



The Mennonite Writer as Witness and Critic

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A case could be made for the argument that the study of history contributes to disunity and entrenchment of historical differences between people and communities.¹ The historical consciousness of French-Canadians, for example, widens and deepens the division between them and Anglo-Canadians. Similarly, a study of Mennonite history will not only make Mennonites aware of their Anabaptist beginnings and ideals, but also explain the reasons for the many divisions among them and possibly justify and even perpetuate these divisions. Coming closer to the subject of our symposium, a study of the spiritual, moral and social conditions which led to the formation of the Mennonite Brethren Church may justify the continuing separation between the General Conference and Mennonite Brethren Mennonites in Canada.

There is at least one among the intellectual activities which can have a unifying and healing--as well a disturbing--effect upon societies and communities, and that is art, including creative literature. Literature deals with the human condition, with issues that apply to people in their joys and sorrows, with themes and symbols understood by human beings everywhere. A novel, a short story, or a poem will of course deal with the particular--be it a theme, an issue, an individual, or a community--but the appeal and application will be to the human condition, regardless of the background or tradi-

tion from which the work is written. Thus a narrative poem like Patrick Friesen's The Shunning has as its theme a particular Mennonite belief and practice, but its appeal is universal.²

In its appeal to human existence, creative literature, regardless of its subject matter, will on the one hand criticize society and on the other witness to certain beliefs and values.³ This role of the literary imagination holds especially true for Mennonite literature. The Mennonite writer, coming from a strong Mennonite-Christian tradition, regards himself as a prophet whose function it is to witness to the values of that tradition and to critique his community when it deviates from those values. In his role as a witness and critic the Mennonite writer goes beyond Mennonite-denominational divisions and emphases, viewing the entire Mennonite community as his field of prophetic activity, although he will on occasion address issues which are characteristic of or peculiar to either GCs, MBs or any other group.

In this paper I shall deal with Canadian Mennonite literature, beginning in Russia and concluding with Rudy Wiebe's latest novel. It is pointless, it seems to me, to divide the writers into GC and MB authors, although I shall refer from time to time, whenever it is deemed necessary, to the writer's confessional background. The question I seek to answer in this paper is: What have Canadian-Mennonite creative writers to tell the entire Mennonite community and how effective are they in their witness and criticism. Only those authors will be considered who have been relatively successful in developing the Mennonite literary imagination. Of these select authors only representative works will be dealt with.

Mennonites in Prussia and in the first decades of their life in Russia had no creative literature to speak of. They channelled their creative energies into such practical arts as farming, community building, business, and congrega-

tional life. The literary artist was unknown among them and creative writing was generally suspect.⁴ This is not to say that Mennonites did not read literature. Besides the Bible and some writings by Menno Simons, they were familiar with the Martyrs Mirror, The Wandering Soul and some pietist literature like Heinrich Jung-Stilling's Das Heimweh. These books were literary works, to be sure, but for Mennonites even creative literature had to be of some practical or devotional value if it was to be taken seriously.

One of the first significant poets among 19th-century Mennonites was Bernhard Harder (1832-1884). In his two volumes of Geistliche Lieder und Gelegenheits-Gedichte, published in Hamburg in 1888, he expresses a warm piety and religiosity, coupled with a strong dose of didacticism. This didacticism, however, was quite acceptable to readers because these verses were simply an extension of Harder's concerns as a minister and evangelist among Mennonites.⁵ While Harder sympathized with the concerns of the fledgling Mennonite Brethren Church, he did not join it. Harder was, however, received well by the Brethren as P.M. Friesen indicates.⁶ Harder's poems and songs generally deal with religious-ethical issues which apply to any religious community, but there are also some poems which castigate the mid-nineteenth century Mennonites for forsaking their piety and the way of their forebears. In a long poem, included in P.M. Friesen's history, Harder begins: "Volk, das ich von Herzen liebe, / Weil ich selber bin dein Glied, / Mich bewegen heisse Triebe, / Dir zu weih'n dies Klagelied."⁷ What follows is a poem of ninety-seven four-line stanzas lamenting the lukewarmness and moral degeneracy of the Russian Mennonites. The thrust of the poem corroborates other sources which express the concerns Mennonite leaders had with regard to the spiritual condition of the Mennonite brotherhood in Russia.⁸

The religious-didactic element remained pervasive in Mennonite literature prior to World War I and in the early years in Canada. Jacob H. Janzen's (1878-1950) collection of stories Denn meine Augen haben Deinen Heiland gesehen, written in High-German and published in 1910, and his plays such as De Bildung (1912), written in Low-German, are unashamedly morality pieces intended to elevate Mennonite society to higher religious and educational planes. What is new in Janzen's writings is the author's concern for culture and higher education among Russian and Canadian Mennonites. Toward the end of the play De Bildung, for example, the village women in Mumke Wiensche's living room are convinced that higher education, about which they had complained before, is not all bad after all. As Mumke Siebatsche exclaims: "Weet uck de Leewentied!-mi woat so aundasch. Aum Enj es daut mette Bildung doch aul noch waut."⁹

Again, Jacob H. Janzen's concerns were generally well received by his people because the writer remained an "insider" and was most effective as an educator, minister, and conference worker both in Russia and later in Canada. While Janzen has not produced "great" literature, he belongs to those writers who helped to lay the foundation of Canadian-Mennonite literature.

What Harder and Janzen had done for religion and education, Gerhard Loewen (1863-1946) tried to do for a Mennonite appreciation of literature, culture, and nature. In his collection of poems, Feldblumen, first published in 1895 in Halbstadt, Russia, and then in 1946 as an enlarged edition in Steinbach, Manitoba, Loewen celebrates all of life, not only the religious. There are poems about nature, the joys and sorrows of personal and family life, the divine, and separation and death. Furthermore, in numerous essays, published in the Menno-nitische Volkswarte in the 1930s, Loewen discusses art, poetry and culture in general, seeking to educate his Mennonite readers toward an understanding of art forms and seeing God, beauty and life not only in the Bible and church activi-

ties, but also in works of art and nature. As Gerhard Loewen writes: "Halt offen stets den Blick für die Natur, / Sie zeigt dir des grossen Gottes Spur."¹⁰

How successful Loewen was in his attempt to influence his readers' artistic and cultural sensibilities, is difficult to assess. I suspect that for many Mennonite readers his articles on literature, culture and art were difficult to follow and appreciate. For fellow poets and writers, however, Loewen the poet and literary educator and critic was an inspiration.¹¹

When the Mennonite world in Russia collapsed after the Communist Revolution of 1917, Mennonite writers began to express their loss and woe in poetry and prose. In fact, one could argue, as I have done elsewhere,¹² that the difficult times in Russia became an important impetus in the early developing stages of Mennonite literature. Gerhard Toews' novels Die Heimat in Flammen and Die Heimat in Trümmern, Fritz Senn's many poems, and Gerhard Lohrenz's tales--all of these draw their inspiration and themes from the Russian-Mennonite experiences after World War I.

The greatest German-writing Mennonite poet is no doubt Fritz Senn (Gerhard Friesen) (1894-1983) who in the 1930s here in Canada wrote some of his most important poems. His poem cycle "Hinterm Pflug / Stimmungen," published originally in the Mennonitische Volkswarte, has come a long way from the religious didacticism and moralizing of the earlier Mennonite writers. In some of his most original and creative lines and images, Fritz Senn not only laments the loss of his earthly homeland, but also sketches poetically the blood-drenched history of the Mennonite people. The images of God the plowman and the Mennonites as the hard soil, aptly expressed in an article by Victor Doerksen as "The Divine Plowman and the Mennonite Clod,"¹³ express lyrically

and vividly the relationship between God and the Mennonites. In the following lines, the poet laments the loss of the Mennonites' identity and homeland and criticizes the Mennonites for exchanging their God-given soil and natural way of life for the glamour of Canada's cities:

Wir verloren alles, ja selbst die Namen
Der Ähnen und deren Lebenslauf.
Unsere Pflüge sind rostig und blind geworden,
Unsre Schollen wurden der Feinde Frass,
Wir schreiten in der Bettler Orden
Durch alle Städte Canadas.
Irrlichter wurden so viele Sterne!
Fragt nicht, wo unser Endziel sei:
wir sind die Pilger ewiger Ferne
Der ewigen Sehnsucht Kumpanei.¹⁴

While deeply religious, Fritz Senn found it difficult to join a Mennonite church and feel at home in the religious institutions of the people he loved and wrote about. Jacob H. Janzen suggests that Fritz Senn remained an outsider because he was economically poor and because the materialistically-minded Canadian Mennonites would not have accepted him fully as one of their own.¹⁵ The poet thus remained isolated on his prophetic watchtower, observing all, understanding and writing much about the "Mennonite experience."

If Fritz Senn is the greatest poet the Russian-Canadian Mennonites have produced, Arnold Dyck is without question the most significant prose writer among the German-writing Canadian Mennonites. Living in Steinbach and Winnipeg and being a member of the General Conference Mennonite Church, Dyck as a writer, editor, and publisher continued to educate his people in culture, art, literature, and higher values. There is, however, another element now added to

Canadian-Mennonite literature, namely entertainment. This is not to say that earlier writers did not entertain their readers - all literature seeks to entertain - but some of Dyck's Low German stories were written not only to teach Mennonites cultural values but also to give them reading pleasure. While his High German works, including his novel Verloren in der Steppe, are more serious and analytical of Mennonite life and culture, Dyck's Koop enn Bua stories are sheer reading delight. Both the author and the readers--at least those who still know Low German--laugh with and at the southern Manitoba bush farmers as they accompany them on their numerous travels, be it to Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, Toronto, and even to Germany. The Koop enn Bua stories are not slapstick comedy but very good literature written by one who not only knew his Mennonite characters but also knew well his craft of fiction. The humour, the entertainment value and the moral education in these stories are most effective because Arnold Dyck was an accomplished literary artist.¹⁶

There were other, less gifted, writers among Canadian Mennonites who wrote in German, but with the passing of Gerhard Loewen, Jacob H. Janzen, Fritz Senn, and Arnold Dyck, the first phase of Canadian-Mennonite literature came to an end. The second phase began when Rudy Wiebe published his first novel Peace Shall Destroy Many in 1962. In the first phase of Canadian-Mennonite writing the writer was more of a witness than critic; in the second phase the Mennonite novelist and poet becomes more critic than witness. In the first phase the literature is more didactic than artistic in nature. With the exceptions of Fritz Senn and Arnold Dyck, Mennonite literature in the first phase is not of the highest literary value, but it is a significant beginning. In the second phase the Mennonite writers seek to satisfy the artistic standards and demands by which literature is judged. The didactic and moral elements are still there, but these elements have become subservient to the techniques of narrative

and poetic art. The readers have also changed. While the German-Mennonite writers wrote almost exclusively for Mennonites--and possibly some non-Mennonite German readers--the English-writing Mennonite poets and novelists write for Mennonites and Canadian society at large. They also write with an eye to the reviewers in papers and magazines and the academically-trained literary critics.

When Rudy Wiebe in 1965 wrote an essay on the "artist as critic and witness," he perhaps did not know that in a sense this essay would become programmatic for the serious Mennonite writers of fiction in the second phase of Mennonite writing.¹⁷ The young Mennonite writer no longer saw himself in the role of preacher or religious teacher, but as some kind of seer who through the literary art form becomes the conscience of his society. As Wiebe insists, this prophetic role can only be fulfilled when the literary artist writes a good piece of literature. A bad novel or a mediocre poem will never convince, appeal, or give pleasure to the reader, no matter how lofty the ideals of their themes.¹⁸ Thus the writers of the second phase in Canadian-Mennonite writing strive for literary excellence, with some novelists and poets coming close to writing great Canadian literature.

In his novel Peace Shall Destroy Many¹⁹ Rudy Wiebe dealt with Mennonite problems of isolation so convincingly that some readers saw themselves and their communities in this work, and what they saw did not please them. The novel dealt with issues which were still alive in the 1960s. The author portrayed his Wapiti community as one which tried to maintain "the way of the fathers" through its German language and traditional ways of life. In the end the efforts of maintaining the status quo fail because the forces of assimilation and acculturation are stronger than even the strongest Mennonite characters in the novel and because the ways of the fathers, as interpreted by some Mennonite leaders,

prove to be false. Thom, the protagonist, is forced to find his way and ideals beyond his immediate community, namely in the distant past of the New Testament and within the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition.

Wiebe's first novel is not great literature. While the main characters and scenes are well developed, the work suffers from conventionality in form and overt didacticism. However, as a significant criticism of Mennonite exclusiveness and hypocrisy and a witness to Christian-Anabaptist values and concerns, the novel must be considered as a landmark in Canadian-Mennonite writing.

What Mennonites experience on a small scale in the tiny Saskatchewan community, Mennonites face world-wide in Wiebe's second "Mennonite" novel, The Blue Mountains of China, published in 1970.²⁰ The tension between the Mennonites' need to preserve their existence and identity on the one hand, and the world's attempts to erode and destroy the Mennonite way of life on the other is an important theme in this epic. In numerous vividly-portrayed scenes, reminiscences, and realistic dialogue the novel impresses the reader with the ability of the Mennonites to survive the hardships caused by circumstances, inhumanity and natural calamities. Some characters give in to the temptations and trials of their surroundings, but the positive values and Christian-Mennonite ideals inherited from their forebears enable the Mennonites to resist and overcome the forces of levelling and assimilation. The novel deals honestly with the materialism and secularism which have made inroads into Canadian-Mennonite communities, but in the end the reader is left with the impression that such values as love and patience, Christian discipleship, solidarity and brotherhood, community building, and concerns for one's fellowmen are still part of the thinking and living among the best of Canadian--indeed world-wide -- Mennonites.

Rudy Wiebe's Mennonite Brethren background deserves a comment here. It

seems to me that Wiebe's portrayal of human nature in the two novels is characteristically Mennonite Brethren. The emphasis on the sinfulness of man and his need for redemption before discipleship can take place is no doubt Mennonite Brethren. Also Wiebe's criticism of the Mennonite ethnic ways and his concerns about witnessing and evangelism, evident in his novels and articles, betray his Mennonite Brethren background.²¹

Besides Rudy Wiebe the only other Mennonite prose writer to receive critical acclaim is Barbara Smucker of Waterloo, Ontario. Known largely as a writer of children's literature, Smucker appeals to both Mennonite and non-Mennonite readers. Her stories have been translated into several languages, including Japanese. In Underground to Canada (1977), Smucker portrays the suffering and aspirations of America's black people critically and with compassion. In Days of Terror (1979) the Mennonite peace position is drawn against a background of revolution and chaos in Russia. And in Amish Adventure (1983), Smucker's latest book, a non-Mennonite boy experiences the New Testament ideals of love, forgiveness, and fellowship in a South-Ontario Amish community.

Of the Mennonite poets writing in English I shall mention four: Menno Wiebe, Clinton Toews, Patrick Friesen, and David Waltner-Toews.

Menno Wiebe and Clinton Toews, both of Manitoba, are deeply rooted in the Mennonite soil, but the concerns expressed in their poems go beyond their Mennonite world. In his poems, published in Mennonite papers and anthologies, Menno Wiebe writes about the Natives of Canada among whom he works, and urges his fellow-Mennonites to become aware of the needs of their neighbors.²³ In his poems there is also a burden for unity^{among Mennonites} and the Christian life in general. In a poem entitled "ekklesia" the poet prays: "bind us again / renew our bonds / to avoid / the frazzlement / that dissects / and scatters / lifeless limbs / of the intended / organic / beautiful body / we call brotherhood."²⁴

Clinton Toews, both a singer and a poet, has written some poems in which vivid images are used to good effect. His "Harlot and the Holy" is a hard-hitting yet touching piece about the question of purity which often results in self-righteous hypocrisy in Mennonite communities: Here are a few lines:

Their purist minds were very strong
and holiness condemned her on that day
They washed their hands and all agreed
to cleanse her heart from sin.
With one accord they drew their swords
and justly drove it in
In Jesus name amen.²⁵

David Waltner-Toews, a practicing veterinarian in Guelph, Ontario, has published several collections of his poetry. In his first two books, The Inescapable Animal (1974) and The Earth is One Body (1979), Waltner-Toews deals with art in general, life and death, and the sins of western colonialism.²⁶ In his latest collection of poems, Good Housekeeping (1983), Waltner-Toews transforms everyday experiences into poetry, and in the last section, entitled "Making the Days Count," deals with Mennonite themes and issues. In one of his poems, "Roots," he has Rudy Wiebe "digging a hole near Winnipeg" and "looking for his roots." Wiebe digs up a bone which the people of Winnipeg ignore, thinking that "it's just another drunk Indian." At the end of the day Wiebe still has not found his roots. At home he says to his mother: "Maybe you're right. Maybe my roots are in Russia."²⁷ What these Mennonite roots are is dealt with in subsequent poems of this section.²⁸

The most promising of the Mennonite poets is Patrick Friesen of Winnipeg. To date he has published two collections of poems, the lands i am and bluebottle, and a narrative poem, The Shunning (1980). In his earlier poems Friesen only occasionally deals with Mennonite themes, but when he does, his criticism of

Mennonite ways is pointed and sarcastic. In one of his poems he calls his people "stiff-necked Mennonites,"²⁹ and in another, entitled "Mennonite art festival," there is both humour and criticism:

her ears were pierced
had golden hoops
her fingers wore adamant
she handled cabbage rolls
as if chocolate eclairs
on her slender wrist
I imagined a hunting-hawk
at her feet bloodhounds
shadow obscured her eyes
and her red mouth was taut³⁰

It is in Friesen's narrative poem, The Shunning, that the history, faith and practices of the Manitoba Mennonites come alive. In scenes of poetry and prose, Friesen develops the theme of shunning to reflect on many aspects of Mennonite life. ^{He} shows that the desire to live and be free, to love both spiritually and physically and ^{that} the concerns for the brother and sister triumph over life-negating forces, confinement and death. The poets' criticism of some aspects of Mennonite life is as sharp as it is effective. Here is one such criticism

You know about some of our businessmen. The sharp ones / who pay their workers dirt. Who live in their big houses and say God has blessed them. I always thought we were to share / give our only coat to the man without one. We were to build a heavenly mansion not an earthly one. Yet I have heard one of these sharpies boast about how he gives work to the poor. That's sharing for him / I guess. I sometimes wonder if these sharpies know where they would be without workers.

You see how I don't understand things anymore.³¹

I shall conclude this paper with some observations on Rudy Wiebe's latest novel, My Lovely Enemy (1983).³² This novel is without question a "literary event" in Mennonite creative writing. The subject-matter of this novel and the questions it raises are both daring and prophetic. Portraying the experiences of Dr. James Dyck, a history professor at the University of Alberta, the novel deals with love and sexuality in a radical, even revolutionary, way. Professor James Dyck, who loves his wife, daughter and mother dearly, finds himself in the awkward position of being in love with the wife of his younger colleague. Overwhelmed by the sudden and fateful encounter with the beautiful Gillian, he discovers to his own surprise and discomfort that it is possible to love on different and several levels. In Peace Shall Destroy Many and in the Blue Mountains of China Wiebe dealt in several scenes with sexual deviations and guilt feelings with regard to moral failing. In My Lovely Enemy the questions of ethical purity and marital fidelity (or infidelity) are no longer black and white issues as they have been throughout Mennonite, especially Mennonite Brethren, history. The Mennonite professional has become involved in the secular world to find that his standards of ethics are either more complex and manifold than he thought, or simply do not apply in certain contexts of modern living. By means of vivid descriptions of love-making and the characters' reflections on love and religion, the novel makes significant comments on the relationship between the sexes, human and divine love, and the spiritual and physical nature of love, reminiscent of the Song of Songs and the poetry of John Donne. As unlikely as it may appear at first glance, My Lovely Enemy--in its dealing with questions of human relationships, divine and human love, peace issues and concerns, and a vision of a future Eden-like existence--is the most "Mennonite" novel Rudy Wiebe has written to date.

Al Reimer has suggested that this novel is an "MB novel" in that its central themes are sensual love and sexual morality, questions and issues which surrounded the emergence of the MB Church and which were generally repressed throughout the history of the Mennonite Brethren.³³ Be that as it may, for better or for worse, after Wiebe's novel My Lovely Enemy both Mennonite literature and Mennonite attitudes toward questions of sexual morality will perhaps not be the same. The Platonic separation of body and soul, the view that love-making is somehow tainted, and the self-righteous attitude of Mennonites toward adultery have been dealt a severe blow.

As was suggested at the beginning of this paper, no theology, education, efforts at cooperation, and no study of Anabaptist-Mennonite history will contribute more to tolerance, mutual respect and unity among Canadian Mennonites than creative literature which seeks to witness to lasting values and criticizes Mennonites and their communities who deviate from those values. By ignoring or minimizing the minor real or imagined differences which seem to keep the two Mennonite communities apart and by concentrating on the significant issues which are part of all Mennonites, indeed of all society, the Mennonite writers seek to contribute to Mennonite brotherhood and point to the spiritual values which all Mennonites have in common. It has been pointed out that when all lines of communication break, the story-teller can restore communication. This holds true for Mennonite literature as well. All we as readers have to do is to take our partly home-grown story tellers and poets seriously and listen to what they have to tell us. Here is the plea of one of our best writers:

The finest response that can be made to a piece of work that hopes to be artistic is that people who come in contact with it take it seriously and, with all their faculties alert, ponder what it is trying to do or to be. This is the greatest encouragement that can be given a writer.³⁴

Notes

¹ This is why Nietzsche suggested that history should be written and studied with a definite purpose in mind: to serve the life of present-day society, not merely as history for the sake of history. See Friedrich Nietzsche, "Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben," in Werke in drei Bänden (München: Carl Hanser, 1966), I, pp. 209-85.

² Patrick Friesen, The Shunning (Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1980).

³ See on this Rudy Wiebe, "The Artist as a Critic and a Witness," in W. J. Keith (ed.), A Voice in the Land. Essays By and About Rudy Wiebe (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1981), pp. 39-47.

⁴ On the reasons why Mennonites have been late-comers on the literary scene see John L. Ruth, Mennonite Identity and Literary Art, Focal Pamphlet 29 (Scottsdale/Kitchener: Herald Press, 1978).

⁵ Bernhard Harder, Geistliche Lieder und Gelegenheits-Gedichte, 2 vols. gesammelt und herausgegeben von Heinrich Franz sen. (Hamburg: Verlagsanstalt und Druckerei A.-G., 1888).

⁶ P. M. Friesen, Die Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Bruderschaft in Russland (1789-1910) im Rahmen der mennonitischen Gesamtgeschichte (Halbstadt, Taurien: Verlagsgesellschaft Raduga, 1911), pp. 743-54.

⁷ Ibid., p. 747.

⁸ See Jakob P. Bekker, Origin of the Mennonite Brethren Church. English trans. by D. E. Pauls and A. E. Janzen (Hillsboro, Kansas: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1973). Also Franz Isaac, Die Molotschnaer Mennoniten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte derselben (Halbstadt, Taurien: Kommissionsverlag und Druck von H. J. Braun, 1908), pp. 174-207.

⁹ Jacob H. Janzen, De Bildung. Lustiker Einakter (Waterloo, Ontario, 1945), p.18.

¹⁰ Gerhard Loewen, Feldblumen. Gedichte (Steinbach, Manitoba: Verlag von Arnold Dyck, 1946), p.5.

¹¹ See Jacob H. Janzen, "Die Belletristik der Canadischen Russland-deutschen Mennoniten," Warte-Jahrbuch für die Mennonitische Gemeinschaft in Canada, 1943, pp. 83-89.

¹² See my paper presented on February 8, 1982, before the Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana. The paper will be published in Walter Riedel (ed.), The Old and the New World. Literary Perspectives of German-Speaking Canadians (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1984).

¹³ Victor Doerksen, "The Divine Plowman and the Mennonite Clod. A Reading of 'Hinterm Pflug/Stimmungen' by Fritz Senn," an article to appear in print soon.

¹⁴ Mennonitische Volkswarte, Heft 5 (Mai 1936), Jahrgang 2, p.156.

¹⁵ Janzen, "Die Belletristik," p.88.

¹⁶ Arnold Dyck's greatest works are Verloren in der Steppe, a serious yet humorous novel written in the German "Bildungsroman" tradition, and his Koop enu Bua series.

¹⁷ Rudy Wiebe, "The Artist as a Critic and a Witness," pp. 39-47.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.43

¹⁹ Rudy Wiebe, Peace Shall Destroy Many (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1962).

²⁰ Rudy Wiebe, The Blue Mountains of China (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970).

²¹ See Rudy Wiebe, "The Meaning of Being Mennonite Brethren," in A Voice in the Land, pp. 32-38.

²² The following stories by Barbara Smucker have received critical acclaim: Henry's Red Sea (1955), Cherokee Run (1966), Underground to Canada (1977), Days of Terror (1979). Underground to Canada and Days of Terror were published by Penguin Books as well.

²³ See some of Menno Wiebe's poems in Harvest--Anthology of Mennonite Writing in Canada, ed. by George Epp et al (Winnipeg: Centennial Committee of the Mennonite Historical Society of Manitoba, 1974), pp. 78-81.

²⁴ Ibid., p.79

²⁵ Ibid., p.87

²⁶ See for example, Waltner-Toews' "A Calcutta Street, 1967" and "In an Old Colonial Mansion (Guadeloupe)," in The Earth is One Body (Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1979), pp.26-28.

²⁷ David Waltner-Toews, Good Housekeeping (Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1983), pp.75-77.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 78-95.

²⁹ Patrick Friesen, bluebottle (Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1978), p.15.

³⁰ Ibid., p.59.

³¹ Patrick Friesen, The Shunning, p.87.

³² Rudy Wiebe, My Lovely Enemy (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983). See the following reviews of the novel: W. J. Keith, "Sex and the Dead," Canadian Forum, May 1983; and Magdalene Redekop, "For the love of God," Books in Canada, June/July, 1983.

³³ My conversation with Professor Al Reimer. See also Reimer's review of My Lovely Enemy in Mennonite Mirror ("Rudy Wiebe's New Novel a Shocker"), June 1983, p.16.

³⁴ Rudy Wiebe, "The Artist as a Critic and a Witness," p.47.