THE STATUS OF MENNONITE WOMEN IN KANSAS IN THEIR CHURCH AND HOME RELATIONSHIPS

by

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INTRODUCTION

The American home of today is beset by a multiplicity of tradition breaking influences. Rapid technological developments, a growing shift of population from rural to urban life, two wars with their consequent tremendous social upheaval and the impetus which these wars have given to woman's trek from home to factory have all contributed to a marked change in woman's status. The granting of the vote to women, commercialized recreation in the form of radio and movies, and the articles in women's magazines popularizing the results of psychological research have had a marked impact on the attitudes of the modern woman towards her home and her status. But scattered through this scene of social flux are still to be found secluded groups of people who seem to be clinging to the older patterns of life. Among these are the Mennonites, whose past experiences have woven into a closely-knit, homogeneous culture group. Modern conditions make it impossible for any group to isolate themselves completely. The question then arises: Do Mennonite women of today still "follow their husbands faithfully," as their mothers did before them?

Mennonites are a "peculiar people". They not only recognize the differences between themselves and the "world" - they actively foster these disparities. A large portion of the Church teaches the doctrine of non-conformity: "Be ye not conformed to this world...but keep yourselves unspotted from the world." To what degree it has succeeded is evidenced by the fact that approximately half of all Mennonites in America would

be immediately noticed by a stranger because of their peculiarities of dress. Closer social contact would reveal many other differences.

Mennonites form one of the more inarticulate minority groups of America. They have always endeavoured to live as the "quiet ones upon the land" according to Biblical admonition. Perhaps they should be thought of as one of the folk groups of America. A comment written about the latter is so applicable to Mennonites it might almost have been a description of them. "In a land of frequent divorce, they cling to their marriage vows and are surpassingly devoted to their families. In a country populated by members of the 'Thank-God-I'm-Not-What-I-Used-To-Be-Club', they furnish a unique example of contentment with their lot, of the happiness that comes with making their own simple pleasures." (Jones 1939, p. 188)

The roots of the Mennonites go deep. Earlier historians are fond of the theory that Mennonites are direct descendants of pre-Reformation sects, particularly of the Waldenses. Later historians admit that there are some similarities in family names and in customs but do not feel justified in dating the birth of the Church earlier than about 1525. Without question, the early leaders of the Anabaptists, as they were called, were formerly monks of the Catholic Church. A history, here, must of necessity be in barest outline. The reader who wishes more detail is referred to several recent histories of the Mennonites (Smith 1941) (Horsch 1940).

Among the early followers of Zwingli were several brethren who found themselves out of sympathy with him on matters of conversion and the nature of a Christian's participation in worldly matters. Public debates followed; the movement grew until Swiss authorities felt it necessary to stamp out the dangerous new doctrines. Bitter persecution resulted in the spread of Anabaptism to the Rhine Valleys and the upper Danube. Almost simultaneously, a similar reformation within the Reformation arose in Holland. Among the new converts was a former monk by the name of Menno Simons. He became such an active leader of the Church that the Anabaptists began to be called Menists or later Mennonites, although present day European Mennonites are known more frequently as "Doopsgezinde".

Persecution of the radicals was intense and widespread. They came into most serious conflict with the authorities over their refusal to participate in political affairs or in war, their insistence on the Bible as sole authority and the holy right of each man to interpret it for himself. They were not anarchists however. They soon drew up a set of beliefs to which the Brethren were to subscribe, but it was a "religious fellowship of the right minded" which an individual joined voluntarily after mature consideration or conversion. Therefore, to them infant baptism was not Biblical and they proclaimed their belief in numerous public debates until so many of the early highly educated leaders were martyred that the Anabaptist sect began to take on its later character: a "Biblical church with an unpaid voluntary uneducated ministry who performed as a labor of love." Other dis-

tinguishing characteristics of the Mennonites were their non-conformity in dress and social pleasures, their refusal to take oaths, their insistence on the Sermon of the Mount as a pattern for living. In short, the Mennonite faith was not a creed, but a way of life. They keenly realized the dignity and responsibilities of being sons of God "if children of God, then heirs of God and co-heirs with Christ."

An individual with such a high regard for his place in God's world would not lightly give up his convictions. Rather than compromise under persecution, many migrated to far countries. Before 1643 a few Mennonites found their way to New Amsterdam but the main stream of immigration first entered America by way of Pennsylvania around 1700. From there they spread into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Kansas.

During this period there were still many frontiers in Europe. Because they were builders of the land, Mennonites were invited to settle in wastelands of Germany and Poland. In 1770, a large group entered Russia at the invitation of Catherine II who wished them to civilize and cultivate the steppes she had recently wrested from the Turks. The Mennonites were allowed almost complete autonomy and were excused from military service.

But a hundred years later Nicholas II began to rescind the privileges which the Mennonites had been enjoying. It was time to move on if they wished to preserve their faith. A committee of 12 was sent to America to "spy out the land." They came back with a favorable report.

The Santa Fe Railroad which had much land to sell added enticing offers and volunteered free passage on an especially chartered steamer to America. A mass migration took place in 1874, the immigrants settling largely in Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas and Canada.

A sect which is so highly individualized as the Mennonite sect is certain to have numerous divisions within itself. In spite of their peace principles at least 17 divisions have arisen. Only those branches repreaented in this study will be described here.

The "Old" Mennonites or as they sometimes designate themselves, "The Mennonites, General Conference", are the nucleus from which other branches have evolved. Numerically they are the strongest division in America. They maintain a four year college in Goshen, Indiana, and Junior Colleges and Acadamies in Hesston, Kansas and Harrisonburg, Virginia. They insist on simple clothing, bonnets, long hair and no jewelry for the women and "plain" clothing for men, particularly for active workers in the church.

General Conference Mennonites comprise the next largest branch. Its formation was an effort to unify those Mennonites who had become disaffected from the conservative branches but who felt unwilling to give up the Mennonite faith. Its membership includes all types of Mennonites - descendants of the earliest Old Mennonite and Amish pioneers in Pennsylvania, of those who came directly to the middle West from Switzerland and the Palatinate and of those who wound their devious ways through

Europe to Russia and then to America. They support three colleges: Bethel College, Newton, Kansas, Bluffton College situated in Bluffton, Ohio and Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota.

The Mennonite Brethren are a much more homogeneous group. While the Mennonites were living in Russia, a revival swept through the colony which resulted in a split in the church. The with-drawing ones, who called themselves Mennonite Brethren, were convinced that immersion was the only Biblical form of baptism. A dispute arose as to the proper direction of immersion - forward or backward. The quarrel ended in still another branch of the church, the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren. These two groups support Tabor College, in Hillsboro, Kansas. Still another offshoot of the Russian Mennonites are the Evangelical M. B.'s.

In Ohio, a certain Peter Holdeman became convinced that the church was becoming too worldly. He persuaded a small group to break away with him. Eventually, they made their way to Kansas where they found receptive ears among some of the poorer families of the Russian colony. They "dress plain" as described elsewhere in this paper. The men wear beards but no mustaches because the latter are allegedly of military origin. Only within comparatively recent times have they been allowed to own modern equipment and automobiles. They seem to have lost very little time in acquiring the best. The official name of the Holdeman Church is Church of God in Christ Mennonite.

Of all Mennonites, the Old Order Amish go to the furthest extreme in conservatism. They dress with utmost plainness;

they do not allow their members to own automobiles or modern conveniences for the house. Their branch is a result of a dispute between Jacob Amman and Hans Reist in Switzerland in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Ammon thought the brethren were becoming too lenient. He favored greater conservatism with a strict observance of the "ban" or "avoidance". This term applies to a form of discipline which involves social ostracism of the errant one, even to the extent of denying him the conjugal bed and board.

It is impossible to keep the human spirit forever pressed into a certain mold. The Amish are continually losing members to the other branches. One large bloc of these became known as Progressive Amish. They eventually joined the Old Mennonite group, with the exception of 3000 members or so in Illinois and Indiana, who, more thoroughly secularized, formed a Conference of their own. This Conference, now known as the Central Conference of Mennonites, has one small church in Kansas.

The Mennonite Brethren in Christ also have one small church in the state. They are the result of an amalgamation of four smaller branches in America. They have proselyted perhaps more than any other group and accordingly are not so distinctively Mennonite.

The comparative numerical strength of the various branches may be found in Table 1.

Numerous histories of the Mennonites have been written but few sociological studies have been made. The material written to date consists in large part of unpublished theses. Louella

Smith (1937) wrote a Master's thesis in which she described the family life of her community at Pawnee Rock, Kansas. Cornelius C. Jansen (1926) wrote a thesis in which he described the origin and present observance of many customs peculiar to the Mennonites of central Kansas.

To the writer's knowledge no one has ever made a study of the Mennonite woman in her home and church relationships. While the author was studying family relationships at Kansas State College she was constantly reminded of the social milieu in which she had been reared. It seemed to her so unique, so rich in sociological lore, so replete in illustrations of family life that it seemed the natural answer to the problem of what field should be chosen for original research for a thesis. Her experiences as woman, wife and mother suggested a study of women. The necessity of limiting the field determined the choice of subjects - Kansas women. Six branches of the church were chosen in order to add variety and to give a more complete picture of Mennonite women.

The author chanced upon some challenging statements written by Lawrence K. Frank (1944): "Men don't know what kind of wives they really want and are themselves so uncertain and insecure that they are unable to meet the tasks of life adequately or to develop the kind of relationships women want." It is the obligation (he said in essence) of the intelligent, educated woman to assist the young girls of today, so sorely beset by stimulation of the senses and conflicts of ideals, to catch the vision of the woman as "conserver of human resources" - to help her see the opportunities for a full and creative life in homemaking -

for herself, her family and her posterity.

Baber (1939, p. 431-432) added further impetus to the questions in the writer's mind. "Formerly when woman had no thought of any but the home pattern, there was little talk of frustration. Should social necessity in the future bring us to the place where social approval would be greatest for the home - major and outside minor pattern, women would find satisfaction instead of frustration in conforming to it. But at present there is so much uncertainty as to the relative values of the different patterns that no one of them stands out with supreme authority. Without a social compulsion - a social 'ought' with the weight of accepted authority - there is a general unwillingness to agree on one pattern."

The writer thought of all the "social oughts" which confront the Mennonite woman. Was her church doing her a service by clearly defining her role by saying this is what we expect of you - to bear and rear children, to make a home; this is a pattern of life suitable to your biological make up?

The problem then was first, to determine what the pattern of life and the status are for the Mennonite woman; the second, what does the woman think and how does she feel about her status.

The word "status" as used in this study is employed as defined by Bernard (1942, p. 424): "One's locus or position or station in the social hierarchy. It may be defined as rights and privileges, the higher the status, the greater the rights and privileges which become one's prerogative."

METHOD OF PROCEDURE

The problem was approached from several angles. First of all, considerable reading was done in the field of family relationships in general and on status of women in particular. The writer refreshed her memory of Mennonite history by further reading. She browsed through materials in the Bethel College Mennonite Historical Library to find references to women's place in church and home. She conversed frequently with friends and acquaintances concerning the subject. She wrote to the historians and sociologists in the church for suggestions.

Then she prepared an original questionnaire concerning women's place in the church. She sent 50 of them in January, 1945, to the ministers of Mennonite churches in Kansas to be filled and returned. Appendix, p.1,2. She received 34 answers.

She also prepared a schedule to be used as the basis of interviews with the women themselves. These interviews were begun in early spring but the condition of the roads and pressure of other duties delayed completion until approximately the first of August, 1945. The interviews lasted from one to three hours depending on the loquaciousness of the woman interviewed. An additional half hour or hour was frequently needed to record notes more fully, for as few notes as possible were taken in the process of the interview. The total mileage covered in gathering material was approximately 300 miles.

The investigator regrets that the study was of necessity limited to the small number of 30 women. The results of such a

Table 1. Branches of the church included in interviews.

Name of branch	No. interviews	Communities visited	No. congregations	Kansas membership	Total membership
Amish	3	Yoder Partridge	6	346	13,408
K.M.B.	3	Hillsboro			1,641
Old M.	5	Yoder Hesston Wichita Newton	12	1,454	59,754
M.B.	5	Buhler Inman Hillsboro	13*	1,450*	16,978
C.G.C.,M.	4	Moundridge Newton	8*	920*	3,700
G.C.	10	Goessel Newton North Newton Elbing Whitewater Inman Halstead Burrton Wichita	41	9,762	47,478
E.M.B.			1		2,000
M.B.C.			1		12,800
C.C.			1	28	3,212
Totals	30	15			

*Figures as of 1925

small study cannot be final or truly authoritative but the author believes that her findings do indicate trends.

The women chosen for this study were from six branches of the Mennonite Church. The writer attempted to regulate the number according to the distribution of membership. There should rightfully be a larger representation of M.B. women. Women of six branches and 20 communities were interviewed. Table 1.

Some of the women interviewed were chosen by the writer herself because in her opinion they typified the women of their communities. Others were recommended by friends. In communities in which the writer was not acquainted, she approached the minister for suggestions. In the Amish community a friendly storekeeper, himself a descendant of the Amish, gave valuable assistance. Several of the interviewers suggested other women who were willing to cooperate. In spite of precautions, an unavoidable selection took place, because the interviewer was usually sent to see those women "who would talk". Nevertheless she thinks that she interviewed a truly representative group of Mennonite women. She has attempted to keep the distribution of interviews in line with the proportion of education, rural residence, age and occupations of Mennonites in general. Table 2. Only married women with children were interviewed.

Almost without exception she met with kind friendliness and a keen interest in the project. A number of the women interviewed asked if the study were to be published and expressed a desire to read it if it were. No one refused to answer any one of the questions, although some were unanswered because of a lack

of an opinion.

Only two women refused to be interviewed, pleading ignorance; two others refused because of lack of time. Only three times did the interviewees go on with the task at hand, although the investigator insisted that they could talk while they worked. One interview was held with a pregnant woman whose baby was almost a week overdue, but who nevertheless was in the process of preparing a lunch for threshers. She had also been hauling wheat during threshing. Her husband had told her she just couldn't go to the hospital before harvest - they needed her too badly.

For the sake of brevity the branches of the Church included in this study will be referred to frequently by their initials as below. They are listed in the order of their size in the United States.

Old Mennonite.....	O.M.
General Conference.....	G.C.
Mennonite Brethren.....	M.B.
Amish.....	A.
Mennonite Brethren in Christ.....	M.B.C.
Holdeman or Church of God in Christ, Mennonite..	C.G.C.M.
Central Conference.....	C.C.
Evangelical Mennonite Brethren.....	E.M.B.
Krimmer Mennonite Brethren.....	K.M.B.

Table 2. Occupations of the husbands of the 30 interviewees

Name of branch	Amish	C.G.C.M.	Old M.	K.M.B.	M.B.	G.C.
Farming	3	3	1	1	1	7
Dairy			2			
Minister-farmer				1		
Missionary			1			
Miller		1				
Merchant				1		
College teacher			1		1	
Cattle buyer					1	
Oil trucker					1	
Barber					1	
One man bank						1
Real estate						1
Mail carrier						1
Total						30

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Church Relationships

Traditionally, the Mennonite Church is a "man's church". The Bible was interpreted literally, including those Pauline passages referring to woman's place in the church. "Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commended to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the church" (I Cor. 14:34-33). "But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression. Notwithstanding she shall be saved in child bearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety" (I Tim. 2:12-15).

The Mennonite Confession of Faith adopted at Dort, Holland in 1632 was less condemnatory of women that Paul: "...our first parents, Adam and Eve did not long remain in the happy state (Eden)." The woman is not singled out for condemnation as in Paul's writings. But the Confession stipulates that men are to be chosen as "bishops, pastors and leaders," such men as "took heed unto themselves and unto the doctrine." All circuits should be well provided with almoners (to take care of the poor, Acts 6:3-6), now called deacons.

"Also that honorable old widows should be chosen as servants, who besides the almoners, are to visit, comfort, and take care of the poor, the weak and the afflicted, and the needy as also to visit, comfort, and take care of widows and orphans, and further to assist in taking care of any matters in the church that properly come within their sphere, according to their best ability, pp. 15-16 (I Tim. 5:9-10; Rom. 16:1-2)."

Having no voice in the church did not save the women from martyrdom during the Reformation. "Women formed a much larger portion of martyrs among the Anabaptists and Mennonites during the Reformation than was true among martyrs of other groups."[1]

It is perhaps to be expected that those Mennonites, such as the Old Order Amish who, by strict discipline and much admonition have kept their social and religious customs most nearly static, are the strictest observers of the Pauline injunction for women to remain silent in the church. Those churches, however, (including the Amish) which have been in America for generations, seem to allow greater freedom in church control than those of recent immigration. "Mennonites were all German culturally and inherited the general German attitude toward women which no doubt influenced their position as religious leaders."[1] It is among the more recent imigrants of General Conference and M. B. groups, for instance, where one finds the Brudersohafts (Brotherhoods) which by custom or decree decide the policies of their Churches. The women participate only to the extent of furnishing the noon meal.

[1]Letter. June 23, 1944

This study reveals two instances (G. C.) in which the women may not vote in church business meetings but may vote upon other occasions such as Sunday School elections. One church did not allow the women to vote but they may attend all business meetings. In personal interviews it was discovered that even in churches where women now were allowed to vote, the custom of not voting had become so ingrained that few women in their communities ever bothered to attend the annual business meetings. The K. M. B. minister reported the women of his church could vote but added the enlightening comment: "I feel that they should also attend the Annual Business Meeting, so as also to be acquainted thoroughly with all the business transactions and also have an opportunity to voice their opinions on improvement and development of church services."

One of the Bethel College women students who came from a church which does not allow women to vote (not reported) said: "It made me so angry when the vote for an organ came up. I was so afraid it wouldn't go through. I knew if the women could vote, we would have one. But it went through anyway." When she told that even the Amish allowed their women to vote she remarked: "We're behind the times!"

Another 10 years may change greatly the picture of non-participation of the women in church policy making. If the young people push and the ministers pull, much can be accomplished. It would seem that it is not prejudice but inertia on the part of the women themselves which forms the greatest barrier to full participation.

Keeping in mind, then, that the Amish and Old Mennonites have resided in America for more than a century, it does not seem such a paradox that these churches which put the most restraints upon the women as to dress also allow the women more freedom in voting. Only one of the nine Old Mennonites reporting, qualified his statement by the phrase, "for Sunday School officers." One remarked: "This is not an issue. They have always voted." The Amish stated: "Women give their voices the same as men. Whenever a problem arises, brothers and sisters alike give their approval or disapproval."

The Mennonite Brethren in Christ have for some time ordained women as ministers (3). The present incumbent of the pulpit of the M. B. C. church in Harper, Kansas is a woman. She wrote that the women in their church could vote if "they have finished study course and been in work."

Thirty churches reported yes and four no to the question, Do you have a church council or similar governing body? One of the Amish answered "yes" but was counted "no" for the following reason: When there are especial problems to be considered such as the fitness for communion of some of the members who have been accused of misdemeanors, the Amish (as well as some of the other branches) call into council the Church members of good standing to judge the matter. The author feels that her question was interpreted to mean the above because of the answers elicited: "Women give their voices same as men." To the question, Are there any women members? he replied: "No, only when chosen by ministers to help in some emergency." What are their duties:

Answer: "To help in cases where for women only." It should be remembered that among the Amish, the Bishops and ministers do most of the governing.

Two of the Church of God in Christ Mennonites answered "yes" to the foregoing question, with the following duties listed: To rear their children in ways of God and nurture them in Christian principles, - "To take part as the Bible says." The writer suspects that they, too, misunderstood the question. Three who definitely answered "yes" were G. C. urban churches. They listed such duties as church secretary, treasurer, correspondents, advisory, help elect members of special committies. The M. B. C. church reported that they sometimes had women council members who acted as secretary, etc.

To the question: Does your church allow anyone besides ministers to stand in the pulpit, 31 answered, yes; three, no. Two of these were Amish; while one Amish answered yes with this note: "We do not have a pulpit, having meetings in our dwelling houses." One C. G. C. M. answered, no.

One O. M. qualified his yes by "not to preach." The K. M. B. limit to "mostly ministers."

There was a much greater difference of opinion regarding the question of permitting women to speak in church. The following number gave an affirmative answer without qualifications: G. C., 11; E. M. B., one; M. B., one; Old M., five. The M. B. C. mentioned missionaries, W.C.T.U. workers, etc. One K. M. B. and one M. B. said: missionaries. Two Old M. answered: "Yes, but not to preach;" one O. M., "very seldom".

The C. G. C. M. added: "on some occasions", and another, "We do not believe in women preaching but may speak on minor subjects." One Old Mennonite and one C. G. C. M. answered, "no". It is possible they may allow women to speak in the church but not in the pulpit.

One M. B. said, "Women do not speak in our Church." Some of the M. B. women interviewed said they would not care to listen to women preachers.

The Amish do not allow women to speak in public. One of them advised the writer to read I Cor. 14:3-35; also I Timothy 2-12 also verse 14. He added this note: "I am not trying to trespass your ideas or belief but am trying to ans. your questions according to the bible as I understand them. hoping that you will not feel offended as our views and ideas are probably not the same on all things."

Incidentally, it might be added here that at a meeting this spring of all Mennonite women who have been doing relief sewing for M. C. C. only the Amish group had a male spokesman.

Women took part in the services of all but two of the churches in this study - one C. G. C. M.; one Amish. One of the Amish stated that the women "kiss the new sisters at communion or Baptism"; the other one said, "they take part but not as speakers." One C. G. C. M. said women participate by "singing and testifying"; one M. B. limited it to "just singing"; three G. C. qualified by "Occasionally".

The traditional seating arrangement of Mennonite Churches is women, girls and babies on one side, men and boys on the

other, with the old people taking the front pews, some of which are frequently at right angles to the main body of the church. This gave the elderly ones a good opportunity to survey the congregation occasionally without turning noticeably. The custom of segregation was continued so long that, to this day, groups which now sit by families in church find themselves splitting up "Mennonite fashion" in social affairs.

In answer to the question, Do you have a separate seating section, the Amish, C. G. C. M., and K. M. B. two M. B's, six Old Men., 7 Gen. Conf. said yes. The Cent. Ill., the M. B. C., and the urban churches of the M. B's (two), Old M. (3), and Gen. C. (4), said no. The custom is breaking down in many of the Churches as witnessed by the fact that six of those who said yes qualified their answers by adding "not strictly observed."

The typical rural Mennonite church in Kansas is a plain white frame building, set quite high above the ground so that the basement may be used for Sunday School rooms. It has two entrances, one for men and one for women. This picture is changing, for only 13 churches gave an affirmative answer to the question of separate entrances. Among the 19 "noes", however, were two of the Amish replies who have no churches at all but have services in the homes.

A further indication of the breakdown of the segregation of sexes during worship is that 30 churches admitted that married couples do sit together during services. Of these, one stated that the "tendency is growing"; another, that "es-

pecially younger people sit in families"; one said: "sometimes in evenings". Again we find the C. G. C. M. and the Amish similar in practice. The former replied "Rather not", "Seldom", and "not in general"; the latter, "no", "no, very seldom", and "no - sometimes at funerals".

The custom for unmarried couples to sit together has been growing also for 28 replied "Yes" on this question. Of these, two wrote, "occasionally," one C. G. C. M. "sometimes," two, "evening service," the E. M. B. noted "seldom". The writer believes from her observation of Mennonite churches that if the questionnaire had included a designation as to time, most of them would have come back marked "evening services".

The "noes" were given by two C. G. C. M.; one M. B. and the three Amish, one of whom qualified his "no" by adding as above - "sometimes for funerals."

The question "Are there women teachers in your Sunday School" was included at the suggestion of a fellow teacher who remarked that he had been in Sunday Schools where there were no women teachers. It was upon this point that the only unanimous answer was received, 34 "yes". Only one added "for children" to his affirmation.

It is interesting to note the M. B. C's had three-fourts women; that all of the G. C. churches except one, listed 50 per cent or more women teachers, only two of the Old M. Churches had fewer than 50 per cent (leaving seven, 50 per cent or above). One of the M. B's asserted that they had 2/3 women teachers, the

other three 50 per cent, the K. M. B's were 50-50 also. The Central C. proportion was 1:5. The Amish explained that the women teach the women and the men teach the men. The smallest proportion of women teachers was found among the C. G. C. M. who reported one-third, one to five, and a "small proportion" of women teachers. This can be explained by the fact that in addition to being conservative theologically, a large percentage of them are of comparatively recent immigration. It was interesting to the writer to observe, however, that the small percentage of early Americans in their group seems to have caused them to give up the German earlier and to speak with less accent than do some of the other German-Russians.

The traditional Mennonite Church is plain and unadorned within as well as without. Therefore, it is not surprising that not quite half (16 to be exact) reported unconditionally that women provided flowers for the altar. The Amish, of course, have no altars. Nor would you find in any Mennonite Church anything approximating the ornateness of an Episcopal or Catholic chancellry. A simple pulpit usually suffices. The Bethel College Church, which in many respects, is the most liberal of the group, introduced an altar with a lighted cross into its services, placing the pulpit to one side. But some of the older members are not yet reconciled to the idea.

The three C. G. C. M. churches answered "no" to the question concerning flowers. The group of Old Mennonites reported one "yes"; three occasionally and five "no". Two of the Gen. Conf. added "occasionally", one did not answer this

question. The M. B. C. church reported that men provide flowers also.

Not many Mennonite Churches have the custom of serving suppers for the purpose of raising money. In view of this fact, this question may have been confusing. The M. B. C. minister replied, "We do not serve suppers. Gifts support the work." Thirteen reported "Yes" without qualification, 11 "no". Comments from the remaining ten ran as follows: "occasionally"; "yes, we have two dinners - Children's Day and Thanksgiving (this is usually in Oct.). We do not serve suppers for which a charge is made." "Sometimes for church dinners"; "dinners occasionally Sunday noon"; "serve at special occasions", "not as suppers for the church", "yes, when the church has decided to have one."

The Amish replied that their women provide lunch after church meetings. Their services begin about eight o'clock in the morning and last until noon. Sitting on backless benches as they do for three or four hours, would make anyone feel the need of refreshments. As they use only horses and buggies for transportation, the children no doubt would be ravenous before they reached home. In consequence each hostess provides a simple lunch for all church members. The table is not "set" in the customary sense. There are no plates and no silver except one knife between each two people. One uses the same cup as the person who preceded him at table. Church for the Amish is a social as well as religious occasion.

A church such as the Mennonite which only recently has started paying its ministry salaries (if at all) would also consider more than the minimum of janitorial service an extravagance. This is a service members could render. Accordingly they turn out annually or semiannually with buckets, mops and cleaning cloths to give the meeting house a thorough cleaning. Only three of the churches replied that their women no longer served in this way. Sixteen answered "yes", 10 more said "men and women", "men help" or "help men". One M. B. said "it was mostly done by men." One of the Amish notes read: "We're the old order Amish we have our meeting from house to house every two weeks. In that way a general house cleaning is always in advance of the meeting. Our meetings are in A. M. and the women serve lunch after services."

The other two commented: "they do plenty work in that line", "Yes also Sunday School as we have a S. S. house but not a church house as it would not be adequate for such." This statement is an indication of the size of Amish houses. The writer observed several Amish homes in which there were wide openings instead of the customary single doors leading into kitchens, evidently built in this manner to take care of large church groups.

It should be explained here that meeting in houses is another remnant of a custom which was general among Mennonites in their early history. Because of bitter persecution it was impossible to worship openly in Church houses. In fact, Mennonites were not allowed to build church houses in Switzer-

land until the nineteenth century. In Holland Mennonites were forbidden to build churches facing the street. Before the war, Mennonite churches in Amsterdam and other old Dutch cities were still hidden in the middle of a block with houses surrounding them facing the streets, although the "Doopsgezinde", as they are designated, have been a respected denomination for centuries.

The welcoming committee, being of recent origin, naturally finds most favor among the urban churches. Thirteen churches, only a few of them rural, wrote that women served on this committee. Two churches said they "have none" which may also be true of many of the 13 who wrote "no" and the five who gave no answer. The Mennonite tradition is in the spirit of the church which answered "everybody serves", and of the Amish who said, "They (the women) welcome strangers and prepare meals at home." But urbanization has brought on a more artificial manner of welcoming strangers. The author's mother recounts that in her youth some of the women members would go down the aisle shaking hands here and there and saying: "Come along home for dinner - come along home for dinner." It was not uncommon to entertain 50 to 75 guests for Sunday dinner, in anticipation of which ham had been boiled, multitudes of pies and much bread and cake had been baked on Saturday in their big outdoor brick ovens (in Ohio).

That the women in the Mennonite Church express themselves in public in spite of Paul's admonitions is indicated by the fact that only one of the 34 answers (an Amish church) gave an unequivocal "no" to the question, "Do your women participate in

discussion? Twenty-four answered "yes"; one M. B. said "in their own clubs"; one gave no answer; one Amish and one C. G. C. M. said "in Sunday School only"; five others said "Seldom". In spite of their greater conservatism it should be noted in this as in the matter of voting that the women of the Old Mennonite branch seem to have a slightly larger margin of freedom than Gen. Conf. women for the answers ran, eight "yes"; one "seldom" for the former and nine "yes" and two "seldom" for the latter. Might it be another indication of the long years of being influenced by American ideals of equality for women?

In 22 of the churches, women served on the social committee. No doubt the eight who answered "no" and the two who gave no answer rightfully belong in the "have none" class for many rural churches are loosely organized and have no epecial committees. This should be remembered while interpreting all of the above data concerning membership on committees. The questionnaire might have been more specific on these points.

In 29 churches of the 34, women planned and carried out their own programs and conducted their own devotional periods and business meetings. This freedom is of fairly recent origin. When the author came to Kansas in 1933 she was struck by the hesitancy with which older women undertook the above mentioned duties although they equalled or surpassed many other non-Mennonite women in social ease. Eventually it was learned that when they were young matrons, the minister always came into their group meetings to lead devotional services and conduct whatever business was necessary. This practice seems to have

been quite general.

Lack of organization and vision as to what might be accomplished by women is reflected by the fact that 21 churches listed no other activities for women. Perhaps some of them felt tempted to add as did the Amishman "They help milk cows, tend chickens, plow corn and stand by their husbands." Elsewhere he had listed "Prepare warm water for foot washing in time of communion, bake bread for breaking in communion, can for Conscientious Objector Camps."

The remaining 13 churches listed numerous activities for women. Table 3 and 4. Surprisingly enough they do not mention the two activities which have absorbed the attention and energies of the women in all of the branches in recent years. One of these activities is canning for Civilian Public Service camps and for Relief. Some churches with total memberships of 200 or less have canned as much as 1500 quarts a season for this cause. A shipment of canned goods was recently received in Holland with not a can broken.

A note of explanation regarding Civilian Public Service should be added. When military conscription was adopted by the United States, provision was made for alternate service for conscientious objectors. The first camps were located in former C.C.C. camps and the projects of conservation, etc., begun by the Conservation Corps were continued. Camps are at present maintained in Virginia, Colorado, Iowa, Maryland, Indiana, California, Montana, South Dakota, Idaho and Nebraska by the Mennonites. Other units are maintained in mental hospitals,

Table 3. Distribution of church activities for women among branches

Central C.	No.	Council duties	Other activities	Organizations
Central C.	1	none	none	Org. Bible class
E. M. B.	1	none	Church corres.	Mission Soc.
M. B. C.	1	Sec. etc.	Lead mid-week prayer ser. Lead worship Lead song ser.	Mission Soc.
Amish	3	none		Sewing Soc.
K. M. B.	1	none	Y. P. Fellowship	Sewing Soc. Ladies Trio
C. G. C. M.	3	none	none	none
M. B.	4	none	none	4 Sewing Soc. 1 Welfare 1 M. Relief 1 Ladies Chorus 1 Herwanna 1 Ladies Aid
Old M.	9	none	2 Y.P. Comm. 1 Summer B. S. 1 Prayer M'g Supt. 1 Primary Supt. 1 Chm. Lit. Soc.	9 Sewing Soc. 5 Home makers
Gen. C.	11	Treas.-church Edu. Comm. Sec. Elect members spec. comm.	2 Bible School Choir 2 Choir Director 3 Music comm. 1 Peace comm.	2 org. S. S. class 6 Mission 1 work Circ.

Table 3 (cont.)

Central C.	No.	Council duties	Other activities	Organizations
Gen. C. (cont.)				2 Friendship Soc. 1 Ladies Chorus
		Advisory	Prim. & Assoc. S. S. Sup't C. E. Sponsors & officers Delegates Ushers 3 Spec. Comm. Church corr.	Aid Soc.

Table 4. Summary of church activities for women

Activities	Number of churches
None	21
Church corres.	2
Asst. S. S. Sup't.	3
Music Comm.	5
Spec. Comm.	2
C. E. or Y. P. U. officers or sponsors	6
Lead in mid-week Prayer Ser.	2
Lead in Prayer	1
Bible School	3
Ch'm. Liter. Soc.	1
Help raise funds	1
B. C. Fellowship	2
Ushers	1
Delegates	2
Evening programs	1

Organizations	Number of churches
Sewing Societies	23
Missionary Societies	8
Org. S. S. classes	3
Canning group C. P. S.	1
Ladies Aid	2
Hosp. Aux.	1
Work Circle	1
Friends' Circle	3
Nurses Assoc.	1
Ladies Chorus or trio	3
Herwanna Chap.	1
Homemakers	4
Relief and Welfare	2

dairy centers and places of especial need for sanitation improvement. Table 5 gives the number of men in Mennonite camps. The Friends and Brethren carry the responsibility for other conscientious objector camps and projects.

Table 5. Number of men in Mennonite Civilian Public Service, 1945

Total number of camps & units.....	45
Total number of men in Base camps.....	2,133
Total number of men in Special Projects.....	1,417
Total number of men in Mennonite camps.....	3,550

The other activity which has elicited the loyal support of all branches regardless of differences in theology or social customs is the giving of new and used clothing for the relief of peoples in war-torn areas. The Mennonite church has cooperated with the Friends and Brethren in relief previous to and largely independent of U. N. R. A. A. Before November, 1944, all clothing for relief contributed by Mennonites was shipped to be baled at the main offices of the Mennonite Central Committee in Akron, Pennsylvania. The work grew beyond the ability of the main offices to manage. In consequence, the work was decentralized in order to make more efficient use of women of other areas thickly populated by Mennonites. Cutting rooms were established in strategic points in Pennsylvania, Ontario, Iowa, and Ohio. In these places volunteers under the supervision of a few salaried supervisors cut out underwear, slips, dresses, jackets,

etc., out of new materials. These are finished by Missionary Societies, Sewing Circles and similar organizations in the United States and Canada.

Auxiliary packing centers were established in Kitchener, Ontario, and Newton, Kansas. The latter was to take care of all shipments west of the Mississippi. A roomy store building near the Santa Fe was obtained for a work room. On the window, a sign painter placed the name of the "Mennonite Central Committee Clothing Depot" and "Relief of War Sufferers". Shortly, clothing began arriving in generous quantities. Table 6.

In spite of warnings that all clothing must be clean and in usable condition, some of it arrived needing mending and washing. The advantage of having the Depot in the center of a big Mennonite settlement was immediately apparent. Groups of volunteers may be seen almost any day of the week patiently mending rips and tears. Occasionally a farm woman whose husband has protracted business in town comes in to mend for an hour or two. Some of the clothing is mended by groups in their own meeting places or by individuals in their homes. Occasionally large amounts of clothing are washed by volunteer labor in the Bethel College Laundry.

A regular staff of four or five women is employed at the Depot. They work at sacrificial rates - seven dollars a week for maintenance and an additional $40 a month allowance, regardless of how much responsibility they carry.

The personnel, at present writing, includes one member of the C. G. C. M. branch, one Old M., two or three G. C. women.

It will be interesting to see whether these years of close cooperation in Relief and C. P. S. will bring about a lasting closer cooperation and less suspicion between the various branches of the church.

In justice to the careful work of the women, it should be added that clothing packed by Mennonites arrive at distribution centers in Europe and elsewhere, so markedly superior in quality, repair and packing that Red Cross officials have visited the Headquarters in Akron "to see how it was done." In view of the long and faithful service of Mennonite women in collecting, making and sending garments for War-Relief, the criticism by some Newton residents of Mennonites for not participating more fully in the U. N. R. A. U. Clothing Drive of 1945 seems unjust, to put it mildly.

Table 6. Summary of good received at Mennonite Central Committee Clothing Depot, Newton, Kansas

Month	Number of bales New	Used	Total	Weight in pounds	Value
November, 1944	9	31	40	4,531	$ 2,825.65
December, 1944	21	44	65	7,617	6,287.82
January, 1945	12	52	64	7,476	6,466.75
February, 1945	30	70	100	11,679	11,799.67
March	16	56	72	15,098½	9,041.55
April	17	37	54	6,388	7,506.75
May	12	30	42	5,121	6,109.30
June	37	71	108	12,830	15,387.85
July	4	3	7	749	1,024.87
Total	158	394	552	71,189½	$66,450.31

As was mentioned above, most of this work has been done through the Sewing Circles or Missionary Societies of the church. By referring to Table 3 it is noted that the Old Mennonites, M. B.'s and Amish called their groups Sewing Societies while the General Conference had more varied names for their organizations. The M. B.'s also varied considerably on the names of their other organizations. The uniformity of activities among the Old Mennonites is a reflection of their church government, which is largely in the hands of Bishops and appointed committees with a strong centralized government. The General Conference and the M. B.'s on the other hand maintain congregational government, with no bishops. What little control there is over individual churches is achieved by Resolutions in national conferences, which meet every three years, if conditions permit.

An activity of the Missionary Societies which should not be overlooked are the annual bazaars or missionary sales. During the preceding year the women busy themselves in embroidering tea-towels, luncheon cloths, pillowcases, in making fancy aprons, in quilting and crocheting. These articles are then put up for auction. Prices often go far beyond the actual worth of the article, quilts, for instance, sometimes selling for 100 dollars or more. Small churches sometimes raise from 1000 to 2000 dollars at a single sale by this method. The proceeds are usually turned over to the Home and Foreign Mission Boards for distribution.

The questionnaires sent out to the ministers asked for comments. Two of the ministers showed keen appreciation for the

faithful work of their women members. "The women of our congregation are a wonderful force in helping promote our various church activities" (O. M.). "Just as womanhood refines man in civil life, a similar contribution they make in Church life. Their influence when they are harmonious in their projects is a fine contribution to any church" (G. C.). Several explanatory remarks were added. One G. C. church in which women were not given the vote, added, "they may attend all business sessions of the church." One G. C. reported: "18 men and 18 women hold some office in our church organization - elected at the annual meeting. The only Committees having no women are the Board of Deacons and the Board of Trustees. We have two girls who serve as ushers."

Other G. C. men wrote: "We do not feel that the women are discriminated against in any way in this church"; "Our women have same rights, privileges and duties as men have - no distinction because of sex. Why should there be? Our Aid Society contributes much in relief and mission interest, also does Red Cross work." An M. B. wrote: "In most cases they have the same rights and privileges as men have. Often when we have need of a large committee, members are appointed as couples, so that both husband and wife serve on the same committee" (the author's own church frequently follows the same practice). One of the M. B. churches, which consistently showed a conservative attitude towards women's participation in church affairs, added: "Women surely have their places in church but should not dominate church affairs." It was in an M. B. Church that the

author heard a wedding sermon which shocked her by its insistence upon the subservienoy of women. It was an M. B. who made the following statements: "Mennonite Churches are men's institutions. Women are silent members. Women come to church to worship. They do not come to shape policies, administer affairs, or select leaders. Men only serve in the ministry. A woman's place is not behind the pulpit. Exposition of the scriptures is strictly a man's job." (Harder, 1944). In the open discussion which followed, the qusstion was asked by a woman, "Shall we be satisfied with the above situation or should we encourage trends toward greater parity in Church affairs?" The only reply ran as follows: "Women take a natural interest in religious affairs. If we encourage too free participation by them, we might find ourselves in the unfortunate situation of city churches of other denominations in which men take little or no interest." In one of the churches which recently gave the vote to women it is reported that some of the men said "Werrn die unterocke erst herein kommen, dann bleiben wir zu haus." (As soon as the petticoats come in, we stay at home). And they did!

That there are no Mennonite women ministers is not strictly true, however. As noted above, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ have employed women ministers for some time. C. Henry Smith says: "In the main, Mennonites I think took Paul's advice pretty generally about women's place in religious work. In Europe, women were and still are not ordained to the ministry. In Russia, they were not even allowed to teach in the

Mennonite schools until quite recently. Schools were meant for boys, and later special girls schools were founded. In Holland, however, since 1904 there is an increasing number of ordained women preachers and some suggest that, due to the small number of men seemingly interested in that field, that most of the preachers will finally be women."[1] Dr. Cornelius Krahn, Professor of Mennonite History and Librarian for the Mennonite Historical Library located at Bethel College sets the figures for Mennonite women ministers at 15 women out of 100 ministers in Holland in 1940. He is also authority for the statement that the two most popular histories of the Mennonites in the Historical Library were written by German Mennonite women, Anna Bron and Christine Hege.

If a Mennonite woman feels called to active religious service, there is one channel which has been open to women since Anabaptist times - to be a deaconess. Deaconesses appointed by the early Christian Church were classed as clergy. Several of them were martyred in the year 112. As the church became more and more monastic, deaconesses gave way to Nuns.

The Mennonite Church revived the Deaconess ideal soon after its inception. There is a record of an Anabaptist deaconess, Elizabeth Dirks, being imprisoned and drowned in 1549.

Deaconess work was expanded in Europe and brought to America by Pastor Theodore Fliedner who had observed the work of the Mennonite Deaconesses serving the poor in Holland.

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[1]Letter. June 23, 1944

In America, Mennonite Deaconess' work is confined largely to those groups who lived in Russia. One of the largest, most flourishing institutions is the Bethel Deaconess Hospital and Home for the Aged in Newton, Kansas. About 50 deaconesses are in service in these institutions. A large number of them are registered nurses. The hospital has a capacity of 95 beds. In addition, it conducts a training school for 40 or 50 student nurses.

The Deaconess dedicates her life to the service of the Lord and to mankind, but she does not take a vow of chastity, as does the nun. In rare instances a Deaconess marries but of course is no longer a member of the Sisterhood. The Deaconess receives no wages but is given maintenance, an allowance and the assurance of a home and care for the remainder of her life no matter how helpless she may become. For years one Sister at Bethel has been invalided. Another, at 97, lives in the Nurses Home and takes daily walks with her brother aged 94 who lives in the Home for the Aged in an adjacent building. Both Sisters are as tenderly cared for as if they were fully useful members of the Sisterhood. The writer can testify to the loving, skillful, patient care given to the sick by the Sisters and student nurses from long months of observation while her husband was confined in Bethel Hospital. Patients who have been in other hospitals are immediately impressed by the clean orderliness of the Hospital and the gentle courtesy of the nurses and Sisters.

Support of this hospital as well as other Mennonite hospitals in Goessel, Hillsboro and Moundridge is accepted as a duty and a privilege by the Mennonite women in Kansas. They contribute cash, food, and their services for the unending chores of marking linens, hemming towels, etc.

Deaconesses wear a distinctive garb for street and social affairs. It consists of a simple black dress with long sleeves and a starched, plain white collar. Placed squarely on top of the head is a small black bonnet, edged with white. Wide white ties are fastened in a precise bow under the chin. Black shoes and stockings complete the costume. Novitiates wear a plain black felt hat instead of the bonnet.

The philosophy of the garb is well expressed by Sister Lena Mae Smith in the Bethel Hospital publication, "In the Service of the King" (May, 1945). "We wear a garb that has been accepted because it is simple, economical and appropriate. To the deaconess the garb is a protection. When we wear it, we tell tho world that we are deaconesses, christian workers. Knowing that wo are thus recognized, we are more careful in our conduct, both as to where we go and what we do or say....When we wear the garb we consciously attempt to raise our standards of Christian living and avoid taking liberties not in keeping with our profession. Thus the garb also serves to strengthen our character as we live up to that which we profess....

"Wearing a garb also saves time and effort, as well as money. We need not spend much time shopping in order to be

well dressed....Though unworthy, I am glad to be a deaconess and count it a privilege to wear the deaconess garb."

These passages are quoted at length because they present in essence the arguments sometimes given for continuance of the Mennonite garb. The strongest and most frequently quoted arguments, however, is the Biblical injunction: "Be ye not conformed to this world." With the increasing pressure of rapidly changing social customs of the outside world and the availability of ready-made clothing, the maintenance of a distinctive garb for lay members is becoming more and more difficult. The head gear is now the most debated article of clothing.

Mr. Wenger (1944, p. 52) has summarized the history of non-conformity as follows:

1. From the beginning, the European Mennonites had simplicity and non-conformity but had no garb at first.

2. The Swiss Brethren at an early date were sufficiently non-conformed to be recognizable at sight.

3. The Dutch Mennonites of the 18th century had definite dress regulations and prescribed forms.

4. The Mennonite Church historically has tried to maintain a witness against the current fads and fineries in clothing.

5. The Church has generally felt free to adopt the newer forms of attire after they have become conventional. The retention of the bonnet is something of an exception to this rule.

6. The forms of attire, even when once adopted by the church have not remained wholly static but have been modified gradually through the years.

7. Historically, the church stood for the right to regulate the lives of its members including various areas, not just dress.

8. Such conservative groups as the (Old) Mennonites still believe in church regulation in proscribing jewelry, in the women being veiled for worship, in women wearing long hair, etc.

The sacrificial devotion and talent for practical service of the Mennonite women is exemplified in the record of the Women's Association of Bethel College, which since its inception in 1944 has raised almost 15,000 dollars for the College. See Table 7 for an account of its expenditures. Typically feminine methods have been employed: bake sales, bazaars, serving dinners, membership fees ($1 a year or $25 for life or memorial membership) and gifts. Their biggest single project to date was the serving of meals for the General Conference which convened on the Bethel College Campus May 31 to June 5 of this year. (Table 8) The herculean task of serving so many meals (9,347) at the height of wartime scarcities and rationing could not have been achieved without the loyal support of many women. Practical difficulties were solved in the following manner: With the consent of the Rationing Board, the farm women of outlying communities deposited their surplus ration stamps with their local grocers and butchers. Those responsible for purchasing supplies, then made the necessary arrangements for ordering the food needed. In this manner the food counters of Newton were not unduly drained of supplies. All of the labor, except supervision of equipment by trained college students, was voluntary. Churches took turns in contributing labor. Meals were prepared in the kitchen and served in the Dining Hall of Bethel College. In order that the women who were busy with meal preparation might listen to Conference proceed-

ings, loud speakers broadcasting all speeches and business of the Conference were installed in kitchen and Dining Hall and the Rest Room for women with babies. An interesting incident occurred when a speaker from the floor did not come to the microphone, saying, "I think they can hear me." The presiding officer replied: "Oh, but they can't hear in the kitchen" and required him to speak before the microphone.

Women do not serve on the Governing Boards of the Mennonite Church. They do, however, serve in Auxiliary organizations such as Women's Missionary Societies and Young People's Unions. The attitude of many Mennonite men is typified by that of the delegate who was objecting to the proposed election of a woman on the Advisory Board of Bethel College: "She can tell me at home what to do (and she does) but I don't want her telling a lot of other men what to do."

The majority of workers in institutions are women, however. As noted above, the Bethel Deaconess Hospital and Home for the Aged employ only women with the exception of the Business Manager, the Doctors of the Clinic (one of whom is a woman) and the Superintendent of Grounds. The Kansas City, Kansas, Orphans' Home lists a man as Superintendent, but the remaining eight workers are women.

Women workers are in a slight majority in Mission Fields, the difference being greater among the General Conference than among Old Mennonites. The list of foreign relief workers shows approximately the same number of men and women. Some of the latter are wives of C. P. S. men, who were not counted. All of

Table 7. Expenditures of Bethel College Women's Association, 1934 - 1945

Rebuilding organ in Chapel	$ 4,000.00
Furnishing kitchen - Memorial Hall	3,306.98
Ovens - Memorial Hall	1,950.00
Electric Oven - Memorial Hall	925.00
Refrigerator - Memorial Hall	500.00
Drapes & Linens - Memorial Hall	236.69
Dishes (ordered) - Memorial Hall	1,000.00
Floor Asphalt tile - Memorial Hall (with help of Mission Societies)	1,100.00
Towards new girl's dormitory	1,625.22
Total	$14,643.89

Table 8. Receipts and expenditures of Bethel College Women's Association - Conference, 1945

Total receipts	$ 3,939.29
Total expenditures	2,314.07
Profit	1,625.22

the directors of the Relief Clothing Program are women. The editors of Children's Church Papers are largely women, several of whom reside in Kansas.

Menno Harder states: "Mennonite teachers hold a higher

status within their own group than do teachers in American life as a whole. Teachers and ministers are literally identical in Mennonite life." (Harder, 1944). It is interesting to note, therefore, the distribution of male-female faculty members in Mennonite colleges in Kansas (Table 9). An increase of women teachers may not necessarily mean a more liberal attitude toward women but may have an economic bearing. They may serve (as one of the women faculty members caustically remarked) as a source of cheap labor. In the college in which she was serving, the highest paid woman faculty member (a non-Mennonite) receives the same salary as the lowest paid male faculty member. This situation reflects the general American trend of non-equalitarian salaries for women, but may also have a deeper significance for this study. Perhaps it is a natural result of Mennonite subordination of women in church and public affairs. It may also indicate a deeply sacrificial spirit for the Church among the women as they might be earning twice the money with less effort in the public schools. The argument could be presented that women do not have the highly specialized training that a number of male faculty members have. It is true there are no women with a Ph.D. degree in any of the Mennonite colleges. The Who's Who among Mennonites lists only one woman with a Ph.D., the only one to have been earned by a Mennonite woman to the writer's knowledge. M.D.'s are more frequent, nine being listed in the 1937 Who's Who, and seven in the 1944 Who's Who.

When one of the colleges was discussing the advisability

of encouraging the women faculty members to earn Ph.D. degrees the following opinion was expressed which may not be limited only to Mennonite men: "I've never seen a woman Ph.D. yet who wasn't queer. Having to go through that ordeal alone without emotional and material support is such a strain that no woman can go through it and remain the same. I know a lot of women with M.A.'s who are way and above the Ph.D.'s I have known in balance and charm. Even getting an M.A. does something to them."

In America, girls were never excluded from Mennonite schools with the exception of the first school of higher education in Wadsworth, Ohio, "born in 1868 and buried in 1879." Rev. Don Smucker (1943) attributes its failure partially to the "dogmatic refusal to admit women to the student body."

There was considerable discussion in 1883 before girls were admitted to the Halstead Seminary - forerunner of Bethel College. This opposition to female higher education is not surprising, considering the recency of coeducation in America. The 1913 Bethel College Annual gives as the debate questions for the year "Resolved: That bi-education in high schools and academies is more conducive to moral development than co-education"; also "That bi-education in high schools and academies is more conducive to character education than co-education." That the issue is completely dead was evidenced by the reaction of present day students to whom the question was read. The idea of bi-education seemed entirely foreign to them.

That Mennonite girls soon began to take advantage of the open door of Mennonite academies and colleges is evidenced by the fact that for 20 years the female enrollment has surpassed male enrollment in all three Mennonite colleges in Kansas except in the years 1935 and 1936 in Bethel College (Table 10). Superficially interpreted, it would appear that Mennonite girls surpassed the boys in zeal for knowledge. Actually, other factors should be taken into consideration: because of limited opportunities for women, more of them enter teacher training which can be obtained from Mennonite schools; boys are more likely to enter specialized professional or vocational schools, or are needed on the farm too badly to be released for the luxury of Liberal Arts training.

The infrequency with which women reach prominence in Mennonite circles is demonstrated by the notably small proportion of women who are listed in the two volumes of Who's Who among the Mennonites. The second volume is of much greater scope both geographically and in coverage of all branches. This fact explains the much greater proportion of Kansas representatives in the first survey (Table 11). It is interesting to note that five of the 44 women listed in 1944 are deaconesses, 21 are college or academy teachers, the latter almost without exception on the staffs of church schools. Less than one-third of those listed in 1937 and one-fourth of the 1944 survey are or have been married women.

Of psychological and sociological interest is a picture

Table 9. Distribution according to sex faculty members in Kansas Mennonite Colleges

	1900		1910		1915		1925		1935		1945	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Bethel College	7	2	11	5	18	4					17	9
Hesston College					6	3	11	2	4	2		
Tabor College			11	1			16	3	9	3	15	3

Table 10. Distribution of college students according to sex in Kansas Mennonite Colleges

	1900		1910		1915		1925		1935		1945	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Bethel College Undergrads	31	21	61	53	109	129	186	297	213	189	102	296
sp. College	73	28										
Tabor College			5	1			49	50	39	42		
Acad.			37	19			54	69	27	39	42	122
Hesston College					53	54	85	109	58	67	116	187

appearing in the Bethel College bulletin of May 1, 1944. In it the male married students of the College sit in a lordly row. Standing back of each of them is an apparently docile wife, the whole atmosphere somewhat more than reminiscent of a photograph of the Nineties.

Table 11. Comparative study of women listed in Who's Who among the Mennonites

	1937	1944
Total number of men and women listed	500	1,000
Number of women listed	27	44
Number of married women listed	8	11
Number of single women listed	19	33
Occupations		
Missionaries	14	11
Medical doctors	9	7
Registered nurses	9	8
College or Academy teachers	3	21
Ph.D.		1
H. S. teacher		1
Number who have lived or studied in Kansas	23	22

Family Relationships

The Mennonite woman goes quietly about her work in the heart of Kansas almost totally unconscious of the diverse streams of culture which have determined her present status. In dim antiquity, woman was considered to exist largely for the sake of man's convenience. The Greeks raised her status to citizenship but still considered her a lesser creature. The Ancient Romans exalted the matriarch but the later Romans became notoriously lax in marital relations. The old German wife was worth no more than a servant or domestic animal, which her husband could punish or even kill (Unruh, 1913, p. 688).

The Jewish attitude was strongly ambivalent. Womankind was blamed for many of the evils to which mankind had fallen heir but on the other hand, the possibilities of her good and lasting influence as a mother were recognized. In comparison to woman's earlier low estate the Jewish woman had a high status but it was within the framework of a strong patriarchal organization. Women occasionally served as prophetesses and judges.

It remained for Jesus to bring into the world the leaven of the idea of equality of the sexes. "In the Gospels no woman appears as an enemy of Jesus. Pilate's wife took Jesus' side" (Unruh,1913, p. 688). The veneration of Mary as taught by the Catholic Church, in particular has undoubtedly resulted in added respect for women in general.

Under Paul's influence, and throughout Apostolic times, women again became the subservient member of a Patriarchy, al-

though a kindly, well-intontioned beneficent patriarchy. During the middle ages woman's status retrogressed under the monastic philosophy which regarded woman as the source of original sin. Sex relations were considered to be evil and were to be shunned at all costs if one wished to be holy.

The Reformation with its giving up of the monastic ideal of asceticism and its insistence on the complete equality of all persons before God, brought new hope to women. It is not surprising that the Anabaptists had difficulty in reaching unity, trying as they were to put the new wine of individual freedom into the old bottles of a literalistic interpretation of all parts of the Bible as being of equal authority.

But out of it all there evolved a common high regard for matrimony, an acceptance of a single standard of morals and a firm belief in the advisability of marrying within the Church. The Confession of Faith as adopted in the city of Dort in Holland in 1632 reads as follows: "He created the first man, Adam, and father of all of us, gave him a body formed 'of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life so that he became a living soul' created by God in His own image...gave him a place above all creatures...put him in the Garden of Eden... Thereupon he took a rib from the side of Adam, made a woman out of it, brought her to him, and gave her to him as a helpmeet and housewife."

Artile XII goes on to say "We also confess that there is in the Church of God an 'honorable' state of matrimony between two believers of the different sexes as God first instituted the

same...and as the Lord Jesus reformed it by removing all abuses which had crept into it, and restoring it to its first order. (Gen. 1:27, 2:18, 22, 24.)

..."the apostle Paul also taught and permitted matrimony in the Church, leaving it to each one's choice to enter into matrimony with any person who would unite with him in such a state, provided it was done 'in the Lord'...to be understood according to our opinion, that just as the patriarchs had to marry amongst their own kindred or generation, so there is no other liberty allowed to believers under the N. T. Dispensation than to marry amongst the 'chosen generation'...to such - and none others - as already, previous to their marriage, united to the church in heart and soul, have received the same baptism, belong to the same church, are of the same faith and doctrine and lead the same course of life with themselves. (I Cor. 7; 9:5, Gen. 24:4, 28:6, Num. 36:6-9)"

The Articles of Faith as adopted in Ebling, Germany in 1836 reiterates the belief in the sacredness of the marriage bond and insists on monogamy for life. Divorce is contrary to the Holy Scripture (Matt. 19:6, 9 also I Cor. 7:10-11) "Married people shall live a chaste and respectable life in their matrimonial state", Heb. 13:4. Restrictions as to blood relationship are in accord with Lev. 18 and 20, "For although the command is given only in the Old Testament, it nevertheless remains in force; for in the whole N. T. we find no reference that it has been abolished or is otherwise ordained". Marriage with an "unbeliever or for a carnal purpose only" is considered to be "deliberate

separation from the church," and might bring "shameful discord and other evil results, for instance, at the attendance of church services and the Lord's supper, or the rearing of children. Persons who want to enter wedlock should therefore examine themselves in prayer before God and also seek the advice of their parents and other relatives to follow it and not to grieve them but to give them joy. (Prov. 10:1) But if a member of our church nevertheless marries a member of another evangelical church, we expect that, for the sake of the spiritual development of their family life, they both become members of one church. But if one prefers to remain single, he also does well.....as no one is under obligation to God to remain either single or be married." (Kaufman, 1920)

Another later source reads, "By these scriptures it is clear that the marriage bond cannot scripturally be broken except through death, that plural marriages are unscriptural, that living with persons who have been divorced with the former companions still living constitutes adultery, and that among Christian people marriage should be 'only in the Lord.' Looseness in marriage lays the foundation for moral and spiritual corruption in home, Church and state. When kept sacred it means a pure and holy life, a God-honoring home, a Church in Gospel order, a nation above the average in morals."

Marriage, then, to the Mennonite is more than an indissoluble bond; - it is a sacred bond, which hatred, enmity and bitterness by their very nature would destroy. As one of the women interviewed expressed it: "Marriage should be a flowing

together" in harmonious, unified endeavour.

Taking into consideration this deeply religious concept of the family as a God-centered and holy institution, it is not surprising that divorce is extremely rare among Mennonites. The divorce records of Marion County between 1874 to 1924 show only 22 divorces among Mennonites all of whom had left the church prior to divorce. (Janzen, 1926, p. 147)

As far as is known, none of the graduates of Bethel College have ever obtained a divorce. Only an extremely small percentage of former students of any of the Mennonite colleges have ever done so. The social pressure against divorce is illustrated by the story of a young Kansas girl who had been a great favorite with her relatives. While living in the East she married a divorced man. They came back to Kansas to find themselves almost completely ostracized by her people. Only by degrees is she being reinstated in the good graces of the family.

In addition to the Old-World and religious influences affecting the Kansas Mennonite woman, the impact of pioneer American life has been tremendous in spite of her isolation. The very hardships forced the women to a new equalitarian level, because of the desperate necessity for each member of the family to bear his share of the load. No doubt some were broken in the process. The complete change from a life of comparative luxury in Europe to the barrenness and the poverty of the Kansas plains undoubtedly induced a state of emotional shock in some of the women.

Elder J. A. Wiebe (1940, p. 15) relates "I had loaded some lumber and utensils and my family on top (of the wagon). So we rode into the deep grass to the little stake that marked the spot I had chosen... My wife asked me 'Why do you stop?' I said, 'We are to live here'. Then she began to weep."

But not for long were the prairies bare. Almost immediately the settlers planted trees - apple, peach, pear, plum, apricot, cottonwood and maple. Temporary sod houses were built to be replaced as soon as possible by frame buildings. "The new buildings and villages were patterned after those they had left behind. Against the advice of Warkentin the settlers brought with them all kinds of furniture, tools and implements, even wagons and plows. The clock, which had probably been in the family for generations, was hung on the wall corresponding to the place in the old country. The beautiful chest styled after the traditional pattern and filled with the most cherished possessions was put into its familiar setting. If they had forgotten something they wrote to relatives to bring it along, for example, gooseberry seed, tulip bulbs, etc. Almost immediately the prairie was transferred by villages whose homes were surrounded by rows of shade and mulberry trees, and neat flower gardens and by fields of waving grain." (Krahn, 1944, p. 32)

"At the end of five years, Mennonite women no longer had to weep over their situation in Kansas - not that they ever spent much time in weeping - for they 'toiled in the heat of the day along with their men'...'who ploughed the dew under and did not stop plowing until the dew fell again'." (Noble, 1940)

The typical Mennonite farm home of today is a comparatively large two story, angular, white frame building surrounded by trees, some of which are quite young as they were planted to replace those lost by the ravages of drought and insects during the 30's and the severe freeze of 1940. The house yard, the lawn of which is not always too well kept, is ordinarily enclosed by a fence to keep out the chickens who otherwise have the run of the place. The barns are not so large as those found in Mennonite settlements in Pennsylvania and Ohio but there are numerous outbuildings, the newest of which is likely to be a dairy barn equipped with electrical or power-driven "milkers", refrigeration and sanitary stalls. An increasing number of Mennonites are selling whole milk direct to city markets.

In the interior of the house, the floors, walls, and furnishings are likely to be in good order and substantial in quality, but plain and serviceable, with no frills or furbelows. Living room furniture ordinarily consists of an overstuffed suite or a studio couch, a few chairs, a table or two and a piano (with the exception of those groups who forbid musical instruments in the house). Window hangings customarily are plain net or marquisette panels with no over-drapes. Window hangings in Amish homes consist of a single panel of muslin-like texture in typical Amish blue.

Dining room floors are usually covered with a linoleum rug, the furniture is likely to be the conventional oak dining room suite of 30 years ago or old pieces which have been in the family for generations. In short, Mennonite homes are unpretentious

and plain, but comfortable and orderly.

The majority of homes visited were equipped with electricity, most of them having taken advantage of the rural electrification program just before the war. Electric or gas refrigerators were common. The Holdermans, who only recently have been allowed to own automobiles and modern equipment seem almost to be in competition in their speed to acquire labor saving devices. Someone has said, "If you want to see good cars, go to a Holderman church."

Even the Amish have broken down under the pressure of the scarcity of labor and the availability of labor saving devices, sufficiently to allow their members to buy tractors, combines, hay-bailers, etc. One Amish community limits ownership to equipment without rubber tires. The other one allows rubber, which makes ownership of trucks possible. Automobiles are still taboo. Young Amish women "work along with their husbands" on power-driven machinery.

The typical Mennonite farm woman is as unpretentious as her home. In those communities originating in Holland, blue eyed blonds predominate; those of Swiss extraction are usually brown eyed and dark haired. These strains are quite noticeable but are beginning to break down under the increased inter-marriage between communities in recent years. By all the rules listed in American magazines on "How to Keep a Husband," the Mennonite farm women should have lost their husbands long ago, for their complexions are weather-beaten and innocent of makeup, their shoulders are stooped from hard work, their abdoments protrude

from child bearing and poor posture, their clothes are, if not actually dowdy, at least not worn "with style", hair-dress is extremely simple. But what would a Mennonite farmer do with a glamour girl for a wife? She would only bewilder and disgust him. He much prefers his "woman" who knows how to be a help-meet to a man, who is not afraid of hard work, who stands by "till death does them part." This surety gives the Mennonite woman a serenity - almost a complacency - which is quite noticeable. Rarely does one see the unhappy, strained and tense faces so common on a city street.

Were a stranger to visit Bethel or Tabor College campus, he would find few young girls, however, who would differ much in appearance from those fresh, pretty American girls to be found on any small college campus with a predominently rural constituency. On the Hesston Campus he would find more girls with long, uncurled hair, simpler clothes and less apparent use of cosmetics. He would see some heads wearing a small white net cap as a devotional covering.

If he were to visit a Holderman community he would see women dressed in plain dark, long sleeved dresses, black shoes and stockings and three cornered black veil or shawl over their heads. The daughters have begun to pin up the veil into a sort of little toque which sits on the back of the head. At home she often wears short sleeved dresses and socks instead of stockings. In the winter time Holderman women wear black velvet hoods.

The visitor to an Old Order Amish community would see the majority of women dressed in royal blue or purple unfigured

cotton dresses with black capes and aprons and a white devotional covering somewhat larger and of heavier material than those of the Old Mennonites. Younger women go barefoot around the house and garden in the summer time. When they go to town they wear black shoes and stockings and a large black bonnet. Children are dressed like their olders.

Eighteen of the women of this study resided on farms, three lived at the edge of small towns, seven resided in towns of 1500 or less, one on the edge of a large city and one in a rather congested area of the city.

Ages ran from approximately 30 to 65 with the greatest number apparently between 35 and 50. One-sixth of the women were married at 19, the one who married at 17 bore 10 children. Two of the women who had 12 children were married at 18, the third one was 20, one married at 18 had 10 children, - the rather obvious conclusion - the earlier the marriage the larger the family.

The statement has been made frequently that Mennonite widowers usually remarry very quickly - in earlier times as early as three or four weeks after the funeral of the first wife. The usual interval, at present, is a year or more, although the writer knows of one young man who waited only seven months. C. C. Janzen (1926, p. 97) writes that he "knew personally several widowers who traveled by train, wagon or even on foot from one community to another, even to neighboring states and beyond, gathering refusals as they journeyed

until some willing widow put an 'end to their quest' - marrying a few days later." He comments that often these marriages were not happy due to the speed of the courtship. It is interesting to note that four of the 30 women are second wives, all of whom married widowers with children. The size of the first families varied from one to nine children. In all of these cases the second wives bore from one to three children. In case of the women with nine stepchildren is interesting enough to bear telling. At the age of 38, this self-sacrificing woman entered as housekeeper the home of a sister who had died shortly after the birth of her ninth child. Two years later, at the age of 40, she married her brother-in-law and subsequently bore two children of her own. There seemed to be no difference in attitude toward the two sets of children. She spoke of "our children and our grandchildren", claiming all of them as her own. She had been suggested as a prospect for an interview by one of her stepdaughters who spoke of her as "my mom", affectionately and tenderly. In one of the other cases, some slight signs of incompatibility were manifest when the stepmother referred to the stepchildren as the "other children", stating that they did not desire much education - "they were of different blood", than her own.

The lack of higher education among older Mennonite women, especially of more conservative groups is reflected by the large number (14) who had an eighth grade education or less. A few had gone no further than the fourth grade. Several of them had obtained their scant eduoation in the German Bible School of

earlier days. Remarks were made such as "there wasn't much going in my day"; "I was needed at home - we had such a large family." One said that chronic ill health interrupted her education, several said they tried to learn with their children, one had obtained a year and a half of college credit after marriage. Only two (eighth grade level) said that they had "never had the ambition for more education - I don't think college would have helped me in my housework."

Seven had attended from one to three years of church academy or public high school. Nine graduated from high school; seven of the latter had earned from eight hours to more than four years college credit. Four of the 30 completed Nurses' training. One had enrolled in Leadership Training courses for many years.

The record of attitudes in regard to higher education for children revealed that the low educational level of the mothers was more often due to limited opportunities than to lack of interest. Twenty-four of the women wished their children to attend high school, 20 of them actively encouraged or hoped that they attend college. The Old Order Amish and the C. G. C. M. opposed attendance at high school and college because of their fear of its secularizing effect upon their religion. Two of the Holdorman women said it was not education to which they objected but the environment and "bad company" of higher schools. Some of their young people have been taking correspondence work from the American School of Correspondence in Chicago. A third one confided that her husband regretted his own lack of education because of some of his church duties, yet had not per-

mitted his children to attend high school. She remarked: "I was sorry for one of the girls. She learned so easy and liked school so well but had to quit. I've heard it said you can't even dig ditches anymore without an education."

At least four of the women interviewed had children who had done post-graduate study. One of the mothers of six is the proud parent of two physicians, one teacher, one daughter (a college graduate) studying voice in New York, one daughter married to a linotypist and one daughter in high school. In spite of her evident pride, she wondered "Did I raise my children wrong - did I spoil them that they move so far away?" She envied another couple of the community who were "sitting pretty" with 12 children on farms in the immediate neighborhood. "When they all come home - my! that must be something!" She repeated a question of a son who, as he was planting a tree for her, on his few days at home after completing medical school asked: "Mom, could I come home again?" She very heartily said "You sure could!" Although this mother was Russian born and had only a few years of education, there seemed to be an unusual degree of camaraderie in family contacts, also much good natured banter. During the course of the interview the mother remarked wistfully, "When the children come home we have the biggest fun out of it!" These anecdotes illustrate the strong family attachment so typical of Mennonite women.

When the Mennonites came to Kansas, parochial schools in the German language were held in homes, in private school buildings or in churches. Before long a compromise was achieved

whereby the 12 to 16 weeks of English school required by law was preceded or followed by a similar term in German. "In 1903 the English school term was lengthened to five months and attendance was made compulsory. ... In 1909 the term was raised to seven months and graduation became a possibility for most pupils." (Janzen, 1926, p. 102) For a time German was taught within the day's program or included as two of the seven required months of school, contrary to the letter of the law.

The passing of a state law prohibiting the use of any other language than English in the elementary school put an end to the German schools. Even nullification of the law by the Supreme Court did not revive them in their old vigor. At present, many country schools in Mennonite communities follow the public school term with three or four weeks of Daily Vacation Bible School in which a little German is presented. In other schools, Mennonites are the most ardent supporters of programs of religous education.

Mennonites appear to have given up any desire they may have once had for elementary parochial schools. The women of this study seemed to share the opinion of the president of one of the Kansas Mennonite colleges who said: "I don't think parochial education is the answer to religious education in America. It may create more problems than it would solve. It is better to stay in the American pattern."

Even the Amish said "We live in America. It is better for our children to learn to know how Americans do things. If we were to have only our own schools our children would grow up so

ignorant of American customs that they would be lost in their dealings with other people." Some of the women interviewed asserted that they practically had Mennonite schools anyway because all, or the great majority of children are Mennonite and the teachers are usually Mennonite. The fact that there are no parochial schools on the elementary level among Mennonites is further evidence that Mennonites prefer to keep young children with the family rather than sending them to a Boarding school.

Nine of the women interviewed preferred a church school for high school level. Another eight said they would prefer a church school if the curricula were broad enough and the teachers capable, or if it wouldn't be necessary to send their children away from home to attend them. For some of the other parents, a Church Boarding school was a welcome solution to a serious problem. They lived so far from a high school and on such bad roads that it was necessary for the children to board in town for all or part of the school year. Often these children do not have adequate supervision with unfortunate results. One mother called the Academy a "god-send" for her child.

It should cheer the hearts of our Church College Field men to learn that all 21 of the women who wished their children to attend college preferred a Church school.

Because the statement is heard so often that Mennonite families are large, the results of the study on this point were surprising. Fifteen or one-half of the women interviewed had given birth to only three children. Five more had borne only two, while there was one family with an only child. One family

consisted of four children, another five and two families had six. Only one-sixth (or five) of the mothers had really big families. Two of them had borne 10, three of them had achieved an even dozen. Child bearing seemed almost to have strengthened the latter, however, for all three of them were brisk, alert and capable. When the question was asked, "Is this about the number you had hoped or expected to have?" one of the mothers of 12 said, "Well, I guess I was just too busy to think about it. My babies came fast but I didn't resent any of them. Not long ago a woman acquaintance reminded me that I had once said I wanted eight boys. Our children are all living. We have been very fortunate." Another one remarked: "That was more than I expected but I don't know which one I would give up." Later on in the interview she said she thought big families are better for the children. She told of a neighbor who said he had never been happier than when all 13 of his children had been seated around the table - "and that's the way it is with us. After they get older though, they sometimes give you trouble. 'When they're little they step on your lap - when they're older on your heart.' I think a family - not too big - say six or seven or eight is nice, then the older ones can teach the younger." At this point, the teen-age daughter intervened with - "But that's a big family, mamma!" The other mother of 12 said: "Sometimes they come a little sooner than we expected but we wanted the last one - he made an even dozen, six boys and six girls." One mother of 10 said it was "plenty", five more mothers said they had "enough" with their two, three and six

respectively. Another said she had never wanted a big family. "I remembered too well how hard my mother had to work. But I must say my mother was very healthy. She remained in good health until she died suddenly at 86. But I wanted my girls to have the chance I didn't have." One of the Amish mother said she had had "no plans" but her daughter-in-law laughed and said "Well - that's a hit or miss proposition."

One of the mothers had recently visited a daughter in New York City. Her impressions of the idle life city women apparently live, were exceedingly unfavorable. "My!" she said, "so many twins! - so many children! And the women just sit along the river - no sewing - no canning - a person is happi r with things in the cellar. And the dogs! I would rather have 12 children than one piece of a dog! Ach! those women with dogs! Maybe they're happy but" - an expressive shrug of the shoulder showed grave doubt of the probability.

The stepmother of nine remarked that "big families are nice when they're good, and mine were all good. Sometimes I think you have more trouble with two or three than you have with 10 or 12." Fifteen (or half) of the mothers thought four was "nice". Since some of them are of child-bearing age, they may yet achieve their goal. One added that she guessed if she was supposed to have another one, she'd have it.

The attitude of the Church in regard to marriage "in the Lord" has been discussed in a previous chapter. Centuries of exhortation and social pressure has resulted in a strongly endogamous social structure. If a young person marries someone of

another denomination, he is more likely to leave the Mennonite Church than to persuade his marriage partner to join his own. The Holderman, Amish, Old Mennonite and Mennonite Brethren have been the strictest observers of this belief, the first two still allowing no compromise. The couple must join one church or the other. The liberal groups are more lenient in this respect, but even there, in any difference of opinion, it is usually remembered that the "out-sider" was not a "born" Mennonite and, therefore, perhaps not quite "solid" in his faith. Consequently, it is very difficult for any person not a "born" Mennonite to achieve a position of leadership in the Church. Needless to say, this in-group solidarity can be very irksome to the non-Mennonite and at times has been a contributing cause to marital friction.

Bearing these things in mind, then, it is not surprising that only three of the sons or daughters of those having married children, found companions outside the denomination. Eleven of the mothers stated that all of their children (thus far) had married Mennonites. One of the Amish mothers explained that two of her children had married "higher up Mennonites". The process of secularization of Mennonites often proceeds by means of a secularization ladder "up" through more liberal branches of the church. The backward movement rarely occurs. (Baehr, 1943) Nineteen preferred greatly to have their children marry within the Church, six more said it was desirable but not absolutely necessary. Four more thought the most important consideration should be whether they were Christians, two had not "thought about it much."

Those who stipulated "Just so they're Christians" thought it very important that religious differences be talked through before marriage and a decision made as to which church should be joined by both. One of the mothers was reminded of a remark her daughter had made just before going East: "Well, mom, what would you say if I see a man I like and marry him?" to which her mother replied, "Well Ann, if you see a man you like, why hop to it! - just so he's straight." The various reasons given for marrying within the Church did not differ greatly. Several said it was "Biblical" others said, "We were brought up that way and we want them the same", but the majority of answers reflected the belief that a similar background is an extremely important factor in marital happiness and stability of the home.

One said, "They're more happy and contented with the same heritage." Another said, "Marriage adjustments are easier if the married couple has the same pattern of life and a common understanding. I know my brothers have had some problems with non-Mennonite wives that we have never had." Another said: "They know each other better." One thought that "the stricter the religion, the more necessary it was for both to have the same faith." One mother observed: "If they are Mennonite, you know what kind of a background they've had but some of these others (sailors from the Naval Base) may have had two or three other wives. They'll say anything." One of them used an expression heard rather frequently among Mennonites: "I just wouldn't want them to marry 'out-siders'." Two of them said it would not be necessary for them to marry "born" Mennonites, but

they should come into the Church. One of them added that some who had "married-in were better Mennonites than some who were born-in." Another opined that she knew some Mennonite young people that she wouldn't care to have her children marry. Still another said, "It doesn't mean they (of other faiths) are not as good as we are but our young people would get into their ways - and they're all a bit different."

All of the mothers agreed, however, that the final choice must rest with the children. Parents could and should "advise", "guide", "let them know how you feel", or "choose the environment so that the right sort of young people are available as associates." Illustrations were given of the bad results when parents insisted on certain marriage partners: "There's a case of divorce in our Church now of a woman who says she never did like the man but her parents insisted." Several said, "Oh no!," "not at all!" or "it just wouldn't work out!" Another was reminded of a man who thought he had the gift for choosing mates for other people but "he made some terrible mistakes. I wouldn't dare - any human being couldn't possibly take people from here and there and have them turn out so well as God does." This answer reflects the Mennonite belief that "marriages are made in heaven", and for a mere parent to set himself up against God would be unthinkable. One of them said "The way parents live, the good example they set, helps the children to choose wisely." Several of the mothers thought the parents had a "right to step in" if a bad choice was being made. A number of them remembered that their own parents had not dared to choose for them. One

said, "My parents thought this one would be nice or that one but I just didn't like them." Another said "Parents should pray with their children about it - to help them realize the great burden upon them to make the right choices."

One of the most thoughtful answers was given by a Missionary who was a college graduate: "If the right kind of child-parent relationship has been begun in early childhood, if guiding principles have been set and if the child has received the proper sex education from the parents, the child will almost inevitably make good choices. My child of 10 knows about intercourse. We talked it over. It's pathetic what conditions we find in the schools." It appears that Mennonite parents would agree that the greatest gift they could bequeath to their children is what Fosdick calls an essential to great character: "that quick sense of possessing within ourselves something inwardly fine that must not be desecrated."

The same general tone prevailed throughout the answers regarding the right of parents to choose vocations. They should "guide", "direct", "influence", "study the child to discover his talents", "help them get established", "encourage"; another: "a parent should warn of the pitfalls and the probable conditions of the future, such as an over supply of nurses."

The vocational choices of the children included medicine, electricity, music, farming, the ministry, secretarial work, and teaching. Three boys are in the Army but the majority of draft age are in C.P.S. or have farm deferments.

The Holdermans and the Amish were unanimous in their hope that their children would be farmers. Their comments ran as follows: "We teach them to farm or be homemakers - they don't know or want anything else", "If Time remains and this world lasts, I won't say there might not be other things but now I think farms are for Mennonites", "When they don't have much education, there's not much choice (except farming) but I'd like one to be a preacher." They teach their children farm and homemaking arts at a very early age. One mother informed the interviewer that her daughter had started piecing a quilt at the age of seven years.

Only one member of the other branches said definitely that Mennonites should be on the farm. One mother of 12 said they trained their children to be farmers. They require their children to work at home without pay until they are 21, then if they desire a college education they may go. If they remain at home they continue to work without pay until they are 24 when they are given "a good start" toward a home and farm of their own. She remarked: "If you keep them farming until they're 21, they're likely to keep on with it."

Other parents hoped that their children would go into music, art, medicine, teaching, missionary work or the ministry. The remainder replied less definitely: "Just so its useful", "a decent profession", "so they behave", "anything that is honest, according to what they can do", or "in the Lord's service."

The Mennonite family has always been thought to be a patriarchal family. This study indicates that in practice, it should be more accurately described as equalitarian or even matriarchal, at least in the areas of home management. In that debated question in American homes "Who controls the use of the family car?" only seven said that the father gave permission to use the car, four mothers said they gave permission, one couple exercised equal authority, and 10 mothers said that the children usually approached them first but the mother conferred with the father before permission to use it was given. In some families, of course, this was no problem because of the young age of the children or the old age of the car.

One mother said, "They always asked me and I was supposed to ask Dad." Only one of the eight above said "my husband, he's always the boss - he's quite strict."

For other privileges the children in 20 of the cases approached the mother first, the remaining eight asked either parent, depending on who was on the scene. The greater social distance so common between father and child as compared to mother and child is illustrated by some of the replies, "Mothers must serve as intermediaries", "I'm first - I think mothers are always first, don't you?" They say, "Do you spose Dad would let us do so and so?" "We talk it over, sometimes they want me to 'break it' to their Dad", "they asked me, then I asked him." Some of them answered "If they go to him, he says 'Go ask mama'." "They always come to me even the boys - didn't they, Dad?" - and "Dad" nodded "Yes". In several of the cases, the

statement was made that "we always tried to work together on these things." Occasionally, the father was appealed to because the children found him more lenient than the mother. "If I wouldn't say yes, they'd say, 'We'll go ask Poppy'."

The directing of home chores seemed to be divided along traditional man-woman division of tasks - the man using the boys in field work and outside chores, the women directing the girls in the home. The lines were not drawn firmly, however, for in daughterless homes the boys help inside or vice versa. Children seemed to be used and directed wherever and by whomever there is the greatest need in a cooperative spirit. One mother said she uses the boys but wouldn't take them if they were needed more sorely outside because "you almost have to do the corn on the run sometimes." Another admitted that "Daddy's the boss but if I thought something else, I'd say so. Nothing is perfect." One mother of 12, who had an unusually energetic, aggressive manner said "I boss on the outside too sometimes!" and laughed. Her husband, sitting in on the interview, laughed also. In town, the mothers took chief responsibility of management as there were few chores and the father worked away from home most of the day. Mennonites do not send their children to church. They take them. (Harder, 1944) This statement is borne out by this study, for only one mother limited the affirmative answer by saying "except the father". Ten of them said they sit together, consequently both care for the children during services. If they sit separately the mother cares for the baby, the father for the next older and the boys. Only five women said they

cared for the children alone but in these cases the father served as minister or usher or had some other duties which prevented his assistance.

Another evidence of the religion-centered character of the Mennonite family is revealed by the fact that 21 of the families faithfully kept up the custom of family devotions. The seven who said "not regularly" and the two who said "no" apologetically explained that the nature of the husband's job made it difficult to get the family together at a suitable time. Some families had both morning and evening devotions as well as Grace at table. The father usually conducted but in 18 of the cases other members shared in the service by reading verses or praying and singing.

When it comes to recreation the usual American pastimes are conspicuous by their absence. Never once were ball games, golf, cards, dances or movies named either as individual or family recreations. Movies were mentioned once but by a woman who said, "Nobody in my family has ever attended a movie." Movies are attended by the more liberal only rarely and with discrimination. Good Mennonite parents would never think of sending their children to the movies to "get them out from underfoot."

People who are accustomed to the above forms of entertainment would say "How dull! However do they amuse themselves?" As a matter of fact, Mennonites do not consider play necessary or even desirable for grown-ups but on those rare occasions when they allow themselves recreation they like quiet pleasures like

picnics, table games, family gatherings or other forms of visiting, singing and reading together. The family activity most frequently mentioned, however, was trips. Some of even the most conservative said, "We love to take trips - we've been to California and all through the West." Some have made it a point to visit C.P.S. camps since their formation.

Although they weren't mentioned as recreation, important events of the year for many Mennonites are the Annual Church Conferences, the Saenger-fests (Song Festivals) the Missionary Sales and the Annual Hospital Gift Days. Then there are always weddings to which all of the relatives and most of the Church members are invited. Guest lists of three and four hundred are not unusual. In the "worldly" branches wedding ceremonies have become quite conventionalized, only very rarely is the bride dressed in other than the traditional beautiful long white gown and veil. Ordinarily a bridesmaid and best man are the only attendants, but the writer was a guest at one Mennonite wedding in which the participants included a matron of honor, a maid of honour and four bridesmaids, all dressed in chiffon velvet formals provided by the bride's parents. The refreshments after the ceremony consisted of chicken salad sandwiches, chicken noodle soup, relishes, peaches, icecream and cake. The bride's parents had purchased more than 80 chickens for the event. This amount of ostentation is frowned upon by the Mennonites as a whole, however. What amazed and amused the writer greatly was that at this wedding in all its pomp and glory, she heard the aforementioned sermon on the rightful subserviency of the women

to the man - baldly and boldly stated, as if without conceivable contradiction. It was an excellent illustration of the unevenness by which secularization proceeds in a changing culture.

Civil marriages are practically unknown among Mennonites - a natural consequence of their religion-centered lives. Ceremonies frequently include a sermon or sermonette. Sometimes two or three ministers officiate. Mennonites endow the marriage ceremony with all the solemnity and sanctity due an undertaking so very important and life-binding to them.

One of the forms of recreation particularly enjoyed by Mennonites is the family reunion. One of the women interviewed, said she would rather be baking and preparing a meal for a family gathering than anything else she knows. The freundshaft or family clan is immensely important to a Mennonite. Frequently when a stranger is visiting in a Mennonite home the preliminary social intercourse is to determine where each "belongs". After family relationships are defined, the conversation drifts to other topics, such as farming or homemaking but is likely to revert to the original subject at any moment.

In women so strongly domestic, one might expect fancy work or similar occupations to be the favorite form of personal recreation. On the contrary, only four mentioned needlework; but 25 of the 30 answered: "Read!" Many of them said it with great emphasis, naming it alone. Reading matter consisted in large part of the Bible, church publications, farm papers such as Capper's Weekly, and daily newspapers. One woman said she "loved the Reader's Digest", another that she "loved novels."

Two women "loved to collect poetry." Another, active in religious education, said she'd like to take classes and study, have a room of her own and time to file all the material she has collected on children's Sunday School materials.

Five of the women enjoyed playing the piano. Other activities mentioned only once or twice were: beautifying house and garden, visiting, sewing, writing, singing, resting, making a scrap book, art and arranging people's hair. One unusual mother said that for her, housework was only "marking time" until she could go back to school again - she loved to study. (She is a college graduate, her father has a Ph. D.)

When the question was asked, "Is there something you'd rather be doing as an occupation than housework?", 13 of the women said "no, I enjoy it" or "I'm satisfied." Five would enjoy nursing, one teaching, one working with children and one with young people as counselor, two in an institution such as an Old People's home, one, missions; one, relief work; and one had always had "music under her skin." Almost without exception, the activities named are those which might be classed as Social Welfare.

Household tasks ranked in order of popularity as follows: cooking and baking, 13; gardening, 11; sewing, nine; canning, two; "all of them equally", two; cleaning, two. Taking care of the chickens, decorating the house and fancy work rated one each. Two said, "It's all the same - just so I get done!" A few actively disliked dishes, dusting, sewing and soap making.

Expressed attitudes toward household tasks ran as follows: "I don't feel good not doing anything", "We never have time to think about what we like best", "We have to do all of them so we might as well learn to like them", "I think gardening is the best nerve tonic one can take", "I garden for pleasure - it's a treat to get out into the garden in the early morning", "I like sewing - it's a good way to express one's personality."

Mennonite women do practically all of their own housework. A woman who hired a maid because she couldn't cook, would be considered a poor creature indeed. The extremes which these attitudes reach is illustrated by the minister's wife who lost prestige because she asked advice on how to make smooth gravy.

In those branches which retain the garb, the ability to sew is an absolute necessity. The Amish said they make all the family clothing except the Sunday suits which are made by tailors. The Holdermans said they buy suits for the men and some coats for the women but otherwise make all other clothing. Thirteen of the women asserted that they make most of the clothing for the family. Six more said that they do not sew as much as they used to when the children were smaller and ready-made clothing less easily available. As one of them expressed it, "I used to look around the house and see not a stitch that I hadn't made." Only three said "part" and one said "a little." There were none who said they did no sewing.

A good Mennonite housewife takes pride in a well-stocked cellar. The amount of canning varies considerably according to the size of the family or the urban or rural character of the

home but judged by ordinary American standards is always generous. The largest number of cans of fruits and vegetables reported by any of the women in this study was 1200, next largest, 1000. Ten of the women stated that they ordinarily preserve from four to eight hundred cans. The smallest number reported was 200. One mother commented: "he always says I can too much but he has no idea of how much it takes." It was interesting to discover that only five of the families do not or have never had the use of a frozen food locker. Several of those who had none expressed the wish that they could obtain one or lived close enough to a plant to make it practicable.

The garden provides the materials for filling many rows of shelves in many Mennonite homes. All of the homes of this study had gardens, only one of which was listed as "small". Gardens of about the extent of a city lot were maintained by 15 of the families. Many farm gardens consist of a house garden of about the size of the above garden but additional "patches" of corn, or potatoes or cuoumbers are planted in a field near by.

Chicken raising seemed to be a cooperative family venture. In six of the families the mother took the major responsibility, in six the father, in another six cases both shared equally. Four more said that the mother took care of the chickens in the summer when field work was heaviest but that the father took over in the winter. Six families had no chickens. In two of the cases the task was delegated to the children; in many of them the children assisted.

At one time milking was considered a feminine task but the acquisition of dairy equipment has lightened woman's load also. At least seven of the 20 families who kept cows, owned milking machines. One of these was an Amish family who had no electricity but whose machine was run by a gas engine. Another was a Holderman who showed the writer with great pride the completely modern dairy barn in which on an upper level, automatically controlled stalls took care of three cows at once. It was as clean as the proverbial whistle. "We must be ready for the inspector at any moment", she explained. Several volunteered the information that their cows provided an income of approximately $250.00 a month. In two other cases only two or three cows were kept for family use because "they didn't like to milk" and they thought there was "more money in cattle." In all of the above instances, the sons and daughters shared in the milking chores. In one family a 13 year old boy, single handed managed the milking machine upon occasion. Only six women said that they help regularly, two said "summer mostly" and three said "no".

Judging from this study, Mennonite women employ a minimum amount of household help. Only one was hiring a full time "girl" but this arrangement was to terminate soon. This example is an illustration of those cases of especial need when it is considered excusable for women to hire help - the babies had come fast. They were stair steps of one, two and three year olds. In spite of this, the mother helped in the fields because she "just loved to drive machinery". She had accom-

panied her husband on a custom-combining circuit to drive the truck because she enjoyed it. She said "I was driving the tractor all week while they were baling." Fifteen of the mothers said they hired no help, nine stated that they hired part time help, while seven volunteered the information that they didn't need help because their children were old enough to give them assistance.

On the other hand four of the husbands employed full time help, five part time and the remainder had none except their own children. There were seven who were employed.

This study also seems to indicate that a less definite division of man-woman labor prevails now than formerly. Only one woman said that her husband would not help in the house - that he considered that "woman's work". Another said that her husband preferred to hire help than to assist in household tasks but that he loved the children and was a "regular kinder-maedchen" with them. Seven of the women mentioned that the husbands were particularly good at helping with the children. "He wouldn't want me to tell this", said one, "but he even 'made' diapers for the children." Another said her husband was "very good with the children. When our 10 week old baby had the whooping cough he and I took turns caring for the child - he one night and I the next." Only a few said their husbands slept too soundly to hear the children at night.

Eleven of the women said their husbands would help with housework if necessary but that they usually had too much of their own work to help to any extent, at least in the summer

time. Several said their husbands helped willingly and were "their best help but things had to move." Seven asserted that their husbands "liked to help" while nine seemingly "didn't mind". Two or three said their husbands were speedier at the tasks than they, one adding, "he really taught me most of what I know. He was the youngest in a big family of boys and had helped a great deal at home." Still another said her friends envied her because her husband was "so good to help." While the interviewer was in the home, the husband proceeded to get the three little boys ready for bed.

One mother who asserted that her husband liked house work, added: "He 'batched' before his marriage. He says he'd never accuse any woman of being slow." Several said that their husbands volunteered with dishwashing, one remarking: "In the 18 years since our marriage he has always helped with the evening dishes."

One admitted that her husband didn't like to help with the laundry. He always sent in a boy to help instead of coming himself and provided a power driven machine as soon as possible. Another commented "There's only one thing he don't like to do around the house - he don't like to wash dishes. He sometimes wipes dishes for me on Sunday afternoon though. Then he wipes two or three dishes and says, 'All the work around the house, I have to do'."

The amount of participation by the husbands in conservation of food varied considerably. Only three answered "no" because the nature of their husbands' work prohibited. Eight mentioned

"butchering" as the chief conservation activity on the part of the husband. Seven said they had the help of their children but 10 said their husbands helped considerably. In answer, one exclaimed "Heavens yes! when I had my operation he did most of it."

All of the huabands helped with the gardening. Their contributions usually consisted of plowing the garden in the spring and of cultivating with horse or hand plow later in the season. In five of the urban families, the husband took the major responsibility using gardening as a hobby. One of the women remarked: "I tell him the garden'a his baby."

Six of the women thought they helped their husbands aa much as the husbanda helped them. Nine more said they worked together helping each other as necessary according to the demanda of the season. Two more said they helped with the chores, etc., in summer. Eleven said "no" because of the nature of their husband's work or because the aid of the children no longer made it necessary.

Six or seven of the women said their husbands told them they worked too hard - that they should conserve their strength by doing lesa canning and gardening. One elderly Holdeman remarked: "I tell her she's getting too old to tear around outside but I think she'a getting worse instead of better."

It has been said upon occasion that Mennonite families have one purse. The returna of this study seem to aubstantiate the statement. One Amish woman expressed it thus "We live as one." An Amish man asserted: "She carries the pocketbook!" But the wife retorted "But you take the money out and spend it!" Cheok-

ing accounts are either joint or single accounts, in the latter case, the wife and sometimes the children also drawing upon it except in three instances. Only one family kept separate accounts. One family kept no bank account. In only one or two instances was the chicken money kept by the wife for her own purposes. One of these used it for clothing for the children and herself and for upkeep of the house, asking the husband for money only if it is not sufficient for her needs. She commented: "It's such a satisfaction to me not to have to ask for money - you don't know what a difference it makes - for one thing it teaches women how to handle money. I would advocate some such system to all young married people." Some husbands are very generous; one wife said, "Lots of times he gives me a twenty dollar bill when we go to town and says 'Now spend it!' but I guess I was brought up to be too saving. I never spend it unless I really need it." A number of the wives seemed to think that their husbands are "easier" with money than they. One of them said "It would never do to send the girls and him (to buy). They'd come back with such high priced things." One woman said, "My husband picks out the wall paper and many articles for the home. He always gets better things than I would."

The purchase of furniture, cars and large equipment for the house seemed to be a cooperative venture. Twenty-six women said that husband and wife shopped together for important items. In two cases the mother took the initiative, in two others, the father.

Family clothing was customarily purchased together by 17 families. If there were daughters in the family, they accompanied the mother. But the mother usually went along with the boys and husbands because as one expressed it, "Dad is more in a hurry and he would say, 'Oh, it's all right!'" The father of a large Holdeman family remarked: "More than once we left over $200 in a clothing store."

The women almost without exception wished the husbands to see important purchases such as a coat before buying. One wife said "my husband is better at picking out mine than I am but he wants me to buy his shirts." In five cases each bought his or her own wearing apparel alone.

In 16 cases the mother took the initiative in buying groceries; in nine, they shopped together; three said either one according to convenience. In only two cases did the father habitually do the buying. The others would do it if the mother made a list of things needed or a "ticket" as it was called. One said her husband just didn't have any judgment as to how much was needed. "One time he brought a two pound roast home for a company dinner!" One Amishman who had been purchasing groceries for his daughters as well as his wife because of illness in the family, remarked with feeling "Oh Boy! I'd rather work all day than fool with them points!"

It appeared that account-keeping is rather haphazard. The majority of families reported that only enough is done "to keep straight the income tax." Accounts were kept by the fathers only in 23 cases; in two families the daughters are attempting

to keep the books. In five homes the mother kept the household accounts while the fathers took care of all other business.

The assertion that Mennonites are predominantly landowners is substantiated in this report. Twenty-three of the 30 owned the property in which they reside. At least three of the other seven were renting only very temporarily.

Every one of the 30 was certain her husband would consult her before buying or selling property. Several added that he would "have to - the property is in my name also." One of the women said, "Some of the deeds are in my name because of the inheritance laws."

Mennonites are not active politically. They avoid any contacts which would "yoke them with unbelievers". The more conservative frown upon voting in state or national elections. "For", they say, "if we vote a man in as president we are in duty bound to obey him in all things and that we cannot do if he takes the country into war." Consequently, it was not surprising to learn that only 20 of the women vote. Four of them said they ask their husbands' advice but 13 said, "We talk it over, then each of us votes as he thinks best." One added that "We have lively and interesting discussions but we try to agree beforehand, otherwise we cancel each other's vote." Only two said they did not discuss the candidates.

When the Mennonites came to Kansas they bought the alternate sections of land from the railroad. The other sections had previously been settled by American homesteaders. Before long the Mennonites had bought out many of the homesteaders so that at

present many communities are almost solidly Mennonite.

Frequency of contact with non-Mennonites for the women studied, ranged from "scarcely any" through the degrees of "very little but feel at ease with them", "not frequent but enjoy" to "greatly enjoy". There were six in the last named group. In some ways, they were non-conformists. One was a woman who was becoming increasingly alienated from her own group and rather frequently attended other churches. Another was born in a foreign country as a missionary's daughter. Her childhood and youth had been passed in a non-sectarian, intellectual atmosphere. Sho finds the quibblings about dress, the back-bitings as to orthodoxy almost intolerable at times. She found restrictions much more severe in Pennsylvania than in Kansas, however. In the former stato she spoke frequently before other denominations but only twice was she asked to speak before Mennonite audiences which included men in the group.

Another one of the women, the mother of the medical graduates mentioned above, said, "Anyone who likes us is welcome in our home - any color or religion - anyone." A mutual friend said of her, "That surely is true. She's just like that!"

Still another woman had spent some time in other communities. They had transferred their membership to a Presbyterian Church for eight years and to a Methodist Church for four years. They had come back to the Mennonites because of her husband's people. She was continuing an active interest in the Religious Education of the city. The majority of her non-Mennonite contacts were in this area.

By and large, most of the contacts with "outsiders" were with non-Mennonite neighbors, teachers or customers. The Amish and Holdeman women, in particular, mentioned customers - women who made a habit of buying cream, eggs, poultry and garden produce from the farm women. Pride in their handwork is evidenced by the following statement: "I have more customers for 'fries' than I can take care of. Once I dressed 38 at one time for a customer and she said they didn't have to do any of them over." Mennonite women said they enjoyed "visiting" (chatting) with these town women but one day one of the latter asked if her son could call on the Mennonite woman's daughter - "because the town girls didn't know how to do anything; but I said 'No!' From what I heard, her son was just like the girls he ran around with."

The attitude of one husband toward neighborhood visitors was expressed thus "They can come - just so they don't stay too late so he can't go to bed."

An expression heard more than once was, "I believe in trying to get along good with everyone." The writer infers from comments she has heard that she may have visited the more outgoing members of the ultra conservative groups. "Some of these Amishmen just won't talk", said a man who had left the Amish Church. She heard stories about the Holdemans. "They still practice the ban - that is they refuse to eat with anyone who has ceased to be a Holdeman." About 10 years ago a man who lived in a Holdeman neighborhood had a series of misfortunes. His neighbors even Catholics and non-believers rallied round to

help him with his work - but not the Holdemans. They never stepped into his house because he had pictures on the walls.

But just what does the Mennonite women think of other women? A number of them opined that if they were Christian and came from a rural background they did not differ greatly. Some of them said their non-Mennonites friends were about similar in habits of living because they wouldn't associate with women who drank and smoked and ran around.

The general opinion was, however, that Mennonite women "learned to work" and had more skills in homemaking. "Just think!" one of them said, "what it would mean not being able to sew!" Mennonite women were thought to be more family-centered, more "saving", more hospitable - in the sense of feeding and housing a guest well and cheerfully, but were not as sociable in other areas. She was less likely to demand her rights, much less likely to move from place to place. One woman remarked that she had moved only once in her life, "from home to here." This is not at all unusual. Non-Mennonite women were thought to run around more, to spend much more time on personal grooming, to be less satisfied in the home. One or two thought other women were broader-minded, better educated and did more reading. Another criticized Mennonite women for their exclusiveness, "They don't make other people feel at home in our churches."

One of the more thoughtful added that Mennonite women were more timid in discussion, in business and in organization but that they will go the second mile to help in a practical way

adding, "and they know how to do it too!"

Eight of the women thought rather definitely that Mennonite women were happier and more contented than other women. Fourteen others were inclined to believe it was true, several of whom said it depended on whether the women were Christian or not. Five did not know other women well enough to be able to offer an opinion; one said "no". One said: "They're satisfied if they don't know anything else, like the Holdemans but if they get out among other people they are very dissatisfied." Another remarked they seemed to be happy; if they weren't contented they didn't show it so much. In that way they were like American women of high standards who hid any unhappiness they might feel because of personal pride. "But", she added, "they work too much; they don't take enough time for recreation."

The writer asked several thoughtful people of her acquaintance if they believed Mennonite women were jealous of other women. All of them answered no. One of them remarked that even women who have left the church and had wide experience were still proud of their Mennonite heritage. Another said, "No, I wouldn't say so - curious yes, about the way other women live but satisfied with their own lives." Still another remarked, "No, wherever I have lived the attitude seemed to be 'We own our land; we have higher standards than these Americans; in Oklahoma they even had definitely derogatory descriptive phrases for the share-croppers: 'dass blossa Texona' to be interpreted as 'those low Texans' or 'just Texan trash.'"

Only one young woman (O. M. who lived in the midst of an Amish community) thought she had fewer privileges and conveniences than her mother who lives in a prosperous Iowa Community which had evolved from the ultra-conservatism of the Old Order Amish some generations past.

The other 29 were certain they had more conveniences than their mothers had snd were quite sure they had more freedom "to go" and more of a "say-so" in family affairs.

A Mennonite attends his own church faithfully - he rarely enters another one. Twenty of the subjects of this study said they attend special services in other churches occasionally, three said, never. Six said they attend non-Mennonite churches when they are in other communities. Only one replied "frequently".

The lack of participation in non-Mennonite community affairs is most clearly shown by the organizations of which the women are members. Only two of the women said they belonged to the Farm Bureau; one said Y.W.C.A.; one, W.I.L. The rest of the organizations are Mennonite in composition - Sewing Societies, Mission Societies, Hospital Auxiliary, Homemakers, etc. Ten women said they did not belong to any organization.

Sixteen of the women enjoyed taking an active part, four more with moderation. Most of the sixteen held an office of some kind.

Seven of the women said their husbands encouraged them to participate in community affairs. Another 10 favored a moderate amount - if they "weren't on the road all the time." Another

five tolerated, two wouldn't like it very well, two "wouldn't care" if the women wished it (which they didn't). When the interviewer asked an elderly Holdeman how he felt about his wife participating so actively in the Church Sewing Society of which she had been treasurer for 14 years, he said, "That's their business. Why shouldn't they do it if they want to?"

Fifteen of the women had active church duties (largely teaching in Sunday School). Nine have had in the past; only six said they had none.

Twenty-six said they had the privilege of voting in all church matters but four of the 26 did not take advantage of the opportunity. Four were not allowed to vote at business meetings.

Two of the women were not permitted to speak in their church but 12 participated more or less freely. One of them said: They say the women run our church. Fourteen of the women admitted that the men did "most of the talking."

One woman said that her husband thought the women were getting "too forward nowadays. For instance, the women of our church (M. B.) have been making lots of money at sales, etc. The young women went right ahead and bought individual communion cups without asking the church if it wanted to change from the common cup. It hurt some of the older people so that they wouldn't take communion."

All of the women reported that their churches participated in some form of mutual aid, ranging from a comparatively unorganized "neighborliness" in conservative groups through the

Mennonite "Hilfs plan" to the highly organized Mennonite Mutual Insurance Association.

Seven of the women thought their church was not strict enough, six more thought it was along certain lines, but was not consistent. Twelve appeared satisfied with conditions as they were. One of the Amishwomen said problems of discipline were very difficult but she didn't believe in being too severe. "We can only hope that they'll see it some day." In like vein, though in more concise language was the comment of a better educated woman: "too much discipline embitters. It is much more important to instill a will for right living."

It was most interesting that the only two women who very definitely thought the Church did not give the women enough opportunity for service were the college grsduates. One thought there should be deaconesses in tho Church. The other thought that perhaps active participation of women was a gradual process - the older women didn't seem to have much desire to participate, but she added: "the women themselves were partly to blame; they would find that they had a lot of talent if they'd just crawl out of their shells." Eight believed that the women had sufficient opportunity to participate but that the women "fall down." Five gave no answer to this question, the remainder opined that "there was plenty to do - sometimes too much."

The vision of what women might be doing in a constructive way to better the world was rather limited. The question seemed to baffle nine of the women - they seemed unable to answer.

The other replies ran rather conspicuously to personal ethical behaviour and to good homemaking. Four women replied, "Be better mothers"; two, "provide a good home"; two, "support husbands." Other suggestions were: "be chaste", "be an example", "criticize and gossip less", "see that children have wholesome entertainment in the home", "be more kind", "read more and better material", "exchange ideas more frequently." Two or three thought women might be doing more in the realm of social welfare. One of the college graduates said, "There should be more women in Washington. When my children are older, I'm going to take a more active interest in politics."

There were only two mothers who were certain that their children were fully as respectful to them as they were to their parents. There were six who were not quite so sure. All of the above belonged to the more conservative isolated groups with one exception - the missionary mentioned above. She stated that her children had attended an English school while in India where they were taught respect by their elders. She added that disrespect was the first thing her husband punished for.

The majority of the parents felt that children are not as respectful, at least on the surface, but many of them felt there was less social distance between parent and child than formerly. Children were "more free to criticize", "to talk back - they say things to us we would never have dared to say to our parents", were more "forward" more "fresh" - particularly the younger ones - "the trouble is the children know more than we do because they've had so much more education; they've seen so much more."

Parents were glad, however, that their children confided in them so much more than they had felt able to do as children. One mother said, "I didn't confide any of my boy-relationships until they were serious enough for marriage. My girls come in and sit on the edge of the bed and talk to us after dates and parties, if they wish to talk it over with both of us." One mother thought her children were much more devoted and confidential. "We three girls talk over things very freely", she said.

Some remembered how strict and severe their parents had been and how they had feared them. "If you crossed his path--ooh! and yet he was a very good provider - always extremely generous with Christmas gifts." Another said that she knew from her own childhood experience that one could be outwardly respectful but inwardly "boiling and resentful - and that's not right!" Still another reminisced: "I remember when I became accountable my parents made me confess every evening. I remember sitting on the steps and wondering if I really had anything to confess. I only make my children confess if they do something wrong."

Some felt that their children were not as respectful as some other Mennonite children they knew. One of them told of visiting in a home in which a daughter who had been teaching school for several years asked her parents in a whisper if she might show a certain family possession to the guests.

One parent blamed the "schooling" of today, saying that children were encouraged to express themselves more freely than they used to. Another remarked: "Parents and children should

be comrades but sometimes they goo too far. What we need is a school for parents!"

The answer of one of the Amishwomen recalls a custom which at one time was quite common among Mennonites with large families. "I don't remember my own parents very well. I started working out (as hired girl) when I was in the second or third grade. I was glad to get married so I could stay home." This is an unusually young age but many Mennonite girls formerly started 'working out' for other families when they reached the age of 14 or 15.

The attitudes towards divorce were somewhat more lenient than one might expect. All of them opposed it, the Amish and the Holdemans most emphatically, of course. Biblical reasons (adultery) were given by four as the only valid cause. Fourteen, however, admitted that divorce would be most regrettable but might be necessary upon occasion in cases of mistreatment or extreme incompatibility. One said that she didn't know anyone personally who would be better off. Another said she had never really had to settle it in her own mind because the issue had never been raised among her friends or family.

The marriage-for-life attitude of Mennonites was reflected in the answer of one woman who said, "How can you be happy if you know its only for a time - even 25 years!" Another said, "For me, I don't want no man different than I have." She had said earlier: "When they asked me in citizenship test if I believed in polygamy, I said, 'What's that?' 'Do you believe in having more than one husband?' I said 'one's enough for me!"

(with emphasis)

The opinion was general that remarriage was un-Biblical. Many remarked there were entirely too many easy divorces in America.

All 30 women were convinced that the home was the rightful place for women, particularly if there were children. Several expressed the opinion that it was "too hard on a woman" to try to maintain both job and home. One said "if I wanted extra money I'd rather grab a milk stool."

Seven, however, added that a woman should have other interests. "Home alone is narrowing to an individual," said one. Only two mentioned special projects of their own for raising extra money. Both of them were carried on in the home. One wove rugs, the other did non-professional hair-dressing to "keep from getting too lonely for my boy." One, with three small children (under four years) was planning to do private nursing while her husband was in summer school. It was financial necessity rather than boredom with her home, however, because she believed that "homemaking is the highest calling a woman can have." Another said, "A woman can be a missionary in her home." Another told an interesting story of a sister-in-law who hung her medical diploma in her kitchen and devoted herself to family life because her husband wanted a homemaker and not another practicing physician in the family.

Many of them deplored the way mothers were neglecting home and children. They attributed the rise in juvenile delinquency to the failure of mothers to remain in the home.

Mennonite women seem to be in hearty accord with Dr. A. E. Hertzler who is reported to have remarked: "The biggest contribution Mennonites can make is more Mennonites!"

Taking all factors into consideration, it appears that in management of church and public affairs, the Mennonite man enjoys a higher status than the woman; home management, however, approximates a state of parity in a cooperative venture. Even in this area the woman is at least nominally subservient to the man.

The traditional role of the Mennonite woman is amusingly illustrated by an anecdote which came out of a recent wedding. The bridgegroom's parents were given the customary flowers to wear and were left to pin them on themselves. When they came down the aisle the man was wearing the corsage, the woman, the boutonnierre! Just why women should be kept in a subservient role is an interesting question. Is it that men consciously or unconsciously realize their dependence on their women folk and fear the dominance possible in such a situation? That Mennonite men are dependent for their comfort, well being, and emotional support is evidenced by numerous facts. Very few Mennonite men remain unmarried.

Out of 956 men listed in "The Who's Who Among the Mennonites" of 1944 only 24 were unmarried. At least three of these have married since the volume was printed. The tendency for widowers to remarry quickly has been noted previously. There were approximately 50 second marriages listed in the above "Who's Who". Two facts should be kept in mind in interpreting these

particular data: wives usually outlive their husbands, and Mennonites do not believe in remarriage after divorce.

Mennonitss marry at a comparatively early age. The peak ags of marriagss by Marion County Mennonite men in the years 1874-1882 was from 24 to 26 years. During the years from 1916 to 1924 the peak age was 23. In both periods the rate declined sharply after the age of 26, becoming almost negligible after 31. (Janzen, 1926, Chart 3)

Other little evidences of dependence were observed here and there. One man trudged dutifully to the Guest night program of his wife's club on a rainy night. Upon arriving he was heard to remark, "I don't know what kind of meeting this is but my wife (who was out of town) told me to come, so here I am." The same man upon receiving a tree through the mail remarked: "Good! now I can go home and plant it!" When he was asked what variety it was, he replied, "I don't know, my wife ordered it." And yet in public discussions the husband exprsssd his opinions freely while the wife had nsver been heard to say a word.

Other expressions heard by the writer were: "It seems that in these modern days when all the women have to do is press a button and tsll the men what to do it may be the men who will becoms submerged"; "Man is the hsad of the house but the woman is the neck and she turns it"; "Whenever you have the leading women against you, you might as well fold up and go to the nsxt place"; "A woman must look up to her husband if shs has to put him upon a stepladder and she go down to the cellar." The last

statement appears to admit that a woman may be superior to her husband but that the institutional pattern forbids her to act as if she were. The writer grants that the above are isolated cases and thereby prove nothing but in her experience they illustrate the general attitude of Mennonite men toward their women.

Bernard (1943, p. 424) throws some light on why men should have put strong institutional controls on women when she says, "It may not be a wholly indefensible hypothesis to say that women - because they are mothers and hence can determine the child's earliest conditionings - have more natural power than man; that man's almost universal insistence that he be the depository of authority is a compensatory reaction against the threat of subordination by the naturally superior power of women."

She goes on to say, "When Vashti defied her Lord King Ahaserus, the royal ministers, greatly alarmed lest other women follow her example and come to despise their husbands, advised him to promulgate a specific law stating that every man should rule in his own house, Esther 1:17, 22. Such a law would not have been thought of if husbands had not been having a hard time to maintain their control of family life." (Bernard, 1942, p. 427)

But our study shows conclusively that the Mennonite woman is also dependent upon her men folk. She seems to have accepted willingly the institutional pattern her church has set for her as homemaker and wife. She thereby may have saved herself con-

siderable strain. A friend of the writer (with an M. A. in Philosophy) remarked: "Even you and I would not have been easy within ourselves if we had not put our husbands' careers before our own desires."

One of the women interviewed said, "When you have a large family, you don't want to do anything else (than make a home) because you have to do that." Perhaps in her simple way she hit upon s profound truth - an essential element in personal peace is the acceptance of one's self and one's role in life.

"Many a woman", says Bernard (1942, p. 13-14) has reconciled herself to an initially unsatisfying marriage and achieved serenity and calmness because her religion said there was nothing else to do - having no choice she could have no conflict about it." She says further (p. 466): "Inferior status is distasteful only when we have been set toward control and are frustrated by the dominance of others."

And again: "The numerous choices required of individuals in a society where institutionalized patterns are minimized may have a devastating effect on family life". (ibid. p. 499.)

Mennonites have kept their institutional patterns strong. The Mennonite man has kept the reins of authority in his own hands. The writer concedes that his wife may be more serene and his family life more stable as a consequence but - "Authority, being largely institutional in nature and resting upon the attitudes of people, will generally tend to reside where the institutional pattern places it." (ibid)

Power and dominance, however, are not so easily grasped. To paraphrase a Biblical phrase: She who is servant is master of them all - by virtue of their very dependance upon her! Call it a woman's last word, if you will.

"As unto the bow the cord is,
So unto the man is woman,
Though she bends him, she obeys him,
Though she draws him, yet she follows,
Useless each without the other."

Longfellow: Hiawatha.

SUMMARY

1. The Mennonites are an old and peculiar sect dating back to the Reformation. They deliberately emphasized their peculiarities to prevent secularization.

2. The Mennonites are Swiss and Holland Dutch in origin but have resided for centuries in other countries particularly Germany, Russia and America. The majority of Mennonites in Kansas entered America from Russia around 1874.

3. The Mennonites are divided into 17 divisions, nine of which are represented in Kansas.

4. Kansas Mennonites are largely the descendants of Mennonites who came to America from Holland via Germany and Russia. In addition there are others of Swiss, Palatinute German, Bavarian and Prussian descent.

5. Traditionally, the Mennonite church is a man's church, interpreting literally the Pauline injunctions for the subordination of women.

6. This study revealed that women were now allowed the vote in a majority of Mennonite churches in Kansas. The exceptions were found among the more recent immigrants.

7. Only six of the 34 churches studied allowed women to hold office in their governing bodies such as church councils.

8. Twenty-eight churches allowed women to speak in their pulpits but eight of them stipulated "not to preach."

9. Thirty-two allowed the women to participate in church services but nine of these qualified their statements.

10. Segregated seating (by sexes) was maintained in principle by half of the churches but the majority did not strictly observe the practice.

11. All 34 churches used women as teachers in their Sunday Schools. Only in the Holdeman church were they truly in the minority.

12. Only about half of the churches gave women special responsibilities in the way of flower, social or welcoming committees, but this is mainly because many conservative churches do not have these committees.

13. Women in all but three of the churches assisted or took the major responsibility in the periodic "house-cleaning" of the church building.

14. Women were permitted to take part in the discussion in a majority of churches but custom kept them from speaking freely.

15. Women took the responsibility in the matter of business presentations, devotionals and programs in the women's organizations in 29 of the churches.

16. Twenty-one of the churches did not list any other special activities participated in by women but the remaining 22 listed a variety, such as ushers, C. E. officers, music, prayer meetings, Bible School, etc.

17. Organizations for women consisted largely of Sewing Societies and Missionary Circles.

18. Important activities of Mennonite women in recent years were canning for C. P. S. camps, mending and sewing

clothing for the relief of war sufferers, missionary sales or bazaars, hospital or college auxiliary organizations.

19. Single women had an opportunity for service in the 95 bed Mennonite Deaconess Hospital, Nurses Training School and Home for the Aged in Newton, Kansas.

20. Women workers were in the majority in Mission fields and institutions of social welfare but were a definite minority on college staffs.

21. Mennonite schools have enrolled a slight majority of women students for 20 years or more.

22. The Mennonite woman's status is the result of many diverse streams of culture.

23. The church set standards of monogamy, no divorce, marriage within the sect, and the sacredness of the marriage bond.

24. The Mennonite home is unpretentious and plain but comparatively rich in conveniences. Plainness of dress runs the scale from the ultra-simplicity of the Amish and Holdeman factions to almost no restrictions among the General Conference and M. B.'s.

25. The subjects of this study were largely middle aged, small town or rural women of six branches of the church all living within a radius of 45 miles of Newton, Kansas.

26. The largest number of marriages occurred at the age of 19. Only one woman married after 30.

27. Half of the women had given birth to three children. The other families contained from one to 12 children. Four were second wives with stepchildren but they had also borne children.

28. Education varied from fourth grade to graduation from college. Half had not attended high school, four had taken nurses training.

29. The majority of women wished their children to attend a Church college, half would prefer a Church high school but public school was universally preferred for grade level.

30. The majority of the women preferred their children to marry Mennonites - because the church teaches it and because they believe that a common background fosters a happy marriage.

31. None of the women believed that parents have the right to choose marriage partners or vocations for their children; but it is a parent's duty to advise and guide.

32. The mother was approached more frequently than the father for special privileges but the mothers conferred with the fathers on important matters or for use of the family car. Mothers and fathers equally directed home responsibilities.

33. These families went to church together, the parents sharing in care of the children.

34. The majority of families of this study observed a daily devotional service at which the father presided but other members shared.

35. Family recreation rated in order of popularity: taking trips, picnics, visiting, table games, singing. The mother's favorite personal recreation was reading.

36. The mother took the major responsibility in buying groceries, slightly more than half in buying in clothing and equal in buying furniture or other equipment for the house.

37. The father usually kept family accounts; almost without exception the family had a single bank account.

38. All of the families had gardens, most of them rented frozen food lockers. The amount of canning varied from 250 to 1200 cans; the husband usually assisted to a varied extent in conservation of food.

39. Chickens were cared for and milking done by various members of the family according to pressure of other duties or personal interest.

40. Household tasks rated in order of popularity as follows: cooking and baking, gardening, sewing.

41. The women hired little or no household help; children and husbands helped in emergencies; attitudes of the latter ranged from two who wouldn't, through 20 who "didn't mind" to seven who enjoyed helping. Eleven women did not help their husbands as much as they were helped. The others helped during times of especial need.

42. Twenty-two of the women drove the family car; in the main keys are accessible to both; the majority of women felt free to use the car, asking only if the husband needed it.

43. Every wife is certain her husband would consult her before selling or buying property.

44. Only 20 of the 30 voted in civic elections. Only two of these did not discuss candidates and issues beforehand with their husbands.

45. Ten of the women did not participate in activities outside the home. Those who did, enjoyed being active. Organizations most frequently listed were Sewing Circles and Missionary Societies. Only a few mentioned non-Mennonite activities. The husbands encouraged a moderate amount of participation in community affairs.

46. The women of this study had few contacts with outside women but felt at ease or enjoyed associating with those they did know.

47. Twenty-two participated fully in church electipns; 14 said men carry on the major part of public discussion; two said the women of their church are not permitted to talk; 24 of the women are or have been serving actively in church or Sunday School offices. There was little vision as to what women could do to better homes and churches beyond maintaining a good home and personal integrity. All but two of the women believed the church gave sufficient opportunity for service to women. Only one believed the church to be too strict, a number of the others thought it might be more consistent. None of them approved of divorce.

48. By and large their children were thought to be less respectful than they themselves were as children but many believed there was less social distance between parent and child at present. All but one were certain they enjoy more privileges than their mothers did.

49. The women of this study believed that Mennonite women are more capable in practical tasks, less interested in

personal grooming and more home-centered than American women in general. Half of the women seemed happy in their housework, the others said they would enjoy some form of social welfare if they did not have their homes. They all firmly believed that a mother's primary responsibility was her home.

The author believes the following conclusions are justified by the findings of the study:

Mennonite women have a low status in the church as evidenced by the very few offices they hold and the discouragement of any public expression of their opinions. In the less traditionally-bound Sunday Schools, however, their status is practically equalitarian as evidenced by the large proportion of women teachers.

In the home, the status of the Mennonite woman approximates parity as demonstrated in the sharing of family tasks, recreation, purse, cars and other family possessions. Comments of the women studied indicate that the father willingly contributes to both the physical and social needs of the children; that he respects his wife's judgment and cherishes her well-being. Less intangible evidences of her high status is her own satisfaction with her lot in life and her quiet confidence in her capabilities and the worthwhileness of her contributions to the family welfare. But for the unmarried woman, there is little opportunity, indeed, to achieve status.

As an institution, the Mennonite Church could proceed calmly on its way if the women were suddenly removed from the scene; in the Mennonite homes there would be chaos.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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APPENDIX

North Newton, Kansas
January 29, 1945

Dear Brother:

May I ask you to give a little of your precious ministerial time to answer the questions enclosed with this letter? I am making a study of the status of the Mennonite women in Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for an M. S. degree in Child Welfare and Euthenics at Kansas State College. I am also teaching the course in Marriage and Family at Bethel College and should find this material helpful in class.

With sincere thanks for your cooperation, I remain,

Yours truly,

Mrs. E. L. Harshbarger

ELH:DE
Enc.

FORM I

1. Are women allowed to vote in your church body?_____

2. Do you have a church council or similar governing body?_____

   a. Are there any women members?_____
   b. What are their duties?_____

3. Does your church allow any one besides ministers to stand in the pulpit?_____

   Women speakers?_____

4. Do women take part in any of your church services?_____

5. Is there a separate seating section for women?_____
   Is there a separate entrance for women?_____
   Do married couples ever sit together during services?_____
   Do unmarried couples ever sit together during services?_____

6. Are there women teachers in your Sunday School?_____
   In what proportion to men teachers?_____

7. Do the women of your church assume special responsibilities?_____

   a. Provide flowers for the altar?_____
   b. Serve church suppers?_____
   c. Clean the church building periodically?_____
   d. Serve on the welcoming committee?_____
   e. Take part in disoussion?_____
   f. Serve on the Social Committee?_____
   e. Other? Please list.

8. What organizations for women are there in your church?

   1.
   2.
   3.
   4.

Do the women conduct their own Devotionals?_____ Business meetings?_____ Do they plan and carry out their own programs?_____

Any comments you may wish to make on the rights, duties, privileges, and contributions of the women of your church would be appreciated.

Record for observations on the Setting:

Urban_____ Rural_____

General appearance of interviewee:
Neatness:
Age:
Build and complexion:

Personality traits:
Friendliness:
Talkativeness:
Agressiveness:
Use of "I" or "We":

The House
Size:
Architecture:
Condition of exterior:

Condition of interior
Walls and Floor
Furniture
Conveniences

General atmosphere:

The Barn
Size:
No. of other out-buildings:
Condition of Barn-yard
" " fences:

Conveniences:

Equipment:

Any attempt to landscape the grounds?

By whom?

FORM II

1. Personal background
   a. Did you attend High School_____? College?_____
   b. Of which branch of the church are you a member?_____
   c. How old were you when you married?_____

2. Status as a parent (family relationships)
   a. To how many children have you given birth?_____
   b. Is this about the number you hoped or planned for when you married?_____
   c. Do you wish your children to attend High School?_____ College?_____
   d. Would you prefer a Church School to a public school?____
   e. Have your children made their decision as to life vocations?_____
   f. Are their decisions what you desired or dreamed for them?_____
   g. If they have not made their decisions, what are your hopes for their future?

   h. Did your children marry Mennonites?_____ (If too young) Do you wish your children to marry Mennonites?_____ Why?

   i. In your opinion, do parents have the right to choose vocations for their children?_____ Marriage partners?_____
   j. Who gives permission to the children to:
      Use the car_____

      Go away from home_____

      Have dates_____

      Other special privileges_____

   k. Which of you directs the children's home responsibilities?_____
   l. Do you go to church as a family?_____Which one of you cares for the children during services?_____
   m. Do you have family devotions?_____ Who conducts?_____ Do other family members share in any part?_____
   n. What other activities do you like to do as a family?

   o. Does it seem to you that your children are as respectful to you as you were to your parents?_____

3. Status as a housewife (Skills and attitudes)

   a. Do you shop as a family?_____ If not, who

buys the

Family Groceries_____

Family Clothing_____

Furniture_____

Other articles_____

b. Who keeps the family accounts?_____
c. Do you have one, separate, or joint bank accounts?_____
d. Do you ever hold family consultations about financial matters?_____
e. Do you make all____part____of the clothing for the family?
f. Do you garden?_____How large a garden do you usually make?_____ Does your husband help with it?_____
g. About how many cans of meat_____vegetables_____fruits____ did you put up this year?
h. Do you rent a frozen food locker?_____Does your husband help with the preparation of food for conservation?_____
i. Who takes care of the chickens?_____Who spends the "chicken money?"_____
j. Do you help with the milking or other outside chores?_____
k. Which of the above tasks do you like to do?_____

4. Husband-wife relationships

a. How does your husband seem to feel about helping you with special chores inside the house such as mopping, laundering, canning, or care of the children (especially night-care)?
b. Do you help your husband as much with "his work" as he helps with "yours?"_____
c. Do you have hired help in the house?_____How much?_____
d. Does your Husband have hired help?_____How much?_____
e. Do you drive the car?_____Would your husband teach you if you desired to learn?_____
f. Do you feel free to use the car when you need it?, i.e., do you say, "I'm taking the car?"_____or "May I use it?"_____
g. Who carries the keys of the car?_____Or do you both have sets?_____
h. Do you own or rent your home?_____
i. Would your husband consult you before selling property or buying more?_____
j. Do you vote?_____Do you ask your husband's advice before voting?_____
k. Do you think divorce is ever justifiable?_____

5. Community relationships

   a. Do you believe in and practice "Mutual Aid" in your church?_____
   b. To what organizations do you belong?_____
   c. Do you like to take an active part or be "just a member?"_____
   d. What is your husband's attitude toward your participation in community affairs?_____
   e. Do you feel at ease with non-Mennonite women?_____
   f. Do they seem different to you?_____in what way?
   g. Do you have any close friends who are not Mennonite?_____
   h. Do you call on each other?_____Entertain each other at meals?_____ Over night?_____
   i. Would you exchange services at time of family crises?_____
   j. What is your husband's attitude in regard to your visiting other women?
   k. Do you ever attend any non-Mennonite churches?
   l. Do you vote in your church elections?_____
      Take part in church discussion?
   m. Do you have any church duties or offices?_____
   n. What could women do to better the church and community?

6. General attitudes toward status.

   a. Does your church give sufficient opportunity for service to women members?_____
   b. Do you think that your church is too rigorous in its discipline or not enough so?
   c. If you have time to yourself, what do you like to do?
   d. If you were not obliged to give up the love and association of children and husband, is there something you would rather be doing than house-work?
   e. Do you think Mennonite women are happier or more contented than other women?
   f. Do you think that you have more privileges than your mother?
   g. What do you think about the old saying "Woman's place is with kitchen, church and children?