care of myself." Niedarp was angry now. "Out of the way!" He shoved his cap straight, spit in his hands, and stepped straight on the plank. He missed—and hit the mud. "Holy cow! Who is jerking the plank out from under me?" He lifted his foot again, waited a little and took more careful aim. The tricky board moved back and forth.

"Well, this is going to be fun."

He kept his foot ready and when the swaying plank was exactly under his foot, he pounced on it.

"Holy cow!"

He had stepped in the mud again.

"Well! This isn't getting me anywhere; let's try something else."

He got on his knees, reached out his hands, both left and right on the plank, and succeeded in getting the plank securely in both hands.

"That wasn't so hard!"

The rest was simple. He managed to maneuver his knees on the plank and crawled on all fours.

When he was almost in the middle he had to look up to see how far he had left to go. That was a mistake. The spook was waiting for that: at this point he haunted Dave's legs. Dave let go of the plank and the whole world turned upside down; he saw the sky above. Not able to fight the whole world, he went along. . . .

It was a big splash!

As Niedarp climbed up to the other bank, shaking the water and mud from his hands and feet, he heard a voice.

"Don't say I didn't warn you, Niedarp. I told you there'd be a spook!"

It was Peter Schellenberg. "And now change your clothes quickly before you catch cold. I had sense enough to bring you a change of dry clothes."

Dave Niedarp didn't say anything. He just changed his clothes and let his teeth chatter.

Nor did he ever tell anyone why after helping butcher at Cornelius Warkentine's he came home wearing Peter Schellenberg's clothes.

From Onse Lied, pp. 37-39. *Translated by Elmer F. Suderman*

Books by Arnold Dyck Available from Mennonite Life.

Meine Deutschlandfahrt. North Kildonan, Manitoba, Canada, 1950. 143 pp. $1.50.

Dee Fria. Derksen Printers Ltd., Steinbach, Manitoba, Canada, 1948, 70 pp. $1.00.

Koop en Bua op Reise, Teil I. und II. Derksen Printers Ltd., Steinbach, Manitoba, Canada, 100 pp. and 103 pp. $1.00 each.

Koop en Bua enn Dietschlaund. Derksen Printers Ltd., Steinbach, Manitoba, Canada, 1960, 86 pp., $1.00.

Onse Lied en ola Tiet. Steinbach, Manitoba, Canada, 1952, 62 pp., $1.00.

Verloren in der Steppe. Teile II.-V., Steinbach, Manitoba, Canada, 122 pp., $1.50 each.

Where To?

By J. H. Janzen

ARRIVING AT THE end of the small village, he stops and ponders.

The dusk is already far advanced. The dark shadows of night will soon be falling.

He has some copper coins with him, and in the bag that hangs behind his shoulders, is some flour. Also some pieces of white bread. He doesn't need to starve just yet, but where shall he go? Where will he spend the night?

Should he go back to the village?

There is no possibility that any of the Mennonites would keep him overnight. They fear such undesireable rabble too much.

If it were only summer! Then any tree would be his inn. But in cold weather he longed for a warm stove.

The wool lined old coat seemed to be mostly holes and the right coattail was about a yard longer than the left. His trousers were thin, and the worn-out shoes in which he had stuck his feet allowed the cold to enter unhindered.

He had been cold all day—more cold than usual. Particularly toward evening the frost had become more marked. He held a long beggar's stick under his arm. His hands were buried in his pockets. So with neck pulled in he stood there.

Should he turn around?

Ahead of him, not far away is the next village.

He started walking.

The people living in the next village are, undoubtedly, just the same as those in the first, but he walked ahead anyhow. It seemed to him that he might sooner find a place to sleep there.

The darkness in the meantime had become more intense, the cold more bitter.

Now he leaned against the tree under which there lay a large rock. Sitting down on the rock to rest, he fell asleep.

The next morning passersby saw him sitting on the rock, asleep. At noon they carried him away.

The authorities went through his clothes to find out who he was, but found nothing except several copper coins and several pieces of bread.

Without a coffin, his face covered with his cap, they buried him in a corner of the cemetery.

Who was he?—Where did he come from?—Where was he going?

Where are they who prepare a home for these poor and show them the way by which they might find everlasting peace?

Translated by Elmer F. Suderman from J. H. Janzen, Denn meine Augen haben Deinen Heiland gesehen, pp. 161-163

We Are Spies

By Elmer F. Suderman

We are spies
from birth.
No matter, however,
how astute,
how careful we are
to discover the
secrets of the world
we learn very few.

A Choir of Frogs

By Elmer F. Suderman

From every puddle
a choir of frogs
infinitely various in color
shape and size
trills, bellows and croaks
poems of praise for the rain.
How simple joy is!

A Trip to Chortitza - II

By N. J. Kroeker

The Priestan at Chortitza

Starting off on a leisurely tour to that part of the Dnieper River commonly referred to in Low German as *Priesdaum* (from the Russian *Priestan* meaning "landing place", harbor) we would walk across the steepest hill known as the *Einlager Berg* (mountain in the direction of the neighboring village Einlage). At the foot of this hill we would pass the large brick plant with its enormous smokestack in line with a row of houses. One of these had been built by my grandfather, Klaas Kroeker, before emigrating to Canada in 1903 to join the rest of the family in Manitoba.

Hikers to the *Priestan* could choose which way they wanted to cross this hill: either by walking along the steep path behind the brick plant, or by following the road farther down the valley in order to climb the deeply trodden zigzag footpath. Whichever way we decided on, we had to climb, and few hikers could resist a short rest under the inviting shadows of trees growing near the Russian church which crowned the hill. We would instinctively turn around to enjoy the view of Chortitza and Rosenthal, identifying the landmarks of the villages that stretched for several miles along the deep, wide valley.

However, the path toward the *Priestan* led on in the opposite direction, winding through narrow gullies and over hills that gently sloped down into the main valley and led to the lowlands of the Dnieper. We would walk past the Chortitza dam which was built by our forefathers to prevent flooding of the villages, particularly Rosenthal, when the spring thaws came. There was usually someone in our group of hikers to remind us of stories told by older residents who had seen Rosenthal flooded. People were forced to evacuate their homes and had to paddle down the streets in boats. These accounts sounded farfetched as we viewed the area; it appeared high and dry with the Dneiper hidden from sight more than half a mile away. Then one year we actually witnessed an unusual spring runoff which threatened the dam. And in the year 1928(?) Rosenthal was once again flooded.

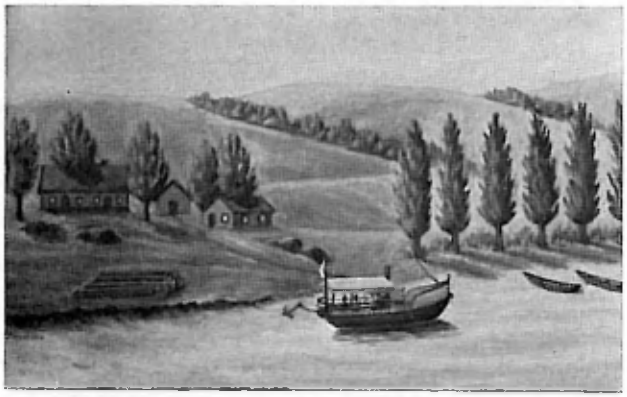
On the Dnieper

Once having passed the dam we were getting closer to the *Priestan* when someone suddenly spotted water and shouted: Dnieper! That was the signal. Instantly our toes dug into the sand, and with a dash we made for the sandy beach. Ahead of us lay the cluster of buildings of the *Priestan,* a sawmill owned by Jakob Martin Dyck, and a number of other buildings used as living quarters for the workmen and their families. It was a picturesque setting against a backdrop of gently rolling hills and shallow gullies overgrown by shrubs and trees (see painting).

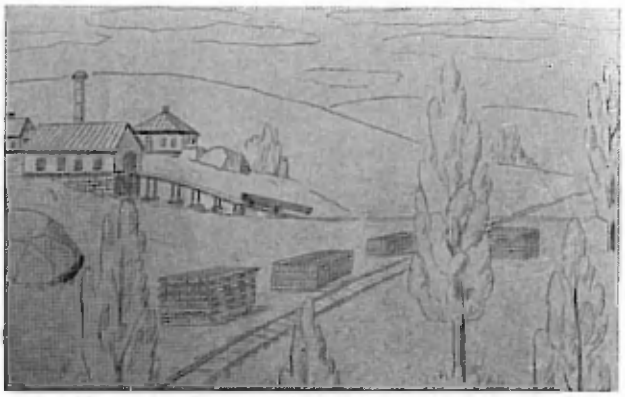
Eagerly we dashed forward to get into the water for a swim and to roll or bury ourselves in the hot sand, which stretched as far down the river as we could see. The tall trees and cool green grass where we dropped our clothes had been provided for us by nature. Clean, deep sand with the mild water of a slowly moving stream--what an ideal place for spending a summer afternoon.

The four distinctive landmarks along the river were the *Woddokatch* (the pumping station which provided Chortitza's railway station with water), the

Priestan. *Landing place on the Dnieper River. Painting by N. J. Kroeker.*



Sawmill near Priestan *(J. M. Dyck). Painting by N. J. Kroeker.*



Priestan, the sawmill, and farthest down the river the enormous rocks with deep water eddies. Directly across the river was the *Kampe* (or Chortitza Island).

The *Woddokatch* was located at the upper end of the beach where the current flowed fastest and the river was narrow and deep. The big trees completely hid the buildings, and the outcrop of rocks was interspersed with willows and other shrubs. Oak trees clung to the steep sides of the river banks, making this corner a sanctuary for birds. Few people bothered to explore this spot where only a narrow rocky path led through a dense jungle.

The popular place for swimming was located several hundred yards farther downstream where tall poplars stood like sentinels among the bushes of the *Priestan.* For landing or departing boats Chortitza was a special *Priestan,* the last one on this side of Chortitza Island (*Kampe*). Farther downstream the river broadened and sandbanks developed in the summertime, making the waters too shallow for navigation. Whenever a boat made a wide turn it created large waves in which swimmers bobbed up and down with great delight and showmanship. This was also the spot where swimmers liked to cross the river to explore the *Kampe* shore. Swimming became almost an obsession, we would often congregate in groups of a several dozen boys.

Log booms for the sawmill were situated still farther downstream, that is, south of the landing place. Tracks for the rail cart ran up and down from the sawmill to the water's edge where the logs used to be transported.

On Saturday afternoons horses were taken to these places by the farmers of Chortitza and Rosenthal. Most of us looked forward to an opportunity to do some bareback riding into the river. These goodnatured animals enjoyed it too and cooperated fully. But after the swim we had trouble keeping the horses clean because they liked rolling over when flies began to bother them.

This area was close to the fourth landmark along the *Priestan* beach where huge rocks formed a long wall straight up like a modern high rise in the city. Down below, spring water had circled in eddies, digging deep holes in the sandy river bottom. Some years ago this place had claimed the lives of three young girls, so we usually shunned the spot. The huge rocks definitely appeared dark and sinister when one remembered the tragedy. But in the morning when the sun lit up this spot brightly we did climb down to its lowest edge to drop a fishing line for good luck. However, all I caught was an ugly black burbot (similar to a rock cod). It had huge bulging eyes and needle-sharp fins which spread out in a menacing manner, probably in a last desperate attempt to face the enemy, who dared to disturb his dark hole in the river.

After spending all afternoon beside the wonderful stream, our Dnieper, the sun began to dip low and reminded us to return home. With ravenous appetites we quickly emptied our pockets which bulged with fruit brought from home. We felt it had been a perfect day.

We considered it an extra stroke of good luck if we had the chance for a boat ride. It usually called very early in the morning to take passengers to Zaporozhe or Einlage. We'd get out of bed at dawn, take a little bite for breakfast, and set out with a brisk walk for the Dnieper. A rising sun greeted us on the way, making us hurry for fear of missing the boat. The first clean smell of the river filled us with elation, for soon the boat would take us along the river and we would be able to return home late in the afternoon calling it another perfect day.

There used to be two small boats which served us: *Chortitza* and *Leonida.* Both had been locally built by craftsmen in the village factories. Driven by steam they performed regularly and we enjoyed hearing the sounds of their whistles as they echoed up and down the Dnieper.

Passengers were mostly our local people. As a rule a number of Russian saleswomen (*Kuppelwieva* in Low German) from Chortitza or from one of the surrounding areas would take to the boats. They carried handmade baskets woven from willow saplings. Butter, cream, and eggs were regular products to be taken to the city market about a dozen miles away where they had to get in early before the sun was high. Some carried cages with live chickens, or fruit and vegetables.

Often in the summer when the water level of the Dnieper dropped unusually low, numerous islands began to appear. This made it possible to wade across at the place where the river was widest, just opposite the sawmill. The water was warm and the current very slow, never treacherous except in the spring when the ice broke up. In the wintertime when the river froze over smoothly, young and old enthusiasts went ice skating. For a special feat, a trip to Zaporozhe on skates might be undertaken.

Although we did enjoy this beautiful beach we probably never realized that it was so incomparably precious. Try to visualize this area which stretched from the *Woddokatch* to the big rocks for a distance of nearly three miles—fine pure white sand washed by the warm clean waters of the wide Dnieper, where the tracks you left behind might be seen again next week. If by chance the light winds had not smoothed out a trampled spot within a month or so, we would search for a virgin area of untouched sand. There the light crust easily gave way to our bare feet and we would hear a clean whistling sound, like walking over the hardened surface of drifted snow.

Our mild climate certainly enhanced the wonderful countryside along the *Priestan.* Usually the spring runoffs occurred early in March, sometimes carrying over

into the beginning of April. Then the deep river ran swiftly, overflowing its low sandy banks and flooding the adjacent lowlands. But after several weeks the water level began to drop slowly and lakes formed in the low lying areas. One of the largest and deepest was the so-called Chortitza River (in no way connected with the Chortitza River in our village and actually only a lake) where the water stayed all through the year and thus became a popular spot for bathing. The tall beautiful old trees that surrounded it were part of the large grove that made the *Priestan* so beautiful.

This was the time (usually early in May) when people enjoyed boating among the partly submerged trees. As they paddled slowly underneath the low hanging branches everybody joined in a singsong. The repertoire was endless but usually those songs and hymns were rendered which lent themselves to part singing. Occasionally we stopped to listen to faraway groups somewhere behind the numerous trees carrying the same melody we had just finished singing.

When we left Chortitza for Canada on June 1, 1925, we took with us pleasant memories of the wonderful hours spent near the *Priestan*. Following the custom of my friends who also emigrated during those years, I made a special point to take a last swim there the night before our departure. Often we have reminisced and given thanks for the privilege of having been able to enjoy those beautiful surroundings.

The Cherkessy Mennonites

By Victor Peters

WITH GREAT INTEREST and enjoyment I read Gerhard Wiens' article, "Village Nicknames Among the Mennonites in Russia" (*Mennonite Life*, October, 1970). Concerning the village nicknames of the Old Colony, however, it contained a minor error. The Old Colony had a *Nieder-Chortitza* but no *Neu-Chortitza*. The mistake must be attributed to linguistic confusion. *Nieder-Chortitza* in Low German was known as *Nie-Chortitz*. The villagers were known as *Tscherkessen* (Cherkessy) and also as *Aufjebroakne Massasch*. (broken-off knives).

The Nieder-Chortitzers were characterized as a rough and ready people. I could give many examples to illustrate why they earned this reputation. I recall a personal experience in the 1920's when I, a small boy, was a spectator at a football game played against a neighboring village. I overheard the Nieder-Chortitza players, the "grown-up" boys and young men, discuss their strategy, and their conclusion was that if they lost the football game they certainly would not lose the match that would follow. It was this Hemingwayan outlook which generations ago earned for the villagers the nickname *Tscherkessen*.

The real Cherkessy (*Tscherkessen*) were a warlike people in the Caucasus whose favorite weapon was a short knife-like sword. But the Nieder-Chortitzer were Mennonites, and it would have been highly improper for them to use such an offensive weapon as a pointed knife. To mellow their nickname, then, they were also known as *Aufjebroakne Massasch* (broken-off knives).

The village of Nieder-Chortitza, which was situated on the Dnieper River, extended away from the river up to the *tjlenen Stappsboajch* (small Steppe mound). Nieder-Chortitzer, like the Cherkessy, were also excellent horsemen. At least once a week the young men rode their horses to the Dnieper to bathe them. It was a common sight to see ten to fifteen horses with their riders gallop through the village in the direction of the river.

Legend has it that a shining post stood at the foot of the mound just on the village outskirts. Before becoming an accepted villager a young man was required to race his horse down the slope and plunge his knife into the post to break off its tip, all while in full gallop. This explains why the post "shone," for it was filled with the shining metal of countless broken-off tips. (Presumably a young man who failed to break the tip of his knife in this manner did not qualify to become a Nieder-Chortitzer.) Since knives without points are much less dangerous than knives with points, the Nieder-Chortitzer qualified to be both Cherkessy and Mennonites.

To this day you will hardly find a Nieder-Chortitzer without a knife in his pocket. Though I was not born in Nieder-Chortitzer, my mother was, and I lived there for a number of years. I too always carry a pocketknife with me. Its end is broken off because I used it as a screwdriver. Despite this irregularity I am accepted by other Nieder-Chortitzer as a bona fide native of the village.

Better Film Productions

By William and Edith Zehr

THE WINTER OF 1920-21 was no different than previous winters. We had some cloudy weather, rain, fog—in fact, typical Oregon weather. Many of the winter evenings were spent playing a few games of checkers or dominoes and concluded with family devotions. This was typical of our home which was quite modest and conservative. Sundays, my parents, Mose and Nellie, Joe and I would coax the Model T over the five miles of mud and gravel roads to the Fairview Mennonite Church for Sunday school and church. A team of horses and a buggy were often substituted for the Ford when the roads became too muddy for other means of travel.

Home Entertainment

It was like a day of sunshine to discover the arrival of a mail order catalog. Some evening hours were spent browsing through the pages and filling out order blanks for these necessities of life. Ordering merchandise by mail was a way of life in the rural community, and I suppose my reactions upon receiving new catalogs were the same as any other boy of my age. I turned first to the toy section to see what was new. There it was, a new item, a large picture of a 32 millimeter motion picture projector with a supply of short motion pictures, as well as a supply of assorted slides to be projected while the reels were being changed. The cost?

William M. and Edith Zehr are turning over their film library to Cornelius Krahn, Director of the Mennonite Library and Archives at North Newton, Kansas, and to John F. Schmidt, Archivist.

. . . I wish I could remember—I have long since forgotten. I read and reread every word of that ad many times before making my desire known. My father was firm and not easily persuaded so I approached my mother with a plea that the projector would be an asset in helping to entertain the boys and girls of the neighborhood—although the nearest boys lived about two miles from our home. Mother's immediate response was that we Mennonites do not believe that motion pictures are acceptable in a Christian life.

I had never seen a motion picture, and I was also well aware of this teaching in our church. Nevertheless, the catalog had such glowing praise for this home entertainment equipment. I argued relentlessly and promised to work in the summer, picking berries and prunes to cover the cost. Mother finally agreed. I don't recall that my father ever gave his consent to the purchase, but he certainly did not object to my working. At last the projector and supplies arrived. Somehow the news circulated among my schoolmates at Spicer School, and there followed many hours of lively evening entertainment in our home.

Years passed—high school at Albany and Scio, college at Hesston College, Oregon College of Education, Bethel College, and then my M.A. in Audio Visual Aids from Oregon State University. After graduating from Bethel College I did some teaching in elementary education; here my concept of visual aids began to develop and grow as I saw the advantages in their use and function.

After five years of teaching in Kansas, my wife, Edith (Roupp), and I moved to Oregon in 1941, where I accepted a position in the Sweet Home School system. I was to spend half of my time teaching shop courses and the other half in developing an audio-visual program. Sweet Home High School was very progressive in the area of visual aids, thus enabling us to produce short motion pictures, slides, and sound recordings on platters.

The Challenge to Create

In 1944 I joined the administrative staff of the Vanport City Schools as Director of Audio Visual Services. It was at this time that the Housing Authority of the U. S. Government wanted three 30 minute films produced, dealing with three major aspects of Vanport: health, and education, recreation, and housing. Vanport was established by the federal government as a housing project to provide facilities for 55,000 persons, all within an area of one square mile. The project was unique in that residents were required to work in the shipyards or on some other government project. Since these shipyards operated on three eight hour shifts, the schools had to operate nurseries on a 24 hour basis in order to meet the needs of the people. Because of these and other unusual factors the government was interested in obtaining a visual report.

William M. Zehr and Geraldine Kamp, secretary, with a portion of their Better Films Library.

Formosan scene from the film, Gates Ajar.

Japanese scene from the film, Makoto.

Accepting the fact that all men's gains are the fruit of their venturing, I submitted bids on all three films. Shortly thereafter confirmation was received that I was the successful bidder, and I immediately went to work on the films, which were completed by June of 1945.

That same month the president of Ideal Pictures of Chicago offered me a position as manager of their Portland film library, and I accepted. However, after a year I decided that I wanted to do something more constructive. My Vanport exerience had given me a tantalizing taste of motion picture production and, although it was only a short exposure, it had provided the needed challenge to wade into this fascinating field of creativity.

A Growing Business

On July 2, 1946, Better Films Library and Productions was organized. The purchase of four entertainment features—*Silver Stallion, Small Town Boy, Mr. Boggs Steps Out,* and *Killers of the Sea*—constituted the nucleus of the library. These rented out for $7.50 to $10.00 per day to schools and to a few churches. Within several months we had purchased about 30 films from Baptista Productions, all of an evangelistic approach. The inventory was expanded further by the addition of filmstrips, 2 x 2 inch slides, and records; from time to time we included mimeograph supplies, books and projectors, and a complete line of audio equipment. This small business was conducted in a rented house located at 5211 North East Fifteenth Street, Portland, Oregon. Eventually, however, our growing business volume demanded more space and a more convenient location for customers, so on October 1, 1947, we rented space in the heart of Portland at the Panama Building on Southwest Third Avenue.

In September 1946, I was elected Chairman of Audio Visual Aids for the Oregon State Council of Churches. This position afforded many opportunities to travel throughout the state and to conduct city-wide and county-wide workshops. All this proved very helpful in promoting Better Films; the library enjoyed a rapid growth which eventually encompassed an area from Alaska to San Francisco and to the Mississippi.

From 1946 to 1953 our motion picture contracts were limited to a few nationally known sponsors, including such organizations, as Western Pine Association, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Bell Telephone, and Evangel Films. The work consisted primarily of an advisory capacity, except for Evangel Films. The films we helped produce for this organization had evangelistic messages presented in a dramatic form. Perhaps the best known is the *Missing Chrisitans.* Mansford Evans wrote this 60 minute color film, which depicts the rapture. The content is so thought provoking that it has already been credited with directly or indirectly influencing over 75,000 persons to accept Christ as their savior.

William M. Zehr studying a script prior to shooting a film for Better Films Productions.

Film Evangelism

The next production for Evangel Films was a 50 minute film called *Shadows of His Glory.* It was based on the book by Edmont Haines, who served as a consultant throughout its production. This was followed by a film entitled *Japan Calls.* The footage for this production was filmed in and around Tokyo, although it was necessary to shoot an introduction here in this country. In order to achieve a dramatic opening for the film we decided to accompany the introductory narration with several flags waving in the breeze. After selecting the American, Christian, Japanese, and USSR flags, I ordered these from a rental establishment, and specified size and silk material. All were available except the USSR flag, which would have to be made. While waiting for its delivery, the authorities felt the compulsion to investigate my activities and my need for the "hammer and sickle." Fortunately all interested parties were duly satisfied that my request was justifiable.

After the completion of *Japan Calls* in 1953, Better Film Productions had 1,200 feet of raw film stock remaining. A part of the cast wanted to revamp the sound stage and produce a drama. Consequently, I chose an appropriate script, *Message in the Bottle,* and we began work. This drama had its setting in a small fishing village and the story dealt with a drunken sea captain and how his life affected those around him. This film was completed May 29, 1953, and we were greatly encouraged by its enthusiastic reception.

During the General Conference Mennonite Church sessions in Jennings Lodge, Oregon, in 1953, a Film Committee was appointed, comprised of Willard Wiebe, Andrew Shelly and myself. Among the first items to be considered was the production of a film concerning the mission work among the North Cheyenne on the Tongue River Reservation in southeastern Montana. This project was followed through to its completion, trying faithfully to depict the mission work and some of the work of the Holy Spirit, as well as the forces

of evil: alcohol, peyote, and the sun dance. The premiere showing of *The Call of the Cheyenne* was at the First Mennonite Church in Newton, Kansas, and its immediate acceptance was very gratifying. It was necessary to order two more copies immediately in order to keep up with the bookings. With this encouragement the Film Committee urged the Mission Board to produce another film portraying the endeavors of mission work in general. The results of this action may be seen in *Home Front,* which surveys the broader concept of mission work in the United States and Canada.

Filming Mission Work in the Far East

Early in 1958 Evangel Films contacted me concerning the possibility of going to Japan to produce two films for them. I notified the Film Committee of my intentions and suggested that in view of the reception that the other films were receiving perhaps the General Conference Mission Board would want some film work undertaken in Japan. After several meetings and much prayerful consideration, it was decided to produce a 30 minute film on the mission work in Miyazaki prefecture. In addition to this we determined to make a film based on a true story Verney Unruh had written concerning one convert and the problems involved in his oriental home by such a decision. This film, entitled *Makoto,* was jointly sponsored by the General Conference Mennonite, the (Old) Mennonite General Conference, and the Mennonite Brethren churches. The *Hokkaido Challenge* was produced at this time for the (Old) Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities. Concurrently I was making two films for Evangel Films. These two productions were made in the Japanese language and consequently have never been circulated in the West.

The Mission Board and the Film Committee decided that before returning to the United States I should go to Formosa and produce a film on the work there. The mission personnel provided the narration, and we called it *Gates Ajar.* The script dealt with the several phases of work, including hospitals, nurses training, evangelism, mobile clinics, and personal work in Formosa.

The Last Years

The motion picture business was expanding rapidly and demanded more energy after my return from the Orient, so we considered the possibility of forming a partnership. Upon interviewing several individuals

Sadie Littlewhiteman and Teddy Redcherries (medicine man), two Northern Cheyennes from the Tongue River Reservation, Montana, who appeared in the film, The Call of the Cheyenne.

we soon discovered their desires far exceeded their abilities. Thus we turned to a second plan, a plan to sell the film library, thereby releasing my wife, Edith, from her duties as library manager so she could assist me in film production. We were able to sell the Better Films Library. After two years, however, bad health forced the new owner to retire. Since the library had been sold on a contract, it returned to the original owners. Because we completely lacked the time and personnel to adequately promote the library —which now comprised several hundred reels of films, a sales department, and a service department—we decided that the library should be turned over to the Central Office of the General Conference Mennonite Church. This contribution was formally made in November of 1962.

The last film undertaken by Better Films Productions was *The Glory and Decay of the Mayan Empire,* which was filmed in Yucatan, Mexico. It was while working on this film that medical doctors discovered I had developed a heart condition which necessitated the discontinuance of my work; this was a decision I found most difficult to accept.

The work of Better Films Productions comprises a list of nearly thirty films. The major ones are listed as follows:

Boys Brigade
The Call of the Cheyenne
Counciling and Guidance
Deadline
Eldorado
Gates Ajar
Glory and Decay of the Mayan Empire
God Giveth the Increase
Housing in Vanport
Health in Vanport
Home Front
Hokkaido Challenge
Japan Calls
Labor Day in Oregon
Makoto
Miyazaki Story
Missing Ones
Missing Christians
Migration to the Sea
Message in the Bottle
Open Doors
Recreation
Reforestation
Shadows of His Glory
This Day
Tall Treasures
Two Brothers
Wizzards
Rogue River

Production crew of the film, Open Doors. *(Left to right): Leslie Carlson, sets; Phyllis Lansfield, editor; Joyce Rayburn, script girl; Tom Chambers, director; and William M. Zehr, producer.*

Audio-visual Aids in the Church

In reflecting back over the years of work—the workshops conducted for teachers, industries, and churches, the teaching and filming, as well as the production of other audio-visual aids—certain feelings and concepts have emerged. It is so difficult to find a means to measure the worth or value of an audio-visual aid. Can one explain how the notes of a Mozart melody produce their essential effects? If you do not feel it, no one by reasoning can make you feel it. Who is to judge? Only you as an individual can determine the value of an aid by how much feeling you get out of it, how strong the feeling registers, and by a quickened sense of life, a heightened awareness of your relationship and responsibility to your fellowman and to God.

The main reason, then, for using audio-visual aids in church or Sunday school is to help to teach and inspire individuals to follow the pattern of Christ and his teachings in their daily lives. If Better Film Productions has, even in a small way, helped some Sunday school teacher or Christian leader in clarifying the teachings of the Bible and in making these truths live within the pupil, then our time and efforts have been well spent.

Arnold Dyck in Brief

Born near Chortitza Jan. 19, 1889. Attended Chortitza *Zentralschule* (1903-06), Ekaterinoslav School of Commerce (1906-09), Academies of Art in Munich, Stuttgart, Petersburg and Moscow (1909-11, 1912-14). Forestry service (1911-12), Red Cross Hospital (1914-18). Taught elementary and secondary schools (1918-21). Migrated to Canada 1923. Editor of *Steinbach Post* (1924-1936). Editor and Publisher of *Mennonitische Volkswarte* (1935-39). Writer and Painter.

Arnold Dyck married Katharina Vogt (1918). They had two daughters, Hedwig and Else, and two sons, Otto and Siegfried. Arnold Dyck died July 10, 1970.

Kansas Mennonites During the Spanish-American War

By James C. Juhnke

THE MENNONITES CAME to Kansas in the 1870's at the beginning of the longest interval of peace the United States ever experienced. The absence of war and conscription led Mennonites to pay less attention to their doctrine of nonresistance. An isolated attempt to revive interest in the topic was Samuel S. Haury's speech at a Sunday School convention at the Alexanderwohl Church in 1894.[1] "The principle of nonresistance is self-giving and self-sacrificing love," said Henry, "the essence of Christianity." On the personal level, Haury suggested, nonresistance pervades all of life—home, church and business. On the political level, he said, nonresistance implies that there is no such thing as a "Christian state." But Haury, who had been the first Mennonite missionary in America, spoke in generalizations and said nothing about how nonresistant Christians could properly influence public life, what the duty of the Christian was in wartime, or whether his expanded view of nonresistance related to contemporary political issues. Haury's speech was printed in the Mennonite newspapers and in pamphlet form, to be revived nearly a quarter century later when the Mennonites faced a world war and desperately needed to know what nonresistance was all about.[2]

The coming of the Spanish-American War in April, 1898, forced the Mennonites to think about nonresistance in specific terms. As America committed herself to rescue the oppressed Cubans, two concerns were uppermost in the Mennonite community: (1) to preserve military exemption, (2) to maintain respectability as citizens. The second concern, it seems, was as urgent as the first. The leaders of the Kansas Conference (General Conference Mennonite Church) called a special session in Newton on May 17 to determine the position of the church on the war.[3]

The special conference adopted a short report which began with an affirmation of "our confession of nonresistance." Faced with criticism, the report went on, the Mennonites were willing to join in the nation's task in ways not involving warfare, such as "medical service in the army voluntarily under the Red Cross." The report claimed to prefer arbitration to war and expressed satisfaction that President McKinley had tried to avoid war "as long as possible." The Mennonites esteemed their privileges highly and hoped their members would not abuse them.[4]

A tone of embarrassment and defensiveness colored the entire statement. The Mennonites were answering criticism, apologizing in advance for abuse of their privileges. They suddenly needed to tell each other and the world that they "would not like to be regarded as people injurious to the common welfare."

The reason for Mennonite embarrassment was obvious. America was at war and Mennonites could not go along. Mennonites were suddenly set apart from America. Their discomfiture was a measure of the degree to which they had begun to see themselves as American citizens. Had they remained in isolated communities for twenty-five years, untouched by the requirements of nationalism, they could have watched the Spanish-American War come and go without embarrassment. But they had absorbed the American tradition that it was natural and right for the country to expect special efforts and sacrifices from citizens in wartime. To reassert a claim to exemption from military service at such a time was to refute the validity of one's own citizenship.

So the Mennonites proclaimed their willingness to assist the war effort in non-military ways. They opened the way for their members "to render medical service in the army voluntarily under the Red Cross." This, in fact, would only be "Christian duty." It was more than mere coincidence that Mennonites felt the tug of "Christian duty" at the same time that the rest of America indulged in that combination of moral indignation and national self-righteousness which characterized emerging American imperialism. Christian duty was stimulated by, if not defined by, the national community. Even the success of Mennonite collections for famine relief in India during the war, a benevolent project which won praise from outside the community,[5] was surely related to the current Mennonite need to engage in a moral equivalent to the war.

The statement's claim that Mennonites "as nonresistant Christians" favored "international arbitration" was likewise an awkward attempt to redeem an embarrassing situation. The Mennonites had heretofore

given little indication that they understood the doctrine of nonresistance to have relevance for international politics. Samuel Haury had not mentioned this issue in his 1894 speech. The Mennonite newspapers had not viewed the approach of war with unusual alarm. The Mennonite-edited *Volksblatt und Anzeiger* had worked up no greater moral indignation than to find it "unfortunate" that the mood was for militancy rather than for peace.[6] A serious Mennonite attempt to find international political relevance in the nonresistant ethic did not come until after the community had been caught napping.

The Mennonites accepted the general American belief that McKinley had delayed the war "as long as possible."[7] Many Mennonites had voted for McKinley. They lacked the critical frame of mind which might have doubted the altruism of the American war effort. If the history of Mennonite persecution and flight had once taught the Mennonites to be wary of official government pronouncements, the lesson did not affect their impulse to believe in the justice and good intent of American foreign policy. Their congratulations to McKinley for his attempts to avoid war may have been based upon sources of information they had learned to trust, but it was nonetheless strange coming from a nonresistant sect addressing a government which had just gone to war.

The *Volksblatt und Anzeiger* took a passive and almost neutral position during the Spanish-American War. There was no criticism of the war on the grounds of Mennonite nonresistance, nor was there praise of the war as a Christian crusade in behalf of suffering Cubans. But the news of the war came from American sources and there was little evidence that it went through a Mennonite editorial filter before reaching the pages of the *Volksblatt*. American military victories were occasions for rejoicing and Spanish defeats were counted gain. That Spaniards were barbaric and uncivilized fighters was an item of unquestioned American reportage.[8] The tone of the news, however, was not belligerent, super-patriotic, or excessively enthusiastic. In the issue that announced the triumphant end of the war, an editorial cautioned that the Catholic population of the country would grow by about three million if Cuba and Puerto were annexed.[9] On September 8 appeared the editorial suggestion that the Philippines be traded to England in exchange for her West Indian possessions plus Bermuda.[10] The Mennonites did not protest against the war, but they were ready to see that war victories were a mixed blessing.

When the splendid American victory in the Philippines turned into the bloody suppression of a native revolt for independence, some dissenters in the Mennonite community finally found their voices. H. O. Kruse, principal and natural science professor at the Bethel Academy, became convinced that American expansionism in the Far East was leading toward a world war which would pit the East against the West. Today, Kruse wrote in May, 1899, "the American eagle pounces upon the Philippines and claims them as her prey;" tomorrow may well see "intervention" into "the continental parts of Asia." Kruse warned that the outcome of "the coming world conflict" depended upon the position of China.[11]

In 1900 Mennonites got their first opportunity to apply their principle of nonresistance in a national political campaign. William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic nominee for president, turned his opposition of American imperialism in the Far East into a campaign issue. Mennonites could support Bryan if they were critical of the Spanish American War and if they opposed the American post-war suppression of the Filipinos. If, on the other hand, they continued to support the incumbent Republican president, McKinley, they would endorse the new imperialism and militarism in American foreign policy.

Henry Peter Krehbiel, a native Kansan who had taken theological training at Oberlin College, provided the forum for exchange of opinion in his monthly paper, *The Review*.[12] A reader stated the question in unmistakably clear terms in the September issue.

> "Is the doctrine of non-resistance compatible with the expansion policy of our present administration, and with the contents of the platform adopted by the Republican convention at Philadelphia? . . . What is the difference between endorsing such a policy by argument and the ballot and taking up arms to carry out the policy?"[13]

Another writer in the next issue, J. J. Funk, who had been the first mayor of Hillsboro, not only agreed with the implied answer to this question, but argued further that nonresistance was "the main distinguishing feature of our Mennonite faith" and therefore "If they vote for war . . . I shall have to conclude they care nothing for the non-resistant doctrine."[14] Replies to Funk either avoided the issue or got tangled in contradiction. Editor Krehbiel, dodging the fact of divergent party platforms, wrote that neither party believed in peace "according to the Mennonite conception of it," and therefore the peace issue was irrelevant.[15] P. H. Richert, a colleague of H. O. Kruse on the Bethel College faculty, argued that other religious questions were of more importance than nonresistance in this campaign—for example the "money question," (which was tied up with religion because it "has to do with honesty"), the candidates' personal character, and "Bryan's misuse of the Bible." Richert warned his Mennonite readers not to "confound religion with politics."[16]

Funk responded with a spirited challenge to debate Richert or anyone else "at any place in Kansas" on four propositions, the loser to provide twenty-five

dollars per proposition "to a Mennonite educational or charitable institution." Richert declined the challenge and the controversy faded after the election.[17]

The confusion of Mennonite Republicans challenged in their nonresistance occasionally gave rise to indignation. C. Frey grumbled in the Hillsboro *Post* that the Democrats were trying to make political capital "out of the circumstance that we Mennonites are against war."[18] Ferdinand J. Funk, the leading Mennonite Republican politician, moved to the attack in an extended article charging that the Democrats not only favored the Spanish-American War in the first place, but also "provoked or at least encouraged" the Filipinos to revolt by opposing our government's policy there. A vote for Bryan was not a vote for peace, but a vote to delay the establishment of order in the Philippines.[19] Funk also refuted charges that vice-presidential candidate Theodore Rossevelt was anti-pacifistic by printing a letter from the hero of San Juan Hill affirming his respect for the consciences of religious objectors to war.[20]

The election results of 1900 confirmed the success of Funk. Richert, and other Republican party apologists in allaying Mennonite suspicions that there was a contradiction between the doctrines of Christian nonresistance and American imperialism. The "Mennonite" townships voted 57.6% for McKinley and 42.1% for Bryan. This was an increase of 2.6% over the "Mennonite" Republican vote four years earlier. The Mennonite Republican vote remained a few percentage points above the average in the state of Kansas. Menno and West Branch townships continued as a pocket of solid Republicanism with a 92.0% McKinley vote, but fairly strong Bryan support in McPherson County townships lowered the Republican overall percentage.

The lack of strong Mennonite peace vote in 1900 suggested that Mennonites were not anxious to let their religious doctrines get in the way of their growing confidence in and commitment to America. The impulse to criticize was likely to be diminished at a time when Mennonites needed to protect their exemption from military service. The brevity of the Spanish-American War spared the Mennonites from the dilemmas of a national conscription law. But they did not escape the temporary embarrassment of their apparent inability wholeheartedly to join their country in fighting the war. Their willingness to sanction non-combatant war work, and their contributions to famine relief in India, helped to relieve this tension.[21]

FOOTNOTES

1. Samuel S. Haury, *Die Wehrlosigkeit in der Sonntagschule* (Dayton: United Brethren Publishing House, 1894).
2. *Der Herold*, April 5, 1917.
3. *Christlicher Bundesbote*, May 12, 1898.
4. *Gesamtprotokolle der Kansas- und Westlichen Distrikt-Konferenzen*, p. 264.
5. Charles M. Skinner, "The Mennonites of Kansas," St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, September 30, 1900.
6. *Kansas Volksblatt und Anzeiger*, March 10, 1898.
7. For other examples of Mennonite trust in McKinley as a peacemaker see John P. Thiessen, "Wie stehen unsere Mennoniten in Amerika zur Wehrpflicht," Hillsboro *Post*, June 3, 1898, and the editorial by H. P. Krehbiel in *The Review*, October 1900.
8. See for example, "Spaniens barbarische Kriegsfuehrung," *Kansas Volksblatt und Anzeiger*, June 23, 1898.
9. *Volksblatt und Anzeiger*, August 18, 1898.
10. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1898.
11. H. O. Kruse, "The Coming World Conflict," *The Review*, May, 1899.
12. Krehbiel began *The Review* as an English-language paper in Canton, Ohio, in April, 1899, but moved it to Newton, Kansas, in December, 1899. He continued the paper through 1904 and then switched to German-language publication.
13. An Inquiring Observer, "How About that Doctrine of Non-Resistance?" *The Review*, September, 1900.
14. J. J. Funk, letter to the editor, *The Review*, October, 1900.
15. *The Review*, October, 1900.
16. P. H. Richert, "Neither a Republican Nor a Democratic Principle," *The Review*, November, 1900.
17. *The Review*, December 1900, January 1901.
18. C. Frey, "Etliche Gedanken bezueglich der gegenwaertigen Kampagne," Hillsboro *Post*, September 23, 1900.
19. Ferdinand J. Funk, "Die Philippinen-Frage," Hillsboro *Post*, August 24, 1900.
20. Ferdinand J. Funk, "Ein Brief von Herrn Roosevelt," Hillsboro *Post*, October 26, 1900.
21. Only the General Conference Mennonites officially stated their approval of noncombatant work in times of war.

You Could Always Do Both

By Elmer F. Suderman

After a frustrating day
writing about Willa Cather's
Style in *My A'ntonia,* I told my wife,
"Sometimes I think
I'd be better off hoeing weeds."
She smiled. Then in a tone only
too clear that she was aware of the
dandelions in our lawn, she said,
very matter of fact, of course,
"You could always do both."

The Congregation Listens

By Elmer F. Suderman

Vietnam, Cambodia,
Racism, unemployment,
Palestinian refugees,
inflation, automation,
dissident students and
the crisis in education.
The minister touches them all.
The congregation listens intently
because
because they know
because they know
they won't do anything about them anyhow.

The Making of a Mennonite Historian

By Melvin Gingerich

THIS IS AN ATTEMPT to analyze some of the forces of which I have been aware that have shaped the course of both my Christian and my professional life and have brought me to this position where I can look back over a long period of years of satisfying and exciting labor in the kingdom of God.

My Amish Background

My heritage, I can say humbly, is a rich one, for which I have been very grateful. This heritage has had in it the basic life patterns and convictions that determined some of my early experiences and outlooks upon life. I was raised in an Amish Mennonite home near Kalona, Iowa. In a sense my boyhood church was still considered to be Old Order Amish, although our own congregation had gone an independent way in a number of instances. My four great-grandfathers were Amish Mennonite ministers, as were my two grandfathers. I can still recall as a boy hearing these two take their turns at preaching in the Lower Deer Creek Amish Mennonite Church near Kalona, Iowa. As I see it now, I think these ancestors were progressive and were willing to go into new paths in the life of the church. My grandfather Gingerich was a very compassionate man who had no greater pleasure than doing kind deeds for his grandchildren. I still recall his friendly smiles as he did these deeds of love for us. My grandmother Gingerich was the daughter of Bishop Joseph Goldsmith, who too was a pioneer in establishing churches and in trying new courses of action. Grandmother Gingerich was a most unusual person. She had ability as a poet and in the deeply emotional experiences of her life she found expression for her feelings by writing poetry to fit the occasion. She was an outstanding conversationalist and no doubt passed this quality on to her sons who, in each instance, were known to be entertaining visitors, able to keep the discussions going in an exciting fashion.

I remember Grandfather Reber as a most versatile man. He had a large variety of gifts, a great deal of energy, and made a profound impression upon me. He lived just across the road from where I grew up as a boy. It, perhaps, was from Grandfather Reber that I got my first interest in historical matters, for I would sit at his knees in our carpenter shop and listen to his stories of the pioneer days in Iowa back in the 1850's when he first lived in the State. My Grandmother Reber was a Swartzendruber, an influential family in our Iowa community. It was my great-great-grandfather Swartzendruber who kept the first accurate records of the Amish Mennonites in Iowa, a documentary source that years later proved to be of great value to me when I was writing my master's and doctor's theses.

My Uncle Solomon F. Gingerich influenced me more than any other of my uncles or aunts. He became a public school teacher at a very early age and then went on to Elkhart Institute to further his education and finally became a faculty member at Goshen College where he served for a number of years. Later he joined the English department of the University of Michigan. He always took much interest in me, perhaps because he sensed that I might also someday become a teacher. In many ways he inspired me to continue my education.

Kansas: Widening the Horizon

In Iowa I went to the rural schools. I was the first Mennonite child from our rural school to go to high school. In those days very few of the young people from this large community attended any high school but I was determined that I wanted more education, and although my parents were somewhat reluctant to see

Melvin Gingerich, Goshen, Indiana, 1968.

me go, they admitted later that they knew that if I wanted this, there was nothing that they could do to really stop me from achieving my goal. So they not only gave their consent, but they cooperated in making this educational experience a rich one. They did, however, insist that I should go to Hesston Academy for my senior year, which I did.

My Hesston experience was a rewarding one. It gave me a wider vision of the church. I made friends from many different states and learned much about the various communities and positions of different sections of the Mennonite brotherhood. It was not only broadening in this way but it was a deepening spiritual experience for me. I recall one instance in particular that I think helped give some direction to my life. One year when C. Henry Smith was teaching history at Bethel College, he came to Hesston to give a chapel address. I recall vividly what a profound impression he made upon me. Here was a cultured gentleman, the first man in the (Old) Mennonite Church to have received a Ph.D. degree, a man of great charm and poise, who spent the chapel period telling what a glorious heritage we have as Mennonites and what a great contribution the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition had made not only to Protestantism but to Western culture. This gave us new insights and made us more sure of our loyalty to our own church. It was at Hesston College, too, that I had my first introduction to the Russian Mennonites. A considerable number of them attended Hesston College and I found friends among them and also an appreciation for their history and their contribution.

In those years at Hesston and before going on to Goshen, I began reading the works of John Horsch, as well as other books in the field of Mennonite history. I am quite sure that my parents often must have been impatient with me because too often I hurried through my assigned tasks in order to get back to my books. Some of my friends could not understand why I was interested in this type of books. They preferred novels having to do with the wild west.

My Work at Goshen

After two years of teaching rural school in Iowa, I entered Goshen College in the fall of 1924. As I look back over my experience in Goshen College, it seems to me that what stands out most is the impact that certain faculty members made on my life. S. C. Yoder I had known for a number of years previously. I had found him to be a person who would talk to me as an equal, never in a condescending manner. As a young man, I appreciated his approach and the way in which he took me seriously. I recall also Noah Oyer. Not only do I remember a class that he taught but also the conversations that I had with him and the sermons he preached. Perhaps it was just a coincidence, but perhaps it was more than this, that determined that I would have a history major. One day when I was talking to Dean Oyer, he explained to me that if I intended to teach in high school there would be a great advantage for me to have two majors so that I could teach in two fields since jobs were difficult to find in those times. He then suggested that with my background and with the courses that I had had, it would be a good choice to combine my English major with a history major and he gave his arguments for this proposition. Thus I attended summer school at the University of Iowa to pick up a number of history courses to make possible a history major alongside of my English major. One of my classmates told me one day that she too thought that it would be a good idea for me to have a history major for she was convinced that I had the type of mind that could analyze historical data. I suppose that she felt that I was not quite poetic enough nor did I have enough literary ability to express myself in beautiful and

picturesque language, a requirement for an inspirational English teacher. John Umble was also a man who influenced me. It was one of his courses that taught me a great deal about skill in writing.

Finally, there was the influence of Harold S. Bender. I had only one course under him but this was enough to inspire me by his breadth of knowledge, his depth of understanding, and his deep interest in his students. It was in October 1924, about forty-six years ago, that the Mennonite Historical Society was reorganized on the Goshen College Campus after having died out in the previous period of college history. In that reorganization, H. S. Bender became the first president of the new society and I was elected vice-president. The meetings that we had were very meaningful to me, and I recall with great satisfaction that the "Goshen College Record Review Supplement" was launched in January 1926, which in the next year became the *Mennonite Quarterly Review.*

I Begin to Write

After graduation I taught a year at Clinton Community School near Goshen and then went on to Washington, Iowa, in 1927, where I was to serve for the next fourteen years. This marked the beginning of a new phase of my life. Living so near the university, it became easy for me to take graduate courses and before long I was launched upon a master's program while teaching in the high school in Washington. It was soon necessary for me to select a topic for a master's thesis. Upon the recommendation of H. S. Bender I chose to write on the Amish Mennonites in Iowa. I had had a conversation with one of the older men in our community who had been the expert in Iowa Amish Mennonite history. We had an interesting conversation as we looked through some of the old records he had. At that point I made an offhand remark that some day I intended to write a book about the Mennonites in Iowa. I can still see the expression on his face as he turned his head to the side in order to hide the smile that my remarks evoked. I understood this to mean that he concluded that I was indeed a young upstart to think that I would be able to do something like this. This incident always remained a challenge to me and I suppose I was stubborn enough to decide that I was going to make good on this vision. Of course later I did exactly that.

My master's thesis was on "The Amish Mennonites in Iowa" and the experience of gathering the material and writing it was an absorbing one. I realized that there was much material left to be covered. One summer day after I had received my master's degree, I was walking across the University of Iowa campus, when one of my friends, Paul Giddens, saw me and said, "Professor Shambaugh has been wanting to see you." So I decided to see what Shambaugh had on his mind. He was Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa. I went to his office and he explained that for years they had been looking for someone to write a book on the Mennonites in Iowa to be a companion volume to *The Quakers in Iowa*, *The British in Iowa*, and a series of other books similar to this dealing with different segments of the cultural picture of Iowa. He said he had read my master's thesis, had talked with my professors, and that they had decided that they wished to ask me to enlarge my thesis and do a full size book. He went on to explain that they had a fund that had not been used for years that I could use not only for my research expenses, but that the fund was large enough to insure the publication of the book. This, indeed, was good news to me. So I immediately went to the head of the history department and told him this story, asking him whether it would be possible to have the subject "The Mennonites in Iowa" registered as a possible Ph.D. dissertation topic. W. T. Root, then head of the history department, at once agreed that this was feasible and so I soon began further research upon the topic that finally resulted in the publication of *The Mennonites in Iowa,* in 1939, a year after I had received my doctor's degree.

Prerequisites of a Historian

My graduate school experience was a valuable one from many different points of view. I was impressed with the devotion to scholarship and learning on the part of my professors and I admired them for their hard work and their determination to find truth regardless of where it might lead them. On the other hand, I was also equally impressed with the discovery that not one of my professors could hide the fact that he had a particular point of view, that there was no pure objectivity in the interpretation of history, and that in some instances these points of view might actually be considered to be prejudices. As a result of that experience, it became increasingly clear to me that in the area of history one had to be selective. One's understanding of man, of the nature of society, and of the realities of our world demanded that we sift out that which was irrelevant and deal with the primary and the most relevant movements in history. For one of my professors this selectivity meant that the central study for man must be the age-old struggle of humanity to achieve freedom. This, placed in its proper theological context, made sense to me. It helped me search for the threads and meaning of history and it, of course, led finally, also, into a study of the history of political thought with its many ramifications that were tied into the whole area of theology as well as of philosophy.

A second result of my graduate studies was to show to me how essential it was not to go down a one-alley

approach to any aspect of the story of what man has thought, said, and done. What I mean by this, for instance, is that one cannot pursue church history without seeing the church in its cultural and historical context. The person who writes about church history must understand the environment in which the church was operating in each age of its life. That means that he must be a student, also, of general history, of literature, of anthropology, and of all of the other fields that will shed light on the life and times in which the church made its witness. It came to me very forcibly during this period of my study that too often in our own writing of Mennonite history we have treated our own story as an isolated phenomenon, unrelated to the times in which the events occurred. We have tended too much to regard Mennonites as being on an island, separated from the streams of thought and of action in the secular society around them. We have, therefore, not succeeded too well in explaining why the American Mennonite church has in certain emphases gone down a different road from the European Mennonite church. Much study remains to be done on the impact of various democratizing and other egalitarian forces upon our own patterns of thought and church structure. We need, also, to see Anabaptism and Mennonitism in the larger stream of Protestant and Christian history.

Citizenship and Peace

Another chapter in my life history concerns my experiences in Washington, Iowa, where in a sense I was living in two worlds. I was related directly and intimately to the life of the Mennonites in our communities in Johnson and Henry counties. But in Washington, Iowa, there was no Mennonite church. Here I was in the center of a Protestant community that was represented strongly by the Methodists and Presbyterians. I found it not only possible but also very meaningful to relate myself to many of the activities of these groups. Therefore, I belonged to the men's brotherhoods of both the Methodist and Presbyterian churches and participated in their programs. Occasionally I taught Sunday school classes and participated in young people's work. I taught courses in the county Christian leadership training schools and in various ways I found it possible to relate to this segment of Protestantism and to find the experience broadening.

Through these experiences in Washington I was able to address clubs, such as Rotary, and to draw on my own training in the field of history and current affairs in many of the presentations that I made before these groups. In my classes I was especially stimulated by my course entitled "American Problems." Out of our several years of discussion of the nature of America's social, economic, political, and religious problems, there developed certain deep convictions that I shared with my classes as occasion presented itself. These ultimately found their way into print in the book entitled "Youth and Christian Citizenship."

During those years I also became interested in the impact of propaganda upon American thought and we talked much about this in my "American Problems" course. Finally, I wrote an article for the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* on the "Menace of Propaganda," which was published in the April 1939 issue. Years later I discovered that as a result of this article, a noted conservative right wing newspaper publisher and editor had taken offense and some of his friends had threatened to sue the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* for having published this expose'. It was years later that Harold Bender told me about the controversy that had taken place.

Still another area that interested me greatly was the peace movement. The writings of G. F. Hershberger in our chruch papers had stimulated me a great deal, as had his work as a teacher during my last year at Goshen. I began to attend conferences on international relations and to participate in a number of peace movements during those years, as well as began to write in the field also. In one of my graduate courses at the University of Iowa I wrote a paper on "World War I as Reflected in British Poetry."

My Years at Bethel

The next part of the story relates to my transfer to Bethel College in 1941. During the previous spring I had applied to teach history at a church college in

John and Lydia (Reber) Gingerich, Kalona, Iowa. The parents of Melvin Gingerich around 1900.

Melvin and Verna (Roth) Gingerich and their first child, Owen, 1933.

Melvin Gingerich's first teenage portrait, 1918.

Iowa and was high on the list of candidates for the position. I, however, did not get the position. I learned later that it was because the president of the school, in his interview with me, had misunderstood my answer to one of his questions. If, however, he had understood me correctly and had hired me, I would not have been free to go to Bethel College in the fall of 1941 when a history professor was needed because of the serious illness of Professor E. L. Harshbarger, and my Bethel experience might never have become a reality. Was this an accidental happening or was this the direction of Providence for my life?

The Bethel experience was a rewarding one. For the first time in my life I was an active member of a community of scholars and it indeed was a challenging experience. Here were men who shared my views and convictions but who had out-thought me on many issues related to the application of our faith to western culture. I was deeply challenged by our long discussions and by the new concepts that were brought into my life.

It was also the beginning of a new relationship with the Russian Mennonites and the establishment of a community of interest, concern, and brotherhood with them that has persisted to this day. Among the leaders in the General Conference Mennonite Church, I have many friends who have been my former students or whom I have learned to know as I met them in their conferences and talked in their churches.

Among the many friends that I have maintained contact with over the decades is Menno Schrag, the editor of the *Mennonite Weekly Review*. Years ago in Hesston Academy we were students together and members of the same academy literary society. It would never have occurred to either one of us that some day we would be closely associated with each other in the work of the *Mennonite Weekly Review*. Since 1942 I have written a weekly book column, as well as other articles, for the *Review* and recently on an average of once a year I have been in Newton to attend meetings of the Herald Publishing Company or of other interests in that area. These have been precious and broadening experiences for me.

I must mention also Cornelius Krahn and our long friendship. When he came to Bethel College from Tabor College, we immediately began working together in the area of Mennonite history. I had the privilege of working closely with him in the launching of *Mennonite Life* magazine, with which I have maintained connections from that time to this. For many years he and I have been closely associated with each other in the production of the four volumes of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* and its reprint.

Also among my friends of Bethel days is J. Winfield Fretz. We worked together as charter members of the Mennonite Research Fellowship and in the work of

the Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems. It was he who introduced me to a broader concept of "community" and to a new understanding of the church as the institution that brings together people who have a loving concern for each other and then reach out to bring others into their fellowship. Through those years we, among others, were trying to think through the problems related to community; we hoped that in our articles on the rural life page of the *Mennonite Weekly Review* we may have succeeded in creating an interest in the nature of community and how it is related to the concept of the people of God as a cooperative, loving family. It was during those years also that the CPS experience transpired. I had the privilege of visiting a large number of the CPS camps to study what was going on there and to present lectures and classes. Out of that came my history of Mennonite Civilian Public Service, entitled *Service for Peace.*

Research and Writing

When we transferred from Bethel College to Goshen, Indiana, in the summer of 1947, we did so with mixed feelings. Our family's experience at Bethel had been a most pleasant one and we were reluctant to leave our many friends behind. However, the call of the church to assume a new responsibility at Goshen weighed heavily upon my conscience and I decided to accept the offer to become the director of research of the newly organized Mennonite Research Foundation which was to be a semi-independent organization related to the Mennonite Board of Education. The purpose of the agency was to carry forward research projects for the various agencies of the church, which wished to have basic facts and information made available to them in studies related to their programs.

Through the years that the organization continued to exist a number of Mennonite scholars did their doctor's theses under the auspices of the Mennonite Research Foundation. I was also to become active in the Archives of the Mennonite Church, having been a member of the Mennonite Historical Committee of Mennonite General Conference continuously since 1941. This meant, among other things, that I was to be custodian of the archives, with much of the actual work in the archives being done by others. I was also to become managing editor of *The Mennonite Encyclopedia.* It soon became apparent that a part time history teacher was needed at Goshen College and so for a number of years I taught half time and at other times less than that. Another assignment that soon was given me was to become the managing editor of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review.*

The years have gone swiftly at Goshen College. My research was limited because of the nature of my responsibility as director of research in the Mennonite Research Foundation and then, later on when the Foundation was absorbed by the Mennonite Historical Committee, by my work as executive secretary of the Historical and Research Committee. I did, however, find it possible to write a large number of articles for the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* and a number of other articles for the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* and *Mennonite Life.*

A Look Back

As I look back over these pages and as I think through the more than sixty years that I can recall in my memory, I am impressed with the range of experiences that I have been privileged to enjoy. My contacts have led me into Old Order Amish communities and to friendship with a number of their leaders. I have profited by this part of my Mennonite experiences. On the other hand, I have had many contacts with the General Conference Mennonites and with the groups that would be found between them and the Amish, including, of course, the (Old) Mennonite Church. My travels have taken me from the East coast to the West coast, where I have spoken in the churches of the various branches of Mennonites and have enjoyed rich fellowship with them. My experiences abroad, too, have been broadening ones. I recall with much satisfaction my visit to Danzig in 1946 when I was the supervisor of a relief shipment of horses to that country. In Danzig some of us explored the ruins of the Mennonite church of that city, where I made contacts with a man who lived near the church and who had saved from the fire in the church many of the old documents and books. He was most happy to turn over some of this material to me to take back to America because he did not know what to do with it. In Japan from 1955-57 I had the privilege of working with a number of missionaries who had been my students and my friends of former years. Three extended trips in Europe have brought us contacts with various Mennonite groups and places of interest in that continent and have greatly enlarged our vision and our range of experiences. But perhaps the high-point of our more recent experiences was our world tour in 1969 when we visited more than thirty countries around the globe and saw young Mennonite churches in action and saw also the graduates of our colleges and former friends busily engaged in a wide variety of tasks in the Kingdom in many different countries and cultures. To help these churches see the importance of church history and to help them in the organization of their records was a rewarding task.

Finally, let me say that I am a Mennonite historian because many forces were brought to bear upon me and many different persons influenced my life. Sometimes it was through closed doors that our way was

guided into work in the church. At other times it may have been a seeming chance happening that determined the course of our future life. Be that as it may, we are convinced that we have experienced the grace of God and we join in giving thanks to a kind heavenly Father who has led us into green pastures and beside still waters. In closing, let me speak a word of appreciation to my dear wife who has been long-suffering and loyal during our mountain top experiences and comforted me through the years of hardship. To you, my friends, who have inspired and sustained me and my wife and have helped enrich our lives, we wish to express our deep gratitude for what you have done for us and what you have meant to us.

An address delivered to the Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen, Indiana, June 2, 1970, at a dinner planned by the Society in recognition of "the long and distinguished service which Dr. Melvin Gingerich has rendered to Goshen College and the Mennonite Church, particularly as Archivist and as Executive Secretary of the Historical and Research Committee." J.C.W.

Robert Friedmann: Historian, Christian, Scholar

By Leonard Gross

DURING THE LAST two years of the life of Robert Friedmann I was a priviledged Wednesday evening guest in the Friedmann home. To fellowship and share with the Friedmanns was always an enriching experience which I each time anticipated eagerly. Several times during these months, Robert Friedmann would say: "You cannot rush God. You wait for the Fullness of Time, you wait for *kairos*. You cannot rush God."

The First Great Turn

Fullness came to the Friedmanns in the 1930s, when through a seeming quirk of time the Friedmann family found the fortitude to leave Vienna. It must have been difficult—extremely difficult—for the Friedmanns to leave home: their home, where culture and intellectualism converged at its best. Almost fifty years in Vienna provides us with one clue to the life of Robert Friedmann, half a century as an Austrian, as a Viennese, as an intellectual from a liberal Jewish background.

I was privileged to tape-record a three-hour conversation with Friedmann in 1970. A "replay" of the tape grants us an insight into Friedmann's life and his conversion to the field of history. We listen:

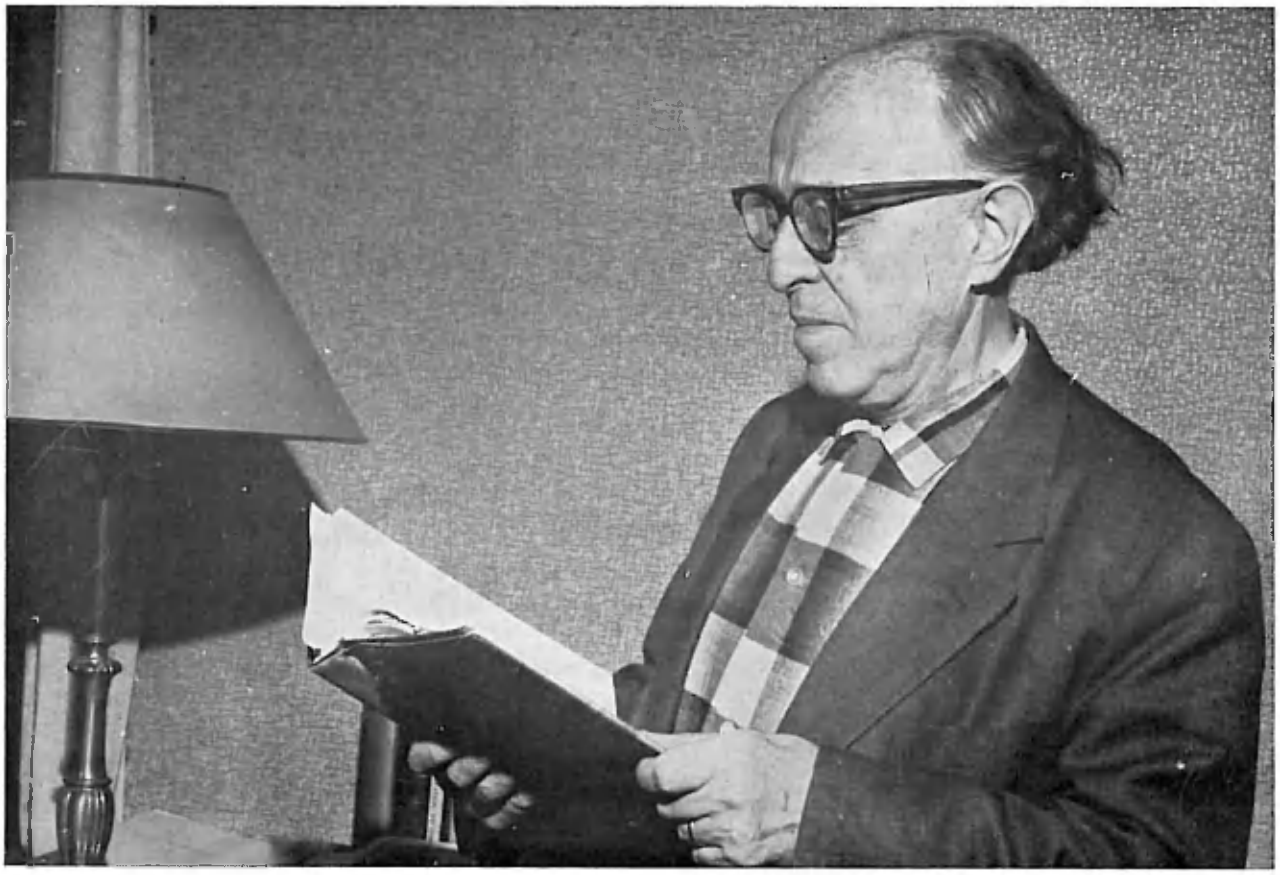
My background, if you want to know, is a liberal Jewish background. In our house there was very little talk about religion. . . . Religion was hardly ever being discussed. However, what was discussed was art and literature, travel and science, etc. I was very impressed by Darwinism in those days, and studied the *Evolution of the Species,* and I considered that it would be good for me to become a biologist. I was very interested in geology and went out to collect fossils. I had at one time a very beautiful collection of fossils at home . . . (which) I had collected . . . But my father insisted I must become an engineer. (That is what I did.)

When World War I came, I was called to the Austrian army. I was a soldier from 1914 to 1918 for four years and three months, . . . a few miles behind the front line [of the Italian theater of the war].

And it was in those years when I was out busy in the Tyrol and later in Italy, that a great change happened in my mind. I turned away from my former merely, shall I say, scientific-oriented interest and suddenly discovered something which I really did not know at all before this time, namely, history. For the very first time I became interested because I had seen that war is in the realm of history. And so I became interested in it, but I didn't know what to do. I had no books on history. Nothing.

As I said, religiously I was, although coming from a Jewish family, I would say neutral. I was not interested in Judaism, but I wasn't interested in Christianity either. But I was interested more now in philosophy and history.

The great turning point in this historical interest came in 1919 when by chance this well-known book by Oswald Spengler, the *Decline of the West,* . . . fell into my hands. I read it in early 1919 and this had such a tremendous impact upon me that I knew that from now on I had to study history. And that was what I did. Although I had my engineer diploma in 1914,



Robert Friedmann at the time when he taught at Bethel College during the school year 1961-62.

in 1920 I decided to go to the university. For that purpose I had to do something [to keep house and family going]. Well. that was another question how I struggled through until I finally got my doctorate and became a teacher of history, geography and philosophy at the several *Gymnasien* in Vienna. That is another story.[1]

Here, autobiographically, is the Robert Friedmann "conversion" to history. It was as simple as that: Out of his experiences in the "Great War" Friedmann came to see meaning in a discipline he had heretofore not considered: history, philosophy, and, as we shall see, Christianity.[1]

But there is another life-chapter we need to understand before we can come to appreciate Friedmann's main contributions to the world of scholarship. Again we listen in to oral history:

Now while I had returned from the war . . . I was, so to speak, free. I had no intention of ever using my engineering degree. I had a little money saved during the war and at that time I began studying, at first not Christianity, but the religions of the world: Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and similar areas.

It was only a little . . . later then . . . when I came in contact with Tolstoi that I began to be interested in Christianity. It took me awhile until I really began to read the New Testament. And the full New Testament I read not until seven years later. In fact, the first two years I gave lectures and discussions on the question of religion, but it did not become very clear to me until many, many years later.

It took me quite awhile to go deeply into this whole area of Christian understanding. I became baptized in 1934, I believe. . . . And then when I came to Goshen [Indiana], I joined the Eighth Street Mennonite Church for good. So that's it.[1]

The Discovery of Anabaptism

The historian is known by his interests for they largely determine his work, his scholarship. So, at least, Friedmann. Although he never officially attended courses in theology, he did read the theologians Tillich

and Brunner, and even held evening discussions in theology at a *Volkshochschule* among non-intellectuals, working people, as a sort of missioner.

But the theological center taking form and developing in the Friedmann's life was Tolstoi, Ragaz, Berdyaev; that is, until he met up with the Anabaptists. It was here with the radical Anabaptists where he labored each day for fifty long years. "This is now almost fifty years," Friedmann said during our taped conversation, "and ever since [1923] I kept with this subject [of Anabaptism], and will keep to it to the end of my life."

This is what Friedmann himself has to say about this change:

In the years 1920-24 I was a student of both history and philosophy at the University of Vienna, an old and rather famous institution. I was a member of the "Seminar for Cultural and Economic History" headed by the well-known history professor, Alphons Dopsch. As a matter of routine, I had to produce a "seminar paper," but as it should soon prove, this routine assignment was to become a providential event in my life which decidedly influenced, in fact, changed my life in its basic outline and orientation.

My professor had asked me what I would like to write about in this research paper, and I answered quickly: "Something on the sectarian movement in Austria during the period of the Reformation." . . . However, I had never before heard the words "Mennonite" or "Anabaptist" or "Hutterite."

Well, Professor Dopsch was very gracious, agreed and helped me in my first groping steps. He advised me to read Ernst Troeltsch (*Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*) and Max Weber (*Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*), and then to look up Joseph Beck's *Geschichts-Bücher* (Chronicles) of the Anabaptists of Austria (1883). There I was—Beck and after him Loserth have done all the research possible and apparently nothing was left for me to do "research" in. Then Dopsch advised me to call on Professor Rudolf Wolkan, one flight up, who taught German literature at the university, and who had shown some interest in Anabaptist history previously. As I found out in my preliminary research there did actually exist a "left-wing" movement in Austria in the sixteenth century namely the Anabaptist, and more specifically the Hutterites. . . . Thus with much determination I knocked at the door of Wolkan's office, and was most kindly received. "You are a lucky fellow," he said, "it so happens that I have here on my desk not less than three Hutterite codices (handwritten books) of the 16th century. Why don't you try a study of the epistles of these people? There are many hundreds of them, and no one ever has made this a topic of literary study."[2]

What was there about Anabaptism which won Friedmann's heart and soul and mind? He changed rapidly from engineering to biology to geology, but he died with the same enthusiasm for Anabaptism which he developed in the early 1920's. This chapter in Friedmann's life was different. It endured.

The Essence of Christianity

What was the substance of this movement for Friedmann? If we can place our finger anywhere, it would be in the term "existential." Anabaptism was "existential Christianity" according to Friedmann. Let's look back to our oral history:

Faith has to have an existential dimension. That means faith has to be proved by evidence, evidence of living. Then faith is faith. Otherwise faith is only a desire, a wish, but not a real concrete and existential condition of life. That is why I call Anabaptism an existential Christianity. This is really the very core of my understanding of Anabaptism. Namely, that Anabaptism is existential Christianity, and its main—shall I say, royal—idea is the idea of the Kingdom of God which is not only a promise to come, but in a nuclear way is already here among the brotherhood—namely, a work of peace and harmony and mutual love. The brotherhood is . . . a little nucleus of the kingdom of God in the here-and-now. . . .

Now this [Anabaptism] is a unique event in history —namely, that once in 1500 years such an affair repeated itself—because it was about the same kind of spiritual rebirth of the primitive Christian thought. Never again did it happen.[1]

These are strong words. In Friedmann's forthcoming book, *The Theology of Anabaptism*, a similar statement is made:

It is our thesis that ever since the days of the apostolic church, Anabaptism is the only example in church history of an "existential Christianity" where there existed no *basic* split between faith and life, even though the struggle for realization or actualization of this faith into practice remained a perennial task.[2]

When a scholar can in his own mind portray a movement with such certainty and loftiness, we can begin to see why he stayed on the course for fifty years without wavering, entering into the spirit of Anabaptism at least vicariously. So an historical movement, the whole era of Anabaptism, became essentially the focal point around which the scholarly historical-theological pursuits of Friedmann were built.

It was a beautiful unity for Friedmann, because he found it possible to concentrate to a large degree on one century; on one aspect of this century—the sectarian; and on one part of the sectarian—Anabaptism.

The Fruits of his Labor

Throughout the many codices and rare sixteenth-century volumes into which Friedmann delved, he found the same existential qualities—this realized peace and harmony and mutual love. In effect he believed

he had discovered an explosive, historical break-through of the kingdom of God. In Friedmann's eyes this existential Christianity was

[what] gives such an enormous strength, an existential strength to these epistles and other documents of the Hutterites and of course of other [Anabaptist] writers as well. But the Hutterites in particular because the Hutterites could produce such an enormous amount of literature.[1]

What captivated my interest immediately was this kind of genuineness, or as they say today, authenticity, of these epistles. They were genuine Christian existential documents, testimonials, which profoundly gripped me right at the very beginning. I began reading and as I proceeded I began to become alerted and to note a mentality completely unknown to me hitherto. These were epistles with a new sound, a new spirit, something very different from anything I had ever read before.[3]

The historian can work only with those materials which actually exist. Friedmann worked with those he found, and it is true that most of the Anabaptist primary sources are to be found within Hutterianism, the Eastern European branch of sixteenth-century Anabaptism which was located in Tyrol, Moravia, Hungary, and Transylvania of present-day Rumania.

Hence Friedmann saw it to be his lot to recapture as much as possible of the mood, the message, and the life of these sixteenth-century Anabaptists. And he did it in a way few others could have done, trail-blazing as a non-theological theologian, using a unique "Friedmann" terminology, showing a strong bent for the history of ideas.

He was the first scholar to capture meaningfully the slight but ever-so-important differences between Anabaptism and Pietism. He did this in his classic study, "Täufertum and Pietismus," written in 1939 during a period of involuntary leisure in a lovely country home in Sussex, England, while waiting for a visa to the United States. Friedmann translated, enlarged, and published this study in 1949 under the title: *Mennonite Piety through the Centuries.* The volume sold out and is now available only in photo-reprint.

Friedmann published a second book in 1961 called *Hutterite Studies,* a select portion of his hundreds of published articles. In 1965 a third book was published: a catalogue of the Hutterite *Schriften,* which is much more than a simple bringing-together of the known codices and documents of the Hutterites; it is in itself an interpretive work, as are all Friedmann publications. The main research for this volume was done in 1954 during Friedmann's year as a "Guggenheim Fellow." In 1967 Friedmann next published his *Glaubenszeugnisse Oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter II,* edited Anabaptist testimonials of faith in the series, "Quellen und Forschung zur Reformationsgeschichte."

Two manuscripts await publication, his *Theology of Anabaptism,* and another manuscript written a score of years ago, called *Design for Living,* a book on existential day-by-day living. It is written in a practical, non-theological, in a sense, non-religious style. It is intended to be more than ethics; we might say, it is the call to obedience to that which is.

But perhaps more than all these books put together, another major Friedmann contribution must be underscored: the great array of articles published in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, Mennonite Life, Mennonite Quarterly Review, Church History, Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter, Neue Wege,* and various other Austrian and German journals. His list is upwards of one hundred articles. In addition Friedmann contributed over two hundred articles in the scholarly four-volume *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* written during the late 1950's.

Friedmann stands in that great line of Anabaptist-Hutterite scholars: Josef Beck, Johann Loserth, Rudolf Wolkan, and Lydia Müller. In many ways he has outclassed them all, especially in his quest for the Hutterite idea and vision, and in his historical development of this reality.

Of course Anabaptist scholarship continues. Some of Friedmann's ideas have already been put to the question—among others, his dated portrayal of Thomas Müntzer, or his ideas on the uniqueness of the Anabaptists within history.

A Scholar and Witness

I often wondered why Robert Friedmann did not become a radical missionary, following the path of those whom he held in such high regard, who did in fact go down this path of radical prophetic witness. During our taped conversation Friedmann also spoke to this:

I love to be a scholar. Don't forget that. . . . I have dedicated my life in this kind of research, but predominantly as a scholar—rather than as a missionary, as a preacher, or something like that. . . . I won't claim this [scholarly pursuit] as a sort of a testimonial existence. If I were this type then I wouldn't make this research but would go and produce my own testimonal preaching.[1]

Yet this explanation does not wholly satisfy. It does not tell why Robert Friedmann was not more of a radical activist, more of an open rebel. He was one for awhile in Vienna and enjoyed it. There he carried on dialogue with the "proletariat," and continued his correspondence with many of these acquaintances through the decades. But he was content to remain mainly a scholar and teacher.

I believe the answer in part can be found in Friedmann's view that you cannot rush God, in his idea of

the "fullness of time." In 1965, following the Watts riot and shortly after United States' resolve to win the Vietnam war, Friedmann wrote a little article called the "Eschatological Dimension" in which he says:

Christianity without eschatology is like lemonade—it makes no one drunk. It hardly ever leads to dynamic decisions. That is what ails most churches today. . . . Eschatology means facing the great cataclysmic turn in history - nobody knows its hour but the Father. . . . Today, tomorrow, at any time may come that turn (and I am afraid we are already in the midst of it), and the Christian has to know where his allegiance belongs. . . . But which minister today would preach about it (unless he is a queer fellow, . . .)? But as I understand the message, there is nothing queer in it. . . . there is a spiritual reality as concrete and real as that of guns and bombs, in fact, more so. In brief, the eschatological dimension enters our mind only as a quality of an existential faith. To gain it let us not despair and likewise not be complacent but let us pray, *Veni Creator Spiritus* [Come Creator Spirit].[5]

Perhaps Friedmann did have a keener sense of the historical than many, for who else talked in those days about end times, even in 1965? In 1945, 1950, even 1960, it did seem that talk about end times—about the possibility of "great cataclysmic turns in history"—was indeed geared for the queer fellow. Hardly today.

It was given to Robert Friedmann—who lived a full life in these 1920's, '30s, '40s, '50s, and '60s—to turn to research, to be a scholar, to wait, not rushing God; but to wait expectantly, hopefully, and acting in obedience to the demands made upon his generation. Part of this waiting and acting for Friedmann was to complete that task which he felt had been entrusted to him, namely: to tell the story of how one small sect reacted to the end times of Reformation days, an era which, when the whole forest is viewed, felled a thousand years of the Medieval and ushered in the Modern. It was not for the Friedmann generation to experience the end directly. Will it be ours? If so, the quotation Robert Friedmann chose to close one of his interpretive articles may speak some consoling words to our generation as well. It was written in 1942, at the height of World War II despair—words, perhaps as meaningful during our 1970 era of despair as they were thirty years ago. Here can be seen something of the Friedmann interpretation of history:

It cannot be the task of the student of history to preach or indicate means of reorientation. All that history can do is to point to certain facts and by this make one conscious of a given situation. This might arouse more vigilance and incite a new readiness for a reexamination of the Christian's function in the world. In times of spiritual stagnation there is one great danger: self-illusion or self-deceit. One takes routine work for essential work and thinks he is promoting the kingdom of God by rather external means. Thus, a reconsideration of the heritage of the fathers seems to be highly necessary particularly in a time as trying as this.

The concern of the writer in raising this question is prompted by the words of Jesus: "If the salt have lost his savor, wherewith shall it be salted?"[6]

FOOTNOTES

1. Conversation with Robert Friedmann, tape-recorded February 4 and 11, 1970, by Leonard Gross.

2. Robert Friedmann, "My Way to the Mennonites," *Mennonite Life* XVII (July 1962), 137f.

3. Robert Friedmann, *The Theology of Anabaptism*, manuscript, p. 15.

4. *Op. cit.* 138.

5. Robert Friedmann, "Eschatological Dimension," *The Mennonite*, LXXX (September 21, 1965), 592-93.

6. Robert Friedmann, "The Anabaptist Genius and its Influence on Mennonites Today," *Proceedings of the First Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems*, 1942, 24-25.

Two Views of the World

By Elmer F. Suderman

I

"What kind of a world
do you think this is
that you should be
happy in it?
Job was right:
Man has a hard service on earth
allotted months of futility
and nights of misery,
his days but a breath of wind
coming to their end without hope.
How stupid to laugh
when no beds comfort
and dreams terrify."

II

"I do not believe one word
of what you say,"
I smiled as I watched
God hang out enchanted
clouds that made the old sun
beam before he dropped off to sleep.

Mennonite Research in Progress, 1970

By Cornelius Krahn and Melvin Gingerich

In the April, 1969, issue of *Mennonite Life,* we reported about numerous research projects including M.A. and Ph.D. dissertations. Preceding April issues since 1949 (except in 1961, 1963, 1967 and 1968 when they were in the July issues) contain similar information under the headings "Mennonite Research in Progress," "Mennonite Bibliography" and "Books in Review." Of special significance is the article entitled "Anabaptism-Mennonitism in Doctoral Dissertations" which appeared in the April 1958 issue. The listing of additional dissertations is being continued annually in this column. The editors of *Mennonite Life* will be pleased to receive information about research in progress and dissertations to be included in subseqeunt issues.

Doctoral Dissertations

Durasoff, Steve. "The Russian Protestants. Evangelicals in the Soviet Union: 1944-1964." Ph.D., New York University, 1968.

Goldbach, Günter. "Hans Denck und Thomas Müntzer—ein Vergleich ihrer wesentlichen theologischen Auffassungen." Ph.D., Universität Hamburg, 1969.

Habegger, Howard, "Toward a Mission Strategy to the Emerging Urban Middle Strata in Colombia." D. of Rel., School of Theology at Claremont, Cal., 1970.

Klassen, Peter, "A History of Mennonite Education in Canada," (1786-1960), D. of Ed., University of Toronto, 1970.

Scheer, Herfried. "Studien zum Wortschatz der Mundart der Hutterischen Brüder," Ph.D., University of Montreal (in progress).

Schmid, Hans-Dieter. Ph.D. "Das Täufertum im Gebiet der Reichsstadt Nürnberg." University of Tübingen (in progress).

Sider, Ronald J. "Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt." Ph.D., Yale University, 1970.

Waltner, James. "The Authentication of Preaching in the Anabaptist-Mennonite Tradition." D. of Rel., School of Theology at Claremont, California, 1971.

M.A. Thesis

Dyck, Paul Irvin. "Emergence of New Castes in India." M.A., University of Manitoba, 1970.

Krocker, Peter J. "Lenguas and Mennonites: A Study of Cultural Change in the Paraguayan Chaco, 1928-1970." M.A., Wichita State University, 1970.

Polzin, Alfred. "The History of the Germantown Mennonite Church in Philadelphia," M.A., Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Philadelphia (in progress).

Sawatzky, Sheldon Victor. "The Gateway of Promise: A Study of the Taiwan Mennonite Church and the Factors Affecting its Growth." M.A., Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California, 1970.

Scholz, Harry G. "The German Colonists of Russia: The Repeal of Russia's Law of the Colonists in 1871 and its Effects on the German Colonist Population." M.A., Chapman College, 1969.

Zook, Mervin D., "Measurement of Attitudes Toward Religious Conscientious Objectors in Selected Magazines of World War II Years by Evaluative Assertation Analysis." M.A., Indiana University, 1969.

I. *North American Committee for the Documentation of Free Church Origins (NACDFCO), 1970*

The Executive Committee of NACDFCO had a meeting on October 9, 1970, in the Germantown Mennonite Meeting House, Philadelphia. The Secretary reviewed the status of the activities of the Committee, including the German TAK (*Täuferakten-Kommission*) and the Dutch CUDAN (*Commissie tot de uitgave van de Acta Anabaptistica Neerlandica*). The Chairman, George H. Williams, summarized the efforts to get the publishing of a series of sources started and made proposals in regard to a reorganization of the Committee. Franklin H. Littell reported on the present status of research concerning the Radical Reformation and other Free Church studies. He related some possibilities for starting the publication of a series at the Temple University Press, Fortress Press and other publishers. Cornelius Krahn reported that William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. has also expressed interest in publishing a Paperback Series. The following titles and authors for such a series were presented: J. M. Stayer, "On the Use of the Sword"; Clyde Manschreck, "Religious Liberty"; Walter Klaassen, "Faith, Reason, and Scriptures"; Leonard Gross, "Witness and Mission of the Church"; Alvin Beachy, "A Theology of Suffering"; Peter J. Klassen, "The Status of Women"; Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Communal Groups and Mutual Aid"; and "Christianity and Revolution" (no author suggested).

Franklin H. Littell proposed that contacts be made with the American Society of Church History as well as with the American Academy of Religion in regard to sectional meetings at which papers would be read on "The Free Church." This has been arranged for the April sectional meeting of the ASCH (Chicago) as well as the AAR (Atlanta, October, 1971).

At the time of the meeting of the ASCH the annual meeting of the NACDFCO took place in Park House, 66 Marlboro, Boston, December 28, 1970. Present were Rollin S. Armour, Donald F. Durnbaugh, Everett Furgeson, James L. Garrett, Irvin B. Horst, Cornelius Krahn, Clyde L. Manschreck, George H. Williams, J. K. Zeman, and Lowell H. Zuck. Progress reports were given by George H. Williams, Chairman, and the Secretary, Cornelius Krahn. The Treasurer, Franklin H. Littell, could not be present but had submitted a report. The Committee decided to write a brief memorial article for Robert Friedmann to be published in

one or several magazines. Reports followed by Donald F. Durnbaugh and Clyde L. Manschreck about the Paperback Series. It was agreed that the Executive Committee members and the chairman of the subcommittees would be responsible for selecting and counseling with the editors and translators in regard to the content of the various volumes.

Irvin B. Horst (University of Amsterdam) gave a progress report in regard to the Dutch Commission for the Publication of the *Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica* (CUDAN), and he distributed the first two copies of a *Bulletin*, published by the organization, which contain the plans and lists of the archival sources which are to be published. The *Bulletin* also has a list of the German, Swiss, and Austrian *Täuferakten* which have been published. The members of the Dutch CUDAN are the following: Heinold Fast, H. de la Fontaine Verwey, Irvin B. Horst, Otto J. de Jong, Cornelius Krahn, H. W. Meihuizen, A. F. Mellink, J. A. Oosterbaan, G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, S. L. Verheus, and J. J. Woltjer.

Irvin B. Horst also reported about the German *Täuferakten-Kommission* (TAK) which has a number of projects under way. Some Anabaptist sources from the archives in Germany and Switzerland are ready for publication. The members of TAK, which is the parent of the Dutch CUDAN and the American NACDFCO, are Heinrich Bornkamm, Heinold Fast, Hans-Jürgen Goertz, Cornelius Krahn, and Irvin B. Horst.

II. Reformation, Anabaptism and Related Groups

The papers presented at the First Conference on the Concept of the Believers Church (1967) have appeared in a book edited by James Leo Garrett and published by Herald Press, Scottdale. A similar conference, which convened during the summer of 1970 in Chicago, was sponsored by Clyde L. Manschreck, the director of the Center for Reformation and Free Church Studies.

George H. Williams is editing an English translation of *The History of the Polish Reformation* by Stanislas Lubieniecki, and it will be published in the near future.

A. J. Klassen, Fresno, Calif., supported by others, is writing a manuscript on Dietrich Bonnhoeffer with the intention of comparing his views with those of the Anabaptists.

Keith Sprunger, Bethel College, who spent a sabbatical year (1969-1970) in the Netherlands and England, has completed a manuscript dealing with "Puritanism and William Ames," which is now ready for publication.

Fred Zerger, a senior at Bethel College, spent a year in London and returned with a nearly 100 page manuscript entitled "Anabaptism in Elizabethan England: An Interpretive History," which he wrote at the London School of Economics. Having received a Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship and a Danforth Fellowship, Zerger wants to continue his research along this line.

Peter J. Klassen, Fresno, Calif., has submitted a manuscript on Charles V which is in the final stages of publication. He has also written a textbook, *Europe in Reformation*, which will soon be published by Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Walter Klaassen, Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, Ontario, is spending a sabbatical year in Innsbruck, Austria. He is doing research in the archives, investigating the history, life, and thought of Anabaptist beginnings in the Tyrol. Klaassen wrote a column in the *Canadian Mennonite* (Winnipeg) starting on December 18, 1970, entitled "Letters to Jacob Hutter" of which eight installments have been published. A similar serial appeared in *Der Bote* (Saskatoon), starting December 15, 1970, and entitled "Auf den Spuren der Täufergemeinschaft in Innsbruck." The eighth installment appeared in the March 9, 1971, issue. Klaassen's reports are written in a lively style and have stimulated some reactions.

John Hostetler of Temple University, Philadelphia, is spending a sabbatical year in Vienna, Austria, where he is doing archival research in regard to the early Hutterites. He is also planning to visit the former Hutterite settlements in Russia.

John Howard Yoder has completed a project for publication entitled *Documents in Free Church Ethics*. This project—on which Yoder was assisted by some other scholars—is being sponsored by the Institute of Mennonite Studies. Another book prepared by Yoder, entitled *The Legacy of Michael Sattler*, is to be published by Herald Press in Scottdale, Pennsylvania.

Dr. Carl Bangs, St. Pauls School of Theology, Methodist, Kansas City, has completed his research on "Armenius, a Study in the Dutch Reformation," which is to appear at the Abingdon Press in June, 1971. This book includes a study of the relationship of Armenius to the Mennonites at the turn of the seventeenth century. Bangs is now working on a history of the family of Abram F. Friesen (1857-1935) and the group that left the Molotschna Mennonite settlement in 1874 and settled at Jansen, Nebraska. This paper is to be read at a gathering of the descendants of Abram F. Friesen at Turner, Oregon, July 1-4, 1971.

Markus Barth of Pittsburg Theological Seminary presented the Menno Simons Lectures during October, 1970, on the Bethel College campus. His general topic was "Baptism in the New Testament and Today."

T. Canby Jones of Wilmington College delivered the Bethel College Bible Lectures (1971) on the topic of "Radicalism in the Church."

Cornelius Krahn of Bethel College presented a paper at the annual meeting of the American Society of Church History at Boston (1970) under the title "Amsterdam under Anabaptism."

The Directors of Teylers *Stichting* and the members of Teylers *Godgeleerde Genootschap* have presented a prize question on the topic "Melanchthon and the Radical Reformation" which will be due January 1, 1972. Particular attention is paid to the recent Melanchthon and Anabaptist studies.

Lectures dealing with Free Church topics will be presented in half-day sessions at the Spring Session of the American Society for Church History, Chicago, April 23-24, 1971, and at the meetings of the American Academy of Religion convening in Atlanta, Georgia, October 12-13, 1971.

Ronald J. Sider of Temple University is working on "Karlstadt's Writings in Translation." Most of Karlstadt's writings appeared in the years 1517 to 1525, and will be published in two volumes. These writings are a mirror of Karlstadt's thoughts and of his break with Martin Luther.

III. War, Peace and Service

Grant M. Stoltzfus of Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia, is doing research on "The Origins of Alternative Service as Developed in World War II."

The Schowalter Oral History Project at Bethel College is continuing recorded interviews with Mennonite draftees of World War I. About 250 interviews have been recorded and about 20 transcribed. Senior Fellows from the Bethel College History Department, Fred Zerger and Greg Stucky, worked on the project during the 1970-71 school year. The project was funded for three years by the Schowalter Foundation. An index and description of the library is in preparation, but depend upon additional work and resources. The tapes and transcriptions may be used for research at the Mennonite Library and Archives in North Newton.

A scholarly paper on Mennonites in World War I by Greg Stucky, Bethel College Senior, won first prize in the 1971 contest sponsored by the Kansas History Teachers Association. Stucky's paper was entitled, "Fighting Against War: *The Vorwaerts,* 1914-19."

Peace Research Reviews is a magazine published six times a year by the Canadian Peace Research Institute, Oakville, Ontario, edited by Allen G. and Hannah Newcombe. It is now in its fourth year of publication. The purpose is to furnish a quick overview of peace research abstracts.

Paul N. Kraybill is engaged in a research project to evaluate the development of overseas churches resulting from the missionary efforts of the Mennonites in Asia, Africa, etc.

IV. Mennonites the World Over

U. S. A. and Canada

David Wenger, a graduate of the Garrett Theological Seminary, Evanston, Illinois, is doing research on variations in religious beliefs and practices by interviewing some former members of the General Conference Mennonite Church.

Leland Harder, Professor of Sociology at the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, has made a study of *Steinbach* (Manitoba) *and its* (Mennonite) *Churches* for the purpose of a self-evaluation (see bibliography).

Leland Harder has compiled a *Fact Book of Congregational Membership* (Newton, Ks.: General Conference Mennonite Church, 1971) of the General Conference Mennonite Church which contains statistical information concerning the last ten years.

Norma J. Rudy of Kitchener, Ontario, has written a play, "The Trail of Conestoga," at the request of the Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario, dealing with the coming of the Pennsylvania German Mennonites to Canada.

D. D. Klassen, Homewood, Manitoba, has written "Centennial Year Reminiscenses Concerning the Mennonites" in connection with the Canadian Centennial.

Bill Banks has written a paper entitled "The Mennonites in Washita County. Their History, Pioneer Life, and Contributions" for a Western American History Seminar, 1970, at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma. He has made use of the information found in diaries and memoirs of early settlers.

Victor D. Kliewer of the University of Manitoba is writing a M.A. thesis dealing with "The Influence of Pietism on the Russian Mennonites." He has now compiled "A Bibliography of Anabaptist-Mennonite Historical Works," located in the Mennonite Historical Library of Canadian Mennonite Bible College at Winnipeg, Manitoba (see bibliography).

J. Howard Kauffman (Goshen) and Leland Harder (Elkhart) are beginning their major two-year study of "Mennonite Church Member Profile" involving the members of five Mennonite conferences.

James R. Jaquith is continuing his research pertaining to the Old Colony Mennonites. He has now produced a transliterated version of Arnold Dyck's Low German *Koop enn Bua faore nao Toronto* (*Cawp en Büa foware now Toronto*). It has been translated from Dyck's Gothic alphabet to a Roman-based one for the purpose of making Low German more easily read.

Poland and Russia

Erich L. Ratzlaff, the editor of *Die Mennonitische Rundschau* in Winnipeg has produced a manuscript of 132 pages devoted to "Mennonitische Siedlungen in Zentral Polen," which he intends to publish. This constitutes a general introduction to the Mennonite settlements in Poland and deals primarily with the Mennonites of *Deutsch Kazun* and *Deutsch Wymysle,* which were located near Warsaw. The author lived in this area until World War II when the German population, including the Mennonites, were removed from this territory. The author also treats the origin of the Mennonite Brethren among the Mennonites in Poland, as well as the final phase of the Mennonites in Poland during World War II.

Tour groups have been visiting the USSR for some time, always following the main path of cities selected for tourists. However, in more recent years ethnic and religious groups have been able to visit with their Russian relatives in their present settlements which are off the main tourist route. They have also visited former Mennonite settlements. Last summer a Menno Travel Service group was privileged to meet with relatives in Central Asian cities, as well as other places, where they visited together for a number of days.

New was the visit to the former Mennonite settlements located on the east and west banks of the Dnieper River. Contrary to previous reporting on the physical conditions of the major villages, they found them more or less the way they had been left when the Mennonites were removed during World War II. Repeated visits should enable us to get a clearer picture of the present conditions in these former Mennonite settlements. (See Cornelius Krahn, "Russia Revisited," *Mennonite Life,* October, 1970.)

John B. Toews of the Department of History at the University of Calgary is presently preparing a book-length study on *The Mennonites under Soviet Rule.* He is doing his research in the Mennonite Library and Archives at Bethel College. Dr. Toews is also writing a short biographical study of the Russian Mennonite emigration and church leader, B. B. Janz. Another project, *The Russian Mennonites; A Bibliography,* is well under way and seeks to collect and classify the many scattered sources relating

to that topic. He is interested in hearing from anyone knowing of special manuscripts and collections not as yet deposited in any libraries.

A Baptist Film from Moscow

The Mennonite Library and Archives, Bethel College, received from the Union of the Evangelical Christian-Baptists of Moscow a documentary film which features the contemporary life and activities of the Evangelical Christians, including the Mennonites, in Russia. The film was produced by the Baptists in the film shops of Moscow and was released before Christmas 1970.

The documentary begins with a Christmas worship service in Kiev, and then continues by showing the activities within the Baptist Church in Moscow (the training of ministers, the publishing of Bibles and hymnaries, the choir), the ordination of Victor Krieger, a Mennonite worship service in Central Asia, a communion service in the Baptist Church of Leningrad, the All-Union Baptist Conference in Moscow (December 9-14, 1969), the visit of North American delegates, and finally a baptismal service in Moscow.

The narration is done by the Executive Secretary of the Union of the Baptists, A. V. Karev. There are three versions of the film: English, German, and Russian. This thirty-minute documentary is unusual because it records the religious life in Russia which we rarely hear about and hardly ever get to see. The film has been shown to large audiences in Kansas, Manitoba, and California. (For information write to Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas 67117.)

V. Historical Organizations and Institutions

Mennonite Research Fellowship

Since 1968 there has been a Kansas Mennonite Research Fellowship in existence which informally meets from time to time. The meetings have been taking place on the Bethel, Hesston, and Tabor college campuses. The purpose of this fellowship is to give informed persons an opportunity to share their research findings or experiences at meetings which are open to the public.

The most recent topic, "A Mennonite Shoot-Out in Russia (*Selbstschutz*)," was presented March 23 at Tabor College, Hillsboro. This paper will again be presented at Bethel College in April. The speaker is Dr. John B. Toews of Calgary, who is the author of *Lost Fatherland* and at present is doing research in the Mennonite Library and Archives at Bethel College.

Among previous presentations have been the following. Dr. John Janzen presented a paper on "Mennonite Burial Symbolism." Dr. Abraham Friesen of the University of California presented a paper on "The Marxist View of the Reformation." Dr. James Juhnke spoke on "The Problems in Kansas Mennonite Historiography." Ada Kadelbach of the University of Mainz, Germany, talked on the topic of "The Early American Mennonite Hymn Books," and Clarence Hiebert spoke on "The Holdeman People."

Prairie Centennial

The year 1974 will be the centennial of the coming of some 18,000 Mennonites from Russia, Poland, and Prussia to the Prairie states and provinces. General and local committees have already started planning various activities, such as the preservation of landmarks, musical presentations and other dramatic performances, as well as the preparation of appropriate commemorative publications for both popular and more scholarly reading. (Further suggestions and inquiries can be submitted to Herman Andres and Cornelius Krahn, care of *Mennonite Life*, North Newton, Kansas 67117.)

Mennonite Village Museum

The very active Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, J. J. Reimer President, has established a Mennonite Village Museum with display areas, typical dwelling places connected with a barn and shed, a pioneer school, church, and even a windmill for which the Manitoba government provided $17,000. The museum intends to erect the new windmill as a symbol of the Mennonite heritage which has been transplanted from the Vistula River to the steppes of Russia and the prairies of Manitoba and Kansas. The Mennonite Village Museum has also been able to secure the Johann Bartsch Monument from the Chortitza Mennonite Settlement in the Ukraine.

Reformation Center

George H. Williams of Harvard Divinity School visited Conrad Grebel College and the University of Waterloo in order to give counsel in regard to the establishment of a Reformation Center. Meanwhile a grant has been obtained to begin the project in which the Anabaptist aspect under the guidance of Walter Klaassen will play a significant role.

Germantown Information Center

For some time efforts have been made to turn the first Mennonite church in North America, located on Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, into an appropriate landmark and information center about the Mennonites. Only during the last five years has real progress been made. A number of adjacent buildings have been secured which are now being restored. The major Mennonite conferences and groups have joined hands in supporting the development of the Germantown Mennonite Information Center.

A New Historical Society

In 1969 an American Historical Society of Germans from Russia was organized in Greeley, Colorado, with David J. Miller as president. Its purpose is to create an historical awareness among those Americans of German descent whose forefathers migrated from Germany to the Ukraine, Caucasus, the Volga, Central Asia, and Siberia and ultimately to America. They aim to do this by collecting significant books and archival materials and preserving them in libraries and museums, as well as by promoting research in this field.

VI. Geneology and Biography

Numerous commemorative articles and responses have been published in regard to the life work of Arnold Dyck, historian, writer, and artist who died recently (see articles

in this issue). Elisabeth Peters, who wrote her M. A. thesis on the literary significance of Dyck, published an article entitled "Gedanken zum Tode Arnold Dycks" in *Der Bote* (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, August 4 and October 13 and 20, 1970).

Hugh F. Gingerich of Washington, D.C., Rachel W. Kreider of Wadsworth, Ohio, and Joseph Byler of Gordonville, Pennsylvania, are tracing the lineage of the original Berks County Amish families. The plan is to provide this source of information with a complete index.

Rachel W. Kreider and Ford Coolman of the Board of the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland, Ohio, are making a survey of the three Mennonite cemeteries in Medina County, Ohio. The results to be published will have an introduction and historical sketch of the Mennonite congregations connected with these burial grounds.

VII. *Münster: Novel, Drama, Radio*

The Dutch Mennonite weekly *Algemeen Doopsgezind Weekblad* (January 10, 1970) reports about an unusual event. The East German writer, Rosemarie Schuder, who had spoken at the Dutch peace conference at Elspeet over her novel, *Die Erleuchteten,* devoted to the Münsterite Anabaptists, has received the highest official government distinction for the writing of this novel. This honored recognition came in connection with the 20th anniversary of East Germany (D.D.R.). The Dutch paper states that this is most likely the first time that a writer has received from a government the highest recognition for having written a book on an Anabaptist subject. The prize was granted to the writer for her achievement in "her historical novels, in particular for *Die Erleuchteten* in which a historically significant phase and the revolutionary tradition of our people have been shaped in an artistic manner." The subtitle of the book is *Das Bild des armen Lazarus zu Münster in Westfalen von wenig Furchtsamen auch der Terror der Liebe genannt.*

Jürgen Byl reports in the 1971 *Mennonitisches Jahrbuch* that the original play, *Es steht geschrieben,* dealing with the Anabaptists of Münster, has been rewritten by the author and has been presented, among other places, at Zürich and Münster under the title, *Die Wiedertäufer. Komödie in zwei Teilen.* This new version presents Jan van Leiden as a clown on the stage of the world drama.

Recently a radio drama, *König un Dohlen un Wind,* dealing with the Münster Anabaptists has been written and presented by Dutch and North German broadcasting stations in the Dutch language as well as in the Low German dialects of Münster and Bremen.

VIII. *Life, Struggle and Death of Mennonite Periodicals*

The *Canadian Mennonite* was discontinued with issue number 8, volume 19, 1971, after nineteen years of publication. It was published as a weekly by the Canadian Mennonite Publishing Association in Winnipeg. Frank H. Epp served as first editor and was succeeded by Larry Kehler. The *Canadian Mennonite* played a significant role during an extremely turbulent period of the Canadian Mennonites. Although the older generations of the first, second, and third migrations of Mennonites to Canada—who were primarily German-speaking—underwent a gradual change, there emerged a younger generation which no longer shared the experiences, views, and values rooted in their Russo-German background. The *Canadian Mennonite* played a significant role in raising issues, stimulating questions and solutions of problems which arose in this era of the "generation-gap." The question, of course, that arises is what magazine will now serve as a medium of communication to air problems in an effort to solve them.

The editor of *The Mennonite,* Maynard Shelly who has served in this capacity for ten years, resigned recently. *The Mennonite* is published in Newton, Kansas, and serves the General Conference Mennonite Church and beyond. It has proven through the last decade to be a stimulating meeting place of the present day generation of Mennonites. The letters to the editor were frequent and extremly stimulating, coming from all parts of the constituency.

The *Mennonitisches Jahrbuch* of 1971, published since 1900 (formerly the *Mennonitischer Gemeinde-Kalendar*), has undergone a considerable transformation under the editorship of the well-known writer and educator Johannes Harder. We point out some of the articles of general significance. Hans-Jürgen Goertz contributed the article "Theologie der Revolution und des Friedens." Two other German scholars devoted two articles to the question of peace, while Gerd Uwe Kliewer deals with the question of "Mennonitischer Separatismus," and Oscar Wedel relates on how to speak about the New Testament to our youth today. These are only a few of the articles among the many published. (This yearbook can be obtained through the Mennonite Library and Archives at the price of $2.00.)

Even *Mennonite Life,* which has been published for twenty-six years by Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas, will undergo a change. After the appearance of the next (July, 1971) issue, the publishing rights and the editorial responsibilities will be transferred to the Herald Publishing Co. of Newton, Kansas. which also publishes the *Mennonite Weekly Review.* It has been agreed that the present content and appearance will be preserved as much as is possible. The new editor will be Robert Schrag. The present editor will continue as a Consultant Editor, and the Associate and Department editors and contributors will be asked to continue in the production of articles and the magazine as they have done in the past. The Herald Publishing Co. has been in existence for over fifty years and through the publication of the *Mennonite Weekly Review* has contributed significantly in creating a spirit of inter-Mennonite understanding. The added channel of *Mennonite Life* will enlarge its service in this realm, as well as in the raising of questions pertinent in our day and the discussion and sharing of information pertaining to Mennonite basic views, history, theological issues, and cultural values.

The appearance of some new periodicals includes the *Remnant Newsletter,* which has announced itself as being an "underground publication by the Remnant" (815 W. Wrightwood, Chicago; Vol. 1, 1969). The London Mennonite Centre has started *The Centre Quarterly,* Vol. I, 1970. The Conservative Mennonite Fellowship Missions have issued the first volume (1969) of *The Harvest Call,* Hartville, Ohio. The Herald Press Tracts, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, issued Vol. I of the quarterly *Herald Evangelist* in 1969.

Ottawa Report (Vol. II, No. 1, January 1970) is an "independent commentary on Canadian political life from a Christian perspective," published by Ernie Dick and Ernie Regehr (Box 762, Station B, Ottawa 4, Ontario). In "The Birth of *Ottawa Report*" written by Frank H. Epp, it is stated that Canada's Centennial year gave rise to some new dimensions in the church-state relationship. A government-sponsored National Inter-Faith Conference saw to it that any remnants of the old separation between church and state were destroyed. Most Christian denominations and other faiths participated in the Conference. Some, however, found that a critical stance was called for. So these Mennonites joined hands and created the *Ottawa Report*, which is to be a platform for a Christian analysis of church-state relationships.

The Mennonite Library and Archives at Bethel College receives over 200 weekly, quarterly, and annual periodicals. This mushrooming growth will ultimately have to come to a halt, and a reappraisal of the situation will have to take place. However, for the time being, there is an almost total unawareness of this multiple duplication of Mennonite publications which are aimed at providing spiritual and cultural nourishment for a comparatively small Mennonite constituency. The press—in their efforts to promote the continually growing number of causes—are zigzagging through the constituency in an ever increasing number. One is almost inclined to say that this overlapping and duplicating effort could be considered the greatest collective Mennonite sin, and no pardon will be granted just because we remain innocently unaware of the problem.

Mennonite Bibliography, 1969-1970

By John F. Schmidt and Nelson F. Springer

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

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

Mennonite publications, featuring Mennonite history, life and thought are the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (Goshen College, Goshen, Ind.), *Mennonite Life* (Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas), *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* (Weierhof), *Mennonitischer Gemeinde-Kalender* (Monsheim bei Worms), *Doopsgezinde Jaarboekje* (Amsterdam, Singel 454).

General magazines which quite often feature Anabaptists and Mennonites are *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (Gütersloh), *Nederlands Archief voor Kergeschiednis* (Leiden), *Church History* (Chicago) and others.

Previous bibliographies published in *Mennonite Life* appeared anually in the April issues since 1949 (except July, 1961, July, 1963, July, 1967, and July, 1968). Authors and publishers of books, pamphlets and magazines which should be included in our annual list are invited to send copies to *Mennonite Life* for listing and possible review.

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Books in Review

Visser, Dr. C. Ch. G., *Luther's Geschriften in de Nederlanden tot 1546.* Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. N.V., 1969, 198 pp.

Buck, Dr. H. de, *Bibliografie der Geschiedenis van Nederland.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968, 712 pp.

Stumpp, Dr. Karl, *Das Schrifttum über das Deutschtum in Russland.* Tübigen: Selbstverlag, 1970, 74 pp.

Visser's study was presented as a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Amsterdam. It constitutes a very significant contribution in regard to the question of Martin Luther's influence on the emerging Reformation efforts of the Low Countries. The most significant study prior to this was that by M. E. Kronenberg which was devoted to the underground printing presses of the Low Countries in the early years of the Reformation. The book by Visser covers about the same period, but is a more thorough study of the total aspects of the underground printing presses of forbidden Reformation literature, including the Bible. The author discusses every book of Luther and every part thereof reprinted in the Low Countries, as well as the legal actions taken against the printing presses and the books of the reformers. Visser names reformers in addition to Luther whose books are forbidden, among whom Andreas Karlstadt and Melanchthon are predominant.

The bibliography by Buck covers the total history of the Netherlands and is the most comprehensive, selective, up-to-date bibliographical source available at this time. The book lists archives, libraries, museums, and sources, as well as media of scientific research and archaeology. This is followed by the early general and periodical books published, and concludes with the later periods of Dutch history up to the present.

After the listing of books dealing with local history and the waterways of the Low Countries, the colonial history follows. The military activities of the country get a special chapter after which Buck treats the economic, social, and legal history of the country. Books in church history and cultural history are each listed in separate chapters. The indexes of outstanding writers and of important geographic places help the scholar to locate the desired information.

Karl Stumpp's bibliography on publications dealing with the German ethnic group in Russia constitutes another significant source of information. It was first published in 1958 and has now been considerably enlarged. The author starts with a list of authors and references to the titles of their publication. The first part of the bibliography is devoted to the German population in Russia, dealing with general books, church and school, ethnic aspects, literature, and periodical publications. The second part is devoted to the Volga Germans in which the author follows the same divisions mentioned previously. The chapters on the Germans located on the Black Sea, the Caucasus, Volhynia, Siberia and Central Asia follow a similar pattern. In an appendix Stumpp lists publications dealing with the German groups in Russia published in countries other than Germany, including North America. The author hopes to publish a new edition of this book which could contain a considerably enlarged list of publications as far as North America is concerned. (This book can be ordered through the Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas 67117.)

BETHEL COLLEGE

Cornelius Krahn

Ernest R. Sandeen. *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970, 328 p.; and Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., ed. *Controversy in the Twenties: Fundamentalism, Modernism and Evolution* Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969, 459 p., $10.00.

The contiued strength of Fundamentalism or "Evangelicalism" long after its detractors had predicted its demise, is undoubtedly the primary cause for the renewed interest

in this Protestant phenomenon. The two volumes under review, although significantly different in methodology and subject matter, are prime examples of renewed attempts to gain understanding of this school of American Protestantism.

Ernest R. Sandeen of Cacalaster College, St. Paul, Minnesota, articulated a theory of "The Origins of Fundamentalism" in *Church History* (March, 1967) which, although suggested earlier by C. Norman Kraus among others, has gained sufficient notoriety to be referred to as the "Sandeen thesis." In contrast to expositions of Fundamentalism which characterized the movement by the so-called Five Points, the series of pamphlets known as *The Fundamentals,* and the Scopes Trial with its populist hero, William Jennings Bryan, Sandeen argued that the Fundamentalist controversy was triggered by a union of Dispensationalism and the Princeton theology. The former theology was a school of premillennialism introduced to North America by J. N. Darby and popularized at Bible Conferences, in Bible schools, and by writers such as C. I. Scofield and W. E. Blackstone. The Princeton theology—developed by 19th century Presbyterians including B. B. Warfield and J. G. Machen—featured a theory of scriptural inspiration which argued for verbal inerrancy on a rationalistic and mechanistic basis borrowed heavily from 17th century Calvinistic scholasticism. Although the latter school was opposed to much of Dispensationalism, a temporary truce was called to fight their common foe, Modernism. The breakdown of this union is one clue to later divisions in Fundamentalism.

Sandeen maintains, accordingly, that Fundamentalism was not so much a defense of orthodoxy as a new theology (or coalition of theologies) fighting for recognition. Hence, we can infer that insofar as Modernism was a denial of orthodoxy the controversy in the 1920's was between two "new" theological systems. In the process historic Christianity at its best was seriously tested as its proponents were forced into faulty alternatives.

The Roots of Fundamentalism is primarily further documentation for the initial thesis. Sandeen traces the path of millennarianism from Britain to America, characterizes the proponents, describes the divisions between historicism and futurism, and between pretribulationism and posttribulationism, and notes its allies and antagonists. Its primary ally, to repeat, was the Princeton theology and its primary foe was Liberalism and the Social Gospel.

But the controversy of the 1920's was more than theological; phychological, sociological, economic and political factors all played their role. And even for some who emphasized theology, as for example William Jennings Bryan, whose theology was very unsophisticated, the Sandeen thesis is only partially applicable. Although granting that Sandeen has identified the primary theological roots of the Fundamentalist movement, a broader and more inclusive interpretation must be sought for the Fundamentalist controversy.

Although he does not pursue an interpretive thesis of the 1920's, Willard Gatewood of the University of Georgia very adequately demonstrates the "nature and dimension" of the Fundamentalist-Modernist confrontation in its historical setting. In his extensive introduction he brings together a variety of interpretations of the conflict, and in his sixty-eight period documents and supporting commentaries he focusses the issues within the ranks of theology, science, academia, politics and literature. Every student of this decade would have his own selection of domuments to present but Gatewood's choice from James M. Gray to Shailer Matthews, J. R. Straton to H. L. Menken, Reinhold Niebuhr to F. Scoot Fitzgerald, and from editorials to resolutions of scientific organizations is surely as representative a choice as any.

Mennonites reading these studies will see much of their own history mirrored. The North American environment has been very influential on the development of Mennonite theology, and Mennonite historians would do well to reflect for our churches the impact which movements such as Fundamentalism have had on our self-understanding.

PRINCETON *Rodney Sawatsky*

Lois Gunden Clemens, *Woman Liberated.* The Conrad Grebel Lectures, 1970. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1971, 159 pp., $4.95.

The woman of Mrs. Clemens' title is to be liberated especially as a responsible member of the church, active in its decision-making and total mission. This well-written, well-researched book draws on Biblical evidence of women's prominence as followers of Jesus and workers in the early church. Using as her keynote Paul's "For there is neither Jew nor Greek, . . . male nor female" (Gal. 3:28), the author explains away the seemingly anti-female bias of other Pauline pronouncements, with some success. She also uses the Creation account in Gen. 1:27 instead of the patriarchal myth of Adam's rib and Eve's fall in Genesis 2-3. The image of woman that emerges is strong, devout, intelligent, and energetic. Woman is man's helper in a general sense of complementing his abilities rather than strictly as wife and mother.

Mrs. Clemens' least Biblical argument for increasing female leadership in church and society is based on woman's unique "biologically rooted" strengths. Men, whose analytical minds concentrate on material things and organizational structures, need to draw on "the instinctive and intuitive social wisdom" of women, their sensitivity to values and persons. "Willing service, complete devotedness, and self-surrender are marks of true femininity" (p. 69).

Two questions arise: Was Christ feminine? Do these Christian virtues rise naturally from female biology and experience, or are they gifts of divine grace available to men and women equally? We know that social pressures for personal achievement and the success of institutions fall most heavily upon males. Since sacrificial love leads to a cross rather than to success, males may unconsciously relegate it to females, who have less to lose. It is possible that when women take on equal responsibilities in the church and society they will succumb to the same success-oriented temptations. But they should not therefore be barred from Christian leadership as a sex any more than men should be excused from developing greater sensitivity.

Mrs. Clemens' final chapter outlines a multitude of ministries for women in the church, though with just one cautious paragraph on ordaining women for pastorates. If her book is heeded, Mennonite women of the future may be liberated even from the self-consciousness of such discussions of woman's role, to exercise their spiritual gifts as free individuals.

BETHEL COLLEGE *Anna K. Juhnke*

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North Newton, Kansas

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