MENNONITE LIFE

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In this Issue

The Eleventh Assembly of the Mennonite World Conference will be held in Strasbourg, France, July 24-29, 1984. Diane Umble, Assistant Professor of Communications at Bethel College, is the producer of an historical film on Strasbourg which is being written by John L. Ruth and filmed by Burton Buller. She tells in this issue of an autumn segment in the story of the filming of this original work which will be a center piece in the program of the 1984 Assembly. The covers of this issue of *Mennonite Life* picture this great city of the Rhine in the time of the Anabaptists.

Elmer F. Suderman, member of the English faculty of Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota, in seven poems captures the contemporary significance of the Anabaptist circle of Conrad Grebel in sixteenth century Zurich.

Wallace T. Collett, Cincinnati, Ohio, industrialist and former chairman of the American Friends Service Committee, delivered the address on the evolution of the 66 year old AFSC as a lecture in the 1982-83 Bethel College Peace Lecture Series. The AFSC, which predates by three years the founding of the Mennonite Central Committee in 1920, has frequently been mentor, model, and colleague for the MCC in its program.

In August 1983 the Mennonite Church and the General Conference will hold in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, a joint assembly—a biannual conference for one and the triennial conference for the other. Joseph S. Miller, Archivist for the Mennonite Historical Library and Archives of Eastern Pennsylvania, has assembled here a brief photographic essay of the Eastern District Conference which is one of the hosts of the 1983 Assembly.

John L. Ruth—author, film maker, pastor, Harleysville, Pennsylvania—read his poem, "Lecture for a Limited Audience," in a Convocation on the Bethel College campus.

Three highly significant books are reviewed by historians Theron Schlabach, James Juhnke, and Lawrence Klippenstein.

The Editors

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Front and Back Cover

An etching of Strasbourg by an unknown artist from c. 1500.

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Genesis of a Film

by Diane Zimmerman Umble

Journal: Wednesday, October 6, 1982, France

The traffic swooshed by on the wet streets below the Mennonite World Conference Office. Strasbourg was cold, drenched in rain. I worked in the bedroom of the Kraybill apartment. The conference office and the apartment occupied one floor of a beautiful old building on a busy Strasbourg street. I sat back from the sewing machine to begin pulling elastic through the waistband on a skirt I was making. Myriam and I were frantically cutting and sewing costumes for scenes to be filmed on Friday. I slumped back in the chair and tugged at the stubborn elastic. My throat hurt, my eyes burned; a cold was coming on. Dishes clattered in the kitchen. It was almost lunchtime. There was too much left to do. We were running out of time. Location shooting began the next day. That meant that all the details had to be wrapped up because five days would pass before I'd return to the Mennonite World Conference Office in Strasbourg. I had to have enough cash for gas and food for a crew of nine. The remaining permissions and clearances had to be finalized. Props and supplies had to be packed. And I still hadn't found the horse we needed for Friday's scene. I worried most about the elusive horse and the some 150 costumes for Saturday night's scene. As I sat down to lunch, I went down my mental list of all that remained to be done. Over the next twelve days we were scheduled to film at 26 different locations in Alsace; most of those out of doors. I was on the verge of feeling overwhelmed. I put on my calm exterior. But inside a voice was calling, "Help! Help!" I wondered how I had ever gotten myself involved in producing a film in France for the 1984 Mennonite World Conference.

While we were eating the doorbell rang. A French Mennonite woman and daughter had made an hour-long drive to Strasbourg to help us sew. She had even brought another sewing machine. By afternoon we had five pairs of hands working on costumes instead of two. By evening, the only work remaining was some hemming.

Our experience on that rainy Wednesday afternoon was not an exceptional event in the life-cycle of this film project. Often when I felt that we were trying the impossible, someone would arrive to help.

Two years of preparation had brought us to that Wednesday—the day before filming began. The idea for a film on Strasbourg for the 1984 Mennonite World Conference was born and buried and resurrected at least twice during those two years. Each time, it was brought back to life by people who believed in the idea and were willing to offer themselves, their time and talents or their money to make the idea a reality. The theme for the 1984 Mennonite World Conference, "God's People Serve and Hope" could well be the motto for this film production.

Many film proposals are born and buried in meetings. The genesis of this one was no exception. The first proposal came from Paul Kraybill, Executive Secretary of Mennonite World Conference, as a result of promptings he heard from those he talked with about their hopes and dreams for the 1984 Mennonite World Conference. The idea was tested widely among church leaders, historians, writers, filmmakers, and the Mennonite World Conference Executive Committee.

The original film proposal called for the production of a 90 minute historical drama, telling the story of the Anabaptist experiences in sixteenth century Strasbourg. The city had been a place of refuge for Anabaptist leaders during the 1520's and 1530's and was rich in anecdotes about their encounters with the city and her people.

The idea of a 90 minute historical drama was put to rest in December of 1980, after counsel from filmmakers and historians suggested that such a project might be beyond the financial and artistic resources of the Mennonite community.

Then, in the spring of 1981, John Ruth submitted a proposal for a half hour documentary film on the Anabaptist encounter with Strasbourg. Again the proposal was broadly tested, particularly with the Mennonite World Conference Executive Committee and within the French Mennonite Community. The Mennonite World Conference Executive Committee approved the proposal on the condition that funds could be raised outside the conference budget.

The French response to the first proposal was a mixture of interest and disbelief. Such a proposal was beyond the imagination and resources of the 2,000-member French Mennonite Church. The documentary idea seemed manageable. The French were flattered that others

felt their history was important. Some were concerned about how contemporary French Mennonites would be portrayed. And while they were willing to help as they could, the French felt that they did not have resources to produce the film themselves. If North Americans wanted to produce it, the film could premiere at the 1984 Assembly in Strasbourg and be considered a North American contribution to the conference.

Now the meetings began in earnest. The proposal was revised. The budget was reworked. The first budget draft inched just over $100,000. The second draft totaled $85,000. Budget building was a complicated process. We had to consider changes in the inflation rate, increases in cost in film stock and processing, and fluctuations in transportation costs and in the exchange rate between French francs and American dollars. A script writer, a cinematographer and a producer had to be found. And we had to raise the money.

Paul Kraybill asked me to serve as producer. A producer is responsible to see that the project is completed within the parameters of the proposed content, on schedule and within budget. My job was to pull together a team of persons and to provide an atmosphere that would allow them to do their best work.

By the fall of 1981, Paul and I had developed preliminary working agreements with John Ruth as writer/director and Burton Buller as cinematographer and production coordinator. Mid-January 1982 was set as execution time. By then we had to make a commitment to the writer and cinematographer. We could not delay the beginning of the project too long and hope to have it completed by July 1984. If we had a portion of the budget committed, we would proceed. If we had few commitments, we would allow the project to die. By the end of December, the outlook was bleak.

But on January 18, 1982, we received the signal that we needed—a major pledge from a Mennonite businessman and his family. The proposal now had new life. We were one step closer to moving the proposal from words on paper to images on film.

The meetings continued, of course. Supervisory and distribution responsibilities were accepted by Daystar, a young production and distribution organization. John Ruth began doing research and writing, spending several weeks in France. Burton Buller ordered film stock, arranged for equipment and started looking for crew members. I concentrated on raising money and looking after details: exchange rates, passports, permits for taking filmmaking equipment through customs, and flights.

Interest and enthusiasm began to grow. People in France began offering their help. Some were volunteering to serve as actors and actresses. Others freely shared their family histories. John returned to the States from his research trip bursting with ideas for talent, scenes, locations.

Strasbourg is a beautiful, old city—a film maker's delight. Some sections are restored and maintained very much as they existed during the 16th Century. Alsatian villages in the region often have remnants of city walls and city gates much like those Michael Satler could have passed as he and his wife traveled to Strasbourg to meet with reformers and Anabaptists there. The very pulpits from which Matthäus Zell and Martin Bucer preached are there. The tall, single-spired cathedral stands proudly in the center of the city, casting her shadow over the curious, the devout, the jugglers and musicians, tourists and pilgrims.

But Strasbourg is more than an old city. It is a modern city too, with television aerials and neon signs and noisy traffic. Huge tankers anchor at her docks not far from the tower where Melchior Hoffman preached his vision of Christ's kingdom from his prison window. And today the members of a Mennonite fellowship gather not far from where their Anabaptist forefathers and mothers gathered for preaching and teaching and prayer and baptism The parallels between the 16th century Anabaptists and today's Mennonites around the world exist at other levels too. One reason Anabaptists were finally asked to leave Strasbourg was because the men refused to swear to take up arms to defend the city. North American, South American, and African Mennonites face the same questions: questions of obedience and faithfulness. Pilgram Marpeck was asked to leave the city when he refused the request of the city fathers to stop preaching and re-baptising his fellow forestry workers. Marpeck claimed loyalty to a higher authority than that of civil authority. As the Mennonite family regathers in Strasbourg in 1984, we bring the

This Anabaptist cell meeting was re-created in a room in the Alsatian Museum in Strasbourg.

same messages of obedience to Christ, faithfulness to His kingdom, hope and peace.

By the fall of 1982, the time had come to translate those stories, themes and snatches of history into images. John wanted to recreate short scenes that represented the Anabaptist experiences in Strasbourg: Michael and Maria Sattler on their journey to Strasbourg, Sattler meeting with Bucer, forester Pilgram Marpeck working in the forest and later defending his preaching before the city council, Melchior Hoffman preaching from the tower window, Katrina Zell welcoming weary Anabaptist travelers to her home, a cell meeting, a forest worship service.

Locations had to be selected. Actors and actresses had to be found. Costumes and sixteenth century props had to be selected. Permissions had to be secured.

Meanwhile Burton pulled together a crew. Mary Buller, Nebraska, would do continuity. Her task was to record and number each shot, take, and roll of film. Jim Clymer from California, would do audio. Max Wiedmer from France, would be grip (equipment manager). And Nobert Funk, West Germany, would be our electrician.

When I left for France in September, I had two and a half weeks to finalize the arrangements that would make filming possible. I had to secure permission to film at the places John had selected. Bank accounts and bookkeeping procedures had to be established. Lodging, feeding, and transportation for the cast and crew had to be arranged. We needed to find a laboratory to process our film, a place to rent costumes, a horse, and a boat. We needed permission to cut down a few trees in the Vosges Mountains, to walk a horse through a vineyard, to film artifacts in museums, to film students in a university classroom, to film debate during the European Parliament Sessions.

After John and I arrived in Strasbourg, my first step was to look for help. The Mennonite World Conference staff provided good support. In addition, I needed someone I could take with me, someone who was familiar with Strasbourg and the Alsace, who understood English and spoke French, who was Mennonite, who was available for the next three weeks, and who was willing to work for an honorarium. I interviewed a young Mennonite man, newly married, who lived in Strasbourg. By training he was an engineer, but he had no job. The next day he and his wife, Myriam, agreed to help. Both Paul and Myriam had grown up in Alsace. They were well acquainted with Mennonites of the region. They knew whom to call when we needed information or help. They could interpret what we were trying to do when my limited French fell apart and John's Pennsylvania Dutch couldn't carry the message.

Sound man Jim Clymer, cinematographer Burton Buller, and electrician Norbert Fun prepare for the next shot. Burton has covered the camera to protect it from the light rain.

I wanted the French Mennonites to be involved in the process. I knew that some of them were uncomfortable with the medium of film. Others were uncertain of our intentions. Many just wanted to know what we were trying to do. I was most concerned that their first encounter with filmmaking, especially Mennonite filmmaking, be positive. And I wanted the whole experience to be one that generated positive feelings and anticipation of the Mennonite World Conference sessions, not negative ones. The French Mennonites rallied around us in ways beyond our grandest expectations.

Max Wiedmer and his family enlisted the help of four congregations in the Basel area to serve as Anabaptists for our re-creation of a forest meeting. Max's brother gathered hundreds of feet of extension cord from neighboring farm families so we could have lighting for that forest meeting. Jacque Jaloux gathered together over 35 men to act as members of the city council of Strasbourg one Sunday evening. Jean Jacque Hirschy helped to secure permissions from some of the village mayors. Fritz Plangue, an Amish forester, arranged for the services of five French government foresters to build a dam and cut trees. A brass choir played in a cold damp meadow. Many more persons offered us transportation, fed us wonderful French food, and gave us warm nights of rest under puffy feather ticks.

While Mennonites were open and helpful, our first encounters with the French bureaucracy were most frustrating.

Journal: Thursday—One week before filming was to begin

John and I met Paul Hege at the Alsatian Museum. We sought out a Mr. Klein— the clerk said he can't be seen without an appointment. We stopped at the Mairie (city hall) for

another permission. President Mitterand's visit to Strasbourg has taken everyone out of their offices in the city building. We returned to Paul and Myriam's apartment for lunch. At 2:00 p.m. we called Mr. Klein for an appointment. He referred us to someone else who referred us to the director of directors of all museums. He was not in. His assistant said we must speak with Mr. Klein. But we must also write a letter. We again contacted Mr. Klein. This time we got an appointment for Monday.

We made no progress on the castle. The secretary there seemed to know little about that one. We asked Jean Jacque Hirschy if he could make some additional contacts.

The mayor's office was the same routine. Paul Hege had made eight calls—was shuffled from one to another—finally to a man we could see. We're off. He's a technician who will help us. He had the key to the tower. We must call again on Monday.

It's 4:45 p.m. Where did the day go? Rush to catch the stone carver. He's gone but will be there tomorrow. Rush to look at fabric. It's promising. Rush home before Burton called from the States.

Another day of rush and accomplish little. That's the way it is, Myriam says. We spent much time and got nowhere but frustrated. But we've made some progress. John had a long telephone conversation with Fritz this morning. Things in the Vosges are well. I don't worry there.

Journal: Monday finally some "yes's"

"Yes" at the Alsatian Museum. Mr. Klein was happy to share the museum with us. He showed us around personally. Heinz at the Interlinden Museum also gave his consent. He was much younger and spoke no German, but English he does.

Then to Kaysersberg, frantically, because we were late. The man there gave us a personalized tour of the rooms, buildings, including a crypt of the bones of 20,000 persons. A sign above the bones said "Awaiting the Resurrection, Master beside Servant." This town is marvelous. We'll find our hearing room here and our fountain.

The day before filming began (the day Mrs. Hege and her daughter helped us make costumes) was also the day we received a call from the Mennonites in Colmar reporting they had found a horse, someone who was willing to load and unload her, and a truck to take her from location to location. On Thursday, John and I and Paul and Myriam joined the other crew members at the Wiedmer farm near Basel where they had gathered. Thursday was rainy. Friday was rainy.

Journal—Friday

We did film at Haut-Koernigsburg—after an almost major brush with a minor French official. He was convinced we did not have authorization. We were convinced we did. We rearranged the afternoon shooting schedule in a downpour, cancelling the Hunawihr scenes and filming the weaving scenes instead —that is after a two and a half hour hiatus to take some of our crew to a doctor for colds.

Our horse, Coguette, is partly blind—"she can't see until noon", her owner said. But she was cooperative. Our Sattler and Mrs. Sattler were also good sports, even in the rain. So with the bad weather and the colds, we're not behind schedule. Tomorrow will be more difficult to cope with if the weather is bad.

Journal—Saturday

The owner of the vineyard shared his grapes as we filmed in the vineyard this morning. By afternoon, we arrived at a Mennonite farm near Basel, the sight for the re-creation of the Anabaptist forest meeting. I was worried about the scene. We had asked for about 200 people to arrive in costumes. Drawings and instructions for the costumes had been circulated in the congregations. I wondered if anyone would come, especially when a drizzle began to fall about 3:00 oclock. By 5:00 we had over 100 people, and they arrived in costume, carrying baskets and old rakes and tools just as they had been requested. We worked until after dark and then joincd in roasting sausages, eating homemade bread and drinking home pressed cider. It was a very special evening.

That weekend was intense. We had worked in eight different locations in villages and towns south of Strasbourg. We filmed a scene with over 100 persons on Saturday evening. On Sunday afternoon we worked at two different locateions with about fifteen men as we re-created the annual swearing of loyalty scene. Later twenty-five musicians performed in a farm meadow. On Sunday evening we filmed the scene of the Strasbourg city council involv-

Burton Buller, John Ruth and Mary Buller study a shot in the failing light.

ing about 40 men. We had to completely set up and strike, pack and unpack lights, cameras, recorders, tripods, cables, cords, and costumes at each location. The crew members were taxed to their limits, adapting to rain, cold, changing lighting conditions, schedule changes. By the third day, the crew had become a well organized team, each person going about his or her job quickly, efficiently and with amazing good humor.

Each day after that was packed with filming. We filmed exteriors of the cathedral in Strasbourg, tugs and tanker traffic on the Rhine and Ill Rivers, debate in six languages in the Parliament of Europe, an Anabaptist cell meeting in a room in the Alsatian Museum, a re-creation of Melchior Hoffman's preaching from the prison window near the covered bridges. We had traveled North to the Vosges where French foresters cut and loaded logs, building a temporary dam. We filmed the Thanksgiving worship service at the Geisberg congregation and interviewed a young French conscientious objector who was doing his alternative service at Mont des Oiseaux, a home for handicapped children run by French Mennonites. We followed a young French Mennonite woman to social work school and talked to a young African Mennonite who was in Strasbourg studying to be an attorney. We filmed Mennonite farms nestled among the hills. We filmed sixteenth century art work and twentieth century graffiti.

And at each stop we met people—people wanting to know what we were doing, people who were pleased to hear we were telling a story of Strasbourg. We talked to many French people, bureaucrats, museum directors, village mayors, city staffers. All seemed to know something about Mennonites. Of all the permissions we sought, only one request was denied and that was because we couldn't reach the right person in Paris who could provide authorization.

Our greatest obstacle had nothing to do with fear or suspicion or even obstinance. It was the weather. During our thirteen days of shooting, only one day was without rain, only one day was not overcast. And that was the one obstacle over which we had no control.

By the end of those thirteen busy, wet days, we had made many new friends. The crew worked hard and had shared fatigue, frustration, laughter and exhileration. We had eaten a lot of French bread and cheese and fruit out of the back of our van. We had hilarious memories of trees that wouldn't fall, horses that preferred backing up to going forward, smoking campfires and people falling down in the mud. And there were memories of serious moments when we shared our hopes for

Left below, Michael and Maria Sattler (Claude Harel and Sylvia Hege) pause at a Kaysersburg fountain to water their horse. Right, Burton Buller continues filming in the rain. Myriam Hege watches in the background.

the Mennonite World Conference, our Mennonite filmmaking, and our hopes and dreams for the Mennonite church.

While the filming is an important part of the process, it by no means completes the project. Now narrations are being written. Then they will be translated into French, Spanish and German for recording. Music is being gathered for the sound track. Editing all those different scenes will occupy the next five months. Another short trip to France is planned for Burton Buller in the fall of 1983 in hopes of capturing some of the shots that bad weather made impossible before.

Meetings will continue as we plan for the distribution of the film, after its premiere showing at the 1984 Mennonite World Conference in Strasbourg, so that members of the Mennonite family from around the world will have a chance to share in the stories of Strasbourg.

When the film is completed, it will be more than shadowed acetate wound on metal reels. It will be intertwined with hopes and dreams and friendship, the participation of people working together out of their strengths to share their story. Mennonite artists have long struggled for visual symbols to represent that special something that Mennonites have; the strengths they have in community. When it comes to filmmaking, that image may be more clearly symbolized in the process than in the final product.

Upon Reading "Conrad Grebel, Son of Zurich"

by Elmer Suderman

I read John L. Ruth's *Conrad Grebel, Son of Zurich* when it was first published in 1975. I was impressed. In Ruth's account Grebel is a genuine human being, troubled, determined to find the truth, a saint with warts. I began jotting down information. I marked passages which I particularly liked. I unabashedly borrowed phrases from Ruth's book characterizing Grebel. I had very little choice. My only response could be a series of poems, a series heavily indebted to Ruth's characterization of the man and even, in some instances, the use of Ruth's words to describe Grebel. The following poems are the result.

STATISTICALLY INSIGNIFICANT

We did not matter much
George and Felix and I.
We had few followers,
left no monuments.
Our followers have become
"die stille im lande."
Statistically insignificant,
historians call us.
We witnessed
to obedience,
    simplicity,
        defenselessness.
We questioned progress.
Our story has yet to be written.
We have been dissolved in graphs,
lost in T.V.'s appeal.
Who will tell our story?
When will our story be felt
in the pulse?
Who will change the world
by telling our story
plain?

TRUE BAPTISM

On this cold January Zurich night
in Felix Mantz's house,
George of the blue coat
confesses freely his faith in Christ
His faith. Kneeling he asks me,
begs me, Conrad Grebel,
a sinner, for true Christian baptism.
What shall I do? What can I do?
I am no priest.

The cold January wind blows
across the like into our Angst.

I count the cost. I will lose
all I have left: citizenship
in Zurich whose son I am.

I do not know what to do.
But now I know: I do what I have to do.
Trembling, my good hand
spills unsanctified water
from an ordinary bowl on his bowed,
bold, fiery head.
Outside, the wind howls.

THE LONG JOURNEY HOME

Student of Ulysses, I was ambitious
to be first in eloquence in all Switzerland.
Candles flickered devotion as dark
as Ulysses underworld.
Basel, Vienna, Paris
were not my Ithica.
Barbara's dancing eyes were not
my Penelope.
The Sermon on the Mount
sent me into world's darkness,
and mine,
Christ's Ulysses starting
the long journey home.

MORE PRUDENT

If Conrad had only been more prudent,
he would have studied harder in Paris.
He would have read Homer more,
the Bible less.
He would have learned the iron works.
He would not have been impertenent
with his friend Zwingli
or written Vadian his brother-in-law
to obey Scripture whatever the cost.
He would not have rebaptized Georg Blaurock
or died so young from the plague.
If Conrad had only been more prudent,
more discrete,
he would not be remembered today.

JACOB GREBEL

My daughter is the wife of the mayor
of St. Gallen. Physician and humanist,
my son-in-law, Vadian, teacher of my son,
is one of the wisest, most respected
men in Switzerland.
My son, Conrad, lies in New Tower
in Zurich, my city, this Christian city.
There he must stay until he recants,
which he never will,
fed only bread and water
and bedded in straw until death.
I asked Zwingli for mercy.
He would not listen.
Two children: Martha in the Mayor's house,
Conrad in a dungeon.

DER ERSTE TAEUFER

Reared on the bones of Zurich's saints,
student of Homer, ambitious to be first
in eloquence in all Switzerland,
I became dissatisfied with flickering
devotion of candles, unable to shine
into the darkness of my soul's dungeon.
I had studied at Basel, Vienna, Paris.
I had listened to Zwingli.
I had studied Scripture.
I gave up poetry and eloquence
to become a poor scholar of Christ.

Now on this cold night in January
in Felix Mantz's house in Zurich,
George of the blue coat freely
confesses his faith in Christ,
his faith, and asks me, begs me,
me, Conrad Grebel,
for true Christian baptism.
What shall I do? What can I do?
I am no priest.

I count the cost. I will lose
all I have left: citizenship
in Zurich whose son I am.

I do not know what to do.
But now I know: I do what I have to do.
My good hand trembles as
I pour unsanctified, common water
from an ordinary hand on his bowed,
bold, fiery head and become
"der erste Täufer."

IN CUSHIONED COMFORT

I sit in cushioned comfort,
warm in the sunshine
streaming through picture window.
It's below zero outside,
but I sip a cold diet soda.
Four hundred fifty years ago
Conrad Grebel feels the chill
of the gruesome New Tower
on the city wall in Zurich.
His joints ache.
Visitors are not allowed.
He cannot go anywhere.
My telephone rings.
My car, motor tuned,
will take me to a library
Conrad would have loved.
The few books he has strain his eyes
in the dim light.
I have reams of paper, dozens of pens.
Conrad smuggled in paper and pens
to write his friends,
Felix Mantz and wild George Blaurock,
also in the tower,
to write his arguments
against infant baptism.
I write poems admiring Conrad
and George and Felix,
wondering, had I been in their place,
If I wouldn't have written something
satisfactory to church and state,
and, if possible, to conscience.

"Let us Try What Love Will Do"

The Story of the American Friends Service Committee

by Wallace T. Collett

The historic peace churches—the Mennonites, the Brethren, the Friends—from their very beginning offered service of compassion in the world while they were experiencing in their own lives the immediacy of the presence of the divine. The denominations originated in different geographic localities and have developed their own characteristics, but have remained very similar in their two central testimonies of an indwelling, personal relationship to Christ, and a dedication to striving for peace and justice in human society. All three denominations have created service organizations in this century that are channels for much of the external work of the churches: the Brethren Service Committee, The Mennonite Central Committee, and the American Friends Service Committee. These three agencies cooperate with each other in many important ways. Yet the denominations, and the agencies themselves, are surprisingly unfamiliar with the structure and program of their counterparts. It has been suggested that I provide an overview of the American Friends Service Committee, discussing not only our program but also our operating goals and principles, and whatever evolutionary changes have occurred in the Service Committee's work during its 66 year history.

The American Friends Service Committee is a continuation of Quaker service that has been underway since the origin of the Society of Friends in the mid seventeenth century. Thousands of those early Friends were put in prison for their non-comformist beliefs and practices, where they became aware of the inhumane treatment of prisoners and of the injustices of the English penal code. They formed a Committee for Sufferings (Quakers always form a committee) to assist the Quaker prisoners and their families, but moved on to work in the prisons to assist all prisoners, and to press for prison reform. Soon they were operating what we would now call soup kitchens in London slums, were starting the first Quaker schools, and individual Friends were traveling to Russia and Turkey and other trouble spots on peace keeping missions. There's a quote from William Penn, a valiant Friend of that first generation, that is a wonderful stimulus to Friends through the centuries in their witness in the world. Penn wrote: "Let us try what Love will do: for if men did once see we love them, we should soon find they would not harm us. Force may subdue, but Love gains." The Service Committee uses a phrase from that statement, saying that the goal of our Quaker work is "To see what Love can do."

The AFSC was organized in April 1917, for the purpose of providing service roles for Quaker conscientious objectors. The goal was to provide "a service of love in wartime." The American Quaker young men and many Mennonites were trained at Haverford College, just outside Philadelphia, and went on to France, where they joined British Friends who had been working there since 1914. They operated hospitals and clinics, they distributed food and clothing, they assisted in reconstructing homes and farms. Also a small group of American and British Friends did relief work in Russia, just north of the Caspian Sea.

At the end of the war in 1918, the Quakers were given the responsibility for assisting in the reconstruction of an entire district in Verdun, comprising 40 villages. On an early inspection trip, the Friends found five American army dumps, containing tools of all kinds and many types of building material. They bought all of that from the army for a low sum. They sold material at reasonable prices to those who could afford to pay; some was given in return for service work. Thus, the equipment and material was put expeditiously into reconstruction and from the proceeds of the sales the Friends were able to rebuild the maternity hospital in the central town. I think this process illustrates two of the important elements of the Service Committee's work. One is the policy under which the AFSC avoids making direct gifts of material except in extreme need, such as relief,—so as not to create dependency in those being assisted, but rather to encourage their self reliance. The other factor is the allowance for staff in the field to search out creative yet practical methods on the spot to move the project along.

Let me jump through history to report a current example of this initiative for practical answers to problems. Eva Myslevick was sent several months ago to Kampuchea (Cambodia) to devise a relief and reconstruction program for Quaker work in a devastated area of that troubled land. She found an immense need for building of all kinds.

There were willing workers, but no tools. So Eva consulted with the local workers as to just what they needed and then went down to Singapore. She found an agent who had experience in village carpentry and who wanted to be of help. The two of them decided on the proper assortment of tools for a carpenter tool box, and bought several dozen of the kits at a remarkably low price, much less than if the items had been sent over from the States. Eva worked out the shipping arrangements, not an easy task under the local conditions. The carpenter tool boxes got delivered to the villages, and the repair and building work got underway in a self-help system by the villagers.

Now to return to the early history of the American Friends Service Committee. During the war years over 500 conscientious objectors served in the Service Committee programs in France. The work in France was continued until mid 1920, and in the summer of 1919 the Service Committee sent a team into Germany to survey the needs of the German people. The conditions they found were appalling. The German children were severely malnourished, were suffering from tuberculosis and other diseases, and the people were in a state of almost total despair. The team's report and recommendations resulted in Herbert Hoover, who then was chairman of the American Relief Association, asking the Service Committee to take entire charge of the distribution of food to children in Germany. Thus began a major operation, with the AFSC feeding at one time over a million people from 2200 central kitchens. The program made the difference between life and death for thousands of German children, and we still receive messages of appreciation from Germans who six decades earlier received critically needed food from this program. There were relief and reconstruction teams also in Austria, Poland, Russia, the Balkan countries, with some of the work continuing all through the 1920's. The story of the famine relief work in Russia from 1920 to 1922 is particularly poignant.

It was in the 1920's that some of the evolutionary changes in the work of the Service Committee occurred. As the relief and reconstruction program of the postwar years was turned over to the local people, the Service Committee was called to other modes of service, International centers were established in the countries that the relief workers were leaving. A wide number of programs were conducted in these centers, programs to encourage reconciliation and understanding rather than provide direct relief activities. They were the forerunners for much of the international affairs programs of the Service Committee over the next 60 years.

The other evolutionary development was the beginning of service projects in the United States. Younger Quakers who had not been able to participate in the war relief programs appealed to the AFSC for opportunity to engage in humanitarian service. A Home Service Program was established in the Philadelphia office. It assigned volunteers to work in settlement houses and schools for Indians and Blacks. In 1922 there was news of widespread hunger in the coal fields of West Virginia. Soon a group of workers began a feeding program for the children there that lasted until the mines were reopened. Several other projects were conducted in the next few years in Appalachia. In 1929 the Service Committee was asked by the Federal Council of Churches to undertake a relief program for the families of striking textile workers in a North Carolina

Children waiting in line to be fed in the Quaker child feeding program in Dresden, Germany, 1923.

town. A feeding program was conducted for six months, and during this time Clarence Pickett, the Executive Secretary of the Service Committee, engaged in reconciliation with textile mill owners that resulted in the reopening of the mill. From the very first some of the Service Committee's projects have been quite controversial with segments of the American public. The Committee was severely criticized by elements of the press for becoming involved in this labor dispute in North Carolina, just as it had been attacked as un-American when it began feeding the children of Germany, our former enemy, in 1919. The Mennonites and the Quakers are quite familiar with controversy and criticism. Right down through its history some of the Service Committee's efforts for justice and peace have challenged the status quo and majority opinion, so that controversy has swirled about the Committee's work, dismaying but not deterring the committee members and staff.

Having worked diligently to heal the ravages of war, it is not surprising that the Service Committee soon turned to programs opposing war and promoting peace. A unique project was launched in 1927 when a group of young men and women volunteered to spend the summer traveling through rural districts of several states making talks about peace and passing out peace literature. The project was called a Peace Caravan. It was so successful that Peace Caravans became an important annual activity of the Service Committee. The Caravaners were recruited from young people of all groups of society, from Quakers, and other denominations, as well as minorities and always included some foreign students. Also Institutes of International Relations were conducted where problems of world peace were studied. They were staffed by scholars, were attended by adults from many walks of life, and were held on a number of college campuses around the country, including one here at Bethel College. My endeavor so far in this lecture has been to provide you with an outline of the origin of the American Friends Service Committee and of the development of its program for its first 15 years. . . .

It is necessary to telescope this review of the Committee's activities during the next four decades. We shall list some of the involvements of the Service Committee during those years:

—Relief services in the Spanish Civil War.
—Help in getting Jews out of the Nazi territories and assisting them as refugees.
—A Friends Ambulance unit in China.
—The Civilian Public Service Camps of the 1940's in cooperation with the Mennonites and Brethren.
—Support to the Japanese-Americans who were forcibly evacuated from the West Coast.
—Relief and reconstruction in post-war Europe. . . .
—Work camps for young people.
—Seminars for diplomats, attended by over 1500 mid-career diplomats.
—Relief and reconstruction work in India at the time of the partition between Moslems and Hindus.
—Relief and community development for refugees in Gaza and in Israel.
—Village development and literacy programs in Mexico and Central America.
—In the United States projects on equal opportunity of employment followed by projects for equal opportunity in housing.
—Medical and relief services in Vietnam.
—Intensive work in this country opposing US involvement in the Vietnam war.
—Establishment of region offices throughout the United States to conduct peace education.
—Service to refugees from the Algerian war.
—War for successful school desegregation in south and north.
—Assistance to migrant farm workers and to Chicano communities.
—Draft counselling.

Quaker United Nations Programs were established in New York and Geneva in the 1950's with Non-Governmental Agency status. The Friends Service Council of England administers the program in Geneva while the American Friends Service Committee is responsible for the program in New York. In both cities there is a Quaker House

Essen city cars transporting food from kitchens to the Quaker child feeding centers, 1921.

where luncheons and other meetings are held quietly, providing opportunity for delegates to consult with each other away from the glare and pressures of the UN buildings. At New York we have a staff of 8 to 10 persons, that follow issues that are of interest to us at the UN and arrange for several conferences each year on issues of disarmament and development. There are some wonderful stories of reconciliation and development of acquaintanceship and understanding among delegates that occur in the QUNO activities.

A similar program is conducted in Washington D. C. related to the government of the United States and to the diplomatic community there. This Quaker center is called Davis House where luncheon meetings and seminars are held.

We turn to a look at how the American Friends Service Committee is organized to accomplish its work, and how it is related to the Society of Friends. The charter of the AFSC placed its ultimate control in what is called a Corporation. There are about 160 members in the corporation, half of whom are appointed by several of the Yearly Meetings of the Society of Friends, and the other half are at-large members appointed by a nominating committee. All the members must belong to the Society of Friends. The corporation meets once a year, and throughout the year is expected to act as a channel of information and oversight between the Yearly Meetings and the Service Committee.

The direction of the AFSC is in the hands of a Board of Directors, all of whom must be Friends. The Board is elected by the corporation with nominations for 30 of the members being made by a nominating committee, the other 10 being nominated one each from the ten Region Executive Committees. The Board meets five or six times a year for two or three day sessions, with an Executive Committee meeting as needed between board sessions.

The AFSC has its central offices in Philadelphia in Friends Center where some other Quaker agencies are also headquartered and where there is a Friends Meeting House. Asia Bennett is the Executive Secretary, the top staff person. The program administration is divided into three divisions: community relations, peace education, and the international division. Each division is under the care of a division committee which is appointed by the board to provide input for persons who have both experience and dedication for the programs. Also located in the central office are the supporting departments such as accounting, information services, fundraising, and personnel.

A great deal of the strength and the program activity of the Service Committee flows out of its 10 Region offices, Each region has an executive committee that oversees its work, a separate budget, and a staff. The regions have a remarkable degree of responsibility and autonomy, since the Service Committee believes that programs can best be developed and managed by persons close to the social issue being addressed. Within the regions there are some area offices and some special program offices, so that there really is a network of about 35 AFSC offices around the country engaged in program activity. This constitutes a national network that is rather unique among the agencies for social change and for peace education. Kansas is in the North Central Region where Cecil Hinshaw, Dean Hinshaw's father, was at one time executive secretary. . . . .

The operating budget of the entire Service Committee for the year just ended was $15 million. A fund raising staff of 14 persons works throughout the country to interpret Service Committee programs and to do the asking which results in the necessary support. The AFSC receives solid financial support from members of the Society of Friends, but also receives significant contributions from others. We get grants from foundations for a number of specific programs, and have been gratified of late to have good grants from several European religious groups and government aid agencies that support some of our international service programs.

We turn our attention to the people who constitute the committees and staff of the AFSC. All members of the corporation and the board must be members of the Society of Friends. Just under 20 percent of the staff are Friends. The committee membership of the national divisions and of the region executive committees is also quite inclusive of a wide range of backgrounds. This inclusiveness is intentional. The origin of the American Friends Service Committee was almost entirely Quaker, with the

Distribution of food by dog cart in the Quaker child feeding program in Dresden, Germany, 1920.

first committees and the first program people all being members of Society of Friends. In the intervening years, as programs have become much more diversified, the situations have changed and the policies have changed. Three factors have been taken into account in the present policies. The first is the very nature of the programs on which the Service Committee is now concentrating. As our programs have moved more towards community development and community empowerment, our staff needs have become much more specialized and in many cases special professional competence is needed. For example, for recent programs we have needed a veterinarian to assist nomads in care of their goat and cattle herds, several doctors and technicians skilled in the building and use of prosthetic devices for amputees in Vietnam and Cambodia, and health workers of Mexican origin to assist in community development work in Chicano communities in Texas. In our recruitment process for these positions, we look for persons who not only have the professional and experience background required, but who also share and accept the principles which guide our work. Often there simply are not Quakers available who are prepared to accomplish the task.

Another influence on the composition of our personnel has been the shift away from emphasis on relief and direct reconstruction to projects where the aim is to assist the local community in achieving its own development and reconstruction. For example in the housing projects in the squatter areas around Lusaka, Zambia, we do not go in with a group of American workers to help the Zambians build their houses. Our small staff, including some Zambians, encourage the community to develop a system for cooperative self-help building, and then help in the training of the people so that they can do the job themselves. In AFSC discussions about program possibilities, we describe our role as a facilitator, enabling the local community to achieve social change and community empowerment. Over the past 50 years, as the underdeveloped countries have been moving out of the status of colonialism, they have resisted the influx of too many expatriates to guide their development, but have insisted that outside sources help them to develop capabilities indigenously. The policy of assisting local leadership applies as much to our work in United States communities as it does to overseas projects.

Anne Herkner, Robert Dunn and Edna Morris—Quaker relief workers—finding out who receives American food in a Russian village, c. 1922.

During the years there has been a growing internal concern that our testimonies of equality and inclusiveness need to be expressed and demonstrated within our organization. Early on, the committee established open hiring procedures for secretarial and support roles. More and more minority staff were recruited to work on desegregation and equal opportunity issues, and then on what might be called less traditional staff assignments. For instance, it was noted that most peace education activity both of the AFSC and other peace agencies neglected to work in minority neighborhoods, so we began to fashion peace education projects for minority communities, and recruited minority staff for these roles.

I don't know about Mennonites, but I do know that Quakers sometimes get to believing that they are living up to the requirements of their faith when all of a sudden they get shocked out of their complacancy. This happened for the Service Committee about ten years ago. At one of the annual round-ups of the peace education staff and committee, the minority people there had some meetings together when they shared with each other the problems they had in working in this Quaker agency. They formed what they called a Third-World coalition and in the next few months raised their concerns with the administration and the board. Over a period of many months a struggle over these issues continued throughout the Service Committee family. There was much for all of us to learn. On introspection, and with the help of somtimes impassioned representations by the Third World Coalition, we became aware of how the racism of our American society intrudes into the behavior and attitudes of white middle class Quakers and into the Service agency which they have established. There were some uneasy times, some deep searching for guidance, and a growing determination to overcome the problems, and create conditions and a practice of openness throughout all of the organization. The Third World Coalition was provided with funds for staff that could support third world personnel in their as-

signments throughout the country, and could assist the entire committee in reaching a new level of collegiality. A broad-based committee was appointed by the board to consider the issues and to make recommendations.

After wide consultation throughout the organization, this committee prepared a proposal for an affirmative action program that was put into place four or five years ago. It sets out goals for minority representation in all of the staff groups and in the committee membership. It also sets goals for the inclusion of women in all staff levels and committees. It encourages equal opportunity hiring practices for gay and lesbian people without specifying any goals. The plan provided for a careful review of its functioning after three or four years. A review was made last year and the progress was found to have been quite satisfactory, with the elements of the affirmative action plan having been embedded now in the personnel practices and throughout the committee's work. The plan is still in place, most of the initial worry about it has now disappeared, and I am confident that the AFSC is a better organization for having gone through this struggle. It is a struggle to overcome the legacy of sexism and racism in our society and I trust and hope that the Service Committee will remain sensitive to the issues. As the Committee proceeds with its intent to follow open and non-discriminatory personnel policies it must also continue to assure that there is an adequate representation of members of the Society of Friends spread throughout the organization in staff and committee. We have had the task of interpreting this policy in Quaker meetings and we are certain that the quality of the AFSC program has been enhanced through this more inclusive participation in the life of the Service Committee.

The decisions as to just what programs should be undertaken present tremendous challenges for the AFSC. Many projects go forward as a result of the initiative and deep concern of individuals and groups. For example, the committee members and staff in Vermont decided a year and a half ago that citizens should have the opportunity of expressing themselves on the nuclear freeze proposal. They began work to get the issue before their town meetings or on the ballot and the stunning result was a solid official citizen approval of the nuclear freeze, with large majorities in the voting. This effort has been followed all over the country in towns, cities, and states. So I want to emphasize that the AFSC procedure for program development includes a considerable reliance on local initiative and an individual commitment.

There are also nationally agreed-on guidelines and priorities which provide for focusing and direction of program. These are developed by each of the three program divisions, and are reviewed and approved by the Board. I like a sentence from the goals statement of the International Division: "Our values lead us to seek ultimate objectives that are unabashedly utopian: peace on earth; economic, social and political justice; and a life of dignity for each person, free of unnecessary suffering." The statement then comes to grips with the priority problems by listing the criteria to be followed in choosing where to work and just what to do. It notes that the AFSC is a small agency, that our work in itself cannot effect the major changes that we seek, and therefore that we should select programs that will have influence beyond themselves. Further, in all programs there should be a compatibility with priorities of the local people, and the possibility of local leadership and direction. And primarily, programs must respond to a deep human need. . . . .

The Service Committee has related to the human needs caused by the wars and disruptions in the

First appearance of a Fordson tractor on the streets of Sorochinskoye, Russia, in front of the Quaker office, 1922. "John", Russian interpreter and mechanic, driving. Others in photo: Cornelia Young, Rebecca Janney Timbres, "Mitt" the office man and Ralph the bookkeeper.

Middle East from time of partition in 1948 to the present time. We continue to work in the refugee camps in Gaza and in quiet reconciliation efforts throughout the area. Assistance for the huge reconstruction needs of Lebanon is underway. And I particularly call attention to another Service Committee book, this one on the conflict in the Middle East, published last spring and titled *A Compassionate Peace: A Future for the Middle East.* It provides a useful survey of the complex situation, and it also offers recommendations for ways to move to lasting peace. Many have read the earlier book, *Search for Peace in the Middle East,* published by the Service Committee in 1970—a study that provoked much discussion, that stirred up controversy, and that is seen by more and more people on all sides of the issues as having presented recommendations that are practical and fair—and non-violent.

Lastly as to International Division programs, I mention the work in Latin America. There have been staff and projects in Central American countries for years, working on village development, health services, human rights issues, and they continue, although severely affected in many places by the violence and insecurity. Interpretation work is done in the United States on the harmful effects of US support for the totalitarian regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala. ....

I now want to tell you of the deep seeking, over many months, for right leading in regard to our relationship to groups which are struggling for social justice and which may adopt violent means. This is not just a theoretical or philosophical issue, but one that arises often as Friends go about their relief activities and their work of assisting groups to overcome oppression. What does a Quaker agency, dedicated to non-violence and to "seeing what love can do", do when the group or community with which we are associated in programs for social justice resorts to violence, whether by provocation, by protracted distress, by despair? This issue has been faced throughout the history of the AFSC, and became a burning issue for the entire committee a few years ago. After months of consultations among committee and staff, the Board approved a statement called the "Board Perspective on AFSC's Non-violent Role in Relation to Groups Struggling for Social Justice." It is risky to try to paraphrase it, but I will risk a summary. The statement says that "our most basic pledge is to forswear violence and to affirm the power of love in all settings". Then it notes that there is a massive use of official violence as regimes maintain systems of injustice and exploitation. We should be open to working with groups and individuals that struggle to attain justice, always making clear our non-violent principles. Popular resistance to unjust rules initially takes peaceful forms through public protest and non-cooperation. When we have formed programmatic associations with groups struggling towards social justice, these relationships should not be terminated solely because acts of violence have been carried out in the name of such organizations, anymore than the AFSC should break off from dealing in love with the forces of power who turn to violence in the same settings. There are other significant comments in the *Perspectives,* and copies of this statement are available to those interested.

In reporting the substance and flavor of the life of this Quaker service body one must include the poignant human experiences that have occurred in the programs. I shall conclude with two examples where I have first hand knowledge.

I was being guided about the poor tenement district of Elizabeth, New Jersey, by Wray Bailey, our staff person for the project on community empowerment. Wray is black, a dedicated, sensitive man who has worked in our New York Region office for several years. He said that I should meet one of the participants in the program, and took me to the door of a very modest apartment, where we were greeted and asked in by a black woman of about 35 years of age. She served us coffee and we talked—or mainly she talked, with enthusiasm and pride about the block committee that had been organized and about the improvements that residents had already achieved in their block. And she told of being the block representative on the broader community project, and of the success they had had in upgrading their school, in getting streets repaired, in getting better police services. She said this was the first time in her life that she and her friends had realized they really could work together successfully to improve the conditions of the community, She added, "As I've worked with the folks from the AFSC I've learned that we really can change things, that I count as a person." ....

The American Friends Service Committee is concerned with the world as it is and as it ought to be. Louis Schneider, a former Executive Secretary, describes the role of the Service Committee as the practice of our faith. For 66 years the AFSC has worked in the world "to see what love can do."

The Eastern District— A Photographic Essay

by Joseph S. Miller

The Eastern District of the General Conference Mennonite Church was officially founded on October 28, 1847. During the 1840's several young ministers of the Franconia Mennonite Conference, led by John H. Oberholtzer, became convinced that the Mennonite Church had grown intransigent and incapable of meeting the needs of contemporary people. John Oberholtzer in a progressive mood printed a catechism, held children's meetings, and preached in non-Mennonite denominations, and chose not to wear the special clothing required of ministers of the Mennonite Church.

In 1847 Oberholtzer led a progressive schism away from the Franconia Conference. Oberholtzer felt that the Franconia Conference was locked into needless traditionalism on such issues as the (Old) Mennonite insistence on preachers wearing ministerial clothing, refusal to keep minutes of conference business sessions and resistance to a constitution for conference polity.

Perhaps of greatest concern to these visionary young men was the Franconia Conference's method of church administration. The Franconia Conference had no written church rules, no secretary, and no minutes. When Oberholtzer and the other concerned ministers called for change they were refused even an official hearing. Disinclination met disinclination and brother was against brother until sixteen progressive leaders of the Franconia Conference were placed under the ban for their insistent call for change in the Franconia church polity.

On October 28, 1847, these Franconia mavericks met at the Skippack meetinghouse and formed a new group of American Mennonites. They called themselves, "The East Pennsylvania Conference of the

Below-right. Ordnung der Mennonitschen Gemeinschaft *(Constitution of the Mennonite Fellowship) is the original constitution and the first minute book of the General Conference Mennonite Church. Begun in 1847 after Oberholtzer and his followers withdrew from the Franconia Conference this book was used until 1884. The record begins: "We, namely, John Hunsicker, William Landis, John H. Oberholtzer, Abraham Hunsicker, and Christian Clemmer, ministers and Samuel Kauffman, deacons, met in the Skippack meetinghouse, October 28, 1847, to consider circumstances in the Mennonite Church as well as the demands made by the so-called 'General High Council' at its last meeting on the 7th day of October, concerning a proposed* Ordnung [*Constitution*] *of the Mennonite Church undersigned by us as and to discuss the above named order."*

Mennonite Church." This new conference began with eight ministers, eleven deacons, and sixteen congregations and numbered about 500 members.

The Eastern District now numbers 32 congregations with 4,971 baptized members. The Eastern District of the General Conference and the Franconia Mennonite Conference are hosts for the 1983 Bethlehem, Pennsylvania Assembly of the Mennonite Church and the General Conference to be held in August 1983.

In this photographic essay are scenes from the history of the Eastern District Conference.

Above, Nathaniel B. (N.B.) Grubb (1850-1938) was a dynamic leader in the Eastern District and in the larger General Conference Church. He served on many community and church committees and boards throughout his life. Grubb served as the pastor of the Eden Mennonite and First Mennonite churches for many years. Along with his work as church leader N. B. Grubb was the first editor of the Mennonite.

Above, N. B. Grubb standing in front of the printing office of the Schwenksville Item *a local newspaper which Grubb founded and edited. From left to right: N. B. Grubb, editor; Allen Hunsberger, apprentice; Arthur Thomas, joint owner; Irwin Reiff, journeyman.*

Below, Andrew B. Shelly (1834-1913) was the pastor serving the First Mennonite Congregation in Philadelphia from 1869-1871. He also served as the editor of the church paper Mennonitischer Friedensbote *until the paper merged with* Zur Heimath *in 1881. Shelly passed away while visiting N. B. Grubb in Philadelphia on the morning of December 26, 1913.*

Right, Annie C. Funk of the Hereford Mennonite Congregation, Berks County, Pennsylvania entered the foreign mission service for work in India in 1906. In 1912, before completing her first term of service in India, she was summoned home because of the illness of her mother. Enroute home Annie boarded the illfated Titanic. *As the ship sailed from London to New York the vessel struck an iceberg and sank on April 15, 1912. Annie's family and friends were later told that she was among the missing from the "unsinkable ship."*

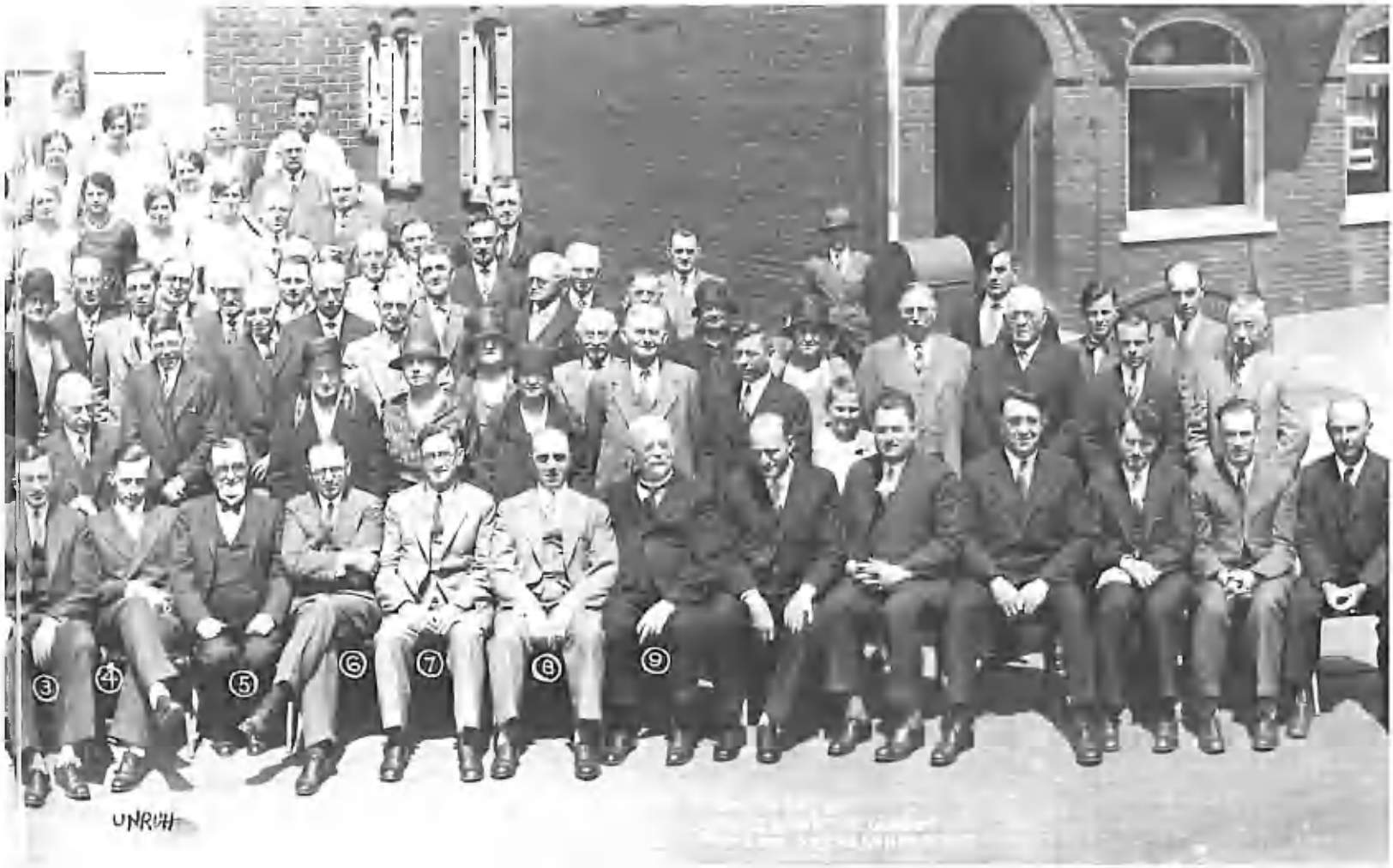
Above, Ann J. Allebach (1874-1918) of the Eden Mennonite Church was the first Mennonite woman minister in America. Ordained by N. B. Grubb at the First Mennonite Church in Philadelphia Ann became a minister in New York City at the Sunnyside Reformed Church. Her ministry in New York was due in part because her own Mennonite denomination could not find room for a woman minister. Rev. Allebach along with her Christian ministry was the president of the New York University Philosophical Society and vice-president of the Twenty-third Assembly District Women's Suffrage Club of New York City.

Above, young adults from the First Mennonite Church of Philadelphia. Their minister Rev. N. B. Grubb is in the back row second from the left.

Right, the Eastern District ministers meeting at the Germantown Mennonite Church in 1911. Notice the woman standing off to the left of the group. This may well be Ann J. Allebach who was ordained January 15, 1911.

Above, the delegates to the 20th Triennial Conference of the General Conference Mennonite Church, April 30-May 3, 1931. This conference was hosted by the Eastern District Conference and was held in the Perkasie Park in Pennsylvania.

Below, the delegates to the 133rd session of the Eastern District Conference held at the First Mennonite Church in Philadelphia. One of the issues the delegates addressed was the colonization needs that Russian Mennonites were undergoing at the time. The Eastern District agreed to work with the Canadian Mennonite Board in the effort to meet their Russian brother's needs.



Lecture for a Limited Audience

by John Ruth

Preacher Christian Halteman, of the Salford Mennonite congregation,
Wrote, in 1782,
On Easter Sunday, no less:
"There are two kinds of people in the world."

Two centuries later, as I preach in the same congregation,
I remember how, as I studied in the university,
A philosopher told me such thinking was embarrassingly too simple.
So did an anthropologist, several types of psychologist,
A sociologist, a historian and a theologian.
Also a European writer who came through and said
(Being quoted complete with accent for the next half a month),
"The executioner is the bond of the community of man."

A friend at a party did agree that there were two kinds of people,
For about thirty seconds, but then amended it to three:
Bad men, liberated men, and women.
There might be—it was conceptually possible—
Some bad women, too,
But you couldn't be sure which ones they were,
Because they had all been so immemorially victimized
That for the next while, at least,
Moral categories were not useful in this case.

Talking about "two kinds of people,"
My friends told me, was potentially dangerous:
A Cain-and-Abel type of dichotomy;
And we need as few oversimplifications as we can get
For the next century or so,
Or at least until we can get the computer fully humanoid.
It's necessary to realize, they said,
If you expect to be taken seriously in today's global milieu,
That there are *innumerable* types of people.

Having experienced this stimulating intellectual interchange,
It tickled me to remember how much gall old Christian Halteman had.
You've got to live in a small township like Upper or Lower Salford,
To believe what he did, or believe that some people can believe it.
As Shakespeare once wrote:
"Home-keeping youth have ever home-bred wits."

There are two kinds of people, this preacher said.

Now Christian had an ancestor, Hans Haldeman,
Oh, about a great, great-grandfather,
Who was branded in Switzerland with the Bernese seal,

And expelled into Burgundy with pus running down his back,
Because he wouldn't go to communion in the right church,
And he wouldn't fight for his country.
(His people also insisted they would tell the truth without an oath.)
His expulsion was done at the recommendation of some concerned clergymen.
The only valuable export Switzerland had then was soldiers,
And when you refused to respect the military system,
You were unravelling the fiber of Christian society.

The difference between kinds of people
That made a difference to Hans Haldeman—
Christian's great-grandfather—
Was that there was a kind of fellow-Christians of his
Who claimed a God-given responsibility
To have a red-hot iron applied to his back.
Maybe that's where those Haltemans got their habit of oversimplification,
Because Hans must have been sorely tempted to believe
(In the heat of the process)
That either he was a different kind of people than these fellow-Christians,
Or else that he and they were believing in two different Gods.
Being a monotheist, certainly, he must then have thought—
Well, you draw the conclusion.
It was very confusing for Hans,
And of course quite painful.

I trust he prayed, "Father, forgive them,"
But, as he felt the kiss of the iron,
Could you blame him (or his descendant Christian of Salford,
Hearing about this, or reading about it in the *Martyrs' Mirror*)
For thinking that there might just *be* two kinds of people:
Those who believe in a God who says you can kill
If you're morally certain it's necessary,
And have checked with your bishop first if there was sufficient time,
And those who believe in One who says,
"Thou shalt not kill, and there's no fine print to that"?

Two kinds of people, not psychologically, but theologically.

What I seem to be trying to say is: it's a fact
That there are people in the world who will use a sword
On human flesh,
Or an M-16 or an Enola Gay,
If there are good enough reasons,
And then there are people who won't do such things for any reason.

That second category does exist.

I've never seen a systematic history of it from Crowell or Macmillan's
(Well, yes I have, but it was a history of pacifism.
Christian Halteman, the farmer-preacher, never heard about pacifism.
He didn't say there were two kinds of philosophies,
Or two kinds of ethics.
In his parochial way, he said there were two kinds of people.)
I can't remember any documentaries on the phenomeon as such,
Not even on PBS.
And you know, they could do something like that, even on commercial TV.
A few good-looking actors, some helicopters and a haystack or bedroom scene—
You can make any theme interesting.
I even saw the Holocaust done that way once.
You could have a name narrator,
And use Joan Baez's voice on the music track.

As little as I read about this phenomenon in the *New York Times*,
I do pick up, in odd pages, evidence that in every war
(And sometimes it's not even a war, just some kind of polarization)
The strange species, the second kind of people, appears,
In of course statistically insignificant percentages.

They just won't fight.
Sometimes they'll even carry guns, but won't shoot,
Or they'll shoot, but never hit anything.
Stonewall Jackson complained about people like that around Harrisonburg, Virginia.
In World War I, one man used to go "over the top," day after day, in France,
With his rifle held flat against his chest.
He shook hands, once, with a German soldier.
He knew only two German words—*Mann* and *Liebe*.
He said them both, and the German smiled before walking away.

On the streets of Tashkent, I talked with a Russian,
In the 50th year of our comrade Lenin,
Who told me that though he served in the Soviet Army,
He would have died before killing anyone else, even an enemy.
He was a Baptist. Think about that,
Some of you liberals who think you own Peace.

This species, I insist, exists internationally.

Now I don't necessarily mean the people you always see on marches.
At the Washington Moratorium in 1969 I met a lot of anti-types.
One young gang with a flag was chanting:
"Six-seven-eight, Smash the state!"
"You're planning," I yelled, "to bring in peace that way?"
"That's where it's at, man!" one of them hollered back,
And marched on like any Prussian.

So I found my Falcon and drove back home to Lower Salford,
And there I read again this crude sermon by Christian Halteman,
My predecessor in the Salford pulpit,
Who had the gall to say there were all of two kinds of people in the world.

Now just how ignorant, though, is that?

I mean, there are some people who categorically won't kill,
And the rest of them will.
It's what you might call binary.
It's a funny line to draw, I suppose,
Because there are Christians on both sides of it,
And Buddhists, I imagine, and atheists, and even Republicans.

Certainly, there were masses of Christians who went on the Crusades,
When the *Papa* of the Church said you could enjoy killing,
But I'll wager there were a few who wouldn't have gone
Even if you'd have threatened to kill them,
Or if *Papa* would have damned them to hell for cowardice.

(I wonder what would happen today, if an American evangelist announced
A "Crusade for Christ" in, say, Saudi Arabia.)

I once saw an arresting cartoon:
A victorious Crusader enhorsed—the holy cross on his banner—
Had a paynim down on his back on the ground.
As the point of the Christian's lance quivered over the pagan's nose,

The latter gazed upward with sincere attention.
"Tell me," he begged, "about this Christianity of yours.
I'm terribly interested."

As I said, there are two kinds of Christians
(And, I often hope, two kinds of Moslems, etc.—
If you are out there, please write me before Pakistan gets the Bomb),
And I don't mean Fundamentalists and Modernists.
The dividing line I'm talking about runs right through both their ranks.
Most of them, when a war heats up,
Either say that the Sermon on the Mount must after all be seen as an ideal,
Or, if they hold to Scriptural Innerrancy,
That it doesn't completely apply yet:
What it is is a glimpse we can have of the beautiful Kingdom that some day,
If we take Jesus as our personal Savior now, and are born again,
We'll inherit;
Where it will actually be natural to live like the Beatitudes
(Loving your enemy will be academic; there won't be any.
All evil will be removed by Divine Fiat).
In the meantime we must be wiser than serpents,
And as harmless as is consistent with common sense.

So both Fundamentalists and Modernists, on this point, are in the same church.
They both carry rifles on both sides of all the wars.

What I'm saying is that there are millions of this kind of Christian,
But that there are also a few like Christian Halteman, the other kind of people,
Who say you have to live by the Sermon on the Mount
And accept any consequences.
Luther called them *Schwärmer*, fanatics,
People who think the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, already in time:
A species of naivete, often mainly rural.

Now, as a student of world reality,
I find that every ethnic group claims folk wisdom on this matter,
And has short-story writers.

Many of them seem to feel that if they could just share their secret,
Play their zithers, sing their song,
Do their dance on the world stage.
It might charm us all into World Peace.
When somebody from one of the ethnic groups does something good,
And the media ask them how they did it,
They often say, "Well, I guess it's because I'm a, an ----------"
And then they name their group.
Others, who feel no ethnicity,
Explain that they were following out their correct ideology.
Some say it was their sex.
And some, of course, give all the credit to the Lord,
Right on Phil Donahue.

Some people feel that it's the poets who will bring in peace.
Schiller wrote, and Beethoven heard music for, *"Alle Menschen werden Brüder."*
They sing this all over the world, in concert halls,
And for the moment, apparently, feel as moved by it as if they believed it.

The confusing thing is that in the crunch,
Ethnics, ideologues, believers and poets
Seem to rest their case as much on their bullets
As on their songs, their ideology or their Lord.
And all those groups have both kinds of people in them:

The kind that can use a weapon on other people,
And the few that absolutely can't.
(Catholics handle this in part by calling the latter saints,
Which allows them to be viewed as spiritual freaks,
Beautiful but not normative.)

It's funny, it seems that all the ethnic groups
(I should know—I'm Pennsylvania Dutch when it helps),
If they get a crack at cultural ascendancy,
Directly extrapolate from this to divine favor,
Or at least historic destiny, or something,
And then to keep this status, they do what Jesus himself wouldn't—
Rig threat-displays to keep boundaries sacred:
"Stay on your side of that line, friend,
Or I'll be forced to,
Reluctantly, after due deliberation, anticipatory expiation, legislation,
Or prayer, as the case may be,
Fry your hide.
(Nothing personal: it's simple deference to Nature's First Great Law
Of self-preservation)."

Now the small percentage of the other kind of people
(Too small to show on most graphs)
Refuses to be serious about these sacredest boundaries.
Conscientious, ethical Gypsies, you might call them,
With cousins on all continents.
They dream that they have property that moths can't eat,
And that thieves have no motive for stealing.

When the recruiters' posters go up, and the bands march,
The politicians and generals,
Thinking, as they do, of the greatest good for the greatest number,
Simply can't depend on this type of people.

The Pentagon, of course, is safe, as is the Kremlin:
There aren't enough of these people
To compromise the viability of the international order.
There are probably not enough of them, in any significant county,
To elect, in a fair vote, the dog-catcher.

But they do exist.
To use a phrase of Immanuel Velikovsky's,
These people amount to "more than zero."

Now then,
In addition to the people who are glad to have an excuse to kill,
And the people who are willing to kill if they have to
(Which are both subdivisions of an admittedly asymmetric category),
There exists this other species,
Who are willing to die if they have to,
But who can never,
By the Army, the Navy, the Marines, the Air Corps,
The local high school band,
The Pope, or Commissar,
Their priest or minister or rabbi or psychologist,
Or Satan himself,
Be made willing to kill.

A phenomenon is a phenomenon.
Christian Halteman was on to something.
There are definitely two kinds of people.

Book Reviews

Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival*. Copyright 1982 by the author and the Mennonite Historical Society of Canada. Published in the United States by Herald Press, Scottdale, PA. Pp. 640. Hardback, $21.95.

To bring the multiple stories of Mennonites in Canada together into one single, understandable account is in itself a major accomplishment, and Frank H. Epp is doing it well. For a small religious group Mennonites are perplexingly diverse, chiefly because of Anabaptists' and Mennonites' locating church life and authority first of all in the congregation rather than in the larger denominational or ecumenical fellowship, their historic scattering due to persecution, civil disabilities, and other trying circumstances, resulting in various migration streams and communities with their own histories, and their seriousness about applying Christianity in practice, a trait that however admirable can also be divisive. These three reasons have created as much variety in Canada as anywhere. Yet, like Epp's first volume (published in 1974, covering the years 1786-1920 and subtitled *The History of a Separate People*), this second volume of his *Mennonites in Canada* series brings the various stories together into one coherent and informative book.

After an opening chapter reviewing the many Mennonite groups, Volume II tells of the impact of Protestant Fundamentalism. From that topic it turns to discussing some conservative Mennonites' moving out of Canada in the early 1920s, chiefly to avoid having to send their children to public schools operated deliberately to anglicize and Canadianize the nation's ethnic groups. Ironically, as conservatives were moving out, other Mennonites in Russia were making prodigious efforts to move to a Canada extremely reluctant to accept new immigrants. They were trying, often quite desperately, to escape the wake of Russia's revolution, eventually including the brutal policies of Premier Josef Stalin. Those who got to Canada soon took on the nickname *Russlaender*, signifying their cultural differences even from those Mennonites who had come earlier from the same communities in Russia. The *Russlaender* story, with its tragic events within Russia, its dilemmas for Canadian policy and diplomacy, and the further variety it created among Canada's Mennonite congregations and communities, fills nearly half of the book. From it Epp turned to more specialized subjects, notably nurture and activities for youth; forms of worship and congregational life; economic struggles and formation of some Mennonite-dominated co-operatives during the Great Depression of the 1930s; how different Mennonite groups tried to maintain linguistic and cultural separatism; political attitudes (especially how those Mennonites who were still thoroughly German in culture viewed Nazism); and responses to an impending World War II.

Following all of that is an Epilogue, in which a strong theme is commonality despite variety. Indeed, Epp might well have used that theme for his subtitle. He chose instead, of course, the theme *A People's Struggle for Survival*. As with Volume I's subtitle emphasizing separation, the reader who appreciates careful qualification may judge that this volume's subtitle smacks of overstatement. Except for the dramatic stories of the *Russlaender* as they left Russia (an important exception, to be sure), and to a lesser extent those of conservatives who went from Canada to Mexico or Paraguay, the struggle was not for sheer physical and religious survival. And although Epp's account implies genuine heroism, what he recounted was not individual heroics. The struggle for survival in Epp's book is mainly against loss of clear identity and purpose, against cultural assimilation. It is a corporate struggle, a struggle of all Mennonites together, to maintain distinct peoplehood.

Much of the time Epp treated his theme more implicitly than explicitly, for his method is mostly straightforward synthesis and description. It is that, rather than extended analysis making full use of up-to-date scholarship. For instance, in his accounts of Fundamentalism, Epp seems not to have used the important writings of George M. Marsden for the Protestant side of the story, or some by various Mennonite scholars, such as key articles by C. Norman Kraus.* for the Mennonite side. Nor, to provide the larger social and ethnic setting, is there much explicit use of concepts from general literature on ethnicity or comparisons with how other subgroups were faring in Canada.

What of the book's balance? Quite properly, since it covers the 1920-1940 period, its content turns mainly around the *Russlaender* story; but should that have gone so far as almost to crowd out attention to

*Especially C. Norman Kraus, "American Mennonites and the Bible," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 41 (Oct. 1967), 309-29, and Kraus, Burkholder and Calvin Redekop, eds., *Kingdom Cross and Community: Essays on Mennonite Themes in Honor of Guy F. Hershberger* (Scottdale PA and Kitchener, Ont., 1976), pp. 103-17. Also helpful is Kraus, "Reexamining Mennonite Reality: Shapes and Meanings of the Future," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 52 (Apr 1978), 156-64. Another source might have been a rebuttal by Guy F. Hershberger to Rodney Sawatsky's treatment of Mennonites and Fundamentalism. Although it is unpublished, Mennonite scholars are generally aware of Hershberger's extended remarks, available at the Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen College, Goshen IN.

small groups such as the Amish in Ontario, Swiss-origin Mennonites who lived in western provinces, or the "Holdeman" people? Or on a specific subject such as political attitudes: the book deals at some length with what some Mennonites said and wrote about Germany and Nazism, to be sure an important topic—but it tells virtually nothing of how Mennonites were participating or not participating in Canada's own politics. And is there proper balance in devoting an entire volume to two decades? Volume I covers 134 years, with much European background plus settlement and community-building by a greater variety of Mennonite groups.

Such questions should not obscure the services Epp has performed in pulling the various stories together into one, in recounting the *Russlaender* story, and otherwise. They are merely some of the issues the book inevitably raises. And there are others, some of them at least partly the publishers' responsibility. The manuscript could have used more careful reading. In the category of small errors, it is rather amusing to find biblicist Mennonites identifying Hannah as mother of Eli (p. 450), and it is perplexing to find a book with the imprimatur of Herald Press consistently mispelling the name of Mennonite scholar Guy F. Hershberger, whose books Herald Press publishes (pp. 89, 618). The book's index left this user with the sense that there are too few main entries, particularly of individuals' names, and other omissions: e.g., in the entry for *Der Bote* editor Walter Quiring, no listing of the pages (523-24) of his biographical sketch. Among the chapter notes, hunting for instance for the meaning of the acronym "SAB" in the notes on Chapter 3 finally seemed not worth the bother. The text itself would be more precise if it had many more dates woven into it. On a topic such as Walter Quiring's pro-Nazism, for example, it makes a great deal of difference whether a piece of evidence comes from 1933 or 1940; but the text often leaves such timing unclear.

Still, Volume II of *Mennonites in Canada* is surely an intriguing book and unquestionably a worthwhile contribution to scholarship. Epp's style is always readable and there are sections with high drama: conservatives' deep dilemma and hurt as they felt Canadian government and society to be retracting earlier attitudes of tolerance; or the pathos of thousands of Mennonites (and others) camped in Moscow in 1929-1930 lacking resources and any control of their futures while Canadian officials dawdled over whether to receive them; or those Mennonite attitudes toward Germany and Nazism, to name only a few. Even the less dramatic parts consistently offer solid information interspersed with helpful insights and interpretation. The research is extensive. This volume, like its predecessor, is interesting to those who simply wish to read more about Mennonites. And it is interesting to scholars, whether of Mennonitism, of religion in North America, of ethnicity, or of Canadian social history generally. Like all history books it is only a human creation. But it is a valuable one, worth the investment both of those who helped create it and of those who buy and read it.

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Amos B. Hoover, ed., *The Jonas Martin Era, Presented in a Collection of Essays, Letters and Documents That Shed Light on the Mennonite Churches During the 50 Year Ministry (1875-1925) of Bishop Jonas H. Martin.* Amos B. Hoover. Denver, PA: Published by the author, 1982, 1128 pp. Notes, illustrations, appendixes, and indexes. Hardback, $45.

Amos B. Hoover is a remarkable Pennsylvania farmer, historian, museum collector, and lay member of the Weaverland Conference Old Order Mennonite group in Lancaster County. On his Muddy Creek Farm, Hoover has collected so many Mennonite publications and artifacts that it was necessary for him to build a historical library and museum. The result is a research center which would be a credit to any Mennonite college or conference. But Hoover has done it all as a private entrepreneur and as a committed member of his own tradition-minded Mennonite branch, without the benefit of academic degrees or institutional budget grants. The Muddy Creek Farm Library should be on the itinerary of all students of Mennonite life and history, especially those from west of the Mississippi who are not well informed about Old Order Mennonites.

Hoover has now gathered together in one massive volume the most important documents in Old Order Mennonite history, focusing centrally upon the role of Bishop Jonas H. Martin, who led the conservative group in the 1893 schism in the Lancaster Conference and who worked to forge an Old Order alliance with the Wisler Old Order Mennonites of Indiana and Ohio, and with the Old Order minded Mennonites in Ontario and Virginia. The heart of the collection is a set of 689 letters sent to Bishop Martin by other persons; only a few letters written by Martin himself have been saved. Hoover as editor carefully identifies the authors and interprets the contents of the letters. Some letters are in English, some in German. Some important letters appear in both languages.

The collection also includes some 500 pages of appendices and indexes with a great variety of information—official Old Order Mennonite rulings, funeral records, secondary accounts of Old Order developments, and extensive annotated bibliography, and much more. The editor suggests he has at hand sufficient documentary material for another volume of similar scope, perhaps to be completed in this decade.

The Jonas Martin Era offers a reversal of perspective. Mennonite historical enterprise has usually been in the hands of the more progressive or acculturated groups who have used their denominational instruments of education and publication to portray a history in which their own groups appear as the culmination of the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition. Hoover tells it differently. In this telling it is the Old Order which is the center to which others relate either favorably

or unfavorably. The touchstone is the "Old Ground", the charter values of humility, simplicity, and yieldedness by which the seductive innovations of modern culture are evaluated. Here the Old Order option is not something on the fringe of a main story which is interrupted to give more or less respectful attention to a conservative fringe. Here the straight line of history leads directly to the Old Order; the progressives are the deviants.

It is not a contentious collection, however. Hoover's intention is faithful and straightforward documentation of the past, often presenting records and stories which have never been printed. Considerable attention is given to the controversial elements of the 1893 Lancaster Conference schism. The letters themselves throb with the drama of human life—births, deaths, conflict, poverty, anxiety, reassurance, etc. Here we read how Mennonite humor survived hardship, as one Kansas settler wrote back to Bishop Martin in Pennsylvania, "We had very hot this summer, but the hogs has all their bristles yet." (p. 103) Here we have enough letters from women —including an agonized account about troubles with an alcoholic husband—to begin to form some pictures of the role of women in Mennonite life. Here we learn of a retired Old Order member who fashioned a mosaic chest made of 11,800 wooden pieces.

Amos Hoover would not want it said that he has produced a collection to be proud of, for his is not a prideful tradition. But all who would understand the Old Order Mennonite way are indebted to him. This is a collection of great significance for Mennonite studies.

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John B. Toews, *Czars, Soviets and Mennonites*. Newton, Kansas: Faith and Life Press, 1982. pb., 221 pp. $10.95 (US).

As many people know, the study of Mennonites in Russia, Czarist and Soviet, has become a flourishing enterprise. Published memoirs, historical essays, scholarly and popular, literary translations and transcribed primary documents have been appearing with increasing frequency, and some major integrative and interpretive works are on the horizon as well.

Czars, Soviets and Mennonites is a conscious effort, one senses, to begin the process of putting smaller segments together into a larger whole. Hardly yet definitive, even for the period of its concentration in the post-revolutionary years, this study nevertheless moves significantly toward the goal of comprehending fully the basic elements as well as the nuances of the Russo-Soviet dimension of Mennonite history as a whole.

The first four chapters are able to lean on the bulk of research and writing so far, in the period prior to 1917. Presented in summarizing sections of this material attempts to provide a background, indeed somewhat more, for World War I, and subsequent events which followed in the Mennonite "rise and fall" as an independent community in the Russian lands. The author is able to put into place here several of his earlier studies, particularly on cultural and intellectual aspects which had been less attended to till he focused on them specifically a few years ago.

Some important, earlier unpublished data comes to the fore in a chapter on the Mennonites in World War I (ch. 5). The same is also true for the treatment of themes on forced collectivization and the final chapter entitled "Terror and Deportation", in the Stalin era. The stories of migration, and the period of civil war are perhaps better known, although it was here also that Toews did some ground-breaking on the topic of *Selbstschutz*.

Several rather important collections of primary documents have given the author a fresh source of information, sometimes never tapped before. The B. B. Janz papers, for instances, or those of the A. A. Friesen collection, as well as the Benjamin Unruh files at the Weierhof in West Germany, and of course, the very rich "Captured German Documents", dealing with the Mennonite villages in World War II, have proven to be an excellent kind of raw material badly needed to tell the story in full. A note on Russian Mennonite historiography in the appendix provides a useful guide for further study.

There are some gaps, to be sure. A fuller treatment of the Russo-Japanese War, with its alternative service Mennonite involvement, or the decade right after that would have helped to round out the early twentieth centur part of the account. In some instances other research will correct what is known so far. It is really not quite accurate now to say that "exemptions were virtually unheard of after 1926" (p. 117). Many men were still gaining exemptions for alternative service after that time, and some continued to serve as late as 1935 (cf. Hans Rempel and G. K. Epp, eds. *Waffen der Wehrlosen. Ersatzdienst der Mennoniten in UdSSR* (1980). The focus on the contribution of Janz in securing exemption from military service would not be demeaned by noting more carefully the efforts of other men and groups such as the KfK (Commission for Church Affairs) to deal with the problem after Janz left for Canada, or for that matter even before.

It must be said nonetheless: the job is well begun. Here in Toews' work is further stimulation to create a sharper view of that fateful time and period of life in the Mennonite story. As the two hundredth anniversary of Russian Mennonite beginnings at Chortitza come upon us (in just five years), and as we gradually learn to know more intimately the present socio-cultural and political Soviet environment for Mennonite congregational life, we may perhaps learn a few more lessons for living in other friendly, or unfriendly, settings as well.

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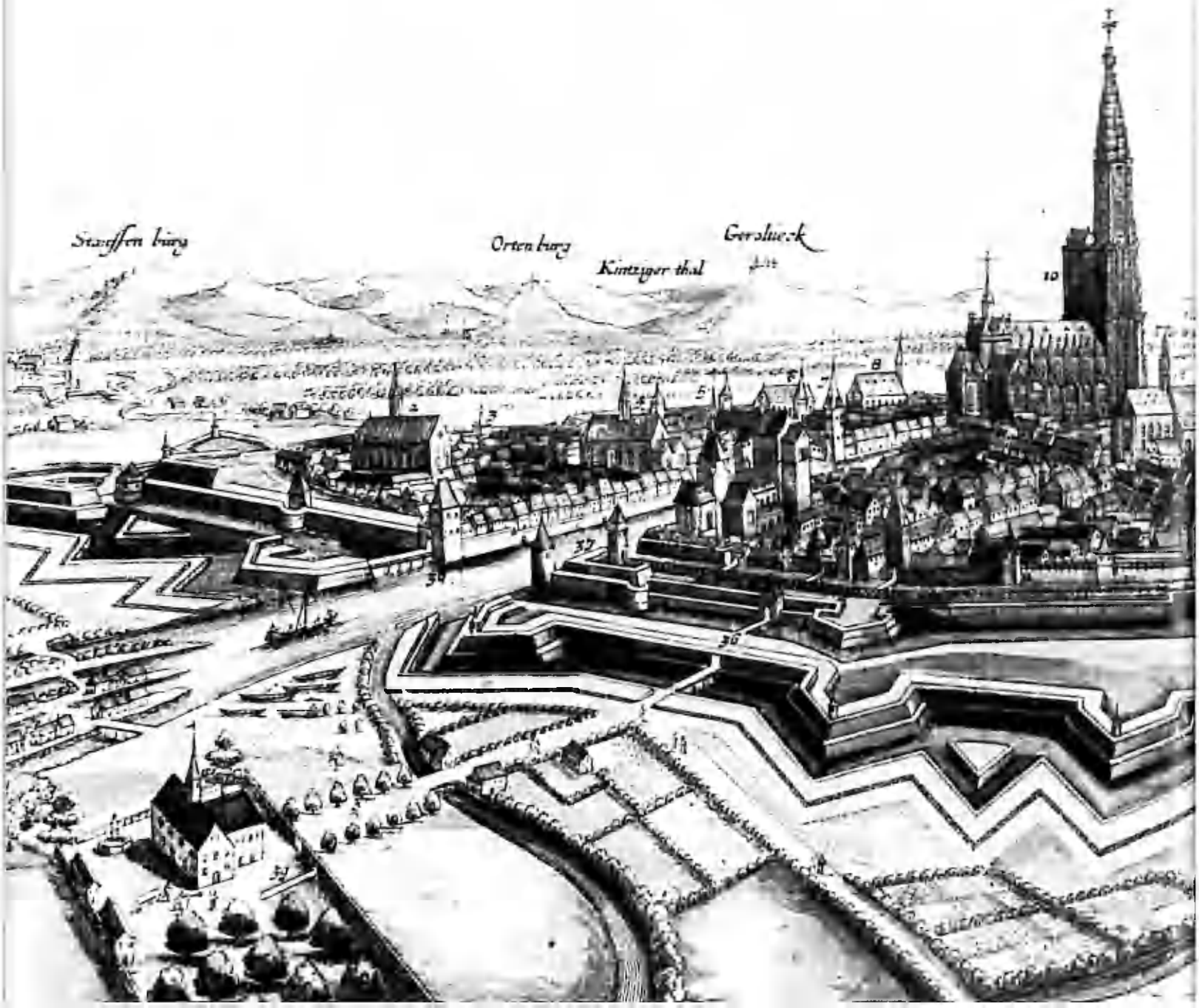
ARGENTINA.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