MENNONITE LIFE

APRIL 1976

IN THIS ISSUE

We see the Anabaptist-Mennonites as supporters and as disturbers of the social and economic order. Bruce Leisy traces the history of an eminently successful family of Mennonite brewers in America and its ambiguous relationship to the Mennonite brotherhood. (Leisy's 106-page book, *A History of the Leisy Brewing Companies*, 1975, is available for $6.00, 928 Longford Lane, Wichita, Kansas 67206. Heinold Fast follows with an assessment of Anabaptists as troublemakers, not because they were ahead of their times, but because their theological position would disturb the status quo in all times. ¶ The articles by Lawrence Klippenstein and Ernest Dick are representative of the burgeoning interest in Mennonite history in Canada. ¶ The Mennonite Bibliography appears annually in the March issue of *Mennonite Life*. The index for *Mennonite Life* 1971-1975 includes those years when the quarterly was edited by Robert Schrag of Herald Publishing Company.

BACK ISSUES WANTED

The publishers of *Mennonite Life* are in search of additional copies of the following back issues:

January	1946	September	1972
July	1946	December	1972
January	1948	March	1973
July	1948	June	1973
October	1949	September	1973
April	1967	December	1973
December	1971	June	1974
March	1972	September	1974
June	1972	December	1974

Mennonite Life offers a $1.00 credit on subscriptions for copies of the above which are sent to the editorial offices.

MENNONITE LIFE

March 1976 *Volume 31* *Number 1*

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

CONTRIBUTORS

BRUCE LEISY is a 1975 graduate of Bethel College, currently studying at Regent's Park College, Oxford University.

HEINOLD FAST is pastor of the Mennonite churches in Emden and Gronau, Gearmany.

LAWRENCE KLIPPENSTEIN is archivist of the Conference of Mennonites in Canada.

ERNEST J. DICK has done extensive research in Ottawa in the Public Archives of Canada.

CORNELIUS KRAHN is the founder and former editor of *Mennonite Life*.

COVER

The front and back covers show the advertisements and personnel of Leisy brewing.

MENNONITE LIFE is an illustrated quarterly magazine published in March, June, September and December by Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas. Second Class postage paid at Newton, Kansas 67114.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: One year, $4.00: Two years, $7.00.

The Last of the Mennonite Brewers

by Bruce R. Leisy

Henry Leisy, my grandfather, was for many years a brewer. First as an employee in the Pabst and Anheuser-Busch breweries; then as a founding partner in the Leisy Brewery of Cleveland, Ohio. Henry, and four of his brothers were brewers, as well as many of their descendants. The Leisy name is among the well-known names in the history of American brewing. Three generations of Leisys brewed beer in three different Leisy breweries.

Since the Leisys were Mennonite, it was unusual for them to be brewers. There have been, however, numerous Mennonite breweries and distilleries. Historically, Mennonites have not excluded alcoholic beverages from their lives. Although Menno Simons favored abstinence, his followers gradually adopted the drinking ways of their neighbors.

The use of alcohol among Mennonites was characterized by moderation. Temperance and moderation were synonymous. But in America during the last decades of the nineteenth century, temperance began to mean abstinence. While European Mennonites continued to imbibe, their American counterpart gradually became abstainers from alcohol. Generally, American Mennonites abstained even to the degree of substituting grape juice for wine in communion.

The Leisys were the last Mennonites to commercially brew beer in America and the first to be highly successful at it. In less than a quarter of a century, they underwent a transition from farmers in Germany to "beer barons" in America. The switch of occupations not only initiated great economic change, but also a change in their relationship with Mennonites.

The Abraham and Katarina Leisy family emigrated to America in 1855 from Friedelsheim, Germany. They settled on a farm outside of Donnellson, Iowa. The Leisys were members of the West Zion Mennonite Church of Donnellson. An abbreviated family tree is shown here; these are the sons of Abraham and Katarina Leisy who were brewers.

Abraham Leisy (1802-1880) (m) Katarina Roher (1806-1856)	Johannes (John) Leisy	(1828-1873)
	Isaac Leisy	(1839-1892)
	August Leisy	(1840-1893)
	Rudolph Leisy	(1842-1901)
	Heinrich (Henry) Leisy	(1847-1928)

John Leisy, Isaac Leisy, Rudolph Leisy, and Jacob Baehr founded the Leisy Brothers' "Union Brewery" in 1862. The brewery was located in Keokuk, Iowa. Jacob Baehr, presumably a Mennonite, sold his interest in the brewery and established the Baehr Brewery in Cleveland, Ohio in 1866 (the Baehr Brewery was later purchased by the Cleveland and Sandusky Brewing Company). Isaac was also interested in Cleveland as a city to brew beer. In 1873, he induced two of his brothers, August and Henry, to join him as partners in the founding of a brewery in Cleveland.

August and Henry spent their first years in America living with their parents on the family farm. August moved to Alexandria, Missouri where he became engaged in a furniture business. Henry learned the art of brewing working for the Pabst and Anheuser-Busch breweries. Abandoning their former positions; Isaac, August, and Henry, with the help of outside investors, purchased the old Haltnorth Brewery for $120,000. Since Isaac held the greater portion of the stock between the partners, the brewery was titled "Isaac Leisy and Company" from its inception.

The Leisy Brothers' Brewery in Keokuk consisted of only two brothers since Isaac Leisy and Jacob Baehr were in Cleveland. In the same year that the Leisy Brewery was established in Cleveland, John died thus leaving Rudolph the sole remaining founder. John, however, owned controlling interest in the brewery which passed to his wife Christine when he died. Her teenage sons worked in the brewery and assumed managerial duties.

The "Union Brewery" was forced to close in 1884 when Iowa passed a state law forbidding the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. The sons of John and Christine Leisy, however, were not willing to end their career in brewing. Within the year they moved to a wet state where they established the Leisy Brewing Company of Peoria, Illinois.

The Leisy Brewery soon became Peoria's leading brewery. By the turn of the century, it had grown to become the largest brewery in Illinois outside of Chicago. The brewery continued to prosper until the Volstead Act went into effect in 1920. After several years of manufacturing soft drinks,

The employees of the Leisy Brewery in the early 1870s.

the brewery was sold. Today the old structure is used as a corn-grits mill for the operations of the Pabst Brewing Company.

The Peoria Leisys were not Mennonite. Since they left Keokuk, nearly all contacts with the Mennonite Church ended. Mrs. Christine Leisy was not a Mennonite, thus after her husband died in 1873, the Mennonite tradition probably did not carry on to their children. Also, there was no Mennonite church in Peoria until 1914.

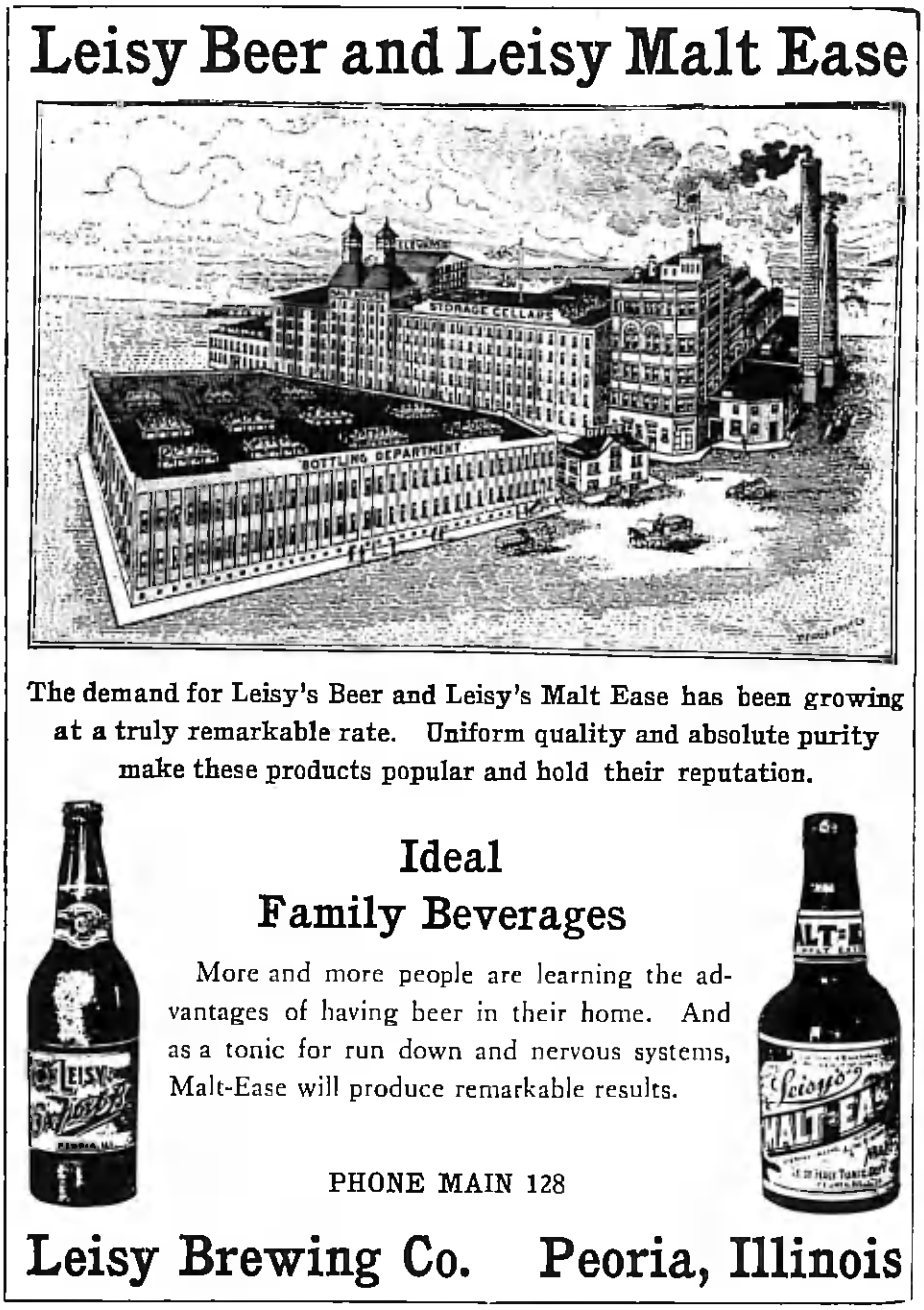
The Leisy Brewery in Cleveland realized a brisk business from the beginning. In 1873, the annual production of beer was 12,000 barrels (a barrel being thirty-one gallons). Within four years this figure had already doubled. Jacob Risser, a Mennonite Clevelander, wrote in a letter June 6, 1875, to relatives in Germany:

> Now something about Isaak [sic] Leisy's brewery. It is the finest and largest here in the city of Cleveland. A sixteen horsepower steam engine drives the machinery; the boiler holds 12,000 to 14,400 liters. In the winter they brewed around four and five times a week, now seven and eight times, and in the summer nine and ten times. He has twenty-four horses to carry the beer away, and two large ice houses to keep the cellar cold and cool the beer. In the month of May Leisys sold $28,000 worth of beer.

The Leisy Brewery had branch agencies and depots over much of Ohio, West Pennsylvania, and Indiana. The most important branch agency was in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, which was headed by Henry Leisy for several years. The Leisys, however, sold most of their beer in the immediate Cleveland area.

The Leisy Brewery's growth of the 1870's continued into the 1880's. The future was promising because Cleveland's population was on the increase which yielded a rise in potential customers. Also, the prohibitionist movement in Ohio at this time posed no real threat to the livelihood of the brewery. But, August and Henry traded brewing for farming and moved to Wisner, Nebraska in 1882.

The brewing of beer, no doubt, became a serious



Leisy advertising appealed to the value of the family.

issue between the Leisys and the Mennonite Church. The prohibition movement, which was strongly backed by most Protestant churches, soon gained the following of American Mennonites. The emigration of the Russian Mennonites to America in the 1870's, many of whom had prohibitionist sympathies, also had a profound effect upon those Mennonites already established in America. By 1882, Mennonites generally had become Americanized in regard to the prohibition question.

For August and Henry, the primary motivation for leaving brewing stemmed from the increasing tension with the Mennonite Church. After visiting Kansas and different parts of Nebraska, they decided to settle near Wisner. August and Henry persuaded their brother Rudolph, who was still associated with the "Union Brewery", to join them in their move to Nebraska.

The Leisys along with several other Mennonite

families established a Mennonite community just south of Wisner. These early Mennonite families held worship services in their homes until the Salem Mennonite Church of Wisner was completed in 1889.

Henry became one of the largest landowners in northeastern Nebraska when he established the Elkhorn Valley Ranch in 1882. August was a county commissioner from 1885-1888 and later served as vice-president and director of the First National Bank of Wisner. Henry was also involved in banking as he was president and director of the Citizens National Bank of Wisner. Henry was instrumental in bringing numerous German families to Wisner. He wrote and traveled to Germany, urging people to work for him on his ranch. Jacob A. Schowalter, the late Mennonite millionaire and benefactor, as a young man in 1898 bicycled with his brother to Wisner from Newton. There they worked for Henry over a year before their return to Kansas.

With August and Henry gone, the ownership of the brewery was entirely with Isaac. Within a few years, Isaac completely revamped the brewery. He replaced the old equipment. Isaac soon became one of the wealthiest brewers in Ohio and had a baronial, brown stone mansion built next to his brewery. The Leisy Brewery was considered the most handsome in the state of Ohio because of its attractive buildings and well-maintained lawns and gardens.

In an age when wealth meant social importance, the Isaac Leisy family became highly involved in Cleveland's civic and social affairs. Isaac served on the Cleveland Board of Park Commissioners. The Leisys also participated in many of Cleveland's top social events.

The Leisys were active in the Mennonite congregation in Cleveland. Mennonites had settled in the Cleveland area as early as the 1830's. A church was never founded, only a congregation which would meet in rented buildings. Henry Leisy married Lisette Baehr in this congregation in 1876 with C. H. A. van der Smissen officiating. Incidently, Lisette's brother, Herman C. Baehr, served as mayor of Cleveland from 1910 to 1912. He and his district attorney Cyrus Locher, who were both Mennonites, received headlines in Cleveland newspapers because they affirmed the oath of their offices rather than be sworn in.

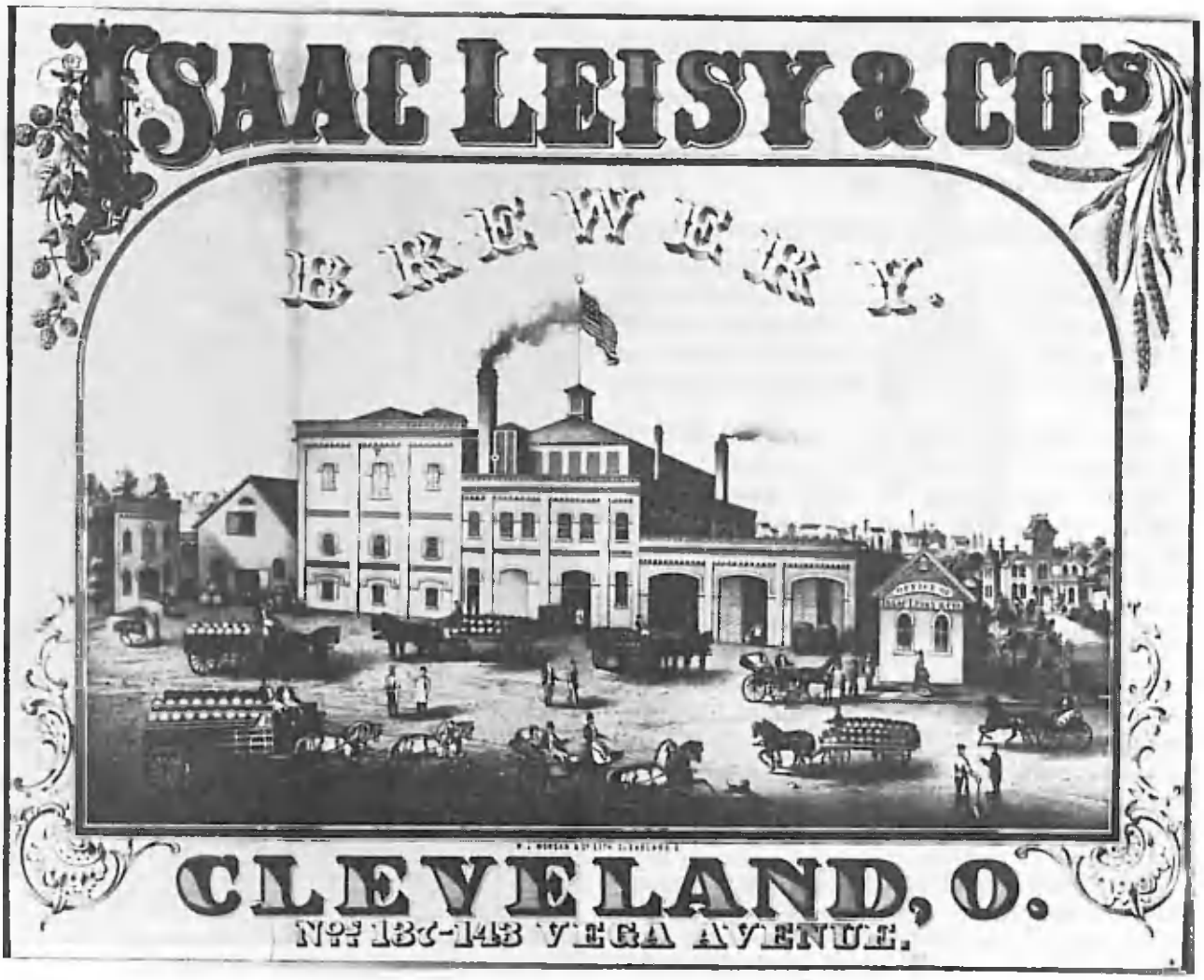
Henry Leisy in brewery office.

Isaac enjoyed good relations with Mennonites in Cleveland, however, in other parts of the country his relationship showed signs of strain. Isaac's sister, Anna, was married to J. J. Krehbiel of Newton, Kansas. Krehbiel, one of the three founders of Bethel College, was a staunch prohibitionist Two of his favorite sayings were, "Touch not, taste not, handle not," and "He never gets drunk who refuses the first drink." He was a member of the Prohibition party and he ran on their ticket in several bids for county offices but lost. Isaac volunteered to assist when the Krehbiels experienced some financial difficulties, but was refused because Isaac had made his money brewing beer. Krehbiel finally agreed to accept a loan of $10,000 which Anna secured from Isaac's wife, Dina.

Mrs. Isaac Leisy donated $4,000 to Bethel College in 1915 but the gift was not readily accepted because the money had been made from the sale of beer. The Bethel Board of Directors were hesitant to accept the gift, but Mrs. Leisy and the J. J. Krehbiels persuaded the board that the money was needed to build a home for dormitory use by students. The gift was used to construct the present "Leisy Home" on the Bethel College campus.

Any falling out between Isaac and his family and the Mennonite Church in America was counteracted by the good relationship they had with Mennonites abroad. Isaac and his family frequently traveled to Germany, visiting Mennonite friends and relatives. Their reception in the motherland was always good. In 1890, Isaac donated an organ to the Friedelsheim Mennonite Church, which is still in use. The contrasting relationship Isaac had with Mennonites at home and abroad can be attributed to the differing attitudes these Menno-

Early lithograph showing Leisy Brewery as it appeared in the mid-1870s.



Herbert F. Leisy, closed brewery in 1958.

nites had toward alcohol.

Isaac died July 11, 1892. His death marked the close of the first generation of Leisy brewers and the last of the Mennonite brewers in America. Isaac's son, Otto, quickly filled in as manager of the Leisy Brewery but was not Mennonite. His knowledge of brewing and business enabled the firm to grow until it was one of the greatest in Ohio, in which its annual profits neared one million dollars.

Otto Leisy was often referred to as "Cleveland's friend" because of his many gifts to the city. He was personal friends of the well-known urban reformer Tom L. Johnson, and of Mayor Newton D. Baker who later became United States Secretary of War. Despite his social mobility, Otto retained much of his cultural heritage. He was a member of several German societies and German was spoken in the home.

Although Otto and his family successfully preserved their Germaness, Mennonitism did not take root in the lives of the second generation. The absence of a Mennonite congregation—the one in Cleveland had previously disbanded—was the most obvious reason why the Mennonite faith was not retained. But if the congregation did exist, it is uncertain whether the Leisys would have remained members. The different points of view regarding alcohol between the Leisys and the Mennonite Church, probably could not have been reconciled.

Otto died in 1914, therefore, the leadership of the brewery transferred to his sister Amanda. Despite several excellent years of brewing after Otto's death, it was clearly evident that prohibition was nearing. During prohibition, the Leisy Brewery marketed a near beer which proved to be unsuccessful. The brewery was closed in 1923 and did not reopen until prohibition was repealed in 1933. Herbert F. Leisy, son of Otto and grandson of Isaac, revitalized the brewery and became the third generation of Leisy brewers. Because of limited finances, the Leisy Brewery began at a more modest level than the brewery had been operating at before prohibition.

The Leisy Brewery once again was a very profitable enterprise. It reached its post-repeal height in the late 1940's and early 1950's. Higher material and production costs, in addition to a high federal tax on beer were especially hard on the small and moderate sized breweries. The Leisy Brewery was also hurt by the high Ohio state tax, which was more than two and three times higher than other states. The combination of these factors spelled the end of profitable operations thus Herbert closed the brewery in 1958.

The Leisy Brewery in Cleveland was the most eminent of the three Leisy breweries. Not only in size and production, but also in longevity. It was among the nation's oldest breweries, and one of the longest surviving family-operated breweries in America. Its passing marked the end of nearly a century of Leisy brewing.

The lives of the brewing Leisys contrasted greatly from those of the non-brewing Leisys. Brewing served not only as a vehicle for economic change but also as the primary agent in a changing life style. Brewing encouraged social mobility among the Leisys, thus easing their acculturation into American society. While brewing preserved the Leisys' Germaness, it was the cause for their coming to odds with the Mennonite Church. This was partially due to the fact that beer was truly an urban beverage, whereas, Mennonitism was primarily a faith embedded in a rural culture. To the Leisys, it was advantageous to brew beer in metropolitan areas because of the larger market for beer. The urban setting, however, made relations with the Mennonite Church more distant. Nonetheless, a rapport did exist between the Leisys and the Mennonite Church until the turn of the century. By this time, Mennonitism and alcohol did not mix, which resulted in the last of the Mennonite brewers.

The Anabaptists as Trouble Makers

by Heinhold Fast
Translated by John H. Yoder

1. We have largely misunderstood our pacifist tradition.

For years we Mennonites have been counted in ecumenical circles among the "Historic Peace Churches." We bear this flattering name together with the Quakers and the Brethren.

For European Mennonites such a classification is embarassing. If we were to explain how we have earned such a name, we would have to admit that only a few of our members had adhered to the peace church tradition. There are among us not only soldiers accepting conscription, but also higher officers, volunteers and career soldiers. Those who do not enter the military usually represent expressly or tacitly the idea of military deterrence. Thus what is most fitting about the label "Historic Peace Churches" is the adjective "historic": that is what we once were, but are no longer.

But there is another reason to be embarassed by such a name. When Mennonites in other centuries were still unitedly nonresistant, it was as "die Stillen im Lande." They were disciplined, peaceable and orderly people, who stood firm in their convictions. This won them the respect even of rulers. Though they refused to be soldiers, they were appreciated as farmers and dike-builders, as prosperous subjects, who paid their tax in lieu of military service for the support of the Prussian military academy. Even today a Mennonite in Germany is more likely to be accepted by the tribunal as a conscientious objector, because he benefits from an *a priori* trust in his reliability as citizen and in the genuineness of his religious motivation. He is not one of those politically motivated objectors who in recent years have suddenly raised the number of refusals to serve to frightening levels, from 4,000 to 33,000 per year. "If only all C.O.'s were as orderly and peaceable as the young Mennonites," the tribunal thinks. And we Mennonites are proud of the recognition, when we really should be ashamed of it. It was otherwise for the first Anabaptists.

If we have forgotten that, it certainly comes from the bad name brought on us by the Anabaptist Kingdom in Münster. In order to free us from that shadow, we had to prove the contrary; so we became the *Stillen im Lande*. This was then carried through consistently in the writing of our history, by separating the Anabaptists as far as possible from the Peasants' War, by seeing Menno as polar alternative to Münster and thereby as the genuine figurehead worthy to give our movement his name. Certainly this interpretation of history has an objective basis. Yet it has made us forget that the first Anabaptists were more sassy than the thorough nonviolence of Conrad Grebel's letter to Münster might at first view lead us to expect. The pacifism of the first Anabaptists did not aim at accommodation but at disavowal and protest. Its effect was not appeasement but uproar. We therefore must recast our image of the first Anabaptists. They were not *Stillen im Lande* but troublemakers.

2. The Anabaptists' insistence on Church Reform was enough to make them troublemakers.

Let me illustrate this by a scene from soon after the beginning of the Zurich Anabaptist movement, when an Anabaptist, Jörg Blaurock spectacularly interrupted a Sunday worship. Fritz Blanke described the event as follows: (*Brothers in Christ*, pp. 30-31).

> "Blaurock felt himself hit and interrupted the sermon anew. He called out . . .'It is written, My house shall be called a house of prayer, but you make it a den of robbers.' Blaurock had a stick with him, and the inner passion with which he poured forth these words released itself in three or four blows with the stick on a pew during his outburst.
>
> "But that was now enough. Deputy Bailiff Wuest, who was present in the church, arose and threatened the disturber with jail if he did not immediately desist. Now Blaurock became quiet and the incident was closed."

Such an event was not unique in the age of Anabaptist origins. I have counted twenty-six such interruptions of preaching, of which nineteen were the work of Anabaptists. Of course they varied greatly in the ways they were carried out The least obvious was when an Anabaptist showed his disagreement during the sermon by shaking his head and then confronted the preacher with his own opinion after the service. It was more troublesome when the dialogue began already during the service, so that the orderly continuation of the sermon was prevented. The confrontation was still stronger when an effort was made to

take over the pulpit as above. But the conflict can also spill out into the street, as was done—again by Blaurock—in Zurich's *Oberland* in October 1925. After interrupting the service, Blaurock let himself be arrested by the magistrate in the presence of the congregation. While he was carried away, he continued to comment on the proceedings for the benefit of the accompanying crowd. In another case in Grüningen there was even noise; a man called *Göser Uli* emptied his shotgun into the church tower three times, claiming to be after pigeons.

The background of these events was a religious difference. There were conflicting answers to the questions, how the church should be reformed according to Scripture. The sermon interruptions were always to resolve this conflict. First they were used by Zwingli and his followers against traditional preachers and priests, then by his followers (now become Anabaptists) against Zwingli himself. Their effect was unrest or even uproar in varying degrees. Why did they use such means?

Certainly one reason is psychological. Blaurock, Jacob Hottinger and Conrad Grebel were hotheads who brought a good dose of aggressiveness into their movement. They were not inclined to compromise, were easily excited and thus threw themselves into their cause unconditionally with no concern for effects. Doubtless did the impatient temperament of the Anabaptist play a role in their movement's business.

Another explanation for the choice of this weapon is to be seen in its tactical-political goal. It can be demonstrated that Zwingli orchestrated the sermon interruptions of his disciples in such a way as to bring pressure to bear on the Zürich council in order to bring the Reformation a step forward. In the same way the Anabaptists used this arm against their former master. Two of the three disputations in 1525 are essentially the result of this kind of pressure on the part of the Anabaptists. This purposefulness keeps us from speaking only of unmanageable temper or irresponsibility. The conflict-laden effects were not unintended.

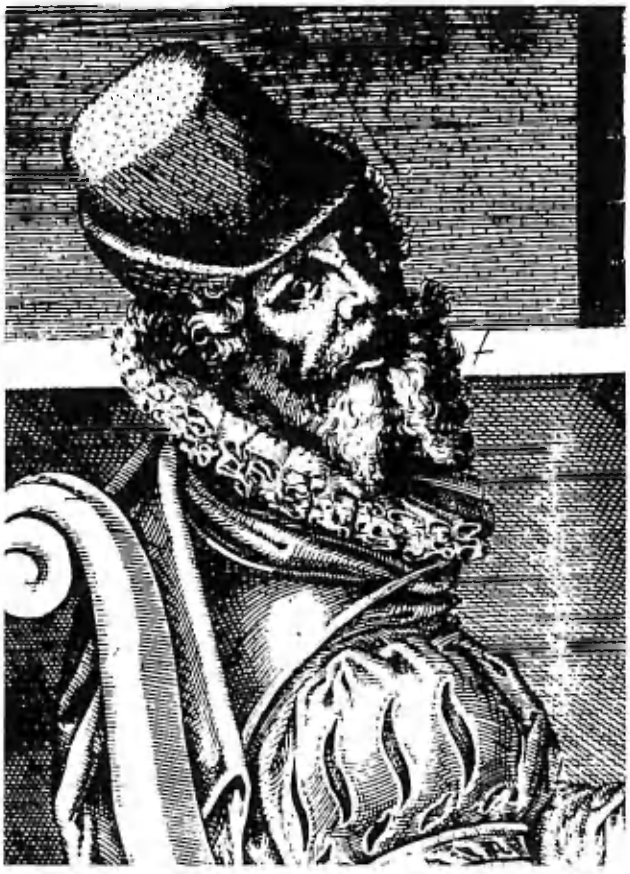
But thirdly and more important, there were theological grounds for such spectacular scenes. Basic to Zwingli is the "congregationalist" conviction, which remained decisive for the Anabaptists, that the assembly of committed Christians is the *Instanz* or instrument for the interpretation of Scripture. Therefore worship should not be limited to a monological sermon. There must be a way to test conversationally the conformity of the sermon to the New Testament. The example for this was Paul's counsel in I Cor. 14:29ff: "two or three of those who explain God's Word and will should speak, no more. The others should evaluate and respond to what the two or three have said. But if a Word from God, which needs to be spoken, is given to one who is seated, the one who was speaking should yield." This openness to evaluation thus offered a basis for the implementation of reformation in the church.

In practice that meant that Zwinglians, including later the Anabaptists, went into the gatherings of Catholic preachers, taking those gatherings seriously in the sense of I Cor. 14. If they disagreed with the preacher, they took the floor and made their point. If these assemblies had been truly the church according to I Cor. 14, they would have dealt with these objections. But since they were *a priori* unready for that, the interruption was seen as disorderly and came before the authorities, with political results. For the Anabaptists, a preacher who uses the civil police to protect his preaching against contradiction is not a preacher according to the example of the New Testament. He has forfeited his right to his office. This lies behind Blaurock's word, "You are not sent to preach, but I am." The concept of the responsible hermeneutic congregation demands a new conception of the preaching office. This new concept took the authority for the decision about the legitimacy of the preaching office out of the hands of the government and therefore had to seem revolutionary. Thus the mere fact of calling for church reform was disorderly.

3. But Anabaptism also had social and economic demands which could not help seeming revolutionary.

Let our example this time be the Zwinglian-Anabaptist criticism of the prebendary system which provided the economic base for the parish ministry. Every church owned more or less land, which was rented out and brought in money. The more land there was, the more priests could be hired. Rich parishes could have a great number of priests, most of them with nothing to do but hear confessions and say Mass. Masses were said at many altars, not only for the living but also for the dead, especially since the latter brought in extra income. It could happen that the prebendary did not have to say the Mass himself. He could receive the income and with some of it hire another priest to say the masses. In this way one could hold several endowments without functioning as a priest at all.

The criticism of Zwingli and his disciples did not attack only the Mass as such but also its economic basis, the hiring of many priests with the income from capital endowment. It is easy to imagine how the peasants, who had to pay the high rents, welcomed such criticism. In the area



Melchoir Hofman, Anabaptist troublemaker?

around Schaffhausen, 1525 was the third year in which the harvests suffered greatly because of hailstorms, resulting in famine, but still the rents had to be paid. Now the Anabaptists come and call for the disappearance of the priests, to be replaced by a preacher in whose exposition of the Word of God the congregation could share. The religious concern of the Anabaptists and the economic interests of the peasants seemed to coincide.

So we can understand why the Peasant's War of 1525 and the Anabaptist movement were often thrown in the same bag. At numerous places the two movements were in fact linked. Around St. Gall the peasant unrest reached its peak just when the city government was deciding against the Anabaptists. The peasants who had elected Hans Krüsi as their preacher in the village of Tablat, were the same ones who were in litigation against the Abbot of the Monastery of St. Gall concerning their rent payments, and had taken captive the Abbot's lawyer Dr. Winkler. Their threat of violence in case their new preacher should be attacked, was clearly revolutionary.

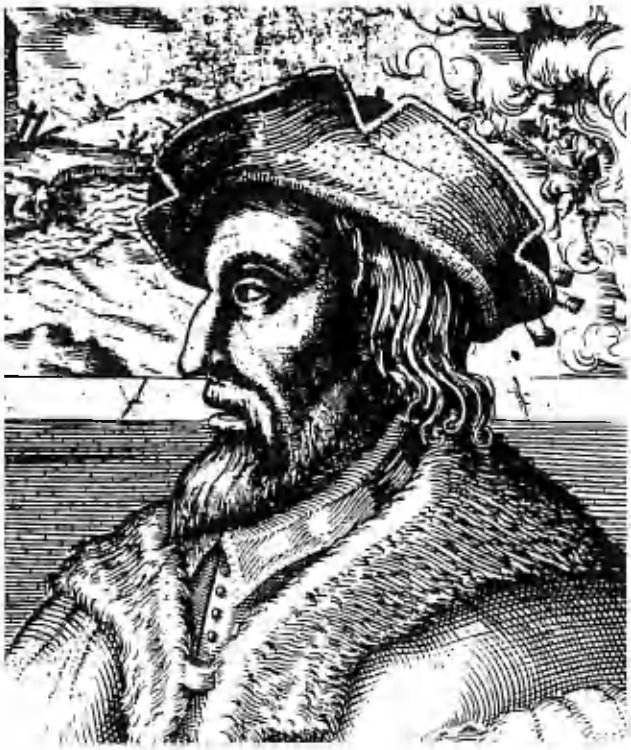
It went the same way in the village of Hallau near Schaffhausen. The villagers were baptized by Wilhelm Reublin, sent their Catholic preacher away, and called in his place the Anabaptist Johannes Brötli. At the same time they refused to pay their rent to the All Saints' Monastery in Schaffhausen. When the city of Schaffhausen sent soldiers to seize the Anabaptist preachers, the villagers blocked their way, arms in hand. Such coincidences gave reason to classify the Anabaptists and the peasants together as revolutionaries.

But still distinctions are indispensable. The Peasants' War was a far broader phenomenon than Anabaptism. It arose out of social-economic distress, and the message of the Reformers (not only of the Anabaptists) had at most the function of a trigger or a justification. The way the Peasants took to meet the economic need was not the Gospel, but ordinary Friend/Foe thinking, i.e. (to speak anachronistically) class struggle. That is why it became a Peasants' *War*.

The Anabaptist movements on the other hand found their basis in the rediscovery of the Gospel, i.e. in religion. Their goal, the reformation, was not to be sought at all costs but rather with the means which the Gospel itself indicates. Still, since they also criticized the social scene (on the basis of the same Gospel), it is understandable that in practice the two movements occasionally were mingled. Since in the beginnings of both movements not everything was clearly thought through, the early Anabaptists were not always clear about their choice of the means of Reformation. Not until the Schleitheim Confession of 1527 was the rejection of armed violence stated so clearly, as the agreement of a broad circle of brethren, then an ethical standard was available around which a wider unity could gather. But this purged Anabaptism was still not the community of the *Stillen im Lande*. The form of its dissidence still had political dimensions and was interpreted as a threat to the civil order. The destiny of Michael Sattler, author of the Schleitheim Confession, is a testimony.

4. The trouble making quality of Christian faith is seen by the Anabaptists in the experience of the Cross.

There is one way to interpret the Anabaptists and their faith which is at once fully correct and fully false. The example closest to me is that of my teacher, Professor Fritz Blanke. He knew the Anabaptists very well, showed great sympathy for them, told their story and portrayed their doctrine with great mastery. He then came to the conclusion that their only error was being born 400 years too soon. Today their doctrines (separation of church and state, adult baptism,



Balthasar Hubmaier, "truth gives birth to disorder."

Ludwig Hetzer, "the explosive power of the Gospel."

voluntary membership, rejection of war and of the oath, the democratic form of the church) would have found wide acceptance. Today they would be respectable.

This interpretation misses the core of Anabaptist faith; in all appreciation for Blanke we must say that in his benevolence toward the Anabaptists he misunderstood them. The Anabaptists did not meet opposition because they were ahead of their time but because they reckoned with the Cross as the core of the Christian faith. He who confesses Christ will like Jesus Christ himself suffer opposition, and will be out of step with his time whether he live in the sixteenth century or in the twentieth.

Dostoyewski represented this in his legend of the Grand Inquisitor by having Jesus return to earth in the fifteenth century. The Inquisitor sends him away because he would only stir up society and make people unhappy. That is just what the Anabaptists experienced. They understood the reflection which they experienced at the Cross of Christ and as a confirmation of what they read in the Bible.

This is, I believe, the reason for the Anabaptists' making trouble. They did not make trouble for the sake of trouble. Yet they were realistic enough to know that the truth of the Christian faith will provoke friction and offense, and they built that awareness in to their thought. They got that realism from Jesus Himself who, because He had practiced forgiveness, was accused of blasphemy and crucified as a rebel. When their critics accused the Anabaptists of contributing to division and separatism, they answered that Christ Himself had been "a sign to be contradicted." He brought a sword and not peace. He predicted that father would be set against son and son against father, mother against daughter and daughter against mother. "What a blessed division and separatism that is . . ., and if Paul had pleased the world, he would not have been a servant of Christ." So argued the Anabaptist theologian Balthasar Hubmaier, continuing ". . . but that the truth gives birth to disorder, is not the fault of the truth, but of our evil will, just as the newborn Christ was not to blame for the cruel murder of the innocent infants, but the murderer Herod."

To conclude: we will only rediscover our largely forgotten pacifist tradition, when we with the Anabaptists grasp the explosive power of the Gospel. When Jesus forgives the guilty, when he uncovers our self-righteousness and takes account of the hostility that provokes, and bears that hostility himself, then He is not an example of peaceableness but of agitation. What would our peace witness have to be like to do justice to that example?

Aeltester David Stoesz and the Bergthal Story: Some Diary Notes

by Lawrence Klippenstein

Part I

From the Ukraine to Manitoba (1872-1876)

Few people today know anything about *Aeltester* (Bishop) David Stoesz, the long-time Mennonite minister and leader of the Bergthaler people in Manitoba. The accounts of Bergthal itself do little more than mention his name, thus consigning to virtual anonymity a personage whose thirty-five years of devoted leadership might well merit something more.

The recent discovery of Stoesz's papers, including sermons, and above all a 200-page personal diary, with additional miscellaneous materials, will help to write another chapter in the story of Bergthal and its people. This first look at the diary will offer extensive quotes in translation with summaries of other parts in Stoesz's personal record of his life and work. The initial published portion will include comments of the first five-year period, 1872-1876, the time of Stoesz's rise to leadership, his departure from Russia and his coming to Manitoba, the "new-world." Additional segments of the diary, hopefully to be published later, contain the record of Stoesz's work and ministry on the Canadian scene.

Bergthal in the Ukraine

The Bergthal Mennonites gained their name quite simply from the colony of Bergthal, situated in the Ukraine of Eastern Europe. Here on the Dnieper River had been founded the "Old Colony" of Chortitza in the year 1789, and later by Prussian Mennonites who had come to settle here at the invitation of Catherine II. After several decades of settlement, the original land allotments granted to Chortitza became inadequate for the agricultural needs of the community. The founding of daughter colonies solved that problem in part, beginning in 1836 with the settling of the village of Bergthal in Ekaterinoslav, about 130 miles east of the Dnieper River and 45 miles northwest of Mariupol on the Sea of Azov. By 1852, when the last village of Friedrichsthal had been established, Bergthal had become the functioning administrative and church centre for five villages, with about 135 original families making this area their new home.

David Stoesz was born in 1842 at Schoenthal, the second of the Bergthal colony villages, founded in 1838. His father, Jacob, originally from Rosenort, West Prussia, had owned a mill at Neuendorf in the Old Colony, and, with his family, joined the exodus to Bergthal from there not long after 1838. The youngest of ten children, three of whom died in infancy, David grew up in Schoenthal where he was also baptized into the church in 1862. His marriage to Maria Wiebe, the daughter of the Heinrich Wiebes, of Heuboden, followed during the same year.

On November 3, 1869, Stoesz received ordination to the ministry of the Bergthal church, serving initially as assistant to the Aeltester Gerhard Wiebe who had held that senior office since 1866. An extant Stoesz sermon, written out in German, lists its first time of preaching as 1873 in Bergthal; subsequently he used it on numerous occasions also in Manitoba.

1872

As a young minister Stoesz found himself caught up quickly and directly in the turmoil of Russian social and political changes of the 1860's and the later years. By 1870 it was generally known that Russia was planning universal conscription to build up her national army. Though some small groups were exempt, it might well mean that Mennonites would lose the cherished exemption privileges granted them by Catherine the Great and Paul I. There were also moves in the Russian government to improve the educational system, and that meant more direct supervision of the colonists, i.e. also Mennonite schools. Plans for administrative changes meant subtle increased control over local community government as well.

Bergthaler leaders such as Gerhard Wiebe saw the increased pressure of Russian governing policies as an evil omen. They decried the apparent ready acceptance of the changes among many of their fellow-Mennonites in the colonies of south Russia. The reforms of Johann Cornies, and those similarly minded, were not welcomed; indeed, they were resisted with firmness and determination. Conscription

was probably feared most of all, since it threatened a key tenet in the Mennonite faith—nonresistance.

Stoesz could not remain immune to the impact of these developments, for Bergthal was not so isolated that it could side-step the rushing stream of Russian nationalization and acculturation for very long.

Beginning his diary entries on January 23, 1872, Stoesz wrote: "One could see this evening that of which the prophet Joel had previously prophesied, that is, that God would show wonders and signs in the firmament before the terrible day of the Lord would come. It was just as the prophet had expressed himself in the words, blood, fire and smoke; it was that way exactly in the colors of blood and fire. At the same time a smoky fog (was) rolling forward alternating in waves of clouds . . . coming from the north, and going over us till midday. . . ."

This mood of apocalyptic foreboding in Stoesz's heart related itself, in the first instance, to a sense of deep spiritual need in the community. He went on to observe "numerous spots of brightness among the rolling clouds as though the heavens opened, which is to be understood by us that the Lord reveals to us how the Gospel is still shining here and there, since in most of the places where a few years ago it was still aglow, there is now a famine and darkness among the Christians."

Three days later Stoesz recorded his first comment on Bergthal's involvement in the Mennonite response to Russian militarization. (On January 26 our *Aeltester* Gerhard Wiebe and *Oberschulze* (village administrator) Jacob Peters traveled to the Chortitz colony to discuss several things, including the most important matter about which the *Aeltester* Gerhard Dueck has been directed to travel to Petersburg, to appear before the Czar (Kaiser) to represent, and to inquire about our privileges (Freiheit)."

That the matter had engendered considerable internal dissension already appears evident in the entry for February 5. "At dusk both the *Aeltester* and the *Oberschulze* arrived safely back at their homes. But they had bad news, as we saw it. God may want to refine us further through this, which is badly needed. The Chortitzer elder did not make the trip; *Lehrer* (minister) Heinrich Epp and the *Aeltester* of the Kronsweide Gemeinde went instead. The former can only have had the worst intentions, but God alone knows about it (*ist es allein bewusst*). These men accomplished nothing in Petersburg because the new law about us had not yet been completed to the point where information about it could be released (*das neue Gesetz war ueber uns noch nicht bis zur Auskunft geschehen*).

One could classify the remaining entries for 1872 as routine, yet illustrating the daily concerns related to the life of a Bergthal minister at that time. "Today on March 11, 1872, Peter Winter was buried. *Aeltester* Gerhard Wiebe held the funeral sermon. The weather for the villages was bad. It began to snow this morning, lasting till evening. At night it rained heavily, and it was difficult to drive through the mud." The next day, according to Stoesz, the *Aeltester* had a service in the local school house. "The weather is pleasant and somewhat warmer, but there was frost in the shade all day long."

Farming and ministry merged in Stoesz's life. "Today, March 16, the cattle and sheep were driven to pasture for the first time. It was a cloudy day." Friday afternoon, March 17. I have seeded the first *desjatin* (2.7 acres) of wheat. Today, April 4, I have finished seeding. April 9. The village stallion was released (herausgelassen). Today, April 15, I drove to Heuboden with my brother-in-law Peter Wiebe's driving rig (*Fuhrwerk*) to take my mother down there. Today, April 16, i.e. Easter Day (*der erste Ostertag*) we had rain during the afternoon. April 23, 1872. I wrote to my brother Peter and sent it along with our Johann to Schoenthal.

Two further notes complete the written records for 1872. "Yesterday, Monday, October 23, our stepfather died after 1½ days of very painful illness. He lived for 68 years, 7 months and 10 days and will be buried tomorrow, the 25th. Mother's auction sale was held on Oct. 7 and 8, but not everything was sold because there were few buyers."

A three-month gap in the diary, representing the months of November, December, 1872 and January, 1873, blanket with silence the frustrating but significant encounters of Mennonites with the Russian government on the question of military exemptions. Stoesz may have accompanied Gerhard Wiebe to the Alexanderwohl conference in late October, 1872. On this occasion *Oberschultze* Jacob Peters from Bergthal proposed that Wiebe should accompany six or more other men chosen to visit the Czar. Wiebe reluctantly consented, observing that really he was "not wanted", and rejoicing when the seventeen-day expedition to Yalta finally ended.

Migration to Manitoba

The Bergthaler leaders refused to sign a petition which was presented for signatures at another meeting in Alexanderwohl in early 1873. They took immediate steps to present their own petition to the Czar that same month. Stoesz was apparently a signator of that document. One more meeting at Alexanderwohl (cited by Wiebe as "the eighth and last") followed, resulting in the severing of "the last thread of unity," and the calling of a separate Bergthaler meeting. Its purpose was specifically to elect two delegates who might visit America to investigate prospects for emigration.

The diary comments remained brief and scattered. An entry—"February 3, 1873. I wrote to brother

Peter"—was followed by another note nearly three weeks later. "February 20, 1873. This morning our delegates are leaving for America. I and Jacob Stoesz went at 5:30 in the morning to bid farewell to the *Oberschulze*, and met a lot of people who wished them God's guidance and a safe trip." The delegates were Heinrich Wiebe, a minister at Bergthal, and their *Oberschulze* Jacob Peters. Cornelius Buhr, a wealthy Bergthal farmer, also accompanied the delegates, paying his own way. Only one note alludes to the further experiences of these three men. "On March 6 our travellers, the *Oberschulze* and *Ehr.* (meaning minister) Heinrich Wiebe wrote letters from Hamburg, saying that they expect to board ship on the 7th."

The entries of the succeeding year or more prior to the emigration of 1874 add nothing significant to the story. "March 9, 1873. I began to seed. March 30, 1873. I have finished seeding the fields . . . this 31st day of the month we want to plant potatoes." The dates of April 4 and another one in September, as well as January 9 and June 4 of 1874 are cited simply as days when Stoesz wrote a letter to Peter. Plans for emigration had progressed rapidly after the twelve delegates had returned to the colonies in late summer of 1873, but the diary makes no reference whatsoever to these developments at Bergthal or anywhere else.

Aeltester David Stoesz was a member of the first emigrant group which left the colony on June 14 and 15, 1874. Stoesz made rather detailed notes on this journey, as did Franz Harder, and later, Jacob Stoesz. Both of their diaries have also been preserved. Stoesz noted the needs of persons in the group, citing not only places of transfer from one train to another, or to ships, but also cases of illness as well as the death of several persons who died enroute.

An eleven-day train journey across Eastern and Central Europe ended on June 25 when the group took a ship at Hamburg to cross to England. "The 26th of June was a pleasant day, but the ship still did not stay steady; many of us couldn't keep up our heads for long!" By June 27 they were at Liverpool where they remained for four days. "We were warmly received," wrote Stoesz, "and well looked after." On Sunday, June 30, Stoesz conducted worship services at three different localities where they were temporarily sheltered. By July 2 they were on board the S.S. Peruvian and headed for Canada across the Atlantic.

Mrs. Kornelius Ginter gave birth to a child, named Derk (Diedrich) on July 5. Stoesz compared the weather to a "dull October," though cold and fog were relieved at times by pleasant days. He wrote, after eight days on the ocean, "The 10th of July, Wednesday, at dawn there was a cry about sighting land. As the sun rose we could see ice floes drifting in the ocean. Around six o'clock we came into a beautiful sea port of (New) Foundland at a little town, St. John's; it had huge cliffs along the banks on both sides. It was a wonder to our eyes. At eight we sailed out on the open ocean where we saw a lot of ice. We also saw whales."

Peter Friesen's daughter died on the 12th of July, and was buried at sea, since bringing her to land would have meant being quarantined for three days. Two cannons were fired by the Peruvian when they arrived at Halifax that same day. A trip up the St. Lawrence to Quebec followed, ending on July 16, an ocean voyage lasting fourteen days. Entraining on the seventeenth they travelled westward . . . "we saw mowed barley standing in sheaves and stooks." They got to Toronto at 4 p.m., and were met by "Canadian brethren with their wives" who gave them a hearty welcome. "At nine o'clock in the evening a service was held. After its closing the news came that Kornelius Ginter's baby had died." The "Canadian brethren" were most likely Mennonites from nearby communities in Ontario.

Leaving Toronto on the nineteenth, they came to Collingwood by seven that evening. They purchased many carpentry tools there the next day. A service was held on Sunday. Three young children died in the course of the next five days. "Friday, July 26, whole day was foggy. In the back of the deck we wrote a letter to the Canadian bretheren, to get support from them." By Saturday, July 27, they had arrived at Duluth where they took a train once more; a day later they were at Moorhead on the Red River, where they stayed the following day in tents.

One segment of the party including Stoesz took a barge down the Red River on Tuesday, July 30, while others remained behind to purchase some cattle. Following the next day in a steamboat, they caught up with the barge, which was then attached to the ship. "Friday, August 2, my wife and little Jacob were somewhat sick. The weather was pleasant and peaceful," wrote Stoesz. Maria felt better the next day, though their little child did not. "Around evening," wrote Stoesz on August 3, "we finally arrived at our destination, where we stepped off, and successfully finished our journey." The date would have been August 15 in Canada, since Stoesz seems to have used the Russian, i.e. Julian Calendar.

On Sunday, August 4, they left the banks of the Red River to take temporary shelter in the immigrant houses which Jacob Y. Shantz, of the Ontario Mennonites, had constructed somewhat east of the landing site. Jacob Stoesz, another diarist of that trip, described the landing site as "a place where the Rat River coming from the southeast flows into the Red River." Jacob joined several others in swimming the livestock across the river from the west shore, adding in his comments, "Some of the calves

had to be tied to their mothers' tails in order to swim across safely. The baggage of one group was taken across by boats prepared by local Metis from hollowed-out trunks of trees, which operated as ferries." The women and children were the last to cross, "always three at a time, not counting the boatman." After resting at the immigrant sheds for a few days, Jacob noted that they travelled on "to the present site of Kleefeld and Blumstein," where they arrived on August 14 of the same year. Kleefeld was known as Gruenfeld at that time. Jacob wrote up his memories on this in later years.

Settling Down on the East Reserve

The early weeks and months of pioneer life in Manitoba brought with them various new experiences in an unfamiliar setting. There was little time to complain, apparently, but the references to weariness appear more than once. "Monday, August 5 at 8 o'clock a.m., I went with several to Winnipeg to shop (*um Einkaeufe zu machen*), but by night we were all exhaused." The next day Stoesz, together with Jacob Wall and Wilhelm Kroeker, purchased a wagon for $95.00. The third day they bought oxen for $142.00, and an iron stove for $33.50, a plough for $27.00, 200 pounds of meat for $25.00. Wrote Stoesz, "I personally bought 98 pounds of lard for $13.70. On Thursday August 8, we came home late, back to our families and houses."

The search for a permanent residence began at once. "Friday, August 9. We travelled across the land, and soon found something with good prospects. We stayed there overnight." This appears to have been the locality where the village of Bergthal, Stoesz's home village was founded. The site lay about 10 miles due east from the Shantz sheds. Wall (possibly Jacob, above) returned the following day, while Stoesz and Krahn stayed to cut wood, waiting till evening for Wall to return. "But Wall didn't come. Then we went to Heinrich Wiebes, where we met him, and all three of us stayed there overnight." Several families completed their move shortly. "On Sunday, August 11, we drove to our place again. At noon Krahn drove back to get the Walls and his own family."

Stoesz returned to the immigrant houses on Monday, August 12, since there was a definite restlessness (*ganze Unruhe*) among the people. "On Tuesday, August 13, Mrs. Abraham Dueck died, and was buried on August 14. August 15. I left the houses again. On Friday, August 16, it rained. Saturday, August 17, we hauled wood. Sunday, August 18, was a hot day. We went to Johann Klassens. On Monday, August 19, we mowed grass. I got very tired."

The final comment for 1874 is dated December 28 with no word at all from August 19 on. At the year's close Stoesz recorded, "We had 27 degrees of frost. The 29th it was even colder, and also the 30th of December." January, February, and most of March of the following year, 1875, also passed in silence for the records.

1875

On March 29, 1875 Stoesz observed that "Jacob Wall drove his cattle to pasture for the first time. There were still many banks of snow." It appears that more regularized village life had begun some time before. A brother, Kornelius, had settled in Blumstein, while Jacob Stoesz, also David's brother had acquired some land about two miles east of there, and one mile south of Schoenfeld. Bergthal became home for David. Johann and Maria Stoesz Klassen owned land near the village of Ebenfeld several miles northeast of Bergthal. David's other sisters, Anna (Mrs. Frank Harder) and Katharina (Mrs. Cornelius Peters) ultimately also made their homes on the East Reserve.

Notes in subseqent entries mention farm activities, social contacts, and other events related to pioneer settlement generally. "April 3. It rained for the first time, almost the entire day. On April 12 Stoesz drove with several others in wagons to the Red River to obtain some wood and thatching material for houses. He noted: "On April 13 we came back and Peter Buhr began to harrow fields ploughed in fall. April 24 we started to plow. The 26th the cow was taken to a bull." There are references next of snow and frost in late October, and then this entry: "October 28th. I and my wife, as well as Bernhard Klippenstein, drove by sleigh to get the school teacher, Heinrich Wiens. We visited the Franz Harders and the Stoeszes."

Additional notes for 1875, not in sequence, mention the death of an ox on January 15, and the burning of Johann Schwartz's house on Oct. 30. Of that incident Stoesz wrote, "There were no major injuries, for no one was living in it. I was staying at Bernd Wiebes near there. The fire broke out at about one o'clock at night, and at 3:30 we finally could get some rest. Only the rafters and the roof caught fire. The floor was also damaged in two places." For the fourth of December he cited "almost thawing weather, whereas the next few days were pleasant, with heavy frost following. A strong northwest wind blew on December 12; the 29th and 30th were mild again."

1876

The new year, 1876, began with 25 degrees of frost (*Rumer*, i.e. *Reamur*). The death of Mrs. Gerhard Schroeder is recorded for January 16 that year. Her burial took place on the 19th of the month. More frost and some rain came in February. On the 10th Stoesz stated, "We drove with Johann Neudorfs to

Hochfeld to visit our widowed mother." Then he added, "On March 7 quite a few drove to Dufferin to get some flour. Snow and frost came two days later. On the 9th of March I and Heinrich Wiebe were at Rosengart for the day, attending a funeral. For the night I went along to Tannenau. On the way Heinrich Wiebe froze his ears. I returned from Tannenau on the 10th. A lot of snow fell."

The next day Stoesz travelled to Blumstein—more snow, so one could hardly move. . . . Spring weather came on April 6 with "rain and a strong southeast wind." He went on, "On Sunday Kornelius Stoesz and our mothers of both sides were with us as guests. On Monday I went to Chortitz. There was much water on the fields. But as I turned back home there was some frost already. The ditches were almost full of water."

The first reference to *Aeltester* Wiebe is dated April 11. Wiebe had come with a group in 1875 to settle in Chortitz, retaining his office of *Aeltester*, or bishop, over the Bergthaler people. Stoesz recorded, for April 11, "It froze during the night. Our *Aeltester* Gerhard Wiebe was here to visit our sick neighbor, Mrs. Peter Wiebe, who is quite ill in bed. Our neighbors, the old Peter Hoeppners, were also here as guests."

The diary is interrupted at this point with a long poem entitled *"Ueber die Auswanderung van Russland"* (Concerning the Emigration from Russia) with the subheading *"Melodie: Folget Mir Ruft Uns Das Leben."* It seems to have been used as a hymn. The signature "David Stoesz" at the conclusion may suggest that he wrote it himself. Other items found in the record gap include a home remedy for curing constipation. Ten pages later the chronicle is continued.

"May 29-30. It began to rain and continued almost all day and night for a week. Those staying in Ontario for the winter arrived during these days . . . June 1. The water was higher than it ever has been until this time." The cattle had been taken to pasture on April 18, that being the "third day of Easter." Stoesz had begun to plough new ground, along with Jacob Funks on April 21. A lightning storm of April 26 had passed by without disturbance, and more frost had come on April 28.

After more frost on June 16 and 17, Stoesz continued ploughing on the 19th, completing two and a half *desjatin* by the end of the month.

Contacts with Russia had not ceased, and were sustained through visits and in other ways. Persons from Russia arrived on August 13. Stoesz wrote, "I had gone in vain on August 9 to pick them up. It was rainy. On the 21st of August we were at *Ohm* (i.e. *Aeltester*) Gerhard to take home some of the money sent us from Russia for farms left behind there. It froze during the night of the 19th and 20th, but not enough to harm the vegetables in the garden." Stoesz gathered in his wheat and barley sheaves on September 5, and sowed rye on the eighth of that month. He took his wife and mother-in-law to town on the 11th, returning on the 13th (*wir kamen Retur*).

On the 31st of October Stoesz wrote, "It is a pleasant day, but we rose too early this morning in order to clean wheat. Since it is still dark I can sit and write." He also wrote to J. Stoesz that day. An election of "teachers" (i.e. ministers?) had occurred on the 26th, also the day on which Stoesz finished threshing his wheat. The persons chosen were Johann Neufeld and Jakob Wiens. On November 7 David wrote to Peter Stoesz (in Russia—ed.). He noted writing a letter the day before to Johann Stoesz, one brother who had moved to Minnesota, and other letters to Elkhart for calendars and to Russia.

Concluding notes for 1876 also mention bringing the cattle into barns on November 6, and a letter to David Klassen on November 8. For that day Stoesz added, "It seems like summer (*es ist Sommer Wetter*). A letter from Peter Stoesz arrived in December, and to end all entries for the year appeared this one: "The wife of our *Aeltester* (i.e. Gerhard Wiebe) passed away at 2:30 p.m. She was buried on December 31."

The diary of 1874-1876 indicates a preoccupation with the pursuits of pioneer settlement, and reflects the arduous labor needed to provide new homes for the Stoeszes and their neighboring families in southeastern Manitoba. There is little mention of church life during these years, and other aspects of community organization are similarly ignored in the entries which Stoesz actually made. That was soon to change, however; in succeeding years he would accept an increasingly responsible role in working as a minister and community leader in various Bergthaler congregations, both on the East Reserve and elsewhere in Canada.

Bibligraphical Note

The major studies on the Bergthaler Mennonites are Henry J. Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, Altona, Manitoba, 1970, and Bill Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1974. The former deals with "the background in Europe and the development in Canada of the Bergthaler Mennonite Church of Manitoba," and the other focuses chiefly on the Bergthal colony in Russia, including the migration to Manitoba. Other sources include Menno Hildebrand "The Sommerfeld Mennonites of Manitoba," *Mennonite Life*, June, 1970, pp. 99ff, and H. S. Bender's article "Sommerfeld Mennonites" in *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, 1959, pp. 576-578. Cf. also E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia. The Mennonites in Manitoba*, Altona, Man. 1955. A closely related and important work is Gerhard Wiebe, *Die*

Ursachen und Geschichte der Auswanderung der Mennoniten aus Russland nach Amerika, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1900.

Biographical and other material on David Stoesz has recently appeared in an unpublished paper by Dennis Stoesz and Don Stoesz, "A Biography of David Stoesz (1842-1903)," Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1974. This article owes much to that study which includes a first draft translation of the portions of the diary covered here. Cf. also A. D. Stoesz *A Stoesz Genealogy*, 1731-1972. Lincoln, Nebraska, 1972.

Two other primary source items for the David Stoesz story are the ship passenger lists of 1874-1880, containing names and ages of Mennonites who migrated to Manitoba during those years, and the Bergthaler church books kept in Russia and also in Manitoba. The latter are presently found in the archives of the Chortitzer (formerly Bergthaler) Mennonite Church at Steinbach, Manitoba, and the former, copied from originals in the Public Archives of Canada, are deposited in duplicate at the Conference of Mennonites in Canada Archives at Winnipeg, the Conrad Grebel College Archives, and the Mennonite Library and Archives at North Newton, Kansas, USA.

Two earlier reports on the Bergthaler migration to Manitoba were written by Klaas Peters, *Die Bergthaler Mennoniten und deren Auswanderung aus Russland und Einwanderung in Manitoba*, Hillsboro, Kansas, 1925, and Bernhard Friesen, "Die Auswanderung der Bergthaler aus Russland, "*Der Mitarbeiter* II, February to June, 1907. Memoirs of early pioneer life on the East Reserve have been published in Arnold Dyck, ed. *Das 60 jaehrige Jubilaeum der mennonitischen Ost Reserve*, Steinbach, Manitoba, 1935 and K.J.B. *et al*, eds. *75 Gedenkfeier der mennonitischen Einwanderung in Manitoba, Canada*, Steinbach, Manitoba, 1950.

The Stoesz papers and diary were provided for study through the courtesy of Bill Harms, Gretna, Manitoba. They are available in duplicate at the Conference of Mennonites in Canada at 600 Shaftesbury Blvd., Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Resources on Mennonite History In the Public Archives of Canada

by Ernest J. Dick

PART II

An example, albeit an exceptional one, of material relating to Mennonites in a surprising private manuscript collection is to be found in the Adam Shortt papers (M.G. 30, D. 45) held by the PAC. Shortt was an economist and historian on staff at the PAC until his death in 1931 and he had made the Mennonite emigration from Russia of 1872-78 one of the subjects of his research. Volume 57 of his papers contain typed copies of extracts of letters, memos, etc., from Department of Agriculture files (file no. 5951½ to no. 9221) and letter books (no. 6 and 7) relating to this Mennonite immigration. Obviously a historian who is going to research thoroughly this issue himself needs to go back to the original Department of Agriculture papers. But the Shortt papers provide many valuable references and for a quicker examination of this issue, they may be quite sufficient.

Because of the very distinctive nature of Mennonites and the exceptional and exclusive arrangements Mennonites often negotiated with the Canadian government, government action rarely took the form of official legislation or announcements in the House of Commons. Rather, much of the government policy regarding Mennonites was articulated in a much-used procedure called the Order-in-Council. These are basically Cabinet decisions on minor matters to facilitate the day-to-day governing which it is deemed do not need House of Commons debate or approval and have been approved by the Governor General.

Almost all Mennonite matters regarding policy decisions were handled in this way and thus these Orders-in-Council form an essential source for any examination of any issue regarding Mennonites in Canada. For example, the letter specifying the conditions of Mennonite settlement in the west (1873-78) came into effect through being part of an Order-in-Council. They are arranged in chronological order according to the date of approval and are to be found in R.G. 2 (Privy Council Office, Orders-in-Council). Those memorandom, correspondence, petitions, etc., which were submitted but did not result in the production of an Order-in-Council are to be found in R.G. 2, 3 (Privy Council, Dormants) and Mennonite-related material will also be found there.

The records of the various departments of the federal government which for one reason or another have come into contact with Mennonites constitute the other major bulk of valuable sources held by the PAC. The Public Records Division acts as the official depository for government departments but it is at the discretion of the government departments to deposit their old records with the PAC. Only very recently, in 1973, a general access rule was accepted by the Canadian Cabinet which states that all government records held by the PAC which are more than 30 years old should be open to the public. But often records have been lost, destroyed or are still retained by the departments in some cases. Also the Public Archives cannot physically keep the entire bulk of material that may be transferred to it and must decide which is likely to be of historical interest.

All of the above qualifications are not intended to discourage the research for Mennonite materials in government records; indeed, there exists a surprising wealth of material therein. But again, often one cannot always be certain that material has been preserved and is accessible, let alone discover in which file of which record group it is now located.

Immigration of Mennonites into Canada has always provided a very crucial point of contact between Mennonites and the federal government and thus an abundance of material is available in government records on this question. To trace these records, however, provides a considerable challenge as the responsibility for immigration within the federal government has gone through many changes since 1867. From Confederation until 1892, immigration was the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture and thus the records relating to the 1872-78 immigration are to be found there (R.G. 17). There is abundant documentation concerning this immigration in the Department of Agriculture files, much of it in the original handwriting of Hespeler, Shantz, and the other principals involved.

In 1892 immigration became the responsibility of the Dominion Lands Branch of the Department of the Interior (R.G. 15). Some of the files relating to Mennonites were brought forward and it appears that the bulk of material relating to matters of Mennonites and land settlement is to be found in file no. 3129 in volumes 232 and 233. This material covers the years 1872-1945 and includes maps, lists of settlers, complaints, reports, etc., comprising a virtual wealth of material (file no. 3129 covers approximately 12 inches of shelf space).

In 1896 an Immigration Branch was created, and though this Branch passed through an abundance of different government departments: Department of Interior to 1917, Department of Immigration and Colonization to 1936, Department of Mines and Resources to 1949, Department of Citizenship and Immigration to 1966, and currently the Department of Manpower and Immigration, it retained its separate entity. Thus, subsequent to 1896 all materials created by the Immigration Branch are to be found in R.G. 76, irrespective of what Department it may have been part of. Again, some material would have been brought forward from the now defunct Dominion Lands Branch and thus the files of the Immigration Branch in R.G. 76 have Mennonite material for the years 1872-1949. Some examples will suffice: 150 deals with the employment of Gerhard Ens of Rosthern in immigration work among Mennonites, 1897-1906; 161 re Mennonite emigration from Russia 1897-1904; 173-176 simply entitled "Mennonites and Hutterites"; 192-196 contain the files of J. C. Koehn, immigration agent at Mountain Lake, Minnesota 1898-1924; 196 contains lists of the movement of Mennonites from South Russia 1921-46; and this offers only a very preliminary indication of the relevant volumes which need to be consulted.

The Immigration Branch papers (R.G. 76) also contain passenger lists of all immigrants entering Canada through the ports of Quebec City and Halifax from 1865 to 1900. These lists comprise 32 reels of microfilm and are chronologically organized by the date of the arrival of the vessel at Halifax or Quebec City. They give the name, age, profession, nationality and destination of each passenger and thus provide a valuable research resource. In 1980 the Department of Manpower and Immigration will release the lists of those ships arriving between 1900-1910 and in 1990 those arriving between 1910-1920.

The Public Records Division of the PAC is also

preparing a general inventory of sources in the PAC relating to immigration and land settlement in the western provinces from 1867-1945. It is planned that this inventory should be published by December of 1976 and will obviously be a guide to researchers. Concurrent with this inventory they are also preparing a computerized subject index on immigration and land settlement in the Canadian west in which Mennonites will be one of the obvious subject references. This is also planned to be available by December of 1976 and undoubtedly will bring other Mennonite references to light.

Canadian external affairs were originally administered by Great Britain. It was only in the 20th century that Canada took charge in varying degrees of its own external affairs. Immigration, particularly group movements with extenuating political circumstances as with Mennonites, concerned external affairs officials. Thus the records of the Department of External Affairs (R.G. 25) provide further reference to Mennonites. There is material pertaining to the 1920's migrations of Mennonites into Canada as well as the subsequent coming and going of Mennonites.

The files of the Governor-General's office (R.G. 7) also provide a reference to Mennonites because of the international and diplomatic implications of their immigrations and emigrations. Series G 21 of R.G. 7 are subject files which belonged to the office and in that series file no. 37523 has material relating to the 1872-73 Mennonite emigration from Russia and the 1920's establishment of Mennonite colonies in Paraguay and Mexico. R.G. 7 comprises the on-going files of the office of the Governor-General as opposed to the more personal papers of the different individual Governors-General.

Their papers are to be found in M.G. 27 and particularly the papers of Lord Dufferin who was Governor-General from 1872-78 deserve to be examined. A random check also uncovered a reference to the reconsideration of military exemption for Mennonites in 1898 in Lord Minto's papers (Governor-General 1898-1904) and thus the papers of the individual Governors-General obviously deserve to be searched systematically and thoroughly.

Mennonites were naturally under suspicion by government in time of war and for the first World War the files of the Chief Press Censor (R.G. 6, E1), whose office existed between 1915-1920, give evidence of this suspicion. Different volumes refer to publications such as "The Mennonite", "Mennonite Rundschau", Steinbach Post", and provide other likely headings such as "German people in Berlin, Ontario," etc. . . .

This type of government activity was again increased by the government at the time of the Second World War. This time they named the office the Directorate of Censorship and placed it under the responsibility of the Privy Council Office. This material (approximately making up 50 feet of shelf space) still belongs to the Privy Council Office and is labelled secret. The PAC is endeavouring to have it transferred into its holdings and to gain access to this most valuable collection of documents.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police was also used at times to monitor the activities of Mennonites and determine the extent of the threat they posed. All the RCMP records (R.G. 18) held by the PAC have no access restrictions and are thus a further valuable resource but unfortunately somewhat cumbersome to work with. They date from 1872 thinning out substantially during the 1920's. The records are organized through the registers used internally and thus have a chronological base, but not a subject access. Undoubtedly serious research in the RCMP records would prove fruitful but no references to Mennonites are easily and immediately identified.

Not a great many sources have been identified relating to Mennonites in the first World War but it appears that much of the internal government correspondence may have been brought together in one rather bulky file (no. 7168-1) at the Department of National Defense (R.G. 24, C.1, Vol. 115). This file is entitled 'Exemption of Mennonites for Military Service' and is a most valuable resource for an indication of government thinking and response to this question.

During the Second World War Mennonites had to declare their membership in a Mennonite church before a Mobilization Board if they wished to be granted postponement of military service. Then they could be sent on Alternative Service Projects and it seems that the records relating to these two functions were held by the Department of Labor. Those files now are held by the PAC and are to be found in R.G. 27 and provide abundant references to Mennonites. The Immigration and Labor files, the National Registration Branch files, the Alternative Service and Conscientious Objectors Branch, and the Lacelle files contain valuable material.

The latter designation, the Lacelle files, simply refers to a particular system of subject indexing adopted by the Department of Labor containing many likely headings. One such reference in the Lacelle files turned up a memorandum by a P. C. Locke describing his efforts in convincing the Mennonites of southern Manitoba to register in the National Inventory of 1916. Also some material on immigration concerning Mennonites in

the 1950's is to be found in the Immigration and Labor files indicated above.

As for Mennonites who may have served with the Canadian Armed Forces during the Second World War or since, there is no way to attain access to their activities as a group. Individual personal records are held by the Canadian Forces Records Center which is administratively part of the PAC but these records are only available to the individuals or heirs.

The Department of Justice also needs to be examined for Mennonite materials as it was a department other citizens might complain to as well as their role in offering legal advice internally within the government. Indeed, memoranda in other government departments reveal this involvement of Justice with Mennonites. Unfortunately, only a small portion of the bulk of the Department of Justice files have come to the PAC. A central registry series for incoming correspondence dates from 1859 to 1934 and outgoing letter books date from 1867 to 1934 for these records (R.G. 13). These do provide some references to Mennonites and can be used through the chronologically-based registers the Department itself had used. And, if more material were ever to come to the PAC from Justice, it would obviously deserve examination.

Census returns provide another access to the jast and are particularly useful for genealogical research and demographic or sociological studies. Unfortunately the latest census which the department has made public is the 1871 census and there is no indication if or whether they will make more recent census available. Thus the available census returns are only applicable to the Waterloo County area Mennonites and the PAC holds the census records for 1871, 1861, and 1851 for this region in its R.G. 31 (Statistics Canada).

One should not neglect the less traditional resources of the PAC. The Picture Division has an index for its holdings by location, by subject and by portraits. The subject reference to Mennonite yields approximately 10 pictures, largely of Mennonites in the West and their farming practices around the period of the 1920's. Undoubtedly the references to specific locations would yield more pictures.

The Sound Archives recently acquired a wire recording of Jacob H. Janzen, of the Kitchener-Waterloo Mennonite Church, speaking in German in March 1949 in Kansas. This had been recorded onto the more conventional tape format. Also oral history interviews are being acquired on a wide variety of subjects, some of which will undoubtedly relate to Mennonites.

The National Map Collection at the PAC should also not be neglected. This large body of maps will undoubtedly yield much information about Mennonite land settlement and movements. For example, the earliest detailed map of Waterloo County dates from 1861 and is of sufficient scale to show each individual piece of property and the name of its owner, the street plans and property designations in the towns, the names and professions of the principal merchants in the towns, as well as sketches of some of the principal buildings in each of the towns. Also, the National Map Collection has published a listing of the township plans in the Canadian west and the years for which they have maps, *Township Plans of the Canadian West*. This listing cannot, of course, indicate the amount of detail to be found for each township but nonetheless gives some indication of the breadth of their holdings.

Thus this survey of some of the holdings at the Public Archives of Canada has indicated some fruitful areas of research. Again, it must be emphasized that there will be gaps; that some other sources may well have already been identified and here missed through oversight; and that important new sources yet remain to be transferred to the PAC or identified.

Perhaps also this survey can stimulate some new questions deserving of investigation. Mennonites have not normally understood themselves as a group that would have been monitored by the RCMP and their publications perhaps censored. That they were at times seen as posing a threat to the security of the nation presents an alternative view from the contemporary image of Mennonites viewed as sometimes quaint but always thrifty, hardworking and welcome citizens.

Mennonite history has usually viewed their immigrations from an internal perspective. The very active government role in various of these immigrations can now be traced much more fully and allows the development of questions arising from the relationship between Mennonites and the State at that level.

Another possibility which comes to mind after completing this survey is the bulk of Mennonite correspondence in the Prime Minister's papers. Surely who, how, and for what reasons Mennonites in Canada would write to their head of government says much about how Mennonites viewed themselves within Canadian society.

Radical Reformation and Mennonite Bibliography 1975

By Cornelius Krahn
Assisted by Lawrence Klippenstein and others

I. The Radical Reformation and Anabaptism

De Archieven van de Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk in korte overzichten. Deel II. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974.

Bainton, Roland. *Women of the Reformation.* In France and England. Boston: Beacon Press, 1975, $4.45.

Bender, H. S. *Conrad Grebel, Founder of the Swiss Brethren.* Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1971 (reprint), 343 pp., $9.95.

Broer, A. L. "Rembrandt en Vondel samen in de Singelkerk?" *Doopsgezind Jaarboekje,* 1974. pp. 45-54.

Crossley, Robert N. *Luther and the Peasants' War.* New York: Exposition Press, 1974, 164 pp., $8.00.

De Vries. *The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age, 1500-1700* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, $12.00.

Froschauer Bibel. 1536-1744-1975. *Die gantze Bibel, das ist alle bücher. . . .* Gedruckt zu Zürich bey Christoffel Froschouer, im Jar als man zalt M.D. XXXVI. Reprint by Amos B. Hoover, 1975.

Goertz, Hans-Jürgen, ed. *Umstrittenes Täufertum, 1525-1975.* Göttingen & Zurich. 1975. 314 pp. DM 50.—

Haas Martin. *uellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz,* Vierter Band: *Drei Täufer-gespräche in Bern und im Aargau.* Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1974, 491 pp.

Hillerbrand, Hans J. *A Bibliography of Anabaptism. 1520-1630. A Sequel, 1962—74* St. Louis, MO: Center of Reformation Research, 1975. $2.00.

Hillerbrand, Hans. *Thomas Müntzer. A Bibliography.* St. Louis, MO: Reformation Research Center, 1975. $2.00.

Ising, G. "Die Bedeutung der Niederdeutschen Bibelfrühdrucke für Frömmigkeitsgeschichte und Sprachgeschichte," *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis,* Nieuwe Serie, Dell LVI, Afl, I, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975. 35-50.

Keyser, Marja, Comp. *Dirk Philips, 1504-1568.* A Catalogue of his printed works in the University Library of Amsterdam. Amsterdam: Nieuwkoop B. de Graaf, 1975, 168 pp.

List, Günther. *Chiliastische Utopie und radikale Reformation.* Die Erneuerung der Idee vom tausend-jährigen Reich im 16. Jahrhundert. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973, 272 pp.

Loewen, Harry. *Luther and the Radicals.* Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University, 1974, 208 pp., $3.50.

Mellink, A. M. Editor, *Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica.* Eerste Deel. *Friesland en Groningen* (1530-1550). Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975, 199 pp., 44.00 guilders.

Midelfort, H. C. Erik. *Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany, 1562-1684.* The Social and Intellectual foundations. 1972, 306 pp., $11.50.

Mynors, R. A. B. & Thomson, D. F. S., trans. *The Collected Works of Erasmus.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974, 368 pp., $25.00.

Oberman, Heiko A. Ed. *Luther and the Dawn of the Modern Era:* Papers for the Fourth International Congress for Luther Research. Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 8. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974, 219 pp.

Ozment, Steven E. *The Reformation in the Cities.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, $10.00.

Plath, Uwe. *Calvin und Basel in den Jahren, 1552-1556.* Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1974, 314 pp.

Ruth, John L. *Conrad Grebel, Son of Zurich.* Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1975, 156 pp.

Seebass, Gottfried. "Bauerntum und Täufertum in Franken. *Z. Kirchengesch.,* 85 (no. 2, 1974): 284-300 pp.

Sider, R. J. *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt. The Development of his Thought, 1517-1525.* 1974, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, XI.

Smidts, P. J. "Hoe Doopsgezind was Rembrandt?". *Doopsgezind Jaarboekje,* 1975. pp. 24-34.

Tazbir, Janusz. "Polnische Nachklänge des deutschen Bauernkrieges 1524/25 und des Aufruhrs in Münster 1534/35. *Z. Geschichtswiss.,* 22 (no. 10, 1974): 1083-89 pp.

"The 450th Anniversary of the Anabaptist Movement, 1525-1975." Harrisonburg, VA: Eastern Mennonite College, 1974, 26 pp.

Torbet, Robert G. *A History of the Baptists.* Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1973, 585 pp., $7.95.

Visser, Dirk. "A Checklist of Dutch Mennonite Confessions of Faith to 1800." *Documenta Anabaptistica,* Bulletin Nos. 6 and 7, 1974-1975. C.U.D.A.N., Theologish Instituut, Amsterdam.

Clebsch, William A. "A New Historiography of American Religion," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 32/3, 225-57 pp.

Coe, Edith C. *Hertzler Heritage*. Irene A. Koeneke, M.D., and Hertzler Research Foundation. Emporia, KS: Emporia State Press, 1975.

Davis. *Immigrants, Baptists, & the Protestant Mind in America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, $8.75.

Denlinger, Carl E. *A Genealogical Study of the Denlinger Family*. Maumee, OH, 1975, 127 pp.

Durnbaugh, Donald F., ed. *Every Need Supplied: Mutual Aid and Christian Community in the Free Churches, 1525-1675*. Documents in Free Church History. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974, 258 pp., $15.00.

Friesen, J. J., et al. eds. *Grunthal History*. Steinbach, Manitoba, 1974, 271 pp.

Garrett, James Leo, ed. *Baptist Relations with Other Christians*. Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1974, 224 pp. $12.00.

Groenveld, S. *Muziek bij het Lam*. Orgels, organisten en orgelmuziek in de Doopsgezinde Singelkerk to Amsterdam. Amsterdam: Verenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente, 1970, 99 pp.

Hess,, Mahlon M. *Gleanings from Our Past*. Washington Boro, PA: Masonville Mennonite Church, 1975, 104 pp.

Hershberger, Abner (ed). *Mennonite Artists Contemporary*, 1975 Goshen College, Goshen, Ind. 1975

Hiebert, Clarence. *The Holdeman People*. The Church of God in Christ, Mennonite, 1859-1969. South Pasadena, CA, 1973.

Juhnke, James C. *A People of Two Kingdoms. The Political Acculturation of the Kansas Mennonites*. Newton, KS: Faith and Life Press, 1975, 215 pp. $8.00.

Kaufman, Ed. G., comp. *The Jacob Schrag Family Record, 1836-1974*. Newton, KS: Bethel College, 1974, 220 pp.

Kauffman, Milo. *Stewards of God*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1975, 264 pp., $5.95.

Klassen, Peter P. *Kaputi Mennonita* Eine friedlich Begegnung im Chacokrieg. Asuncion, 1975. 166 pp. 15 DM.

Kornelsen, Mary. *Give Me this Mountain*. Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers, Ltd., 1974, 151 pp.

Kraus, C. Norman. *The Community of the Spirit*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1974, 104 pp. $3.00.

Leisy, Bruce R. *A History of the Leisy Brewing Companies*. Wichita, KS, 1975, 106 pp.

Liechty, Edward E. *The Plain People: Left Wing of the Reformation*. Berne, Indiana: Publisher's Printing House, 1973, 149 pp., $2.95.

Lohrenz, Gerhard. *The Mennonites in Western Canada*. Steinbach, Manitoba, 1974, 52 pp.

Luebke, Frederick C. *Bonds of Loyalty. German-Americans and World War I*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974, 366 pp.

Memoirs of Herman Jantzen. Missionary to Turkestan, Caucasus and Bulgaria. 1975. 147 pp.

Mennonite Central Committee, 1920-1970. Reprint from *Mennonite Quarterly Review*. Goshen IN, July 1970.

Neufeld, Woldemar. *An Exhibition of Paintings of Waterloo County*. Waterloo, Ontario: Conrad Grebel College, 1974. Reproductions of his Art.

Paterson, Edith, comp. *Winnipeg 100*. 100 years pictorial history of Winnipeg. Winnipeg Free Press, 1973, 120 pp.

Reed, Kenneth. *Mennonite Soldier*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1974, 512 pp., $6.95.

Rempel, David G. *The Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia*. A Sketch of its Founding and Endurance, 1789-1919. *Reprinted Mennonite Quarterly Review*. XLVII (October 1973) and XLVIII (January 1974) 99 pp.

Ressler, Martin E., ed. *Light Across the Years*. 250th Anniversary Byerland Mennonite Congregation, 1724-1974. 139 pp.

Schlabach, Theron F. *A New Rhythm for Mennonites. The Mennonite Church and the Missionary Movement 1860-1890*. Elkhart, IN: Mennonite Board of Missions, 1975, 40 pp.

Schrag, Martin H. and Stoner, John K. *The Ministry of Reconciliation*. Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1973, 131 pp.

Senn, Fritz. *Das Dorf im Abendgrauen*. Winnipeg, 1974, 97 pp.

Smucker, John R. *Jonas Smucker: Ancestors and Descendants*. Harleyville, PA: 1975, 124 pp.

Sommer, Ernst. "Die Melodien der Alten deutschen Täufer-Lieder. Sonderdruck aus dem *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie*, 17. Band. 1972.

Stoeffler, F. Ernest. *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973, 265 pp., $30.00.

Sudermann, Leonhard. *Eine Deputationsreise von Russland nach Amerika*. Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers (reprint), 1975, 95 pp., $2.50.

Swartzendruber, Maude. *The Lamp in the West*. LaJunta Mennonite School of Nursing Alumnae Association, 1975, 362 pp.

The Swiss-Germans in South Dakota (From Volhynia to Dakota Territory), 1874-1974. Freeman, S.D.: Pine Hill Press, 1974, 220 pp.

Volkmar, Lloyd B. *Luther's Response to Violence*. New York: Vantage Press, 1974, 181 pp., $5.95.

Voortrekkers en Stilstaanders. Vijftien generaties dopers leven in Zeeland. Doopsgezinde Historische Kring, 1975, 88 pp.

Zuck, Lowell H., ed. *Christianity and Revolution*: Radical Christian Testimonies 1520-1650. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1975, 310 pp.

II. Revolution, Government, War and Peace: Past and Present

Arshinov, Peter. *History of the Makhnovist Movement* (1918-1921). Detroit; Black and Red and Chicago: Solidarity, 1974, 284 pp.

Chickering, Roger. *Imperial Germany and a World Without War*. The Peace Movement and German Society, 1892-1914. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975, 550 pp., $27.50.

Durland, William R. *No King but Caesar?* Scottdale, PA: 1975, 184 pp., $5.95.

Enz Jacob J. *The Christian and Warfare: The Roots of Pacifism in the Old Testament*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1972, 91 pp., $1.45.

Hill, Christopher. *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution*. New York: Viking Press, 1972, 353 pp., $2.95.

Hostetler, Paul. (ed.). *Perfect Love and War*. A Dialogue on Christian Holiness and the Issues of War and Peace. Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1974, 170 pp.

Johnston, James T. *Ideology, Reason, and the Limitation of War. Religious and Secular Concepts, 1200-1740*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 300 pp., $12.50.

Kahle, W. *Geschichte der evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinden in der Sovietunion, 1917-1938*. Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas, XVI. 1974.

Köhler, Günter. *Pontifex nicht Partisan*. Kirche und Staat in der DDR von 1940-1958. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1974, 222 pp.

Kiraly, O. *Tolerance & Movements of Religious Dissent in Eastern Europe*. New York: Columbia University Press, $10.00.

Lattimore, Bertram Bresh, Jr. *The Assimilation of German Expellees into the West German Polity and Society since 1945*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974, 155 pp.

Maichel, Karol. *Guide to Russian Reference Books*. Volume I: General Bibliographies and Reference Books. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1962, 92 pp., $7.00. Vol. II: 1964, 297 pp., $12.00.

Morison, et al, *Dissent in Three American Wars*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, $1.95.

Odessa-Prozess. Gerichtsverhandlung gegen Gläubige der Evangeliumschristen-Baptisten in der Stadt Odessa, 1969, 96 pp.

Palij, Michael. *The Peasant Partisan Movement of the Anarchist Nestor Makhno, 1918-1921*. An Aspect of the Ukranian Revolution. Ph. D. thesis, University of Kansas, 1971, 432 pp.

Peachey, Paul. "Marxist Historiography of the Radical Reformation: Causality or Covariation?"; Abraham Friesen, "The Marxist Interpretation of Anabaptism" and other contributions. St. Louis: Center of Reformation Research, 1975. $3.50.

Rahn, Peter, Editor. Mennoniten in der Umgebung von Omsk. Winnipeg: Christian Press. 1975, 248 pp.

Vins (Wiens), Georgi. *Testament From Prison*. David C. Cook, 1975, 283 pp., $2.50.

Warmbrunn, Werner. *The Dutch under German Occupation, 1940-1945*. 1963, 338 pp., $10.00.

Weissman, Benjamin M. *Herbert Hoover and Famine Relief to Soviet Russia: 1921-1923*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1974, 255 pp., $7.95.

Wellenreuther, Hermann. *Glaube und Politik in Pennsylvania, 1681-1776*. Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1972, 475 pp.

III. Mennonites and Related Movements and Denominations

Arnold, Eberhard. *Light and Fire and the Holy Spirit*. Volume 4 of *Inner Land*. A Guide into the Heart and Soul of the Bible. Rifton, NY: Plough Publishing House, 1975, 539 pp.

Arnold, Eberhard and Emmy. *Seeking for the Kingdom of God*. Origins of the Bruderhof Communities. Rifton, NY: Plough Publishing House, 1974, 284 pp.

Arnold, Eberhard. *Sendbrief from the Alm Bruderhof to the Rhön Bruderhof*. Rifton, NY: Plough Publishing House, 1974, 55 pp.

Augsburger, Myron. *Quench Not the Spirit*. Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1975, 152 pp., $1.75.

Behrends, Ernst. *Wir Trotzen dem Irrlicht*. Bodman: Hohenstaufen Verlag, 1975, 320 pp. DM 29.80. (The sixth novel in a cycle dealing primarily with Mennonites of Russia which started with Menno Simons).

Belk, Fred R. *The Great Trek of the Russian Mennonites to Central Asia 1880-1884*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1976, 251 pp. $9.95.

Belk, Fred R. "The Final Refuge: Kansas and Nebraska Migration of Mennonites From Central Asia After 1884," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, XL, 1974.

Claussen, W. Edmunds. *Wyck. A Germantown Historic House, 1690-1970*. Philadelphia, PA: 1970, 183 pp.

Toews, J. G. and L. Klippenstein. *Manitoba Mennonite Memories.* A Century Past but not forgotten. Altona, Manitoba: Manitoba Centennial Committee, 1974, 354 pp. $7.50.

Toews, J. J. *The Mennonite Brethren Mission in Latin America.* Board of Christian Literature General Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America, 1975, 255 pp.

United Mennonite Educational Institute: Its origin and growth, 1945-1975. Leamington, Ontario, 1975. 85 pp.

Waldenrath, Alexander. *Pennsylvania History, XLII.* "The German Language Newspress in Pennsylvania during World War I." (Jan. 1975)

Weigelt, Horst. *Spiritualistische Tradition im Protestismus*: Das Schwenckfeldertum in Schlesien. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, 1973, 325 pp.

Vernon, Louise A. *A Heart Strangely Warmed.* Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1975, 128 pp., $3.50.

Wiebe, Frieda Penner. *A Penner Family History,* 1798-1975. By the author. 1975. 60 pp.

Wiebe, Katie Funk. *Day of Disaster.* The Story of Mennonite Disaster Service (MDS). Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1976, $1.95.

Zeefuik, K. A. *Moravian Mission and "Haagsche Maatschappij", 1828-1867.* (Dutch, with a summary in English). Utrecht: Elinkwijk, 192 pp.

A Renaissance in Dutch Anabaptist Research

Doopsgezinde Bijdragen

The Dutch Mennonites provided the early Mennonites all over Europe and North America with literature that they produced around 1600, as soon as the time of persecution came to an end. Among the books were confessions of faith, catechisms, devotional books, the *Martyr's Mirror*, etc. Also first books dealing with the history and faith of the Mennonites were produced in the Netherlands. The theologically trained ministers and the first missionaries were trained and commissioned in the Netherlands. Much more could be said but this may suffice.

From 1861-1919 the Dutch Mennonites published the scholarly magazine, *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, and before World War II a large number of historians, writers and theologians had devoted their talents to research in Mennonite history and theology, which was resumed immediately after the war. Now we have before us the first issue of the revived *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, 1975, published by the *Doopsgezinde Historische Kring*, Amsterdam, consisting of 128 pages with eight articles and book reviews. Membership in the *Doopsgezinde Historische Kring*, Singel 454, Amsterdam at 20 guilders a year which entitles one to receive *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*.

The following is a brief synopsis of the *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, 1975. The editor, Dirk Visser, relates that when the magazine under the same name was started in 1861 the editor of that day assured his readers that they need not fear being bothered with any *Doopsgezinde leer* (Mennonite doctrines). The present editor assures his readers that "we are convinced of the significance of the *Doperse leer*."

The first three articles give a broad summary of research and publications dealing with Mennonite history and thought. H. W. Meihuizen covers the time till 1950 and J. P. Jacobszoon presents research and publications to 1955 including foreign countries. I. B. Horst deals with research in Radical Reformation devoted to basic views and issues in Anabaptist and related history and theology. All three have extensive bibliographies which serve as helpful guides to recent publications.

In a second article by Meihuizen he presents in *De bronnen voor een geschiedenis van de eerste doperse doopstoediening*, we find valuable information about the first Anabaptist baptism in early sources some of which had not been known previously.

S. L. Verheus sketches the history of the Mennonite church of Amersfoort while M. M. Doornik-Hoogeraad presents the history of the Mennonite church of Zutphen. S. Groenveld gives a detailed statistical report on the decline of the Mennonite church membership between 1700-1850. This is followed by eight book reviews and the minutes of the first two meetings of the *Doopsgezinde Historische Kring* in 1974 and a very impressive list of members filling three double column pages. The *D. H. K.* is also publishing a series of Anabaptist writings in modern Dutch.

In addition to this Mennonite Historical Society (*D.H.K.*) there exists for some time *CUDAN* (*Commissie tot Uitgave van Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica*) which is devoted to preparing and publishing Dutch Anabaptist sources. This is in a way a continuation of the published four volumes in the series of *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*. The first volume in the *CUDAN* series: *Documents Anabaptistica Neerlandica*, Vol. I, *Friesland en Groningen* (1530-1550), edited by A. F. Mellink, in the series *Kerkhistorische Bijdragen*, Vol. VI, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1975, 199 pp. 44 guilders is off the press. CUDAN also regularly publishes bulletins with progress reports and publication plans.

Cornelius Krahn

FIVE YEARS OF MENNONITE LIFE
INDEX 1971-1975

THIS IS A CUMULATIVE index which includes all authors of articles and major subjects treated in *Mennonite Life* during the last five years of its publication (1971-1975). Such topics as countries, places, leaders, various cultural and religious aspects, etc., are listed.

Authors are listed by last name. Articles are given by issue, year, and page. The following abbreviations were used: Ja—January, Ma—March, Apr—April, Je—June, Ju—July, Se—September, Oc—October, Dc—December, Ma-Je—Centennial Double Issue.

Index for the first ten years is found in the January, 1956, issue, pp. 33-48; the index for the years 1956-1960 is found in the January, 1961, issue, pp. 39-48; the index for the years 1961-1965 is found in the January, 1966, issue, pp. 40-48; and the index for the years 1966-1970 is found in the January, 1971, issue, pp. 33-48.

The principal management of the Leisy Brewery in the 1890's. Otto Leisy is in the center chair. To his right is Otto Henn, brew master at Leisy's since 1882.