"WORK AND HOPE": TRADITION AND TRANSLATION OF AN ANABAPTIST ADAM

JULIA KASDORF *

What can I do to change my fate
but take a strange lover and cleave
to my work? The Amish believe
it is sinful to be sure
their souls are saved.
The only defense against their worst fears
is work and hope, Arbeite und Hoffe.
The work that they mean
darkens your skin with sun
and roughens your hands; you must strain
as a horse against a harness, as light
against the darkness.[1]

In Lancaster, Pennsylvania for the weekend to celebrate Thanksgiving with my family, I was among the first to register at the Mennonite Historical Society library on Friday morning. I had come to learn whatever I could about the circumstances leading to the translation and printing of the first American edition of *Martyrs' Mirror* during 1748-1749 at nearby Ephrata, Pennsylvania—especially the decision to print an image and motto on the book's title page. The image that captured my imagination was a woodcut of a European peasant digging in a field or vineyard outside a village, beneath the phrase *Arbeite und Hoffe* (fig. 1). The motto, "work and hope," had been familiar to me for some time. In fact I had used it in the poem above—though as is almost always the case with my knowledge of Mennonite culture, the information had come through conversation,[2] and I knew nothing about the origin of the motto or image.

Articles and books on the publication history of *Martyrs' Mirror* offered few clues, yet as I examined the old editions in Lancaster I discovered that the phrase and/or forms of the picture continued to appear

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1. These are the final lines of "Freindschaft" in my book of poems *Sleeping Preacher* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992), 21-23.

2. Mervin Horst introduced me to the motto and showed me a copy of the image several years ago.

FIGURE 1

From Thieleman J. van Braght, Martyrs' Mirror, *trans. Peter Miller (Ephrata, 1748-1749), title page.*

on title pages of *all* German versions of *Martyrs' Mirror* printed in America—and one English edition—until the image was finally removed with the 1990 printing. What were the sources of this motto and image? How did it evolve during its 330-year printing history? Could I discover any significance that it may have had for the Seventh Day Baptist printers at Ephrata and for the Mennonite and Amish publishers who continued to replicate it? Beyond these questions, I wondered what unspoken, unrecognized search for meaning lurked behind my curiosity. What individual necessity inspired this quest, which even I regarded as somewhat arcane?

While I rifled through the card catalogues and browsed through the stacks that morning, my brothers, father and nephews were mulching

the garden and spreading lime on the lawn back at my brother's house.[3] This family get-together was another of the sort that prompts disgruntled in-laws to complain, "Why do we travel all this way for everyone to work? Doesn't your family know how to do anything else?" We do sometimes turn gatherings into "frolics," occasions in which toil binds us together in a common task. Sometimes we blame it on our Amish roots or on the Spicher (Speicher) line which was known by some in Mifflin County for being particularly driven to hard work.[4] My grandfather, they say, had his trousers hemmed a couple of inches above his shoes so that they wouldn't get caught in his work and no one would mistake him for an idle man. Maybe my own questions about work first attracted me to that little man with a shovel. As I pursued him I found it strangely comforting to find him still digging, as I was also digging each time I lifted the cover of an old, leather-bound edition of *Martyrs' Mirror* and turned to the title page.

The little man on the elaborately fraktured title page of the Ephrata *Martyrs' Mirror* was probably made from the printer's device on the title page of the 1685 Amsterdam edition (fig. 2). At Ephrata the image was replicated in reverse and in a slightly rougher form, which suggests a derivative copying process such as a woodblock cut directly from an oil-paper tracing of the original. The most striking aspect of the appropriation of the Dutch device by the printers at Ephrata was their decision to translate the Latin motto *Fac et spera* (Do/work and hope) into the German imperative. The choice to translate the motto into the language of the *Martyrs' Mirror* text strengthened a connection between the book and the image that may not have persisted if the phrase had remained in its original language. Thus the act of translation had the effect of incorporating the device into the *Martyrs' Mirror* text for most of its German language publication history in America.

The events preceding an agreement to print *Martyrs' Mirror* at Ephrata have been recounted often.[5] Although early Mennonite

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3. They made me wonder if the desire for lime-sweet earth somehow persists in phylogenetic memory; as J.W. Yoder wrote, "an Amishman can smell limestone land for one hundred miles."—*Rosanna's Boys* (Harrisonburg, Va.: Choice Productions, 1987), 13.

4. Sandra Cronk discusses "the rite of work" as a means of creating community and expressing love; see "Gelassenheit: The Rites and Redemptive Processes in Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite Communities," *MQR* 60 (Jan. 1981), 5-44.

5. In addition to the classic article by Gerald C. Studer, "A History of the *Martyrs' Mirror*," *MQR* 22 (July 1948), 163-74, and "Martyrs' Mirror," *ME* 3:423-24, see John L. Ruth, *Maintaining the Right Fellowship* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1984), 123-26 and E. G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counter Culture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), 127-29. Also see David Luthy's "The Ephrata *Martyrs' Mirror*: Shot from Patriots' Muskets," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 9 (Jan. 1986), 2-5, in which Luthy describes the discovery of a copy of an Ephrata *Martyrs' Mirror* that was among those

settlers brought copies of the book from Europe in the late 1600s, comparatively few Pennsylvania Mennonites could read those Dutch

FIGURE 2

From Thieleman J. van Braght, Martyrs' Mirror *(Amsterdam: J. vander Deyster, H. vanden Berg, Jan Blom, Wed. S. Swart, S. Wybrands, A. Ossaan, 1685), title page.*

editions. When war between England and France seemed inevitable and the colonial Assembly had refused appeals for military exemption on religious grounds, the American Mennonite community needed access to the Anabaptist martyr stories as models of resistance to militarism and of submission to the teachings of the religious community. In October 1745 four leaders from the Skippack community in the Franconia area of southeastern Pennsylvania wrote to Mennonites in

confiscated by rebel soldiers during the American Revolution for use as musket wadding. Some feared that the war might be lost if the martyr books were used for this purpose, and Luthy's copy was among those returned to the Cloister and later sold at a discounted price.

Amsterdam requesting help to translate and print a complete German *Martyrs' Mirror* for use in the colony:

> As the flames of war appear to mount higher, no man can tell whether the cross and persecution of the defenseless Christians will not soon come, and it is therefore of importance to prepare ourselves for such circumstances with patience and resignation, and to use all available means that encourage steadfastness and strengthen faith. Our whole community has manifested a unanimous desire for a German translation of the *Bloody Theater* of Thieleman Janz van Braght, especially since in this community there is a very great number of newcomers, for which we consider it to be of greatest importance that they should become acquainted with the trustworthy witnesses who have walked in the way of truth, and sacrificed their lives for it.[6]

The Dutch reply, which arrived nearly three years later, advised the Skippack leaders to translate passages from the book themselves and get school children to copy them out by hand. Meanwhile the Pennsylvania Mennonites had already contacted the Seventh Day Baptist community at Ephrata, whose printing press rivaled Benjamin Franklin's.

Mennonites were not strangers to the communitarian group at Ephrata and its charismatic Pietist leader Conrad Beissel. Before emigrating to America from Germany, Beissel may have encountered Anabaptists during his journeyman travels through southern Germany, when he seemed to learn as much about the contemporary religious underground as he did about his bread-baking trade. Certainly after emigrating to Pennsylvania he met Mennonites who—along with other German-speaking sectarians such as the Amish, Schwenkfelders, Moravians and Dunkers—shared aspects of his views on Christian pacifism, rejection of loyalty oaths, adult baptism, the community of believers, respect for the land and separation from "the world." When he first moved west of Germantown, seeking solitude on the Conestoga frontier, Beissel built a cabin about three miles from a Swiss Mennonite settlement and was probably influenced by their ideas about simplicity of lifestyle and mutual aid. Mennonites were also among those who came to hear Beissel preach on the Conestoga, and the *Chronicon Ephratense* notes that by early 1732 Beissel's congregation along Mill Creek was mostly comprised of individuals who had previously been affiliated with Mennonite groups.[7]

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6. Cited in *ME* 3:423.

7. Alderfer, *Ephrata Commune*, 16-26, 9, 48, 34, 48. Alderfer's *Ephrata Commune* provides biographical information on Beissel and traces significant connections between the

A permanent settlement of Beissel's celibate followers was established along the Cocalico Creek at Ephrata by the mid-1730s, and the community's printing establishment became the primary source of religious literature for Mennonites in colonial America. Equipped with a press and metal type from Germany and managed by several experienced bookmakers, the press came into full production around 1745. That year saw the completion of the first work for the Mennonites, *Güldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen* (Golden Apples in Silver Bowls), a 519-page devotional book containing the "confession of faith by Thomas von Imbroich, and numerous other testimonials, epistles, prayers, and hymns by Mennonite martyrs."[8] Also in 1745 a 120-page collection of stories from *Martyrs' Mirror* appeared under the title *Das Andenken einiger heiligen Martyrer*; it was probably created as a forerunner of the full-length version completed in 1748. The Cloister also published three editions of the prayer book *Die ernsthafte Christenpflicht* in 1745, 1770 and 1785, and at least one other catechetical tract for the Mennonites.[9]

The translation of *Martyrs' Mirror* began in September 1745 during one of the most difficult periods of the community's history. Conrad Beissel had just placed a powerful community leader, Israel Eckerling, under the ban, and Israel and his brother Samuel fled Ephrata shortly thereafter. Two other Eckerling brothers, Gabriel and Emanuel, followed later that year. The Eckerlings had been responsible for developing a system of mills and workshops at Ephrata which, combined with farming and trade activities, had earned the community wealth and distinction in the colony. During the period when Beissel was negotiating with the Mennonites to translate and print the large martyr book, fires consumed the grist, oil and fulling mills.[10] At the time, some speculated that Beissel may have started the fires to diminish the Eckerlings' influence and purge the community of materialistic attitudes, but no proof of this remains. Nonetheless, after the Eckerlings' expulsion Beissel dismantled the commercial structure they had created. He dismissed workers hired from outside the community, sold horses and wagons, and refused to take new orders from merchants.[11]

Once the burned mills were rebuilt, concentrated work on the martyr book resumed. The *Chronicon Ephratense* reports that during this

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community at Ephrata and European mysticism, the German Pietist movement, contempory colonial American religious activity, and later communal and religious movements in the United States.

8. Studer, "A History," 173.

9. For a complete description of Ephrata's printing for the Mennonites, see Alderfer, *Ephrata Commune*, 112, 127-29, 162, 168, 234.

10. Ruth, *Maintaining*, 121.

11. Alderfer, *Ephrata Commune*, 86-106.

period the household of the brothers (the celibate or "solitary" males) was occupied with little else. Fifteen men were assigned to work on the project: nine in the print shop (one translator, four compositors, four pressmen) and six in the paper mill. Consequently the brethren fell deeply into debt, a condition which may have fitted Beissel's vision for a community of faith, as the chronicler suggests:

> That this Book of Martyrs was the cause of many trials among the solitary, and contributed not a little to their spiritual martyrdom, is still in fresh remembrance. The Superintendent [Beissel], who started the work, had other reasons than gain for it. Those three years, during which said book was in press, proved an excellent preparation for spiritual martyrdom, although during that time six failed and joined the world again. When this is taken into consideration, as also the low price, and how far those who worked at it were removed from self-interest, the biographies of the holy martyrs, which the book contains, cannot fail to be a source of edification to all who read them.[12]

The entire text was translated from Dutch into German by Peter Miller (Johann Peter Müller, also known in the community as Jaebez and Agrippa), a brilliant German Pietist trained at the University of Heidelberg who was said to read fourteen languages.[13] A visitor to the Cloister, Israel Acrelius, wrote in his *History of New Sweden* that Miller "labored for three years upon the translation, and was at the same time so burdened with work that he did not sleep more than four hours during the night."[14] Miller's translation was then proofread by Franconia Mennonites Henrich Funck and Dielman Kolb. Miller may have chosen to translate the Latin motto in consultation with these proofreaders—or possibly under the influence of Beissel himself. Certainly the motto's sentiments of work and hope expressed Beissel's attitude toward the Eckerling affair and its aftermath. Beissel believed that hard *work* would dispel material security and restore the necessity for spiritual *hope* and piety. According to the *Chronicon Ephratense:*

> The Superintendent [Beissel], who was the instigator of this work, never allowed a suspension of work or carnal rest in the settlement, and therefore seized every opportunity to keep all those

12. Lamech & Agrippa, *Chronicon Ephratense: A History of the Community of Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania,* trans. J. Max Hark (1889; rpt., New York: Burt Franklin, 1972), 214.

13. Alderfer, *Ephrata Commune,* 55; Studer, "A History," 173.

14. Samuel W. Pennypacker, "A Noteworthy Book: Der Blutige Schau-Platz oder Martyer Spiegel, Ephrata, Pa., 1748" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 3 (1881), 287-88; cited in Luthy, "The Ephrata *Martyrs' Mirror,*" 4.

who were under his control in perpetual motion, so that no one might ever feel at home again in this life, and so forget the consolation from above, which purpose this Book of Martyrs excellently served.[15]

FIGURE 3

From Thieleman J. van Braght, Martyrs' Mirror *(Dordrecht: Jacob Braat, 1660), title page.*

15. Lemech and Agrippa, *Chronicon Ephratense,* 210.

The image printed on the title page of the Ephrata edition—though derived from the 1685 Amsterdam *Martyrs' Mirror*—can be traced to the book's first printing, done in 1660 by Jacob Braat of Dordrecht. The title page of the 1660 edition bears an elaborate colophon or emblem in which a divine arm extends a laurel wreath to reward the peasant who labors outside the village under the motto *Fac et Spera* (fig. 3). Braat also used a simpler version of the device for smaller volumes, such as Adriaen van Nispens' *Verscheyde Voiyagien*, a compilation of travel writings printed in Dordrecht in 1652. A copy of this tiny book (now in the New York Public Library) rests easily in the palm of one's hand.

FIGURE 4

From Adriaen van Nispen, Verscheyde Voyagien, ofte rysen . . . *(Jacob Braat: Dordrecht, 1652), title page.*

The printer's device, which appears six times in one of two sizes on various title pages throughout the volume, consists only of the central oval encompassing the digging peasant. A tetragrammaton is inscribed amidst radiant beams above his head, the unpronounceable name of God replacing the divine arm of the more elaborate version (fig. 4).

Briels's directory of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch printers and booksellers shows both forms of the device and attributes them to Jacob Braat (Braet), who was active as a printer in Dordrecht from c. 1643-1665 and in Utrecht in 1652.[16] A possible source of this device is one used by Gellius Ctemantius (Gilles van der Erve) (Fig. 5).[17] This image illustrates the Matthew 13:44 parable, which encircles it: *Het rike der hemelen is als een verborgen schat in den acker* (The kingdom of heaven is like a treasure hidden in a field). The following verse continues, "When a man found it, he hid it again, and then in his joy went and sold all he had and bought that field" (NIV). So it would seem that this image portrays the man, leaning here on his shovel, in the midst of the transaction which will purchase the field that contains a secret treasure. Curiously, we see a digger at work behind the men; he is either hiding the treasure from the field's original owner or searching for more. The stance and costume of this small figure so closely match the digger of Braat's device that it seems he was the original model. In light of this origin, the work of the digger may have had a more specific meaning, at least for Braat: the kingdom of heaven is worthy of the all-consuming, all-demanding labor required to beget it on earth. However, Braat chose to combine the image with a less specific text, *Fac et Spera.*

Fac et Spera is listed in Landaver's directory as the motto of six additional European printers active between 1625 and 1687.[18] Their locations, scattered from Rouen to Leipzig—and the absence of Braat's name from this list—suggest that other printers may have used the motto as well. The Latin phrase is likely derived from Psalm 36 in St. Jerome's Vulgate translation of the Bible: *Spera in domino et fac bonitatem et inhabita terram et pasceris in diuitiis eius* (Trust in the

16. J. G. C. A. Briels *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Nederlanden, 1570-1630* (Nieuwkoop: de Graff, 1974), 185. I am grateful to Joseph Springer, curator of the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College, for directing me to this and other reference materials and for sharing his insights into the possible sources of this image.

17. Braat's device was derived from one used by Ctemantius, according to Wilco C. Poortman, *Boekzaal van de Nederlandse Bijbels* (Gravenhage: Boekencentrum, 1983), 156.

18. Bella C. Landauer, ed., *Printers' Mottoes* (New York: printed privately, 1926), n.p.

Lord and do good; so you will dwell in the land, and enjoy security. Psalm 37:3, RSV).[19]

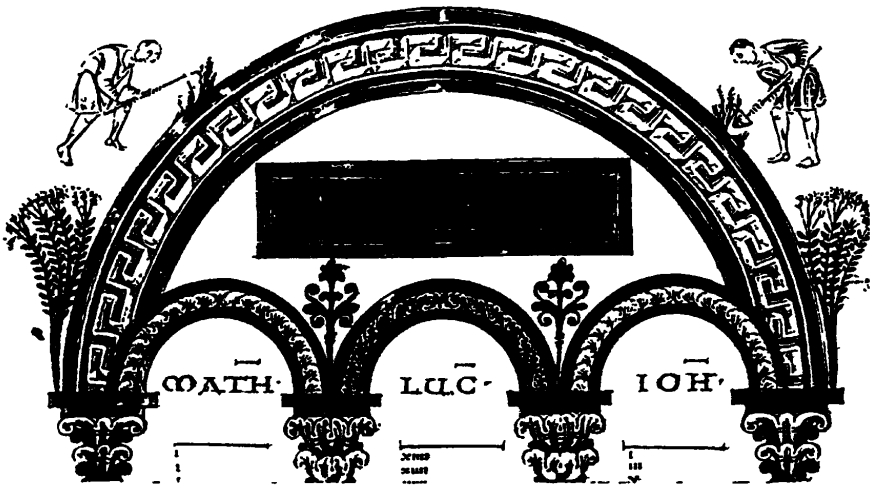
FIGURE 5

Printer's device of Gellius Ctematius in Martin Tielke, Das Ratsel des Emder Buchdrucks *(1554-1602) (Aurich, 1986).*

19. In the *Biblia Sacra Mazarinaea* (Johann Gutenberg and Peter Schoeffer? 1454?) facsimile I consulted, a line-break falls after the phrase that may have served as the source of this motto: *Spera in domino et fac / bonitatem et inhabita terram et pasceris in diuitiis eius.*— (Paris: Editions Les Incunables, 1985).

Briels lists Braat's second address as "In de Werkende Hoop" (in the Working Hope), which suggests that the image of a digging man may have been on the trade sign which hung outside his print shop.[20] A man digging with a shovel is certainly not an unusual image for that time; art historian Raimond Van Marle notes that Italian artists of the fifteenth century particularly favored this figure, as is evident in miniatures and sketch albums from that period. From ancient Roman times and throughout the Early Christian, Carolingian and Romanesque periods, images of peasants engaged in realistic, concrete tasks were created to signify seasons and months. The succession of the

FIGURE 6



Digger, 11c. French manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, cited in Raimond Van Marle, Iconographie de L'Art Profane au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance et la Décoration des Demeures *(The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931), 1:387.*

20. Jan Gleysteen believes that this image is highly characteristic of the identifying trade signs which functioned during this period much as an address would.—Telephone interview, Nov. 28, 1993. Adriaan Plak, Assistant Curator of the Mennonite Historical Library at the University Library of Amsterdam, has further confirmed that Braat used the phrase "In de Werkende Hoop" (In the Working Hope) in direct reference to the "Fac et Spera" motto.—Plak to author, Jan. 30, 1995.

peasants' toil served as an allegory of a larger order, and throughout the Middle Ages agricultural work was depicted in miniature on manuscripts and borders of calendars—such as the peasant with a spade on an eleventh-century French illuminated manuscript (fig. 6). In some Romanesque and Gothic churches, reliefs portraying peasants at work were paired with signs of the Zodiac.[21] At the cathedral of Amiens, for instance, the image of a man digging at the base of a vine serves as a symbol for the month of March (fig. 7). Other examples of "the works and days" series can be found on the campanile of Florence,

FIGURE 7

Symbol of March from calendar at Amiens Cathedral, rendered by Darcy Lynn from a photograph, 1994.

probably sculpted from a drawing by Giotto, and at the Church of San Petronio in Bologna. More recently and closer to our tradition, a peasant digging under the sign of Aries appears in the March section of the 1839 French almanac, *L'Anabaptiste ou le Cultivateur par Experience* (fig. 8). Explaining the presence of agricultural images in religious art—where laboring peasants often appear beside saints—Emil Mâle has written, "The primeval work of tilling the soil, the task which

21. Raimond Van Marle, *Iconographie de L'Art Profane au Moyen-Age et à Renaissance et la Décoration des Demeures* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931), 1:373-98. Van Marle cites numerous examples and includes many photographs of rural life as depicted in European Medieval and Renaissance fine and decorative art.

God Himself imposed on Adam . . . the Church seems to have given foremost place."[22]

FIGURE 8

Illustration for March in L'Anabaptiste ou le Cultivateur par Experience *(Belfort, France: J. P. Clea, 1839), n. p.*

That peasants and farmers extend the work of Adam seems obvious, but that the little digging man on Jacob Braat's printer's device represents Adam—or that he was read as representing Adam *at one time*—may seem less certain. Yet in his massive study of the iconography of secular art in Medieval and Renaissance times, Van Marle concludes that the image of a digging man originates with—*and refers to*—the iconography of Adam after the Fall. To support this claim, Van Marle cites numerous examples of the figure that appear in European Christian manuscript and decorative art.[23] Anabaptists may have recognized Adam in the woodblock illustration from the 1692 Dutch edi-

22. Emil Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Dorea Nussey (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 65.

23. Van Marle, *Iconographie*, 399-401.

tion of Schabaelje's *De Vermeerderde Lusthof des Gemoeds Met de Samenspraaken der Wandelende Ziele*—known in English as *The Wandering Soul* and long a favorite of Mennonite readers. In one episode of the story this Adam, who bears an uncanny resemblance to the man on Braat's device, explains his life sentence of labor as symbolized by the shovel (fig. 9).[24]

FIGURE 9

Illustration of Adam in Jon Philippz Schabaelje, De Vermeerderde Lusthof des Gemoeds Met de Samenspraaken der Wandelende Ziele *(Amsterdam: Gysbert de Groot, 1692), 63.*

24. Adriaan Plak of the Mennonite Library at the University of Amsterdam recently discovered this image in a newly-acquired 1692 edition of Schabaelje's *De Vermeerderde Lusthof des Gemoets.* The print (fig. 9) is unclear, perhaps because so many imprints were made from the woodblock. According to Plak, this same illustration appeared as a copper engraving nearly fifty years earlier in Miguel Comalada, *Den Schadt der Zielen* (De Rijp: Claes Jacobsz, 1644). Claes Jacobsz, the publisher, was a Mennonite pastor who also published some of his own texts including a biography of Hans de Ries which he wrote together with J. P. Schabaelje. A modified version of this copper engraving appeared in Jacobsz' 1656 edition of J. P. Schabaelje, *Den vermeerderde Lust-Hof des Gemoets* and likely served as the model for the woodcut illustration in the 1692 edition (fig. 9).—Plak to author, Jan. 30, 1995. Plak also feels certain of a meaningful association between the figure on Braat's device and Adam after the Fall: a 1645 Dutch edition of *Den vermeerderde Lust-Hof des Gemoets* shows the fallen Adam sitting on the ground next to a shovel and a plow and near a team of oxen.

The digging Adam also traveled to the New World where he appeared in a 1613 manuscript written in Spanish and Quechua by an Andean worker in the colonial government of Peru. This letter, ad-

FIGURE 10

Felipe Guaman Pomo de Ayala, "The First World: Adam and Eve," from The First New Chronicle and Good Government *in David Bartholomae and Anthony Petrosky,* Ways of Reading *(Boston: Bedford Books, 1993), 445.*

dressed to the King of Spain and called *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*, included 800 pages of text and 400 line drawings that tell the history of the Christian world from an American Indian viewpoint. In a spirit of culturally expressive adaptation that printers of *Martyrs' Mirror* in Anglo-America would also employ, the artist replaced Adam's shovel with a digging stick and situated him under the sun while Eve sits beneath the moon, in keeping with Andean spatial symbolism (fig. 10).[25]

Back in Europe, the process of adapting the Dordrecht printer's device began with the first new edition of *Martyrs' Mirror* in 1685. It is not known why the Amsterdam printers borrowed and redrew Braat's insignia, although Joe Springer, curator of the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College in Indiana, speculates that they may have wished to claim a connection between this book and the first edition.[26] By 1685 the original author and compiler Thieleman van Braght was already dead, and the new edition had been revised by anonymous editors. While clearly referring to the simpler form of Braat's device (fig. 4), the image used at Amsterdam does differ significantly (fig. 2): the tetragrammaton and radiant lines above the digger's head are absent and a cross is added to the church steeple in the village (perhaps as a substitute for the Hebrew word) to signify divine presence. A bird perched on the vine—not present in the larger colophon of the 1660 edition—refers to the Holy Spirit appearing in the form of a dove at Christ's baptism and also to the dove that returned to Noah's ark as a symbol of hope and God's faithfulness.[27] Except for the deviant 1814-1815 version noted below, the bird continuously appears throughout all subsequent interpretations of the image. The association between the book and device that began in Amsterdam persisted only in America; when Mennonites in Pirmasens (the Palatinate) issued a copy of the Ephrata *Martyrs' Mirror* in 1780, they used a rather bland floral ornament without a motto on the title page (fig. 11).

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25. Rolena Adorna, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 100-102. Mary Louise Pratt also discussed this work in her essay on the power dynamics of cross-cultural communication, "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Profession* 91 (1991), which was subsequently reprinted as the introduction to her book *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992) and in *Ways of Reading*, ed. David Bartholomae and Anthony Petrosky (Boston: Bedford Books, 1993), 442-56.

26. Springer to author, Nov. 30, 1993.

27. To David Luthy this bird looks more like a "pesty blackbird" than a dove—another consequence of Adam's Fall—but in art of this period the iconographic meaning of the bird sign is divine presence.

FIGURE 11

From Thieleman J. van Braght, Martyrs' Mirror *(Pirmasens, 1780), title page*

A most extraordinary translation of the Ephrata device appeared on the title page of a new German edition of the book published during 1814-1815 by Joseph Ehrenfried of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. This digger—two generations removed from the peasant on Braat's trademark —has clearly migrated from Europe to the American frontier (fig. 12).

FIGURE 12

From Thieleman J. van Braght, Martyrs' Mirror *(Lancaster, Pa.: Joseph Ehrenfried, 1814), title page.*

Clothed in colonial costume, he spades a field near a small herd of sheep and a thatch-roofed home with an attached stable. There is no sign of a village or community nearby. Perhaps this image was a stock engraving of the time, to which *Arbeite und hoffe* was simply added, although the uncanny relationship between this and earlier versions of the image suggests a conscious transformation.

Twenty-four years later, in 1837, the first English edition of *Martyrs' Mirror*, translated by Isaac D. Rupp, was published in Lancaster County. On the lower half of its title page, in the printer's mark position, *Arbeite und hoffe* starkly appears between two thin lines—the only German words on the page. In a curious reversal of the Ephrata decision to translate a Latin motto into the language of the text, Rupp, or perhaps David Miller the publisher, chose to include the motto but not to translate it—as though it carried special meaning in German which could not survive translation into the public language of government and commerce. Like the persistence of Pennsylvania German words in the vocabulary of English-speaking Mennonites today, this phrase points to a prior, favored way of thinking and naming the world. English eventually replaced German and Pennsylvania German in Mennonite domestic and religious discourse, and all later English editions of *Martyrs' Mirror* failed to use the *Arbeite und Hoffe* motto or device. What if Rupp had chosen to keep the image and translate the motto into the language of the text, as had been done at Ephrata? One can only speculate whether "Work and Hope" and the little man with the shovel might have remained part of the text, still with us on the title page of the 1886 Joseph Sohm English translation in use today.

In 1849 Shem Zook, a remarkably progressive Amishman from Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, revised the German *Martyrs' Mirror* and had it printed in Philadelphia. The title page of this edition bears an elegant, new device apparently copied from the 1748 edition (fig. 13). This image retains the reversed orientation of Ephrata, and the digger, who seems to have aged, wears the original European peasant's costume. The palm and olive branches are more florid and the vine has grown into a stumpy tree. A horizon line above the digger's head suggests the low mountains that are always within sight in Zook's native Kishacoquillas Valley, and a steepled church and several buildings cluster at the foot of the mountain. The steeple cross, obvious in the 1685 Dutch device and less apparent in the Ephrata edition, is gone from Zook's version altogether, perhaps in keeping with plain Amish style.

FIGURE 13

From Thieleman J. van Braght, Martyrs' Mirror, *ed Shem Zook (Philadelphia: King & Baird, 1849), title page.*

Of course, Mennonites of this period did not build steeples on their meetinghouses either—a point not lost on John F. Funk, who published another German edition at Elkhart, Indiana in 1870.[28] The device on his title page (fig.14) is nearly identical to that of the Zook edition,

28. John F. Funk was a great-grandson of Henrich Funck who in the 1740s helped to oversee the printing of the Ephrata edition.

except that the steepled church is replaced by a single-story building more consistent with the architecture of Mennonite meetinghouses. A sample book of the engravings used by John Funk, now housed in the Mennonite Historical Library collection at Goshen, Indiana, contains

FIGURE 14

From Thieleman J. van Braght, Martyrs' Mirror *(Elkhart, Ind · John F Funk und Bruder, 1870), title page.*

two versions of the device: one with the motto and one without. Since Funk cut two engravings, he must have considered eliminating the motto but finally chose to keep it. Funk's image remained on the subsequent German printings of *Martyrs' Mirror* published at Scottdale, Pennsylvania; Berne, Indiana; and Aylmer, Ontario.

Pathway Publishers, an Amish establishment in Canada, removed the image from its most recent printing in 1990, replacing it with one of the Jan van Luyken engravings created to illustrate the 1685 Dutch edition. David Luthy, writer, publisher and director of the Heritage Historical Library at Aylmer, claimed responsibility for the decision:

> I alone get credit or discredit for that! I am a big Dirk Willems (martyr of 1569) fan and decided to put him on the title page. I have said to people that the poor man with the shovel has been digging long enough. So, you see, I have in a way tampered with history, but we know who Dirk was and the other man was fictional yet symbolic.[29]

Choosing a representative illustration over a symbol is consistent with Amish values of tradition, simplicity and factual accounts over fiction. Indeed, Luthy believed that the image was previously retained "simply because it was always there." He added that "not a single person ever mentioned to us that they miss it from the title page."

It would be difficult to determine whether the *Arbeite und Hoffe* motto and symbol have influenced Amish Mennonite or Mennonite beliefs. In at least one instance the image was interpreted and reproduced in another context—on the cover of *The Diary*, a newsletter "dedicated to the preservation of fundamental movements . . . as well as Old Order religious literature and its virtues," published by Joseph F. Beiler of Gordonville, Pennsylvania. Beneath the device Beiler printed the lyrics of a nineteenth-century Amish song which begins: "Schaffet, schaffet, Menschenkinder / Schaffet eure Seligkeit" (Work, work children of men/ work for your salvation).[30] An editor's note explains that the emblem, affixed to the German *Martyrs' Mirror* since 1748, "represents a Christian's effort without ceasing."[31]

What does the little man hope for? Might his effort be connected with a desire for eternal life, as my poem suggests? The theme of working and hoping does emerge in Old Order arguments against the doctrine of assurance of salvation. Former Amishman John R. Renno writes:

> They argued that we must just do as good as we know how and obey our spiritual leaders, and hope for heaven, hope that the Lord will look at all our honest efforts and that we tried to do right and we were obedient to our preachers, and if that did not reach,

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29. David Luthy to author, Dec. 7, 1993.

30. In his letter Luthy also quoted this line from *Liedersammlung B*, an 1860 collection of Amish songs probably compiled by Shem Zook, editor of the 1849 *Martyrs' Mirror*. A version of the song can also be found in an 1892 collection, *Liedersammlung G*, in which *Menschenkinder* is replaced by *Mein Kinder* (my children).

31. *The Diary* 11 (July 1979).

he would supply the Grace to get us into heaven at last, once we die.[32]

During the 1950s Renno was excommunicated from the Peachey Church in Mifflin County because he refused to renounce his commitment to this troublesome "Mennonite doctrine." As opposed to "assurance of salvation" the Amish believe in a "living hope," Luthy has explained, and "the theology of working and hoping"—that works must accompany faith—is an important part of Amish belief. He added that "while the theology of 'working and hoping' is central to Amish theology, the [*Martyrs' Mirror*] device isn't." [33]

Since references to the fruits of labor abound in traditional expressions, it may be best to consider a less specific sense of work's reward in regard to this image. In his writings published during the first half of this century, Joseph W. Yoder repeatedly mentions the importance of work in Amish Mennonite culture, especially physical labor on the land. One of his early Pennsylvania German poems, "Noch Denke," reads, "Mir misse all angeh un schaffe, / Und hoffe fur en gutes Glück," which he translated as, "We must all go on and work,/ And hope for the best of luck."[34] Apparently, the worker hopes not for personal salvation or eternal life in heaven but a more general sense of well-being on the earth: blessing, luck, or as the New International Version renders Psalm 37:3, "safe pasture."

While driving through Lancaster County, Mennonite sociologist Calvin Redekop has seen an attempt to create that safe pasture in the apparent stability of large Amish and Mennonite farmsteads, which he regards as an "over compensation for homelessness in times past."[35] He has attributed Mennonite economic success in farming not to the "Protestant work ethic" expressed through a "calling" but to other factors, including a desire to gain acceptance and tolerance from landowners and civil authorities. For outsiders, work is one way to overcome dislocation and achieve security, and descendants of the Anabaptists in America—who seem to value hard work at least as much as they value good works—are not alone in doing so. Exploring the history of cultural outsiders in Europe, French linguist and theorist Julia Kristeva has noted that aliens are workers, that it is foreigners in European society who still value work. They "experience an acute pleasure in asserting themselves in and through work: as if *it* were the chosen soil,

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32. John R. Renno, *A Brief History of the Amish Church in Belleville* (Danville, Pa.: John R. Renno, c. 1970), 21-22.

33. Luthy to author, Dec. 7, 1993.

34. Yoder, *Rosanna's Boys*, 248.

35. Calvin Redekop, *Mennonite Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 210.

the only source of possible success, and above all the personal, steadfast, nontransferable quality, but fit to be moved beyond borders and properties."[36] Hence, work becomes both home and the means of achieving security.

Of course the foreigner's diligence is often resented by native neighbors. In a French village Kristeva found that farmers who had moved from another region were "hated as much for being intruders as being relentless." This is a familiar story. In it are echoes of Benjamin Franklin's disgust with the German-speaking settlers in Pennsylvania who, he wrote, "under-live and are thereby enabled to under-work and under-sell the English."[37] A little Adam—the first outcast and father of us all—seems an apt expression of the laboring outsider, particularly as it appears in a collection of stories about intolerance and persecution.

Although David Luthy wrote with irony that "the poor man with the shovel has been digging long enough," he may be correct—at least if we read the digger as an Anabaptist outsider whose labor is aimed at gaining the acceptance of literal landlords and authorities. These days county agents boast of the success of the "plain people," whose farming practices, simple lifestyle and large working families allow them to prosper while others fail. A *New York Times* article reports that "while farmland lies fallow in much of rural New York, an influx of Mennonite families is making agriculture a viable way of life once more."[38] Horning Mennonites from Pennsylvania who moved to upstate New York have "revived poor farms that needed tile drainage, lime, crop rotation," according to an agent of the Cornell Cooperative Extension quoted in the article. The "plain people" (or most traditional) segments of the Anabaptist community—Beachy Amish, Holdeman Mennonites, Hutterian Brethren, Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites—are now the fastest growing and perhaps the most secure on the land.[39] As their numbers grow, new groups move into areas where real estate is inexpensive and no longer profitable for others to farm. They work in the tradition of the Anabaptist agriculturalists who, driven from their homes into European hinterlands, devised new farming methods for previously unproductive soil. Or they work in the tradition of their colonial American forebears who settled territories pre-

36. Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 16.

37. Quoted in John L. Ruth, *Mennonite Identity and Literary Art* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1978), 40.

38. "Migration of the 'Plain People' Revitalizes Farming," *The New York Times* (Dec. 11,1993), 25, 29.

39. See Steven Nolt, "The Mennonite Eclipse," *Festival Quarterly* 19 (Summer 1992), 8-11.

viously occupied by a nomadic people whose way of life was endangered and ultimately destroyed.

FIGURE 15

"Work and Hope" by Allan Eitzen from the pamphlet Mennonite Heritage Center Library & Archives *(Harleysville, Pa.: The Meeting House, 1990).*

I find it interesting that the Amish people who retained the German text of *Martyrs' Mirror* finally found no need for the little man with the shovel and removed him at precisely the time when the Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania chose to resurrect him. Explained John Ruth, who was largely responsible for this decision, "We [Mennonites] have a paucity of images that can go back into history and that are still accessible. This is a venerable thing—it has made the transition from Dutch to German to English."[40] In 1990 Allan Eitzen was commissioned to update the image (fig. 15). Now part of a permanent exhibit titled "Work and Hope" at The MeetingHouse, a Mennonite museum in Harleysville, Pennsylvania, the stylized adaptation by

40. Telephone interview, Nov. 11, 1992.

Eitzen takes into account previous versions. Although the wreath is oriented like the Ephrata reversal (olive branches on the right, palm on the left), the peasant digs in the direction of the original Dutch version, facing east (facing Europe?). Neither of the buildings behind him appears to be a house of worship; instead, they resemble the two-story farm home and spring house or *daadi-haus* (grandparents' house) configurations common to eastern Pennsylvania farmsteads. These are the kinds of buildings that now are being razed or saved to anchor new housing developments in that area.

FIGURE 16

From Track Work poster, Service Notice series, New York City Metropolitan Transit Authority, 1994.

Perhaps the image of the little man with a shovel has become most useful to American Anabaptists who have wandered from their homesteads and no longer live by labor on the land. Downstate from the new community of Horning Mennonites, I am drawn to the one who toils alone outside the walls of the village as I—a woman who wonders if she writes like a Mennonite—try to make my way in a city university. Like me, that peasant is tilling fields that may not belong to him yet—working and hoping, not sure if he is entitled to safe pasture in that territory. He labors in silence and solitude, as I do most of the time, sometimes plagued by a sense of belonging to a generation that has exchanged traditional roles and community for education and cultural assimilation.[41] Yet each time I see him embodied in another form,

41. Isaac Bashevis Singer, speaking of the assimilated Jewish person, has written: "In one sense he is the salt of humanity with his tremendous energy and ambition. But being salt, he gives humanity high blood pressure. He's neither a real Jew nor a real Gentile. He

for instance on the Metropolitan Transit Authority's announcement of subway trackwork (fig. 16), I feel a flush of nostalgic recognition and hope. Adam continued to be reborn because people continued to carry him with them; the work of remembering may be as worthy as working the earth.

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has no roots in any group. He digs all the time in other people's soil, but he never reaches any roots."—I. B. Singer with Richard Burgin, *Conversations with Isaac Bashevis Singer* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985), 63.