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MENNONITE LIFE

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"Joy of Youth" (detail), wood block by Franz Neundlinger, from the Gift of Gratitude by the German People to the Mennonite Central Committee.

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IN THIS ISSUE

This issue is largely devoted to education. Among the articles are messages by Vernon Neufeld, Albert Meyer, Russell Mast, Arnold Nickel, and Ed. G. Kaufman delivered at the school opening, at a faculty retreat, as chapel meditations, and at other college occasions. The remaining contributions are primarily in the realm of literary and poetic efforts and a description of cultural aspects of some Lancaster Mennonites and the Nebraska Amish of Mifflin County, Pennsylvania. ¶ As stated in the last issue, this issue represents a "new leaf" in the history of *Mennonite Life*. A few words should be said about the design of the magazine. The former cover design was made by Hans Bartsch and remained unchanged from the beginning to the last issue (1946-1961). Hans Bartsch was born in Central Asia in 1884, came to America where he received his secondary education (Bethel College, 1898-1899), and became an illustrator and painter (Wichita, St. Louis, New York). He died in 1959. This issue introduces a new cover and other designing by Robert Regier, who is the artist for the Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kansas, and instructor of art at Bethel College. John Hiebert of the Mennonite Press is responsible for the lay-out. We welcome both as co-workers to the staff of *Mennonite Life*. ¶ From 1946 until January, 1956, *Mennonite Life* was printed by the Herald Book and Printing Company. Starting with the April, 1956 issue, the Mennonite Press of North Newton, Kansas, has been doing the printing. The managers and the staff of these printing enterprises deserve praise for their efforts in raising the level of Mennonite publications. ¶ In future issues we plan to speak about other changes introduced in this issue. It is with gratitude that we remember those who helped in the planning and the realization of *Mennonite Life*, who served on the Executive Board and on the Editorial Staff. Also significant are the many faithful readers. Meanwhile we invite our readers to send us reactions regarding these changes and the content of this issue. Think of *Mennonite Life* when you want to introduce your friends to good reading at special occasions or any time and season of the year.

Hans Bartsch



Robert Regier



Needed: A Mennonite Philosophy of Higher Education

By Albert J. Meyer

MARTIN BUBER CALLS teaching "letting a selection of the world affect a person through the medium of another person." In education, the teacher and those he represents transmit a selection of the experiences and insights they have found valuable in their generation to the next. They are expressing the hope that the basic human needs for clothing, food, and shelter, and, for Christians, for a spiritual heritage, may be met at least as well in the students' generation as in their own. Rather than to transmit to their heirs only certain goods and means of production, they seek to make their successors independent in their own right—able to think for themselves, to express their thoughts and feelings, and to live in individual and collective response of God's initiative and leading. Seen in this light, teaching is an expression of love and concern for the new generation. For good reason, Christians in general, and Mennonites in particular, have been and are interested in education.

Theological Commitments

This may serve as the beginning of a statement on the philosophy of education. Recognizing the function of education in this general way, we still must ask *how* the task is to be conducted. To speak of higher education specifically, what are the philosophical or theological commitments that should guide the operation and development of Mennonite colleges?

Discussions on this subject in the past have, in general, emphasized primarily the fact that there is no necessary separation of sacred from secular areas of life. Jesus did God's will even though he lived in the midst of the dilemmas that are the lot of men. He spoke of the Kingdom. He implied that it was the fault of men—not of God—if men did not live together in an orderly way in the world God had created. It was on the foundation of these ideas that the Mennonite community concept, the concept of a Christian sub-society in which the work and participation of each member was significant, took shape. All really necessary tasks could be practiced by members of the community in good conscience and as an expression of Christian love for the other members of the community. Tasks that could not be so practiced were not viewed as necessary.

To turn specifically to the role of education, teachers could help young people prepare themselves to contribute to and participate in all necessary facets of the life of the community, including those facets sometimes referred to as secular. If men could be called by their fellows and by God to contribute to the life of the community in the areas of business or sculpture, and if their contributions would be just as necessary for the well-being of the community as those of pastors and theologians, certainly some community members could devote themselves to preparing young people for work in business or in the plastic arts.

The Minority Concept of the Church

If this were all there were to it, the development of an educational strategy would be relatively simple: we would merely focus our attention on Mennonite communities and their requirements and seek to preserve them and provide for more of them by training some of their citizens and the specialists they need. But here a second Mennonite theological understanding enters the picture. Mennonites have always believed that they were not alone in society—in fact, they have believed that committed Christians have always been in a minority. Moreover, especially in the early days of the movement, Anabaptist-Mennonites have believed they have had extremely important responsibilities to fulfill in the larger society.

Anabaptist-Mennonites do not start by just asking what jobs would be good or necessary in a society—their own or another—and then proceeding to apportion these jobs among themselves. Instead they begin by asking what others are already doing. They ask what their little minority can best do with the money and persons at its disposal. They develop a series of priorities and try to do those things that *most* need to be done in the particular situation in which they find themselves, leaving many good activities in the hands of non-Christians who happen to be interested in them. It may be that the tasks undertaken by the Mennonites will have a particularly "spiritual" emphasis. On the other hand, they may focus their attention on the industrialization of underdeveloped countries or on helping stu-

dents learn to express themselves clearly. In any case, they will not be unduly concerned if the tasks they choose, viewed as a group, appear to be quite lopsided. They are not pretending to run the whole society, and there may be many good tasks they will have to leave, for lack of time, to others.

This thinking raises many questions. How does the increase in the state's support of higher education, a fact of the last 150 years and particularly of the last 50 years, influence the church's educational strategy? Are there areas in which the church should lead in educational experimentation at the present time? Are there specific disciplines in which a Christian approach is quite different from a non-Christian approach, and should Christian institutions concentrate especially on these? Mennonites would say that these and other questions must be raised if Mennonites are to maintain a pioneering stance with respect to the larger society.

Interpersonal Relationships

There are still other Mennonite theological commitments that would have important implications for higher education. To cite a third example, one of the most distinctive characteristics of the Anabaptist-Mennonites has been a concept of the church in which the mutual responsibilities of members were emphasized. The church is not only the chief locus of preaching and the administration of the sacraments; it is also the place where members know and respond to one another. The values of a congregation are not only certain beliefs transmitted from generation to generation or discovered as entities that would have had a previously disincarnate existence; they are arrived at and formulated in specific situations through a process of intensive research and conversation.

These beliefs would seem to imply that the communication of values to a student in the classroom, in counselling, or in extracurricular activities might likewise involve his own active participation in the process of their discovery and formulation, and that the interpersonal relationships within the academic community might also be very important. One college president states the point in these words:

The only justification of a church college lies in its effort to be a Christian community . . . It is out of some such sense that Professor Clarke, of Earlham, said that a church college does not "have a religious program. It is a religious program." (Howard F. Lowry, "The Christian College as a Christian Community," *The Christian Scholar* XXXVII Supplement [Autumn, 1954,] p. 220.)

If this is true, it will certainly influence the way in which college faculty members view their work and undertake their tasks. Indeed, it can influence the structure of the college in which they teach.

Young Christians and Commitment

Mennonites have an attitude toward young people not shared by all Christians. Instead of practicing infant

baptism, Mennonites speak of an "age of accountability," a time, usually in their teens, when young people decide responsibly to associate themselves more closely with Christ and Christians or not to do so. Although this in itself is by no means a peculiarly Mennonite concept, Mennonites historically have emphasized the importance of free choice at the age of responsibility more than most other Christians. They believe that exerting social pressure on a young person to make him live as though he wanted to be a Christian when he does not can have harmful effects. On the other hand, they believe that young people who want to be Christians can mature only as they begin to engage in activity and witness on the basis of their faith. Overprotection beyond the age of responsibility can prevent maturation and healthy spiritual growth.

Naturally the increase in opportunities for decision will mean that some people will decide not to accept the norms of the community. That is exactly what many Christian groups have been telling the Mennonites and other free churches since the Reformation. In fact, the Mennonites themselves have lost some of their adventurous spirit in this regard in the course of the centuries. Leaders in many denominations are currently beginning to examine critically some of the premises of the Constantinian alternative, however. When Christians are increasingly becoming members of a minority in the world population, their tendency to use majority pressures and tactics may well be re-examined. In any case, outside influences and the increasing interest of Mennonites in their heritage are leading to new studies on the attitudes of Mennonites toward their young people. May these factors also lead to studies on the implications of these findings for higher education.

More needs to be done. Most of what Mennonites have written on their philosophy of higher education in the past has dealt primarily with the possibility of the Mennonite community and the importance of its transmission. Very little has been written on (1) the relevance of the pioneering stance of the church vis-a-vis the larger society, (2) the relevance of the Mennonite concept of the church for the structure and inner life of the college community, and (3) the relevance of the age-of-responsibility concept for higher education.

Maybe we must continue for a few years with educational structures and objectives borrowed for the most part from other Protestant groups—and let us by all means recognize the degree to which we agree with other Christians and gratefully acknowledge the contributions they have made and are making to our Christian understandings—with distinctive Mennonite emphases expressed primarily verbally in classroom lectures and chapel talks. Let us still hope for the day when the Holy Spirit will break forth in power and the very structures and fundamental objectives of our institutions will be shaped into forms that reflect more adequately our best Christian insights.



THE CHRISTIAN SCHOLAR

By *Russell L. Mast*

THERE IS A PERIODICAL which comes to the Bethel College Library which is called, *The Christian Scholar*. I would like to advance the proposition that the purpose of Bethel College or any church-related college is to train Christian scholars and that the purpose for your being here is to become Christian scholars. It should not be necessary to labor the point but, lest there be any uncertainty, let me say emphatically, at the outset, that one cannot be a Christian scholar unless one is a Christian, and that if you are to become better scholars you must become better Christians. For I am one of those who believes that true Christianity and true scholarship do not and never have stood in opposition to each other. I believe, moreover that among those who are actively engaged in higher education, either as teachers or as students, those who are Christians have more and not less reason to be true scholars than those who are not Christians. This is not to say that every Christian should necessarily be a scholar or a college student but that among those who have committed themselves to higher education true Christianity is an aid rather than a hindrance to true scholarship.

Unfortunately, this is not the position which the church has uniformly taken. I must confess that men in my profession have often been led to say to students, "Well after all, Christian character is more important than great scholarship. We are more interested in the kind of a life that a person lives than in the kind of mind he has." So we go on making the assumption that in a Christian college we make up in piety what we lack in intellectual vigor. Perhaps you have heard of the remark made to the late Henry Sloan Coffin on Sunday morning as he stood at the door after the morning service. It was a lady who said, "Pastor, you don't know how much your sermons mean to my husband since he has lost his mind."

I am sure that remark was not meant the way it sounded. But its sound does have a familiar ring to it. It does seem to imply that to have more religion you will be better off with less intelligence, and the corollary: that to have more intelligence you will be better off to have less religion. So we may need to choose what we want most of all. But I refuse absolutely to be maneuvered into the position where I must make that kind of choice. I will not say that we must have less of the one in order to have more of the other. What I do say is this: that being a true Christian helps at many points in being a true scholar; that there are many values actively urged in

the Christian understanding of life that are of inestimable value in becoming scholars in the truest and deepest sense of the word. What are some of these qualities which a true scholar will demonstrate in his life and which are inescapably a part of our Christian heritage?

Sustained Concentration

William E. Gladstone, a great British statesman, when asked how he came to occupy the position he had as a political leader, replied with one word, "concentration." Concentration is the capacity to set all one's attention and energy to a given task at a given moment of time. It is to refuse to be sidetracked by any other claims whether trivial, worthless, or definitely harmful and to commit oneself without reservation to the matter at hand. Now it must be said at once, whether in the college community or out of it, concentration is not easy to achieve. We live in a time where there are so many distracting claims and far more demands on our energies than we can ever possibly attend to. But the sober fact that cannot be gainsaid is this: that the way of true scholarship lies in the concentration of our personal resources and not in their diffusion. It lies in an unqualified commitment to the matter at hand. The great scholars are those who have mastered the hard discipline of concentration.

But concentration is a Christian virtue. Everywhere in the New Testament there is a call to live concentrated, focused, committed lives. Jesus once said to Martha who was careful and troubled about many things, "One thing is needful." And Paul said at one place, "This one thing I do." The scholar who sets himself to the task of study, for instance, can say to himself, "This one thing I do"; and, "One thing is needful." But if he is a Christian scholar, he will already have mastered to a large extent the disciplines of commitment which his faith has taught him.

Painstaking Thoroughness

Several years ago John Brower, an advertising man, referred to our time as "the great era of the goof-off, the age of the half-done job. The land from coast to coast has been enjoying a stampede away from responsibility. It is populated with laundry men who won't iron shirts, with waiters who won't serve, with carpenters who will come around some day maybe, with executives whose mind is on the golf course, with teachers who demand a single salary schedule, so that achievement cannot be rewarded, nor poor work punished, with students who take cinch courses because the hard ones make them think, with spiritual delinquents of all kinds who have been triumphantly determined to enjoy what is known until the present crisis as 'the new leisure'."¹ With gold-bricking all around us, with irresponsibility and an excessive desire for sheer idleness, it is not hard to see why scholarship is having such a time of it in our colleges.

But if you have made the first hurdle already and you have mastered the discipline of sustained concentration, it will not be hard for you to see that painstaking thoroughness is another quality of the true Christian scholar. For then you will strive for the most complete mastery that you can achieve. You will not be content with a half-done job. Nor will you allow yourself merely to get by and nothing more. In all of this, accuracy is more important than speed and thoroughness is more important than volume. So effort extends down to the smallest detail. When Michelangelo risked his life to paint an unimportant part of an angel on a high ceiling of a church, a friend chided him. But the artist replied, "Trifles make perfection—and perfection is no trifle."

Christianity makes a virtue out of thoroughness. In meeting all of life's obligations Jesus insisted on doing more than was required. "If a man asks you to go one mile go with him two." Or, he said, "He that is faithful in a little is faithful also in much. And he that is unfaithful in little is unfaithful also in much." What can be clearer than this? Because one is a true Christian he will also be a true scholar.

Unfailing Integrity

All of what we have said so far implies that we have acquired an unqualified loyalty to the truth. For a scholar has devoted himself to a search for truth. He believes that what is ultimately true is ultimately real and what is ultimately real is ultimately true. For truth is that which corresponds with reality, with the way things are. A scholar believes further that truth can stand on its own feet and that it needs no defense. It needs only to be understood and proclaimed. A genuine scholar can never go contrary to what he knows or believes to be true. There will be times when truth is unpopular, when we will be tempted to compromise with it, and in our day even to suffer for it. But as I had occasion to say in another connection, "No one is so strong as he who has truth on his side."

"If there be a God, the truth of all the world is His truth, and religion is not a fragment or phase of the educational process, but its permeating factor and its inner unity."² All the more because he is a Christian devoted to the God of truth will he exemplify unfailing integrity to the truth at every level of life, whether it be factual truth or ultimate truth.

Creative Reflection

This presumes a thorough knowledge of factual truth. It presumes the hard work and discipline of mastering certain fundamentals of knowledge. There is no short cut around this process and there is no way in which this can be done without serious effort. This is a part of the thoroughness about which we were talking a moment ago. But there is a kind of scholarship that goes no farther than this. It stops short of relating all this

detailed information into an integrated view of life. When facts are gained in one field they should be related to facts gained in another field. Some old ideas must be discarded so that new ideas may be born. Always there must be a growing edge to our thinking. If you have come to college with no intention of gaining new ideas, then you have come to the wrong place. If you have come and now make no provision for creative reflection on the factual truth that you have gained, then your education will have been a colossal failure.

But creative reflection is most emphatically a Christian virtue. The fact that our understanding of truth must have a growing edge is nowhere more clearly stated than when, at the close of his ministry, Jesus said to his disciples, "I have yet many things to say to you, but

ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth." The spirit of truth is no substitute for hard thinking. The spirit of truth is your guide in hard thinking, as you make use of the factual information which you have gained for creative reflection. So the Christian scholar is one who has, among others, such qualities as sustained concentration, painstaking thoroughness, unflinching integrity, and creative reflection. Society as a whole, no less than the church, has great need for those who are in the truest sense Christian scholars.

¹Quoted in *Life* magazine, July 7, 1958.

²Howard Lowry: *The Mind's Adventure*, Westminster Press, p. 104.

Christian Faith and Liberal Education

By Vernon H. Neufeld

NOT ALL IS RIGHT between education in general and the Christian faith. The relationship between the church and liberal education in many respects may be characterized as an uneasy truce of peace between two traditional enemies. Mutual glances of suspicion are cast from the church to higher education as well as from the world of learning to that of the Christian faith. The administrator of a church-related college occasionally hears, on the one hand, that his faculty is too liberal and open-minded and thus a means to the destruction of the Christian faith, but on the other hand, that the college is sectarian and narrow in its instruction and thus dwarfs the development and maturation of her young people.

The question of how liberal education should relate to the Christian faith is not simple to answer. And perhaps, since this is a question which has existed and has been debated almost since the beginning of Christianity—without permanent resolution—one should not be unduly depressed that it confronts us now and that its clear and final solution continues to elude us.

Yet, an attempt must be made. What follows is such an attempt—an attempt to discuss the nature of the problem as it appears to exist, and to suggest some presuppositions which possibly could lead to an answer. It would appear that there exists at least the possibility of bringing together into dynamic relationship the Christian faith and liberal education. This is a subject which requires

much thought, deliberation, conversation. What is said is but a beginning of such a consideration; it is not in any sense a concluding statement of final results.

Origin and Nature of Liberal Education

In recorded history, so-called "liberal" education apparently originated in ancient Greece. This means, of course, that the concept of liberal education began prior to and thus independently of Christianity. The word liberal as it refers to education in origin distinguished the freedman (*liber*) from the slave. Slaves, like all chattel or domesticated animals, were trained and disciplined for specific ends—that of service to their masters or owners. Freedmen, however, were educated for their own good; they themselves, not a specific job or service, were the end toward which their education pointed.

As conceived by the Greeks, liberal education contained rather significant elements. For one thing, education was related to the state. An educated man is a good man, and a good man is a good citizen. Plato said, "If you ask what is the good of education, the answer is simple—that education makes good men, that good men act noble, and conquer their enemies in battle because they are good." Furthermore, education was for the leisure and free class. The highest life was one of cultured leisure; energies were expended in the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. Related to this was the

idea, already expressed, that man was an end in himself. Aristotle noted that even liberal arts can become servile if done for the sake of others. Man must be considered as an end, not as a means to be used by other men.

Liberal education, to use the summary of E. Harris Harbison, ". . . is *secular*, deep rooted in this-worldly concerns and aims. It is *aristocratic*, redolent of the ideals and standards of the ruling class. It is *uncommitted* to anything beyond an amorphous humanism as an explanation of the meaning of existence."

Christian Attitude Toward Liberal Education

No doubt it is the identification of liberal education with culture in general (that is, secularism), its objective in man himself (that is, humanism), its aristocratic spirit, its purpose within the context of the state, which brought suspicion upon it in early Christianity.

There are those, of course, like Clement and Origen of Alexandria (during the latter second and early third centuries), who attempted a synthesis of Christianity and the Greek heritage. To them Christianity was the culmination of philosophy. Liberal culture and education was the way to discover true Christianity, for this makes possible the intellectual understanding of the mysteries of the faith.

But generally there was deeper suspicion of education. Tertullian was exceedingly wary of pagan culture and learning, and denied that Christianity had anything to learn from classical culture. He did, however, see the necessity of employing it in his own educational experience. The early Roman Christians, not having their own schools, would only reluctantly send their children to the secular schools. Augustine and Jerome said that literary and rhetorical culture was good only so long as it was kept subservient to the Christian life.

During the early Middle Ages, secular learning continued the Greek heritage with the seven liberal arts of grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, arithmetic, music, and astronomy. Separate and distinct from the liberal arts was dogmatic instruction in the Scriptures, the church fathers, and the church doctrines. The two realms remained separate. It was in scholasticism of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that secular learning and the Christian faith were briefly brought together. Abelard, for example, investigated the fundamental doctrines of the church and brought everything under the scope of reason, and, in essence, theology was brought under the sway of philosophy. Thomas Aquinas accepted the essential dogmas of the church as unquestionable, and systematized all in a form derived from Aristotle. The founding of universities in Europe, which initially resulted from the influence of scholasticism, inevitably increased an emphasis on freedom of thought and this, in turn, led to the great Renaissance with its opposition to authority and the assertion of individual liberty. The



ST. BENEDICT AND THE BARBARIANS. From the mural painting by Edward Loring. Courtesy of New York Public Library. The monk is copying manuscripts, while in the distance the barbarians are burning the land. Christian education and the Christian witness must go on even in the atomic age with its threats of disaster.

chief marriage of the church and education in medieval scholasticism ended in divorce, each again going separate ways.

Separation of Church and State

One other phenomenon must be mentioned in this brief historical review. This is the present emphasis upon the separation of church and state, particularly in the United States, and how this relates to education.

The state during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries exercised its right to demand minimum knowledge of its citizens, with the intention of benefiting both individual and state. Man was free to direct his life apart from theological considerations and religious sectarian-

ism. It was assumed that rationalism excluded religion; Descartes had advocated that man must prove everything by reason and that he can accept nothing which fails to stand the test. The Christian faith had no place in secular education.

The church, on the other hand, through the several denominations, was intent on maintaining sectarian beliefs and practices, and in this spirit insisted on extruding the last ounce of Christianity from secular education. Thus the rift between the church and liberal education was not alleviated; if anything, it was widened.

In this tradition we stand. We implicitly, if not explicitly, believe that it is for the state to educate the child and young person in the three R's, in the sciences, in the arts and skills of aesthetic and physical education; in short, the state is concerned with the mind and body. It is the task of the church, however, to save the soul and to nourish it in spiritual matters. The gulf remains. Education is generally viewed as being secular, from kindergarten to university. It is the task of the state to educate the person for society, and jealous care is given to keep religion out of the schools, for religion is in a class by itself. It is the job of the church.

A Radical Approach

At one extreme end of possible views is the sectarian position. This approach to education is aimed primarily at self-preservation and self-propagation. It teaches the accepted dogmas of its own group as unquestioned truth, and adopts the method of the catechetical schools with its developed and final answers, to be memorized, assumed without question, and passed on without change to the next person or the next generation.

There is concern in this type of school to purge from the instruction and curriculum those subjects and topics which apparently do violence to the accepted church dogmas and practices, and in a real or figurative sense to keep under lock and key the forbidden book. Such a school can actually instruct the mind to be closed to new and discomfiting ideas. If an A.B. or B.S. degree is necessary for a determined end, well and good; but in taking, for example, biology or philosophy, only go through the motions, meet the requirements, pass the courses, but do not be influenced by what you read or hear.

Clearly, this approach is apologetic and defensive. Its presuppositions rest upon certain preconceived ideas and its purposes are intimately related to the preservation of such ideas. The so-called truth which the school seeks in its program must conform to these presuppositions or it is not truth.

The abuses of this position are obvious. Its objective is an unworthy goal, that of maintaining the religious *status quo*. This view, as it has been presented, no doubt represents an extreme statement, and yet there are some schools which follow this pattern in its most obvious points.

The Secular Approach

At the other extreme, in approaching the problem of the separation of Christianity from education, is what one might call the secular position. Here the college pursues purely academic matters, and forgets about the church and Christianity in general. It emphasizes freedom of individual thought and action, and religion and morality, when they are considered, are viewed with complete detachment and objectivity. Christianity and the church are looked upon suspiciously as being subjective, emotional, and traditional, and thus outside the realm of a liberal education.

Perhaps most colleges tend in this direction, for the rational approach makes good sense and conforms to our accepted pattern of thought. But to reduce everything to objectivity, to the rational, is to neglect the realm of the spirit, of faith, of the divine. To attempt to prove everything by logic is also to fail—even in the liberal arts and sciences, let alone the Christian faith.

Church-related colleges, their constituencies, faculty, and students, then, in varying degrees tend to throw themselves into one or the other extreme. Perhaps even worse, the attempt is sometimes made to accept both alternatives: to be a sectarian liberal institution!—somehow to promote and maintain traditional teachings, emphases taught in the church, and yet to teach objectively the liberal arts and sciences as done elsewhere in the academic world. But here the gap between the Christian faith and liberal education is not really bridged.

A Third Alternative: Christian Liberal Education

As might be assumed by now, there ought to be a third alternative which avoids the pitfalls of extremity presented here. The gulf between the Christian faith and liberal education can be spanned, and the church-related college is in a position to do just this. There is such a thing as Christian liberal education which violates neither the essence of the Christian faith nor the essence of liberal education.

Christ and the Christian faith is the beginning point in considering such a relationship. We speak here of Jesus Christ, the one who lived in history as the incarnate Son of God, who lived and died and was raised for man. We are talking about the reigning Christ, who is Lord of all—Lord of man, Lord of the earth, Lord of the universe, Lord of history. All truth—whether in the realm of what we call science, natural or social, in the realm of the metaphysical, in the realm of the beautiful—all comes under the dominion of God as we know him primarily through the person of his Son.

In beginning with Christ, we are not merely considering theological matters, but more critically the personal matter of commitment. The so-called liberal arts and sciences are joined to Christianity when the student and teacher are themselves committed Christians. They are committed not to a collection of dogmas, certain hy-



potheses, set traditions or customs—they are committed to Jesus Christ. In him comes truth for he is the embodiment of truth. When one's life is dedicated to Christ as Savior and Lord, liberal education is another part of the total truth of which he has already tasted. The correlation is made first in the person himself.

It bears emphasis to state again that the prime pre-supposition underlying the relationship between Christianity and liberal education is commitment to Christ. With this commitment higher education supplements and builds the Christian faith; without it the separation is maintained and even widened. It is a basis not of ideas, teachings, preconceived concepts, but a foundation in Jesus Christ—the person of God's incarnate Son.

A second point of importance in relating education to the Christian faith has to do with our understanding of the nature of man. The Biblical accounts teach that man as man must be understood on the basis of several truths.

Man was created (and, we might add, is created) for great ends. He was created to serve God in a free and perfect relationship, and furthermore he was created in the image of God—with self-conscious reason and the capacity to respond to God. It was God's intention for man to remain in fellowship with Him and to conform to the image. But by deliberate choice, and knowledge of the consequences, man fell away into a state of sin or separation. The image of God became defaced and marred, though not destroyed. Then the books of the Bible teach that God has continually sought to restore a fallen mankind to himself—through Moses and the prophets, but predominantly and supremely in Jesus Christ, God was reconciling the world to himself.

It is the latter point that becomes our primary concern here—the restoration, the reconciliation, yes, the salvation of mankind. What is it that needs to be saved? The soul, the spirit, the heart? Ah, here our Greek heritage manifests itself, for we tend to say yes.

While the Greeks tended to divide man into the compartments of body, mind, and soul, the Judeo-Christian rightfully points to the truth that man is a whole; he is a total person. It is the total man that needs salvation or restoration, not only a phase or a part of his personality.

This means, then, if we take seriously the work of reconciliation, that the Christian is charged with the responsibility of ministering to the needs of the total person. The church must present Jesus Christ as Lord, yes, but also engage in a program of educating the student in the wide expanses of learning, of meeting his intellectual, social, aesthetic, physical needs, so that all work together in remaking him into the *imago dei*, truly into one who is *en Christo*.

Thus, liberal education—education of the total man—is not incompatible with the Christian faith. It becomes an integral part of it.

There is then a third conviction which relates to our

problem. The bridge between the Christian faith and liberal education must be built by the community of Christian scholars. The idea of the Kingdom of God was taught by Jesus during his ministry, as the concept of the church was taught by Paul in early Christianity. Christianity is community and fellowship. Though made up of individuals with several abilities, functions, and services, yet the church is one body under the leadership or lordship of Christ.

The Christian college, then, if it would bring together Christianity and liberal education, needs to become a segment of God's people. A college—a *collegium* or a gathering of those with a specific mission—is a community of Christian scholars, dedicated both to the lordship of Christ and to the pursuit of knowing and doing the truth. It is the setting for research, for discussion, for consideration of new ideas, for experimentation—but all in the larger context of the heart and life of the Christian faith.

It is necessary, yes, imperative, that if so-called liberal education (the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities) is to be integrally related to Christianity, this must occur in the Christian college or community, where, in the association of learners and teachers, the truth of God can be pursued, discovered, considered, accepted, and related.

The Contribution of the Christian Faith

Finally, one might note that the Christian faith does have something to contribute to the general field of liberal education. Christianity is that way of faith and life which illumines liberal education. As E. Harris Harbison points out, "The goal of the liberal arts is to provide *bindsight* and *foresight* of varying degrees of exactness in this universe of things and events; the part of Christian belief is to provide *insight*."² Learned and devoted Christians in the field of liberal education, in humility and devotion to truth, can shed light on the wider meaning of the subjects they teach.

Related to this, and more vital, is the truth that the

Christian faith provides purpose to liberal education. Here the Christian view departs from the traditional Greek view. Christian liberal education does not have man as its ultimate end, nor the preparation of man for service to the state. Christian liberal education views the preparation of man for his ultimate goal in God—the restoration of the *imago dei* and his dedication to the work of the further reconciliation of others. Thus a Christian liberal arts education, contrary to Greek thought, must prepare man for service to God and man.

Basically we have been saying that the schism between higher education and the church has existed for centuries; the suspicion and distrust between the Christian faith and liberal education, between the church and the college, probably will continue. No doubt each has failed the other. But we are also saying that this schism can be and must be healed. Here lies a purpose for the existence of the church-related college.

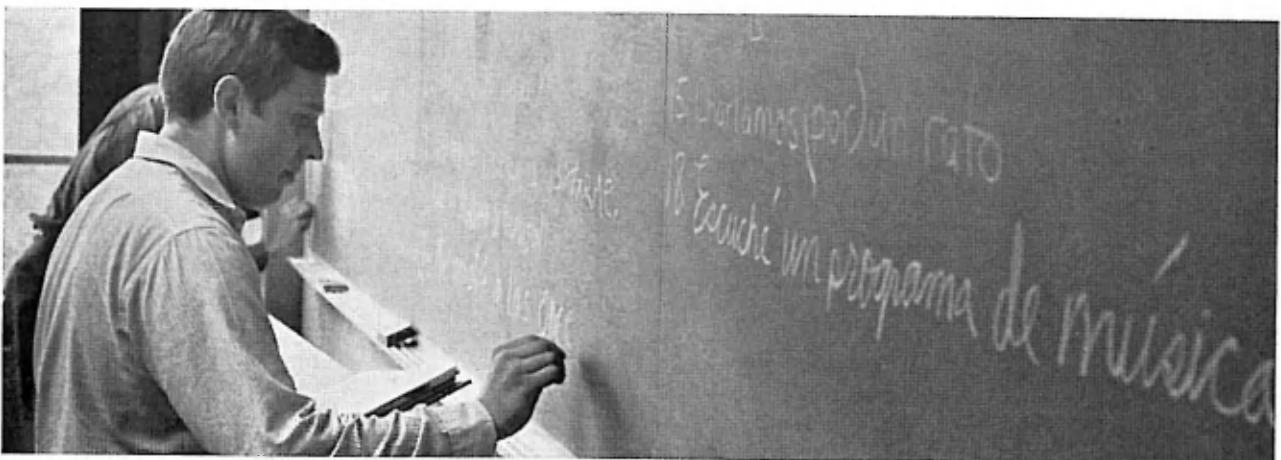
We must with integrity view our historic faith and build upon it. There is much truth here—meaningful and relevant. Above all, we hold to a clear faith in Jesus Christ our Lord and a belief in the kingdom proclaimed by him. In Christian community we seek truth, knowledge, and meaning; we study the liberal arts and sciences, because these can add to and deepen the Christian faith, and because the Christian faith can enlighten and give purpose to our learning.

The Christian faith on the college campus can be an adventurous and inquiring faith, committed to Christ and his kingdom, not to any particular dogma, creed, or pattern. In this sense it must, as in Greek thought, remain liberal, existing for freedmen—free from their environs, mores, traditions, but free in Christ.

To relate liberal education to the Christian faith is a big job. The Christian scholar, as a person and in community with others, can do the job.

¹Edmund Fuller, editor, *The Christian Idea of Education*, Yale University Press, 1957, p. 61.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75.



THE ANABAPTIST CONCEPT OF THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION

By Arnold Nickel

IF ONLY ONE of the radical reformers of the early sixteenth century could be with us for a few days, the Mennonite church and its related institutions would be challenged to an intensive search of its direction and mission in the world and of its devotion to the Master. The choice of a particular Anabaptist visitor would not greatly matter. It might well be Conrad Grebel, Georg Blaurock, or Felix Manz from Switzerland; it could be Hans Denck, Ludwig Haetzer, Balthasar Hubmaier, Michael Sattler or Pilgram Marbeck of Germany; or, and few would mind at all, it could be Menno Simons of Holland. When one observes the keen logic and intense feelings with which these "spiritual athletes" entered the disputations with their opponents, and the large number of people who were induced by their reasoning and eloquence to become their followers, one realizes that these well-trained champions of a cause were leaders with outstanding abilities and fearless devotion.

Whereas it is impossible for one of these to speak to us, it is possible to learn of their spiritual work because they did leave materials for us to study, to use and to enlarge upon. Scholars of the most recent decades have not been content with some of the biased and even hostile writings from the pens of Lutheran and Reformed interpreters and historians. Present-day researchers have uncovered original materials covered by dust and other books and attic boxes for several centuries. Anabaptist researchers, such as Franklin H. Littell, Fritz Blanke, and those of the Mennonite brotherhood, deserve the right to be heard on the Anabaptist concept of the church. It is from their unrelenting efforts of study, classification of materials, and statements that we are privileged to grasp the meaning of the New Testament church as understood by Anabaptist fathers of the faith.

Summary statements are often inaccurate generalizations, still the factor of brevity is necessary in treatment of the chosen subject. Hence, a few paragraphs will be devoted to the Anabaptist views of the church before attempting to point out some of the implications for church-college relations.¹

The Anabaptist Concept of the Church

To an amateur student in Mennonite history it appears difficult to arrive at any one particular Anabaptist concept of the church. It is true that certain ideas of the church come into clearer focus than others; however, even the best scholars have difficulty in centering the lens on the same subject as well as getting the image clearly focused. Whether the central controlling idea of the Anabaptists was primitivism and restitution, separation from the world and the state church, discipleship, or any other, depends on the long list of limitations any historian confronts. However, it might be generally accepted that the attempt on the part of the Anabaptists was to establish the "true" church in the world.

In the early years of the sixteenth century, and even before, the coming of a reformation seemed inevitable. The nature of the work of God is such that there will always be a "returning" of people to the Father. The nature of the work of the Holy Spirit is to ". . . convince the world of sin and of righteousness and of judgment. . ." and to ". . . guide you into all the truth; . . ." The nature of the New Testament company is such that it will be an expression of the Divine will upon earth. It is from this watershed that we begin our quest, and it was from this basic premise that the reformers stepped into forest and frontier before them. Before the Reformation had really gotten underway the real issue appeared. What type of church should take the place of the old territorial and ecclesiastical church which they all knew so well and in which they had been nurtured? New concepts appeared; were severely tested by followers and persecutors; and eventually were structured by the radical reformers in order to once again present the "true" church to the world.

The Reformed and Lutheran spiritual fathers aimed to reform the old church by the Bible, and following the final separation with the old church these leaders retained significant old church ideas and relationships which resulted in the concept of the *Volkskirche*, or the inclusive

state church led by both city and territorial political authorities and ecclesiastical divines. Though radically different in faith and creed from that of the Roman Catholic Church, the church of the Reformation was not patterned after the Biblical and apostolic Christian fellowship. This of course could not be the "true" church upon earth according to the radical reformers for whom the Bible and love were the final tests of orthodoxy. Then further, these radical Bible Christians searched the Word and their own consciences, and the oftener they debated the issues with their opponents the more they were led to the position that the norm of the church on earth must be New Testament apostolic Christianity. For these radicals the early church was the heroic age and its life and style were normative for all true believers. And as early as 1523 and 1525 the radical wing of the Reformation was totally committed to a program of the complete restitution of apostolic Christianity. From that time their mission was to reproduce as literally as possible the primitive apostolic church in its original purity and simplicity; restore Christianity once more to a basis of individual faith and an internal disciplined brotherhood.

Franklin H. Littell points out that at least two notes stand out from the rest; namely, "The Church must be a voluntary association, and, the Church must follow the New Testament pattern."² To determine the individual's responsibility to God through faith in Christ and his responsibility and relationship to the Christian church became an ever-increasing search of soul, Scripture, and Spirit. The Anabaptists believed in the right of individual conscience, but they emphasized as much collective responsibility and obedience to the Lord of the church. This point is partially clarified by Robert Friedmann. Contrasting other Protestant movements with Anabaptism, he writes: "Everybody still remains alone, seeking his personal salvation, and he only enjoys the sharing of edification with the like-minded co-religionists. Or to put it in other words: the brother is not absolutely necessary for the salvation of the individual, which rests alone in the possession of one's faith. . . . Now then, the central idea of Anabaptism, the real dynamic in the age of Reformation, as I see it, was this, that this 'brother' actually matters in the personal life. . . . This interdependence of men gives life and salvation a new meaning. It is not 'faith alone' which matters (for which faith no church organization would be needed) but it is brotherhood, this intimate caring for each other, as it was commanded to the disciples of Christ as the way to God's kingdom. That was the discovery which made Anabaptism so forceful and outstanding in all of church history."³

Another most significant witness of the Anabaptists was that they believed that the Great Commission of our Lord was meant for all members of the brotherhood, and thereby represented an early vision of what is known today as a world mission. Through zealous communication of their faith to others in public places and on

the waysides, these brethren won adherents to the "true" church, but also gained the stern disapproval of the state church. Persecutions and many social, political and economic harrassments sent them from their homes and fellowships into the territories and parishes beyond. Not only was this religious sect endangered by those without, but internal problems and divisions also aided their spread. One of the basic challenges the Anabaptists confronted was that of gathering believers with a new spiritual experience and disciplining a new spiritual community. However, their resources of faith, Scripture and common spiritual experience gave to them consensus and cohesiveness sufficient for growth and increasing maturity. They were able to rediscover the meaning of Christian brotherhood with Christ as the head of the spiritual body.

The witness of the Anabaptist wing of the Reformation is a testimony both to the nature of the "true" church and to the vision of Christian discipleship. This concept of the church is further explained as the gathering of voluntary religious associations under the Lordship of Christ; the freedom of the Christian combined with the utmost discipline in the community; the application of an ethic of love and nonresistance in all human relationships; the understanding of Christianity as faith in Jesus Christ and obedience to the Great Commission.

General Conference Concept of the Church

The General Conference Mennonite Church today still stands in the line of direct cultural and religious descent from the sixteenth century Anabaptists. Many within this branch of the Mennonites today, both individuals and congregations, would seriously question whether to choose identity with the Anabaptists if such a choice were theirs today. In fact, the writer is not at all certain that he would choose to be numbered with such a radical group as the Anabaptists were in their time. Of course it is difficult to pattern our faith and practice after that of the Anabaptists due to the radical changes which have taken place in Anabaptist-Mennonite history as well as changes in world view and world order. Nevertheless, if the assumption was correct that the Anabaptists could pattern their faith and fellowship after that of apostolic Christianity, should it not be possible for us to do the same? Perhaps it is unwillingness on our part to be radically different in faith and life which has made of us what we are today. Our concept of the church has suffered clarity because of our ambiguous relationship to the Protestantism and to the state. Distinctive characteristics of the General Conference Mennonites are partially hidden in cultural traditions, religious and materialistic influences and decades of prosperity. Our churches are hardly known as the fellowship of the heroic in faith; hardly known as the suffering for the faith; scarcely known as the dispossessed and persecuted in the earth. We are to be observed as the community of the well-dressed, gadget-laden, gainfully-em-

ployed and the religious churchgoers who have adopted part and parcel the American ways of life and the American standards of Protestant church membership. The concepts of the church, though broadly defined in some of our conference literature, are perhaps best illustrated by roles performed in the General Conference churches.

The particular work of a Mennonite minister is not to win the lost but to win the love and confidence of his parishioners. His second obligation is to spend much time in retaining their love and confidence. The role of the ministry in our midst has been transplanted from that of central spiritual influence in the community of faith to that of an administrative-counselor in the intricate and complex socio-religious structure we call the church today. And "as thy servant was busy here and there" the real opportunities to guard the faith, to communicate the Gospel, and to enter into meaningful conversation with fellow Christians, have passed into other places. If ministers, and educators in our Christian liberal arts colleges should be included, fail to become brothers and witnesses of the faith, it is hardly to be expected that a purposeful and growing Christian fellowship can be realized. Ministers of the General Conference Mennonite churches should have an intense interest in the Anabaptist concept of the ministry as well as of the church, and should have a dynamic desire to make apostolic Christianity vital in this century.

Second, the particular role of the average member in the life and program of the congregation is difficult to see on the stage of congregational activity today. His faith is generally hidden from his fellowman because he has not been taught to express it; his life is disciplined by the mores of his particular environment; and his standards of life have been rooted by a society in which the church is peripheral and gainful employment is central to soul and body. The time he gives to his church is residue time, and the talents he offers to the church are most generally those which he has not developed or specially trained. "Strengthening the spiritual life" is not his primary business, whether in personal life, family circle or church fellowship. Specialists have assumed the role on the stage of Christian activity, and the average member is but an observer of what is being done by his church. Too great a number of the members in good standing are stalled somewhere along the road to spiritual maturity, and blinded by the lights that do shine ahead of them. The Anabaptist concept of discipleship and of fellowship based on the foundation of the New Testament norm should become relevant for church members in our generation. Our increasing identification with the spirit of individualism and our role as members in the local congregation need to come under the judgment of the Anabaptist concepts of the church. For the genius of the Anabaptists was that membership was voluntary but the exercise of discipline was expected of the individual and by the entire group.

Third, the relationship of the local congregation to

the conference and its related institutions is also tested by the New Testament norms of apostolic Christianity. The ties that bind the church, conference and college into a unique whole are the ties of a mutual spirit, mutual helpfulness, and a mutual mission upon earth. It is conceivable and possible for local congregations to remain autonomous and have no ties with any other group of churches; it is also possible for institutions, such as Christian colleges, to have no formal ties with a church or a group of churches united as a conference. It is already true within the General Conference that a number of churches have no ties with the conference-related educational institutions. Perhaps this separation is an indication of silent growth, but perhaps it is a sign of encroaching spiritual death. Or maybe it implies that no relationship was ever contracted, and efforts toward a mutual relationship were either not put forth or not successfully completed. If it is possible to convey the essence of the Anabaptist concept of the church to our present need, might it be possible to suggest that the relationship between the conference, college and church should be first and foremost a spiritual relationship, and second, a mutual relationship whereby the unique mission God has given to the General Conference Mennonite churches could be more fully and speedily met in this desperate world? In essence this is what has been attempted through the past one hundred years, and in form this has considerable structure, but in actuality this work is far from complete. New and vigorous life must be poured into it. The inroads of numerous outside religious interpretations of the Christian church and its mission, personality clashes in high offices, change in program emphases, conflicts of the sacred and the secular, and many, many other factors have had a part in separating one from another. Some of the separations which have taken place through the century within the General Conference have made it difficult to realize the promise that nothing "shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

Implications for Church-College Relations

Several implications might merit consideration in this article, however, these only begin a series to which numerous others should be added. First, the communication of a common faith should be a common goal of church and Christian college. "One Lord, one faith" has been one of the primary reasons for the beginning of the General Conference. We are not known as a creedal church, but we ought to be a church and a Christian college able to communicate the faith which we have received of the Lord. As did the Anabaptists we ought we to testify to the relevance of our faith to all of life. It is at times quite evident that both members of the churches and students of the colleges have not received a faith which they are able to apply and communicate to others. The church has failed to teach persuasively and the college has failed to teach precisely what apos-

toloc Christianity has to say to every generation. The church has fallen short of its inherent purpose to instill a faith adequate for life and for the deeper probings of the intellectual mind and spirit of a college campus. The Christian college has fallen short of its basic aim to give to the student the tools and materials whereby he can build upon the Christian foundations throughout his lifetime. The church must do more than to keep alive a traditional-cultural religion, and the college must do more than to sponsor entertainment series for its constituency. Both the church and the college need to discover the Spirit and Word of God, and desire to communicate the Christian faith to each other, to each new generation, and to the field. The Anabaptists discovered the New Testament concept of the church by means of their communication of the faith to each other and even through the disputations with their opponents.

Second, the understanding and exercise of freedom and responsibility suggests the nature of the relationship between church and college. The freedom of the individual Christian grows out of the very nature of man as a creature of God and is not a gift of either church or state. The autonomy of the congregation comes not from man or state but also from God. However, we need to remember that with freedom comes the responsibility to act as free men who recognize the freedom of others as well as a corporate freedom to exercise Christian discipline. Only the responsible are really free. The college-church relationship based on institutional freedom and responsibility is the only relationship which is able to bind church and college into a truly Christian fellowship. This implication needs further expansion and clarification by both church and college.

Third, the promotion of Fellowship and Christian concern marked the early Anabaptist movement. We must have freedom, but equally as much do we need fellowship. Expressions of fellowship and concern can be

Early Anabaptist preaching took place in homes, in the open, in caves and on boats as shown on this picture.



most superficial and dangerously hypocritical even in Christian circles. Hidden motives and defensive roles often rule the mind when the spirit desires communion with God and man. Similarly, church-college relations are marred by the things that are not seen, rather than by what is seen. "The more we get together" is not sufficient for our need of seeking fellowship with each other, and our need to openly discuss what is really "upon our hearts." The concern of the brethren clearly stamped the Anabaptist-Mennonite brotherhood, and it should be one of our definitive marks as we witness to each other and to the world which is God's handiwork.

Fourth, the confrontation of Mennonites and their colleges with the larger Protestant church and with society at large is an undying challenge in every generation. We still find ourselves in a world of good and evil; a world in which God seeks His own and a world in which sin is a reality. As never before in history the Mennonite people have become identified with larger Protestantism and with secular society. The people of the pew and academic seats have a far better knowledge of what is going on about us than we who work within a more-or-less closed framework imposed upon us by our institutions. Both the church and college must find new ways and better means of broadening our fellowship with fellow Christians; we must learn new methods for adopting change in our changing society; and we must find means for more effective learning and witnessing as we encounter the church and the world. We must do much more than to eventually endorse what our people have long been engaged in doing. We must make ours a dynamic church with Christ as prophet and priest, and our college must achieve new dynamic with Christ as teacher. We must move forward, agree on our Christian concepts and mission, and walk together. We must learn to walk with Christ as hand in hand we, the representatives of both church and college, endeavor to fulfill His command to go into the world to preach and teach.

¹Cornelius Krahn, "Anabaptism and the Culture of The Netherlands" in *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision*, (Scottsdale: Herald Press) pp. 221-224.

²*The Anabaptist View of the Church* (Boston, Beacon Press, p. 50.

³"On the Mennonite Historiography and on Individualism and Brotherhood," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, April, 1944.

Correction

IN THE OCTOBER, 1961, issue we published an article on p. 192 entitled "The Challenge of Menno Today." The author of the article was not Frits Kuiper as stated but K. Westerbrink, an active member of the Mennonite Church of Amsterdam and an employee in a bank. Our apologies and grateful recognition.

Pioneers in Mennonite Education

By Ed. G. Kaufman

THINKING ON PIONEERS in Mennonite education one naturally goes back to the Reformation. Early Anabaptist leaders were university trained men. Conrad Grebel, who performed the first adult baptism, was educated in the universities of Vienna and Paris as a master of Greek who also wrote Latin fluently. Felix Manz, the first Anabaptist martyr, was also well educated including in his studies, Greek and Hebrew. Balthasar Hubmeier, theologian and university rector, studied philosophy and theology under the famous Dr. Eck. For a time he was instructor at the University of Freiburg and later served as professor of theology at Ingolstadt.

The gifted Hans Denck was a graduate of the University of Ingolstadt and also studied at Basel. He was appointed as rector of a school at Nürnberg at the age of 28. He knew Latin, Greek and Hebrew well and wrote several books as philosopher and scholar. In 1527 he assisted with the translation of the Old Testament prophets. Thirteen editions of this work came out in the following three years. Both Luther and Zwingli later used it in the production of their own translations. For a few years he was the leader of South German Anabaptism. "Denck was three hundred years ahead of his time," says theologian Baum.¹ He died of the pest not yet 32 years of age.

Later in Holland, Menno Simons, 13 years younger than Luther, was an influential Anabaptist leader. He was educated for the Roman priesthood and knew some Greek and Hebrew. Although primarily an organizer and preacher he did much educational work by his incessant writing in behalf of radical reform. The early persecution took the educated leaders and for generations thereafter, due to suppression, migration, and isolation, education among Mennonites in some countries remained at a low ebb.

Educational Efforts in Europe

In various countries of Europe education again came to the surface gradually. In Holland, Peter Teyler van der Hulst established the Teyler Foundation in 1778. He left considerable capital for this institution. Prizes

were offered for the best contributions on various subjects. Not only Mennonite scholars, but men of various background in Holland, France, and Germany competed for these honors. The Dutch Mennonites became famous far and wide through this Teyler Foundation.²

Gradually the desire for an educated ministry made itself felt and in 1735 crystallized in the Mennonite Seminary at Amsterdam. This institution has not only given the Dutch Mennonites an educated leadership but also exerted a great influence toward uniting the various Mennonite branches of that country.

In Germany it was M. Loewenberg who set forces in motion in 1867 that gradually developed into the Mennonite school at Weierhof (*Realanstalt am Dennersberg*). Although during the war time the school was closed, it is again functioning today and is supported by Mennonites all over Germany.

Francis Daniel Pastorius

The first educational institution attended by American Mennonites was established in Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1701, with Francis Daniel Pastorius as teacher. Pastorius was born in Germany in 1651. He attended four universities: Altdorf, Strassburg, Basel, and Jena. He was made a doctor of law at Nürnberg in 1676. Having met William Penn in Frankfurt he organized the Frankfurt Land Company which bought some thirty thousand acres of land in Pennsylvania. In 1683 he came to America as the agent of the land company. Some Crefeld Mennonites and Quakers followed. Pastorius founded Germantown where he was of great influence and served as teacher for many years. His Germantown school was supported through voluntary subscriptions by those interested and tuition paid by students. It was open to both sexes and besides its regular day sessions also had evening classes for those who could not attend during the day.

Pastorius also did much writing. His most important educational work was *A New Primer — Or Methodical Directions to Attain the True Spelling, Reading, and Writing of English* published by William Bradford of



Samuel Cramer, well-known professor of the Amsterdam Mennonite Seminary; Netherlands.

Galeus Abrahamz de Haau, first Mennonite seminary professor of Amsterdam.

Christopher Dock, a conception by Oliver Wendell Schenk, first American Mennonite educator.



Michael Löwenberg, founder of the Weierhof Realanstalt.

The Weierhof Realanstalt or secondary Mennonite school of Germany.



Samuel Muller (1785-1875) was influential leader and seminary professor in Amsterdam.

Gustav Göbel, one of the late professors of the Weierhof secondary school.



New York. For the last twenty years of his life Pastorius served as teacher.³

Christopher Dock

Another pioneer of Mennonite education in America was Christopher Dock, who in the middle of the eighteenth century was widely known as "The Pious Schoolmaster" in eastern Pennsylvania. He also was born in Germany, the exact date does not seem to be known. Dock came to America in about 1710, locating on a farm near Philadelphia. He began his teaching career in about 1714 in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, on the Skippack, among the Mennonites. In the same year he opened a second school in Salford, teaching alternately three days a week in each one. In the Germantown Mennonite meetinghouse may yet be seen the table and bench used by him in his teaching.

Dock's fame as teacher became so widely known that Christopher Saur, the Germantown publisher and former pupil of Dock, in 1749 asked Dock to write out his methods of teaching and school management for publication. Dock was too modest to do that. However, his friend, Dielman Kolb, submitted a list of questions for Dock's written answers. Finally he consented to answer the questions. Dock's *Schul-Ordnung* (School Management) was put in manuscript form in 1750 and later in 1770 was published, thereby becoming the first book on the subject written in America. The treatise is in five sections, covering a child's up-bringing at home as well as educational procedure in school.

Dock was a dedicated Christian and had the custom each evening, after the pupils had gone, to remain in the schoolroom for prayer, naming each pupil before God in prayer. One evening in the autumn of 1771 he failed to come home as usual. He was found in the schoolroom on his knees, dead.⁴

The Funks

Joseph Funk (1778-1862), conducted a school in Mountain Valley (Singer's Glenn), Virginia, during the years 1850-1860. Besides the general school subjects, music was especially emphasized. For nearly half a century Singer's Glenn was a source of authority and inspiration of sacred music. Joseph Funk also founded the first Mennonite printing establishment in America. He and his sons organized singing schools in at least eleven counties of Virginia. The writings and compilations of his include seven books and periodicals. The most famous one was *Harmonia Sacra*, of which twenty-two editions have been printed, the last in 1959. The Funk Press was the forerunner of the present Funk and Wagnalls Company of New York City.

One of the great-grandsons of emigrant Christian Funk was John F. Funk (1835-1930) who became a very distinguished Mennonite leader in the nineteenth century. In his youth he attended Freeland Seminary, (now Ursinus College), and became a teacher. Later he entered the lumber and publishing business in Chicago

where he was converted under D. L. Moody. After ten years in Chicago he moved his lumber and publication interests to Elkhart, Indiana. Here he gathered a group of able and progressive younger men around him and made Elkhart the strong center of leadership and growth among Old Mennonites. His base of operation was his publishing house. He was very influential in Conference organization and education, including Elkhart Institute.⁵

John H. Oberholtzer (1809-1895)

Oberholtzer began teaching when he was sixteen years of age and continued for fifteen years. In 1842 he was ordained to the ministry. He served as editor of the first Mennonite periodical published in America, the *Religiöser Botschafter*, appearing in 1852. In this paper he often urged the necessity of education. Before the free public schools, farmers in Pennsylvania often would join in building a schoolhouse and engaging a teacher for their boys. Near Boyertown lived John Ritter with a large family of boys. Ritter built his own two-story schoolhouse. The second floor was the schoolroom while the first floor was occupied by his pigs. Here Oberholtzer was engaged to teach the Ritter boys and others who came in on payment of tuition. Not infrequently the Ritter boys, with intent and premeditation, so aroused and stimulated the pigs that the confusion of the first floor made it impossible to continue with the school on the second floor. This double purpose building was known in the community as the "pig-sty schoolhouse."

Oberholtzer was the leader of a group of more progressive Mennonite ministers in eastern Pennsylvania. There was strong opposition to these tendencies. As a result on October 28, 1847, Oberholtzer and fifteen other ministers organized a new conference called the East-Pennsylvania Conference of Mennonites, the forerunner of our General Conference.⁶

Abraham Hunsicker

A member of the Oberholtzer group, Abraham Hunsicker, purchased a tract of ten acres near Philadelphia with his own funds and established Freeland Seminary in 1848. The school was opened in the same year in November with three students but increased to 79 before the end of the school year. For 22 years this school was in operation with his son Henry becoming the leading promoter and teacher. Students from various denominations and different states enrolled. The Hunsickers started the school naturally hoping their main support would come from Oberholtzer Mennonites, instead many of them were offended and finally they even excommunicated them from the church because of their liberal tendencies. In 1859 Freeland Seminary was sold and became the present Ursinus College of the Reformed Church. During the seventeen years of Henry Hunsicker's principalship a total of 3,791 students had enrolled. The story of Mennonitism in America would be

different today had the Mennonites taken a different attitude toward Freeland Seminary.⁷

The Wadsworth School

Gradually in various parts of America small groups with greater interest in higher education developed. Besides the Oberholtzer group in Pennsylvania, there was a similar Canada-Ohio group as well as an Iowa-Illinois group. A meeting of representatives of all three groups was called to convene on May 28, 1860, at West Point, Lee County, Iowa. This was the beginning of the General Conference. Education was considered important. Later Daniel Hege was chosen to solicit funds for a school. On November 22, 1863, he returned to his home in Summerfield, Illinois, with a total of \$5,738.58 from twenty-four congregations and a few isolated individuals. Eight days after his return he died, having developed typhoid fever during his strenuous solicitation tour.

During the summer and autumn of 1866; a school building was erected on a 103-acre farm near Wadsworth. The dedicatory services were held on October 13 and 14 of the same year, with the main address given by John H. Oberholtzer. However, because of lack of teachers, the school was not opened until January, 1868. There were three departments: theology, German and elementary branches, and English and the sciences. The head teacher, C. J. van der Smissen, who was also professor of theology, was secured from Europe, while the others were men from this country.

Soon difficulties of various kinds arose. In 1873 the Mennonite migration from Russia to the prairie states began and required attention and money to the detriment of the school. The deficit steadily grew. Finally, at the eighth session of the Conference in 1878, it was decided to close the school, sell the building, and collect funds to cover the deficit. The school had run eleven years at a total cost of \$31,700 and a total enrollment of 310, including at least 209 different persons; at least 130 were Mennonites.⁸

The Beginning of Colleges

When Wadsworth was closed, Bethel College was already in the making, receiving its charter in 1887. Later some records and various other materials, including a valuable old van der Smissen pipe organ, were transferred from Wadsworth to Bethel. These treasures are now in our Historical Library and the Kauffman Museum.⁹

Soon other Mennonite colleges came into being. In 1894 the Elkhart Institute was founded in Elkhart, Indiana, now Goshen College. In 1900 Central Mennonite College was established at Bluffton, now Bluffton College. Freeman College, Freeman, South Dakota, was

established in 1903; Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas, in 1908; Hesston College, Hesston, Kansas, in 1909; Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia, in 1917, and others.

In his annual summary for 1959-60 of "Attendance at Mennonite Colleges"¹⁰, Silas Hertzler lists nineteen Mennonite institutions of higher learning in America. Six of these are located in two Canadian provinces and thirteen in eight states of the United States. These Mennonite institutions for 1959-60 had a total enrollment of 4,949, including only 79 sub-college and 187 graduate students, with men and women about equally divided in the total enrollment.

After long, painful, and very difficult pioneering in Mennonite education, these figures are tremendous. However, that is not all. Albert Meyer, in a study for the 1960-61 school year,¹¹ points out that while the three major branches (Old Mennonites, General Conference, and Mennonite Brethren) in their respective colleges had 3,627 of their own young people enrolled, they also had 2,690 young people enrolled in colleges and universities other than their own. That is 46 per cent in other than their own institutions. For the General Conference 1,135 students attended their own schools, while 1,329 or 54 per cent were in other institutions, including graduate students.

Speaking about pioneers in Mennonite education, a great and very important area for future pioneer work in Mennonite higher education lies with these young people who attend other institutions than their own. Although one is grateful that so many young Mennonite people are going to college, still, the fact that about one-half of them attend schools on the college and graduate level other than their own is a challenge that the church cannot afford to bypass unconcernedly except at its own peril.

⁷Ludwig Keller, *Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer*, pp. 111 and 237.

⁸*Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, p. 703.

⁹See M. D. Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius*, (1908), pp. 166 ff.

¹⁰Brumbaugh, *Life and Works of Christopher Dock*, pp. 104 ff.; J. E. Hartzler, *Education Among the Mennonites of America*, pp. 58-68.

¹¹*Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, pp. 421-423.

¹²Ed. G. Kaufman, *The Mennonite Missionary Interest*, pp. 76 ff.; *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, p. 13.

¹³*Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, p. 389.

¹⁴Ed. G. Kaufman, *op. cit.*, 89 ff.

¹⁵Ed. G. Kaufman, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-97.

¹⁶*Mennonite Quarterly Review*, July, 1961, p. 238 ff.

¹⁷*Proceedings of the Thirteenth Conference on Mennonite Educational and Cultural Problems*, 1961.

I Take a Religious Inventory

By Berneil Mueller

TOLERANCE AND conviction; tradition and progress; intellectualism and emotionalism: So many different emphases make themselves heard in our contemporary Christianity. And the one who listens is left with the duty of either making these different voices a part of himself, or thrusting them away. The remnants must then be molded into a unity.

As the voices of contemporary Christianity pour in upon me, I grasp the three paradoxes to build a religious unity for myself: tolerance and conviction; tradition and progress; intellectualism and emotionalism.

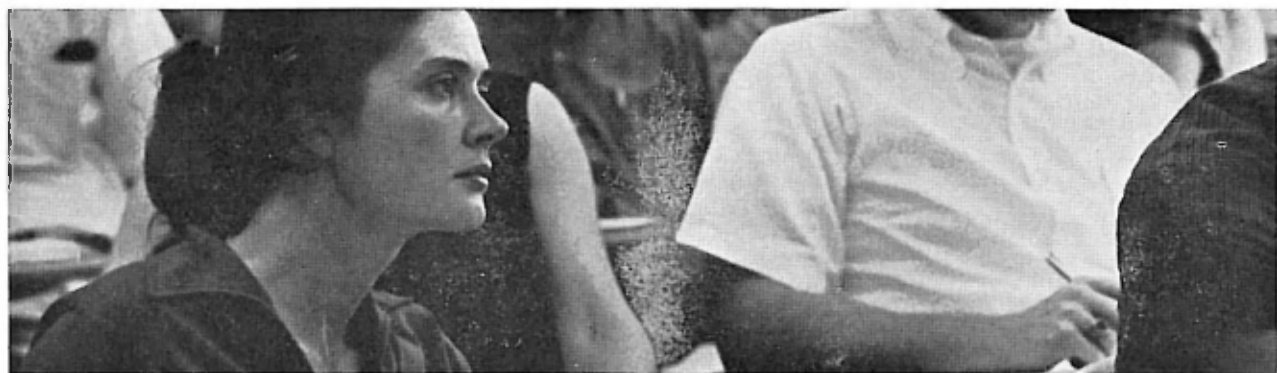
The union of tolerance and conviction into a pleasant association rather than dissociation appeals to me. It would be my desire to tolerate and appreciate every sincere religious expression, whether it be that of the ecstatic Pentecostalist or the quiet dignity of the Roman Catholic. I would realize the mystery of God in the aura of the orthodox service, have the availability of God imparted to me as I wait in the Quaker meeting. I would know that God visits both the richly attired and those in plain dress.

Then, to season toleration with conviction, to add strength to mildness, I would know that there are those things within myself that will always be there, even if these be ever-changing "truths"—so long as they be the highest truths available to me at the present hour. I would realize that while I may appreciate that which I cannot understand, openmindedness is of no value without the backbone of certainty.

While constant change may make "ancient good uncouth," it cannot nullify the impact of the ages. Out of my religious heritage come truths and a way of life that demand my attention. Transmitted through the centuries, preserved by the group, taught by the family, this heritage cannot and should not be shrugged off. My duty would seem to be the selection of what appears to be the highest and best and the application of these principles to the day in which I live. Yet even as I claim these truths, I find myself strangely drawn toward the orthodox, liturgical churches from which my religious forbears emancipated themselves.

But there is yet another area of the Christian life in which I wish to involve myself. This is the area of the development of religious ideas and theological implications. May I never be satisfied with a simple faith that does not take into consideration the complexity of life. May I never accept the optimism of Christianity without the accompanying pessimism. And while I explore the many ramifications of religious concepts, I hope never to forget that in every religion there must be the elements of action and emotional release.

And so, when it is all summed up, where am I in this sweeping many-layered structure called "Contemporary American Christianity?" A left-winger approaching the right; a rejoicer in the ecumenical movement, yet anxious for individual freedom; an aspirant after the deep implications of truth, yet not scornful of those more easily satisfied. I would that I could see all, unfold all, and yet remain uniquely and individually myself.



THE ROLE OF PREACHING IN ANABAPTIST TRADITION

By Cornelius J. Dyck

LAST YEAR THE Mennonite Seminary of Amsterdam celebrated the 225th year of its founding. Aside from the historical and fraternal significance of this for us as a "sister" institution, the occasion stimulates thinking about the function of theological institutions in our church tradition. Prior to the founding of the Amsterdam Mennonite Seminary, young men had occasionally been encouraged to receive private tutelage from leading ministers.¹ Some had attended non-Mennonite seminaries. It was, in fact, the concern over the large number of students attending the Remonstrant seminary that prompted the establishment of the Amsterdam Mennonite Seminary in 1735. This event, however, simply enhances the significance of the fact that for the first two hundred years the Mennonites did not have seminaries, being more or less committed to the lay ministry.

The stated purpose of the Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Indiana, is to train men and women for the Christian ministries. Through this training the young men particularly are prepared for one of their most important ministerial tasks: that of preaching. Now if our seminary has been faithful over the years, and if this may be said of other Mennonite seminaries here and in Europe, we might conclude that Mennonite preaching today is more powerful and effective than that of the 16th century lay Anabaptists. As I set out to discover the nature of Mennonite preaching, however, I soon discovered that little has been written upon this subject. This led me to begin with 16th century Anabaptism. What was the place of the sermon in the total worship experience of the Anabaptists and in relation to the emphasis of the reformers? What were the major themes discussed? What was the place of the Scriptures in preaching? What I wish to present, therefore, is simply one part of the total question of preaching in Mennonite churches—its place among our fathers of the sixteenth century. This seems to me to be the logical point at which to begin my inquiry.

In examining the role of preaching in the Anabaptist tradition, one immediately becomes aware of two major obstacles that needed to be overcome—one internal, the other external. The first was their concept of the priesthood of all believers; the second was the insistence of their opponents that their ministry was not only illegal but illegitimate. Let us look at these for a moment.

In their understanding of the priesthood of all believers, the Anabaptists were indebted to Martin Luther. As early as 1520 Luther had written in his first great Reformation treatise:

All Christians are truly of the "spiritual estate" and there is among them no difference but that of office. If a little group of pious Christian laymen were taken captive and set down in a wilderness, and had among them no priest consecrated by a bishop, and if there in the wilderness they were to agree in choosing one of themselves, married or unmarried, and were to charge him with the office of baptizing, saying mass, absolving and preaching, such a man would be as truly a priest as though all bishops and popes had consecrated him.²

To a certain extent the Anabaptists said and still say the same: The power to call a man to the ministry resides with the people. But there was one significant difference which led to a parting of the ways. While Luther, under the impact of Carlstadt and the Zwickau Prophets and Thomas Müntzer became increasingly skeptical of the ability of the local congregation to call the right man, the Anabaptists moved in the opposite direction by insisting that, since they had a church of believers, everybody was, not only potentially but actually, called to preach.

Following his return from the Wartburg in 1522, Luther tended in the direction of having the call come through two channels: 1) training, and 2) the consistory—in effect, the state. He did not eliminate the inner call but subordinated it to the acquisition of thorough training at Wittenberg and to orderly placement

by the authorities. The voice of the congregation soon became nominal. The ministry was put upon almost the same level as other civil service. The Anabaptists, on the other hand, particularly in the first years of the movement, believed that baptism was, in effect, equivalent to ordination. Thus Felix Manz could say, "When some came to me weeping and asking for baptism I could not refuse them but did according to their desire." And Manz became the first martyr of the movement, because he insisted upon instructing and baptizing those who came to him for help.³ Conrad Grebel said, "My belly is as new wine without a vent, which bursts the new wineskins . . . pray that God may send strong laborers into the great harvest."⁴ Menno Simons wrote, "My heart trembles within me and my joints quake when I consider that the whole world, lords, princes, learned and unlearned people . . . are so far from Christ Jesus and from eternal life."⁵ And he continued later to give us this classic statement:

Therefore we preach, as much as is possible, both by day and by night, in houses and in fields, in forests and wastes, hither and yon, at home or abroad, in prisons and dungeons, in water and in fire, on the scaffold and on the wheel, before lords and princes, through mouth and pen, with possessions and blood, with life and death . . . for we feel his living fruit and moving power in our hearts . . . We could wish that we might save all mankind from the jaws of hell, free them from the chains of their sins, and by the gracious help of God add them to Christ by the Gospel of his peace.⁶

While it became increasingly true that the Anabaptists were not all preachers, and that they too depended upon the call of God to come through the brotherhood—as Luther did through the state and education—still, in the early days every believer was a minister, always ready and willing to testify to what God had done for him.

This charismatic priesthood made training unnecessary. David Joris rejoiced that the Holy Spirit had stopped speaking in Greek and Latin and was finally speaking to him in Dutch! The records contain many Anabaptist denunciations of the learned, the wise after their own hearts. "Here men pray in the Spirit and in truth," said Menno of his own group, "there (referring to the churches with trained ministers) they mock in a flood of empty words." And he reached a climax by saying, "in short, here is Christ and God, there is Antichrist and the devil."⁷ This emphasis did not encourage the Anabaptist preacher to spend one hour in preparation for every minute of delivery! Yet Lutheran preaching was almost entirely expository and vigorous: no less than three sermons on Sunday and one for every day of the week.⁸ When all are priests, the Anabaptists held, no one has a monopoly upon the gift of the Spirit. When all are sensitive to the Spirit, how can one of them be uniquely prophetic?

Whereas in Lutheranism this doctrine of the priesthood of believers led to an emphasis upon the possibility of

every man, prince or ploughboy, praying to God directly and reading his own Bible without an intermediary priest, in Anabaptism the priesthood of believers led to an increasing emphasis upon witness and mission outreach. God was calling them to be priests to others. Now while this did lead to a great mission outreach, it led also, if I may be pardoned the colloquialism, to the place where all seemed to be chiefs and no Indians were left to listen. Rivalries and tensions resulted. It is possible that the very frequent Anabaptist sermonic emphasis upon the dangers of pride may have arisen, in part, out of jealousy. Are not all believers equal before God and equally close to him? Thus the beautiful doctrine of the priesthood of all believers has within Anabaptism often become a demonic device for the stifling of initiative; it has confused the understanding of the call (and still does), and it has been at the heart of many of the divisions throughout the history of the Anabaptist-Mennonite movement. The fault, however, lies not in the doctrine but in an inadequate understanding of it.

In any case, this doctrine helped to define the nature of the church, which in turn defined preaching. For Luther the church was where the Word is rightly preached and the sacraments properly administered. For the Anabaptists the church was where there was faith and discipline. Luther emphasized preaching because many in the congregation were, in his own words, name Christians only and needed to be won. But the Anabaptist church assumed that it consisted of believers only; therefore, what was needed was not "gospel," but "law." Conversion gave to them the essential knowledge of God and of his will. They needed henceforth simply to be reprimanded, exhorted, and disciplined. They knew perfectly well what was right and wrong, since they believed that the Spirit was their guide. And so theology gradually became ethics. The big issues were moral, not theological, and the options were black or white. In the absence of critical scholarship after the first leaders died, increasing reliance was placed upon tradition rather than the Scriptures, and with it came the slow decline of original fervor.

This is not to say that the Lutheran ministers did not have their problems of communication. One of them once advised his simple listeners that they should whistle whenever they heard someone tell a lie. "A little later, he preached on the creation of man and, desiring to be as graphic and plain as possible, he said, 'When God Almighty had made heaven and earth, he rolled in one a lump of clay and fashioned it into the likeness of a man and then leaned it on a fence to harden.' When an insolent peasant heard this, he whistled very loudly right in the church. The parson noticed it and said, 'What! Do you think, peasant, that I am lying?' 'No,' replied the peasant, 'but who made the fence when there was not yet any man on earth.'"⁹

It is apparent, from this survey of Anabaptism and the priesthood of believers problem, that they could not

and did not develop a dynamic and prophetic pulpit tradition. The spiritualizers, of course, were the real prophets of the age, but main-line Anabaptism washed its hands of them and simply moved even further to the right.

The second obstacle confronting the Anabaptist preacher was the insistence of his opponents that his ministry was illegitimate, or as the Dutch called it "hij looped van hem selven" (he runs on his own). It is related to what we have been saying, but since it can take us quite far afield, I will touch on it only briefly.

An examination of the early debates between the Anabaptists and their opponents reveals that most of the latter, throughout the sixteenth century, challenged the Anabaptists' right to preach, i.e., their calling. This was not because the opponents did not hold to the priesthood of all believers, as we have seen, but because they did not consider the Anabaptist church a legitimate church and denied the Anabaptist claim that they also had a direct call from God. Thus when Menno defended himself by saying that he was called by the only true church, this was no answer to the charges. He did, however, answer them in defining the nature of the church.

The answer of the Anabaptists was two-fold. First, they said as Menno did that theirs was the true church which had called them. In doing so they admitted the importance of the external call. And second, they said (with Paul) that God had called them, thus affirming the importance of the inner call. After the first generation of the movement, the external call seemed to precede the inner call, particularly when ministers were chosen by the lot. Unless a congregation called the member to preach, he did not preach. Only in the nineteenth century did we begin to return to the possibility of having an inner call precede the external call of the church, and, in fact, to consider this inner call as valid even apart from the call of any congregation. Whether this development is to be welcomed may be debated.

While most Anabaptists rejected the charge of illegitimacy, some took it seriously, and these charges probably muted the trumpets of a good many others. Obbe Philips left the brotherhood after having won Menno Simons to the cause, because he lost the conviction of being called of God. Hans de Ries, in the second generation, was under such pressure from his non-Mennonite friend, Coornhert, that he stopped preaching altogether for a time. The divisions among the brotherhood made him doubt whether such a miserable body could be the body of Christ. If not, he had no external call. And Coornhert insisted that anyone who based his preaching upon an inner call must be able to perform miracles as Moses, Elijah, and Christ did. Since de Ries could not do miracles, he began to doubt his inner call as well. How does a minister receive assurance concerning the reliability of his inner feeling of being called? Coornhert was right in saying that those who think they are called, but are not, are false prophets.

It is clear that dynamic preaching requires a dynamic sense of being called. Though the call itself may begin within, or externally through the congregation, it must eventually include both. It is one of the purposes of the seminary faculty and curriculum to clarify and strengthen the inner call of those who come to the institution. This is also a basic task for students among themselves. No one should leave the seminary to "loop van hem selven," that is, to run by himself. Concerning the external call, is it too much to ask that every candidate for the ministry receive a vote of confidence from his congregation, that the congregation send him to the seminary here with their blessing and prayers? Dynamic preaching requires a dynamic sense of being called.

The Role of the Sermon

Turning now to the sermon itself, we note, as indicated, the paucity of sources from the early years of the 16th century. To prevent this from continuing, it might be worthwhile to encourage the publication of an annual volume of sermons from Mennonite pulpits—a project well worth undertaking for the spiritual growth of the people.

There was a significant difference between the classical reformers' understanding of the nature of the sermon and that of the Anabaptists. For Luther and Calvin the sermon was *verbum Dei*, God speaking to the people. Combined with the exalted office given to the preacher, this made the sermon more than "merely" human. No sermon could be disregarded by the laity with impunity. "God speaks through the preacher," said Luther. "When we preach we are passive rather than active. God is speaking through us, and it is a divine working."¹⁰ The Anabaptists, on the other hand, held the sermon to be a witness of what God had done and was doing. A recent homiletical treatise by a Mennonite preacher probably stated it correctly in the words, "So steht die Predigt aber doch wieder auf demselben Boden, wie die menschliche Rede überhaupt."¹¹ The sermon was human, at best a tool which the Spirit could use for salvation and the growth of the hearers. There was lacking the element of judgment which holds that each sermon is a confrontation by the divine, and that failure to respond brings guilt and judgment. The sermon was a witness of one brother before the others, of what God had done. These experiences confirmed the veracity of the biblical record.

As suggested earlier, all doctrine and theology was firmly subordinated to admonition. True faith, they believed, had to be manifest in a life of devotion and discipleship. Since they did know what God required of them, the problem was not lack of knowledge but lack of obedience. Thus the function of the minister was to plead with his listeners, to urge them to repentance, to love, to joy, to peace. For a time, in fact, the minister of the Lowlands and in Germany was actually called *Vermaner* (Vermahner), i.e., exhorter. The

justification for this emphasis upon admonition was found in the Scriptures and the specific examples of the apostles: "Therefore encourage one another, and build one another up. . . . and we exhort you, brethren, admonish the idle, encourage the faint-hearted . . ." (1 Thess. 5:11, 14); "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, as you teach and admonish one another . . ." (Col. 3:16); "Preach the word, be urgent in season and out of season, convince, rebuke, and exhort . . ." (2 Timothy 4:2). Other emphases on admonition are found in 1 Timothy 4:13; 6:2; and Titus 1:9.

Exhortation has been the central motif of most Anabaptist preaching. Except in the early years of the movement, the listeners usually consisted of believers. During the first generation there were, naturally, many occasions where inquirers were in the services, and there was a strong evangelistic emphasis. Nevertheless, the tremendous missionary outreach of Anabaptism did not rest upon preaching but upon the personal and collective witness on the highways and byways. It was probably this that earned for them the epithets "hedge preachers" and "corner preachers" (*Heckenprediger, Winkelprediger*). The sermon was used to teach and exhort. Those who remained disobedient were disciplined. The issues were posed in terms of the will. They were, of course, Arminian. There was little pastoral counselling, though confession did occur from brother to brother.

While it is true that this emphasis upon exhortation, with its inevitable moralistic precipice, may have been the result of a weak doctrine of grace on the part of some, with many it was the corollary of a deep understanding of the nature of conversion. Those who had made their peace with God needed to verify their experience through obedience. The primary teachers were the Scriptures and the Holy Spirit. The Christian life consisted not so much in knowing as in believing and doing.

The Use of the Bible

With all this it must not be forgotten that most early Anabaptists took the Bible seriously and literally. It was the primary sourcebook for the minister. Lacking formal training, most of them did not spend much time in exegesis; the text meant what it said. An exception were the spiritualizers, most of whom held to a literal sense and an inner deeper sense of Scripture. For them the external Word remained cold and meaningless until the Spirit supplied the "key of David" within to unlock the deeper meanings. Except with the radicals, the deeper meanings never contradicted the written word but went beyond it.

Some were allegorists. Dirk Philips tended to read the Scriptures in this way. In discussing the coming of the three wise men, e.g., it was clear to him that they illustrated the doctrine of the Trinity; the gold they brought was a figure of the power of Christ, the frank-

incense a figure of his priestly office, the myrrh an indication of his coming death.¹² But he too insisted that the minister must "mine the Scriptures as a clear well."¹³

H. G. Mannhardt, the famous nineteenth century Mennonite pastor in Danzig, has pointed out that the Anabaptists loved to use biblical stories as background for the sermons, illustrating the necessity of setting a good example—even as the biblical record showed.¹⁴ Even more, I found them identifying themselves with the saints of biblical times in their attempt to restore the apostolic pattern. Menno Simons did this repeatedly. Now he speaks with David, with Ezra, with Paul, with Daniel. "I was as envious as Cain, proud and unchaste as Sodom, unmerciful as Pharaoh. . . ." ¹⁵ Very frequently the reference is to suffering and the conclusion is stated, "We are no better than the saints who preceded us."¹⁶

The late W. J. Kühler of The Netherlands relates how he sat in his study late one Saturday night polishing his sermon without being satisfied with it. Before him on the wall hung a new picture of Menno Simons. It was past midnight, and Kühler was about to go home when it seemed as though Menno started speaking to him. They talked about Kühler's sermon for the following morning. Menno asked about the text, to which Kühler replied that he took a different approach since the times had changed and with them the needs of the people. "What do you mean?" Menno asked, and Kühler replied:

Many are of the opinion that basic concerns can be made most relevant by relating them to the events of the day. They know that the congregation has little interest in theological questions, therefore they bring (into the sermon) almost everything that happens in the country and around the world. Their sermons do become more stimulating in that way . . . but whether souls are thereby won for the kingdom is another matter. Others try it with literature. A novel, a best seller becomes a veritable fountain for the pulpit . . .¹⁷

"O spare me this rubbish," Menno interrupted him. "I do hope such sermons are not preached from our pulpits." The Bible was clearly the primary sourcebook for many sixteenth-century Anabaptist preachers.

An overwhelming impression gained from reading the Anabaptist writings is that they did not read the Bible in order to find sermon material but in order to find comfort and strength for themselves in the face of criticism and suffering. We know of the persecution many suffered. We know less of the inner tensions and frustrations, but the minister's lot among his brethren was often hard, as we indicated in the discussion of the priesthood of all believers. Hans de Ries, one of the greatest after Menno Simons, was led to write, for example:

Who is able to charge us with the desire to become masters? What authority do we have, your ministers or I, among our congregations? We are no more than

poor servants and slaves of the people, not masters. Where can another people be found who, while carrying the Christian name, hold their ministers in less esteem than among the (Anabaptists), and where they have less authority and control? Must we not frequently yield even to the least, giving place to folly for a time in order not to hurt the weak, and for the sake of peace?¹⁸

In this situation the Scriptures became a pillar of support and source of peace beyond any other books.

The Anabaptist-Mennonite preaching orientation can be characterized as follows. In the sixteenth century the basic strand was biblical. The sermon with its imagery and terminology centered upon the Bible. This strand was modified in the seventeenth century, almost to our own day, by the defense of orthodoxy in thought, dress, social relationships with the primary appeal being made not to the Scriptures but to tradition. In the eighteenth century the intense devotion, and to some extent the terminology, of Pietism became a part of the sermon. In the nineteenth century particularly in Europe, many sermons echoed the milieu of theological liberalism. In the twentieth century, after the Modernist-Fundamentalist controversy, there was an increasing return to biblical preaching, though not without a "paradox," the need for what we call a "healthy tension" instead of the old Anabaptist either/or.

There were many dynamic preachers after Menno and his contemporaries, and before the days of formal seminary training among the Anabaptist-Mennonites, who affirmed the conviction that the charism is not so much acquired as it is given. Our historical libraries contain thousands of sermons by later preachers, from the seventeenth century to the present. They offer a unique insight, little explored thus far, into the minds of our fathers. There exist in these books of sermons treasure stores worthy of exploration.

We have been saying that Anabaptism was not noted for dynamic preaching, and that the movement was not spread significantly through the pulpit ministry. This was, in a way, the logical outcome of their doctrine of the church. Within the church were believers only, and all of them were called to be priests. When they defined this priesthood as "for others" instead of simply for themselves as Luther did, they found themselves branded as illegitimate and false prophets. Frequently their continuing zeal led to their death at the stake or in the rivers. We have emphasized the sermon, given primarily before believers, as witness, as exhortation, and as biblical. Far from exhausting the subject, this brief analysis merely constructs a skeleton around which further monographs can be erected.

A word may be said in conclusion about the use of the term "prophetic." If it is true that the Anabaptist sermon, apart from the spiritualists, was not prophetic according to general usage of the term, it must still be said that, collectively, Anabaptism was prophetic indeed, anticipating many of the values which today have become

the heritage of the Western world, and calling into question structures of thought in a manner which makes us continually grateful to them. In what did this prophetic function lie? It lay in two dimensions of their life and thought. First, their conviction and proclamation that the new age had already come in Christ was prophetic because it was eschatological, i.e., the future had broken into the present, making them citizens of another world while still on earth. And secondly, lest we charge them with idealism and other-worldliness, this prophetic dimension lay in their insistence upon practical Christianity. We are prophetic when we speak the Word of God relevantly within the situation rather than from beyond it *ex cathedra*. The early Anabaptists were convinced of the presence of the living Christ working among and through them as his chosen people, not simply individually but collectively as a people of God. They were conscious of being this people of God, with a message, and that the world stood in desperate need of just that message. And, in the manner of true prophets they refused to be silenced.

Now it seems that these two dimensions provide the only valid and completely adequate foundation for dynamic preaching. Rather than deplore the lack of a dynamic heritage of preaching, we may thank God for this foundation upon which to build a tradition of prophetic preaching commensurate with the needs of our time. Preaching is much more than words. To preach means, as Paul said, to be "ambassadors for Christ, God making his appeal through us . . . to be reconciled to God" (2 Corinthians 5:17-20). No one will deny the need for reconciliation in our alienated age.

So we do have a rich heritage and a message as ambassadors, and we are surrounded by a tremendous need. Was there ever a time more challenging to the young man who has heard the call of God to speak for him? Let us then arise to our prophetic calling as servants of the Word. Let us take our place beside the faithful laity, and by the grace of God, consent to lead them in their priesthood. As victors, not as victims of our time, let us announce again and again that the new age has broken in, a fact which our generation finds so hard to believe.

¹⁸N. van der Zijpp, "225 jaar Seminarie," *Stemmen uit de Doopsgezinde broederschap*, Jaargang 10, Nr. 1 (Assen: Van Gorcum & Company, 1961), 5-23.

¹⁹Martin Luther, "Treatise to the German Nobility," *Three Treatises* (Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1943), 14-15.

²⁰*Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz*, Vol. I, edited by Leonard von Muralt and Walter Schmidt (Zurich: S. Hirzel, 1952), Nos. 203, 204.

²¹*Ibid.*, Nos. 13, 18.

²²Menno Simons, *Opera Omnia*, pp. 441-442.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 223.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 440.

⁸Wilhelm Pauck, "The Ministry in the Time of the Continental Reformation," *The Ministry in Historical Perspectives*, H. R. Niebuhr and Daniel Day Williams (ed.) (New York: Harpers, 1956), p. 131.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 134.

¹⁰W.A., Vol. 43, p. 381:1. For Calvin see *Institutes* IV, 3:2.

¹¹J. G. Wiens, *Homiletik* (Winnipeg: The Christian Press, 1939), p. 9.

¹²J. Hartog, *Geschiedenis van de predikkunde in de Protestantische Kerk van Nederland* (Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1887), pp. 13 f.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁴H. G. Mannhardt, "Geschichte der Predigt in den deutschen Mennonitengemeinden," *Mennonitische Blätter*, February 1, 15, March 1, 15, 1891.

¹⁵Menno Simons, *Opera*, p. 73.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹⁷W. J. Kühler, "Gesprek met Menno," *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* (1905), p. 183.

¹⁸Hans de Ries, *Ontdeckinge der dwalingen*, p. 124.

A Modern Psalm

By Elmer F. Suderman

O Lord, our Lord, how marvelous are thy works:
Take man, for instance. Thou hast put all things
Under his feet. Not only the sheep
And the oxen, the beasts of the field,
The birds of the air, and the fish of the sea,
They're nothing now.

When he looks at the heavens, the work of thy hands,
He can see sputniks, the work of his hands,
Spinning eighteen thousand miles an hour
In their orbits thousands of miles above the earth.
He dreams of space islands one thousand miles high
As a bulwark against his foes
From which to still his enemy and his avenger.
How marvelous are man's works, O Lord!

O Lord, our Lord, how marvelous are thy works:
The moon and the stars which thou hast established.
Yet they must soon be inferior to man's missile-stars,
To his rockets aimed at the moon,
His sputnik-moons equipped with radios
Whose Morse code is many times more meaningful
Than the ancient sound of the silent stars.
How marvelous are man's works, O Lord!

O Lord, our Lord, how marvelous are thy works:
The moon and the stars which thou hast established.
Yet the moons and the missiles of man
Are equipped with warheads so powerful
That it isn't important anymore
Whether thou art mindful of man:
He is able to take care of himself.
How marvelous are man's works, O Lord!

We marvel at thy works, O Lord.
Thou art an ever-present help
In time of trouble, a shield against the foe,
And a stronghold for the oppressed;
Yet man is not impressed. He takes no chances
He feels more secure with his missiles
And hydrogen bombs than with thy rod of iron.
How marvelous are man's works, O Lord!

O Lord, our Lord, we marvel at thy works,
Not least of all at man.
Thou hast given him dominion
Over the works of thy hands.
Thou has crowned him with glory and honor.
Thou hast made him greater than thyself.



The Nebraska Amish of Pennsylvania

By Maurice A. Mook

THE ELEVEN ILLUSTRATIONS of the "Nebraska" Old Order Amish, based upon the art work of Luther F. Kepler, Jr., and his sister, Mrs. Anne K. Fisher, published in *Mennonite Life*, entitled "The Nebraska Old Order Amish," have already elicited a considerable commentary and quite a few questions. The purpose of the present article is to try to answer some of the questions that have been asked.

The questions most frequently asked are these: (1) How did some of the Amish people in Pennsylvania come to be called the "Nebraska" Amish? (2) How do the Nebraska Amish differ from Amish elsewhere? and (3) Are the pictures accurately illustrative of Amish life? The question most frequently asked relating to the last question is: Do the Amish wear their hair as long as is shown in these pictures? The answer is that the Nebraska Amish, unlike most other Amish, wear their hair to the shoulders. The pictures are accurate in this particular, and it may also be said that they are equally accurate in all aspects of Amish life here represented. Mrs. Fisher and Mr. Kepler are life-long residents of the Nebraska Amish area in Pennsylvania, and their sketches and paintings accurately, as well as sympathetically, represent the people they portray. It may also be added that hair-worn-to-the-shoulders is as characteristic of Nebraska Amish children as it is of their elders, as is faithfully shown in Luther Kepler's charcoal sketch and as is vividly shown by Mrs. Fisher's pastel painting.³

Nebraska Amish and Old Order Amish

The questions relating to the origin of the name "Nebraska Amish," and to the differences between the Nebraska Amish and other Amish, may be best answered by briefly considering the history of Amish congregations in central Pennsylvania. It should first of all be pointed out that "Nebraska Amish" is not synonymous with "Old Order Amish" in Pennsylvania. There are eleven Old Order Amish communities in the Keystone State at the present time, only two of which have Nebraska Amish inhabitants. Both of these are neighboring communities in central Pennsylvania, and one of these settlements derives from the other. The recently-established Amish colony in Penn's Valley in eastern Centre County was begun by Nebraska Amish migrants from Big Valley in Mifflin County. These original colonists from Big

"The Bread Winners" (Detail) by Luther F. Kepler, Jr. (oil painting).

Valley have been joined in Penn's Valley by a few families from other settlements who have come to feel in unity with the conservative beliefs and customs that have been consistently characteristic of the Nebraska Amish in Big Valley ever since their origin. The "mother" colony of the Penn's Valley Amish community is the Mifflin County Nebraska Amish group, which has never been composed of more than two congregations whose members now live in the eastern end of Big Valley. To the history of the Amish in Big Valley, we may now turn.

Big Valley

Readers should perhaps be informed that Big Valley will not be found on most maps of Pennsylvania. The official name of this valley is the Kishacoquillas Valley. But, fortunately for most persons who would try to pronounce the Indian name, the valley is known to all Amishmen and to most central Pennsylvanians as Big Valley. This valley, about four miles wide and thirty miles long, extends across Mifflin County in a southwest-northeast direction. It is bounded by Stone Mountain to the northwest and Jack's Mountain to the southeast. Mifflin County lies immediately southeast of Centre County, which, as its name suggests, is the central county in the state. The majority of the inhabitants of Big Valley are of Pennsylvania German derivation, and the majority of those of German descent are of Mennonite or of Amish Mennonite persuasion.

"Dirty Reuben" by Anne Kepler Fisher (pen and ink).



Amish Mennonites have inhabited Big Valley since the early 1790's. The present Big Valley Amish community, including all Amish churches, is the second largest and the third oldest Old Order Amish settlement in the commonwealth. The Lancaster and Somerset county settlements are older, having been established in 1714 and in the 1760's respectively, but only the Lancaster County group is now larger in size. Even more interesting and significant is the fact that the Big Valley community exhibits the widest range of differences in customs to be found in any local settlement of Old Order Amish in existence today. Although other Amish groups are sometimes said to be more conservative, none in existence at the present time is more conservative than the Nebraska Amish of Big Valley. Samuel W. Peachey, who was himself an Amishman, is as right in 1962 as he was in 1930 when he characterized the "Nebraska society (as) the strictest order of all (Amish) religious bodies."²

It is doubtful also that there are more 'progressive' Old Order Amish to be found than those of the present Big Valley Speicher Amish Church, whose members during the past several years have come to accept electric lights, the use of tractors in the field, automobiles, and other historically non-Amish and "worldly" practices. Whether or not they should now be regarded as "Old Order" Amish may be a moot question. They still, however, hold their worship services in the homes of individual members of the church. They are classified as "Beachy" Amish in several recent references to them in print.³

Origin of Nebraska Amish

Such differences in local Amish customs and beliefs as we now find in Big Valley are due to divisions which have plagued the Amish people of central Pennsylvania (as well as elsewhere) for more than a century. The original Big Valley Amish group, begun in the 1790's, grew in size until by the 1840's the church included three districts, which were divided, as is usual among the Amish, on a purely numerical and geographical basis. The Upper District church had Abraham ("Abram") Peachey as its bishop at this time, the Middle District was in the care of Bishop Solomon Beiler (soon spelled Byler in central and western Pennsylvania and in the middle west), while the Lower District had two bishops, "Long" Christian Zook and Shem Yoder. In 1850 the Lower Church separated from the other two districts, a factor in this separation being the Lower District's sympathy for Bishop Samuel King, who had earlier been relieved of his bishop's duties, allegedly on account of his opposition to the use of rubber tires on Amish buggies. Bishops Zook and Yoder welcomed Samuel King to the fellowship of the Lower District church, and, although Samuel King never resumed the full duties of the bishop's office in the Lower Church, the group came to be called the Samuel King church and was so known for a number of years. Inasmuch as the group that later came to be called the Nebraska Amish developed from

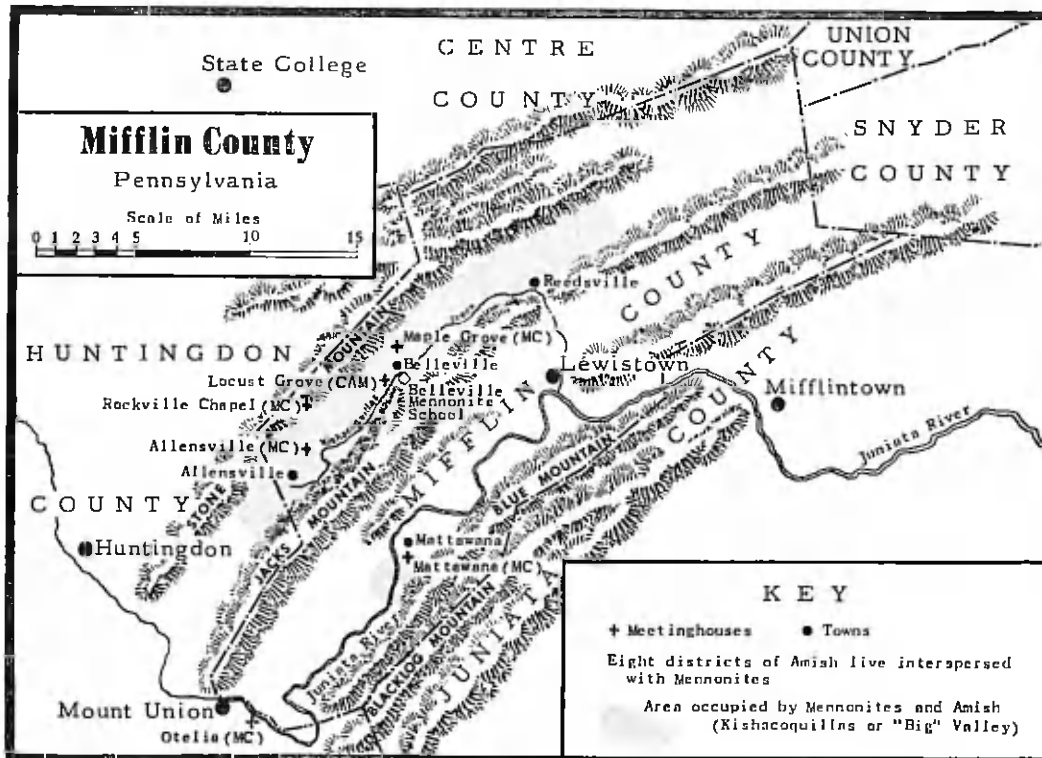
the King church by a process of intensifying the early-established conservatism of the King group, it is fair to say that the Nebraska Amish originated in fact, if not in name, as early as 1850.

The next division among the Amish of Big Valley occurred between the Upper and Middle districts of the original church. Bishop Solomon Byler of the Middle District was a man of more liberal views than was Bishop Abraham Peachey of the Upper District. There developed differences between them (as to the manner of baptism, for one thing), and these differences grew until Bishop Byler and the members who agreed with him separated their fellowship from the Peachey church in 1863. They erected a church building in 1868, which was the origin of the Maple Grove Mennonite Church located in a small grove of maple trees about a mile east of Belleville in the center of Big Valley. This church is now affiliated with the Allegheny Conference of the Mennonite Church.⁴

This liberal movement among the Byler people led Bishop Shem Yoder of the Lower District or King church to take a still more conservative stand than had been previously held. The members of his church began to let their hair grow longer, and they gradually adopted other practices which further removed them from the other Amish of the Valley. The Shem Yoder church, due to its consistently conservative practices, came to be called the "Old School" church. The Big Valley Amish people thus were divided into three separate churches, each lacking fellowship with the others, by the latter part of the last century.

The Name "Nebraska Amish"

In 1880 a further division developed in the "Old School" church. It is reported that the trouble began between two men in a dispute over clover seed. It is particularly difficult, at this late date, to discern the causes of early Amish divisions, and it is now impossible to determine the precipitating cause of this Old School schism. At any rate, we may accept Peachey's matter-of-fact statement that "a serious dissension broke out among them which resulted in a split." Members of the church took sides with the parties of the original argument, and the conflict grew increasingly serious. The issue came to be complicated by such matters as the length of men's hair, the color of buggy tops, the type of material to be used in Amish clothing, etc. When it seemed that the problem could not be settled among themselves, Bishop Yost Yoder of Nebraska was asked to come to Big Valley to help settle the issue. Bishop Yoder, a man of extremely conservative views, failed to effect harmony. Those who accepted his conservative viewpoint withdrew from the Old School group, and their descendants have ever since been called the "Nebraska Amish." Their name thus derives from the state in which one of their leaders once resided.



Above, Mifflin County, Pa., Kishacoquillas or "Big" Valley in which the Nebraska Amish and other Amish and Mennonites live. (Cut courtesy Mennonite Encyclopedia)

Above left, "Aaron" by Anne Kepler Fisber (pastel).

Left, "Adam" by Luther F. Kepler, Jr. (oil).

The name "Nebraska" among both the Amish and their non-Amish neighbors has long since lost its geographical and has acquired a typological meaning. It labels the most conservative group of Old Order Amish to be found in Pennsylvania. Indeed, it may be claimed that in their attitudes and in most of their practices the Nebraska Amish are among the most conservative Old Order Amish to be met with anywhere at the present time. In the total range of Old Order Amish variation, from most conservative to most liberal, the Old Order group most like the Nebraska Amish of Pennsylvania in the conservative cast of their way of life would be the Swartzentruber Amish churches in east-central Ohio.

Amish Divisions

There were, thus, by the 1880's four Amish churches in Big Valley—the Church Amish, the Peachey Church, the Old School People, and the Nebraskas. There were subsequent divisions in both the Peachey and Church Amish people, as well as yet another separation among the Nebraskas, to which latter we may now turn. In the early 1930's there developed a dispute among them

over how far a roof should extend over the gable end walls of an Amish building. Tradition now has it that a Nebraska Amishman bought a farm and that some felt that the farmhouse had a roof which extended too far beyond the house walls at the gable ends. Some insisted these roof extensions should be shortened, while others felt that it should not be necessary to do so. Luther Kepler's oil painting "Back From the Mill" shows the type of short roof extension which the more conservative Nebraska Amish now favor.⁵ The issue, again consonant with other attitudinal differences, split the Nebraska church. Named after the last names of their bishops, one faction became the Zook church and the other the Yoder church. These groups continue to the present time, with the Zook church having an approximate membership of ninety and the Yoder church some seventy members in 1960.⁶ These two churches are neither in fellowship with each other nor with any other Amish congregation in Big Valley; their normal complement of ministers, therefore, includes two bishops for each group, so that an outside functionary need not be called in to oversee the ordination of a new bishop in case of a vacancy. The address of the ministers of both Nebraska Amish churches is Reedsville, Pennsylvania, a town in the northeastern corner of Big Valley.

The other Amish churches in Big Valley now center in the middle and southern reaches of the valley, with the addresses of their ministers being either Belleville or Allensville, Pennsylvania. There are at the present time four Mennonite churches and five Old Order Amish

churches in the Valley. Each Mennonite church in this area has derived from the Old Order Amish. The Mennonite churches enumerated approximately 1,100 and the Old Order congregations were ascribed about 600 members in 1957.⁷ The here-offered estimates subtract the membership of the Mattawana church, which is in Mifflin County but not in Big Valley.

Penn's Valley

The latest episode in the history of the Big Valley Nebraska Amish has occurred within the last several years. A dozen or so Big Valley Nebraska Amish families have recently crossed the northern mountain boundary of Big Valley and settled in neighboring Penn's Valley in easternmost Centre County. This new Nebraska church has two resident ministers and is listed as having twenty-three members in 1960.⁸ I have been unable to determine definitely the cause of this recent removal of Nebraska Amish families from Big Valley to Centre County. All of the families are from the Zook, rather than from the Yoder, branch of the Nebraska group. The removal does not seem to have been due to "church trouble" (as the Amish themselves call it) in Big Valley. The County Agricultural Agent of Mifflin County, who speaks the Pennsylvania German dialect and who has an understanding relationship with certain families in both Nebraska Amish churches of Big Valley, assures me that the reason for the removal is the scarcity of farms available to Amish families in Mifflin County. The problem of securing farms for young Amishmen is a serious problem in most Amish communities today; it may, in fact, be said to be perhaps the most pressing problem confronting the Amish at the present time wherever they are located. The suggestion that the cause of this removal is an economic one rather than a function of "church trouble" at home is consonant with two conditions: that all of the members of the new Penn's Valley community derive from the larger Nebraska congregation in Big Valley; and that the new community is under the oversight of the bishop of the Zook church in Big Valley. If the removal were due to a division in the Big Valley congregation, the bishop of this congregation would not have oversight of the new community.

The address of the ministers and members of the new congregation in Penn's Valley is Aaronsburg, Pennsylvania. This town of some 450 residents is one of the oldest towns in Centre County, having been laid out by Jewish Aaron Levy in 1786. Levy provided for a wide main street, hoping that his community, located so close to the geographical center of Pennsylvania, would one day become the capital of the Commonwealth. This it never did. It did, however, in 1949 become the focus of "The Aaronsburg Story," which consisted of a pageant depicting the ideal of "Living Above Prejudice."⁹ We may at least hope that such an ideal of inter-group cooperation will be realized, and that the newly-established

Penn's Valley Nebraska Amish community will be a happy and successful venture in its new location. It is in a beautiful valley of gently-rolling countryside, overhung, as is Big Valley, by two heavenward aspiring mountain ranges—an appropriately isolated home for another community of *die Stillen im Lande*.

But at the same time, one may perhaps be permitted to observe that as one surveys the foregoing story, the general pattern of which has been repeated in Old Order Amish history throughout the nation, it becomes easily obvious that little things can be big things to the members of small groups. For it has been little issues which have divided the Amish people of Big Valley. It is also inescapably evident that the idea that whatever is old is always best has been an overriding motivation underlying the lifeways and the thoughtways of the Nebraska Amish people.

¹*Mennonite Life*, April, 1961, bottom page 127.

²Samuel W. Peachey, *Amish of Kishacoquillas Valley, Mifflin County, Pa.*, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1930, p. 33.

³*Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Volume III, 1957, p. 684.

⁴*Mennonite Year Book*, 1960, p. 71; *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. III, p. 474.

⁵See Luther Kepler's painting, "Back from the Mill," *Mennonite Life*, July, 1961, p. 122.

⁶*Mennonite Year Book*, 1960, p. 98.

⁷*Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Volume III, p. 684.

⁸*Mennonite Year Book*, 1960, p. 98.

⁹Paul M. Dubbs, "Where to Go and Place-Names of Centre County," State College, Pennsylvania, *The Centre Daily Times*, 1961, p. 71.

The Amish Buggy Horse

By Warren Kliewer

For shame, right here before the meetinghouse
To strut and pose between the chaste black shafts
As though to prance were worshipful enough,
As though he were the handiwork of God;

So scattering foam on gravel and gatepost
The sorrel kicks loose stones at dash and whiffle,
Flares his red nostrils that snort back the dust
Of his own hoofs, cocks his taut ears erect,

And plumes his tail upright so that they bob
And sway in rhythm to his singlefoot.
And then his screams, replying to the smells
Of docile mares along the hitching rail,

Are answered by the hand that whips a crack
And whistle, by the hoarse black beard that murmurs,
"Nu, whoa da, Bubely." Thus, red heat of horse
And the quick fetlocks halt before the rail.

Now nothing glitters but the snaffle bit
And hames where leather burnishes bare steel,
The horse tied and with tugs loose harnessed black
From crown to crupper, rein to singletree.

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COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE PRACTICES OF LANCASTER MENNONITES

By Aaron Martin*

AS IN THE case of many other religious groups, the courtship and marriage practices among the Lancaster County Mennonites are governed largely by tradition and the discipline of the church. The customs described here deal mostly with the period after World War II and represent the findings of personal experience and the teaching of the church.

Acquaintance

There are many opportunities for associations of boys and girls in activities such as young people's meetings, church services, Christian workers group activities, and young people's gatherings in homes of friends. These associations help the young people to become acquainted with each other. They learn to know the strong and weak characteristics of those with whom they associate.

"Mennonite boys should be interested in girls who can cook plain, wholesome food, and mend stockings. After all, you boys should care a great deal about the ability of your girl friends to do practical jobs well."¹ Thus the bishops advise the Lancaster County Mennonite men.

The young people are not expected, in fact forbidden, "... to indulge in the world's methods of pleasure seeking, amusements and entertainments, patronizing or taking part in fairs, parades, circuses, moving picture shows, theaters, public resorts, regularly organized contesting ball teams, dancing, card parties, various forms of gambling, and such like."² Life is much like a race, and one may run it with a divided or undivided heart. The church seeks to help the young people to have an undivided heart. If one participates in any of the above mentioned, it is the feeling that he or she is dividing his or her heart between the Lord and the world.

For wholesome entertainment, the young folk participate in the many church activities. It is believed that one can find great pleasure in various activities in the youth groups. These include summer projects, street meetings, visiting the sick, helping a brother with his farm work, singing groups, or testimonial meetings. The writer can well remember an inspiring project while living in the

Lancaster community. For several summers the youth group of one church grew an acre of tomatoes. The profit was given to the mission board. It was at these weekly tomato pickings that the young people really enjoyed themselves. They could associate with many people all in one evening in a matter of several hours.

There are times when the youth group would help a farmer husk his corn, harvest his tobacco, and help with the chores when illness or an emergency arose among the brotherhood. Girls usually do a good job when working alongside the boys. After an evening of work, the group gathers for refreshments, singing, and exchanging jokes.

Courting

It is right for a youth to seek a partner. Marriage is an institution ordained of God. One is expected to hold very high standards while getting acquainted with a young person of the opposite sex. Spending time with a member of the opposite sex is not for pleasure but for a serious purpose—that is whether this person is the one the Lord intended for him or her to have through life. During this time one should not do things to please the flesh. Young people should consider in a prayerful way their relationship to each other and particularly to God. Good and right associations are not only normal but strengthen character.

There is no rule stating at what age young people should start to court. It is suggested that at the age of eighteen one still has plenty of time to find a partner. One does not usually start courting anyone until he or she has received permission from the parents. Most young people start dating in groups. Usually the question is asked, "Where are we going tonight?"

Most couples go to an evening church service. After the church service, there is no better place to have a good time than at home. There they listen to records, play table tennis, badminton, croquet, enjoy good music (religious) and sing around the piano. Sometimes a couple wants to date alone. However this is usually not the case for young dates. If a couple is alone, various questions are raised by the other young people as well as by the parents.

It is a well-known fact that people usually choose a life companion from those with whom they associate. In

*I was born and have lived among the Mennonites of Lancaster County for a number of years and have participated in weddings there, as well as courting and later marrying a Lancaster County Mennonite girl. Hence, the writer feels that he can give some firsthand information on the subject.

addition, there are certain things one should not ignore, but observe. "As a Christian you have no right to assume any other attitude than that of the Christian man or woman, pure, chaste, upright in character, worthy of the best. . . . Courtship with curtains drawn, lights dimmed in the late hours of the night, especially with those of the opposite sex whose morals are questionable, should never be countenanced by Christian young people."³

Conversation during the dating time varies from the involvements of the day to church affairs. One is made conscious of the fact that God is watching, listening and knows what is going on even if no one else may see you. Affections are seldom expressed until the participants know each other well. The reason for this is that someday they will want to look back to the days of courtship without regrets.

It is suggested that couples do not keep late hours in their courtship practices. There is much Sunday afternoon dating, which is looked upon with favor by the church fathers. However, there are couples who keep late hours on Saturday and Sunday nights.

It is required that one dates only those within the conference. If one dates persons outside the conference, he is subject to censure. The bishops are usually reasonably firm on this issue. Hence, there is little deviation by the young people. However, one must hasten to say that there are exceptions to this rule.

It is the practice for a young man to call on a girl in person. He usually goes to see her some evening during the week to seek permission for a date. There are several reasons for this. The young man usually likes to meet the girl's father and mother and observe their reaction to his presence. Further he calls to see the home environment firsthand. There is a saying to the effect that the daughter will act very much as the mother does in the home. Hence, meeting the girl's mother is usually one of the young man's early goals. Modern means of communication, such as the telephone, are seldom used.

Several things have taken place before the time for the date on Sunday evening. The boy shines his car till it sparkles, dresses his best, and usually notifies his close buddies who his "big" date is for Sunday night. On the other hand, the girl probably cleans the living room three times, bakes a cake and makes sure there is ice cream, attempts to look her best, places the "welcome" mat, and tells her close friends who her "big" date is for Sunday night. "Be sure to get a good look at him in church."

It is tradition for the young sister to feed her date before he begins the trip home. While he is enjoying the cake, she eagerly awaits his remarks about her baking. If the remarks are good, he can be sure of good cake and delicious home-made ice cream practically every time he comes to see her. It will be her ambition to have some ready whenever he places his feet on the "welcome" mat.

Many persons find their partner after courting one or two times. There are extreme cases where a young man

will date a large number of girls. In this case it is hard for him to find a partner because no girl wants him due to the fact that he acted so unsettled.

When the time comes for a couple to go "steady," they usually start to spend time by themselves. They will continue to double or triple date, but only occasionally. They usually go to church and come back to her home to spend the remaining time together expressing their thoughts to each other. During this time groups of "scouters" (young men) attempt to lure the girl away from her boy friend. To do this they will come into the house, sit around on the floor, look at magazines, listen to records the couple does not want to hear, ask for something to eat, and sometimes play games. Many times the scouters do not leave until they are fed some of the cake and ice cream made for the boy friend. While the scouters are eating, they will make remarks about her baking that are usually over complimentary. When they leave, sometimes one of the young men will be bold enough to ask her for a date. This usually angers her boy friend. But this is the fun of the scouters.

Scouters have many other activities. Their activities may include window peeping, "fixin'" her boy friend's car so it won't start, visiting with her father from the bedroom window, and just being a general nuisance for the couple.

Engagement

After young people have courted each other for some time, it is quite natural that they should consider engagement. The couple by this time is overly conscious of this very important step. They are now at the place where they are considering marriage. Before an engagement is actually announced, there is usually much prayer and discussion by the couple. The couple, in many cases, talk to their parents about the thought at hand before any final decisions are made. At the time of proposing there are a number of questions that are raised before the engagement is finally made, such as:

"Do you know whether your friend has a real Christian experience and has found reality in prayer? Have you prayed alone and together about the marriage you are planning? Have you talked about setting aside a certain time each day for Bible reading and prayer together? Are you members of the same church?"⁴

When the couple has made the final decision, the next step is to announce the engagement. The girl usually informs her mother early the following day. The boy informs his father while doing the morning chores or perhaps at the breakfast table. It is tradition for the couple to turn their watches under their wrist. That is, the face of the watch is turned to the inside of the arm. There is no diamond, because this is not allowed. The young man may get his bride-to-be a large "hope chest" (cedar chest) for her to fill with various linens until they get married. There is no announcement placed in

the local newspaper, because this is a worldly practice. However the girl's parents usually have a large Sunday dinner inviting relatives and friends. The young couple are the honored guests. The girl's father proudly announces that his daughter is planning to marry this certain young man "in due time." After this, news of the engagement moves rapidly by word of mouth among the friends.

Before this large Sunday dinner takes place, the young man usually makes a special trip to see the girl's father. This is done shortly after the parents are informed of the engagement. The purpose of the trip is to receive permission from the girl's father to have her for his wife. Many a young man dreads this moment, but he goes through with it. When the father gives consent, the daughter kisses her father and then makes the first public embracement with her husband-to-be.

For several weeks, sometimes months after the announcement, couples tend to travel together, have parties, and discuss future plans together. Sometimes two couples will go on an all-day trip to places of interest. Occasionally two couples will go for a week-end trip to a church conference or some distant mission station.

A close friend of the couple will invite a large group of friends and have a surprise "kitchen" shower. The more surprised the showered couple is, the more fun it is for everybody. Usually the engaged couple attempt to make certain they are not surprised, but they fail. The shower of gifts vary from "what-nots" to "foolers." A "fooler" is a large, neatly-wrapped gift with nothing in it but perhaps a button. Sometimes it takes a couple fifteen minutes to unwrap a "fooler." Naturally the couple will receive such gifts as baby bottles, nipples, rolling pin, and a cookbook. Other gifts are dishes, glasses, silverware, cutlery, stainless steel pots and pans, sugar, flour, salt, pepper, tin can products, glass jar products, and many other items. After the gifts are unwrapped, the young people play games and later eat.

The couple has many plans to make before the wedding day. First they see the bride's bishop. The bishop gives consent for the date the couple has set. The bishop also questions the couple as to whether their courtship is pure and Christian. He will attempt to see to it that they are meeting the requirements of the church discipline and asks that they have their wedding in an orderly and Christian manner.

The couple must select their attendants and what they should wear. Some weddings have many attendants, while others have few. The bridal party usually consists of close friends of the couple.

The couple must decide where they are going to live when they return from their honeymoon. They start asking among their relatives for a place to live when they get married. Often they locate with an uncle, cousin or some other relative. In many cases the newlyweds do not live at her home or his home for the first several months of marriage.

The young bride makes her own wedding dress. Traditionally, it is not seen by the groom until the wedding day. The bride takes great pains in trying to make the dress fit perfectly. It is styled like any other good dress she has, but this one is white.

Preparing for the Wedding

After a four to six-months period of engagement, the couple will spend many evenings together making a list of names of friends and relatives to be invited to the wedding. When the list is completed, it may contain several hundred names. In most cases the parents will want to add some close friends or business associates. It would be a great insult to the parents if they were not asked to suggest some names for invitations.

Printed wedding invitations are commonly used. They are addressed and sent by the couple. Every relative, close and relatively distant, as well as friends, is invited to the wedding. Only close relatives and friends are invited to the reception.

A wedding is a very special occasion in the home of the bride, especially if she is the only daughter. The bride's parents go to great extremes in preparing for the wedding. Most of the work takes place in the home. First, a good, general housecleaning takes place. Secondly, all the woodwork is painted, usually white. Thirdly, the living room furniture is re-covered or sometimes replaced by new furniture. The living room is usually repapered.

The bride's father takes great pains to see that his barns are in "ship shape" for the occasion. His livestock must look their best. Every piece of machinery must be in working condition and arranged neatly in the shed. The Lancaster County farmer takes great pride in the way his possessions appear when his friends and relatives come to the wedding. He wants to be known as a thrifty, good farmer.

As a first step in the church, the couple will submit to an examination by the bishop of the bride's district. The couple will also make sure that he does not have any other engagement on that day. This is because no other bishop may marry the couple unless he approves. This particular matter is attended to early to avoid embarrassment.

After the couple has received approval from the bishop for a certain day, they must go to see the deacon. They want to make certain that the church is available on that day. They will not go to see the deacon if the wedding is to be held in the bride's home. A number of marriages take place at the home of the bishop. Some marriages take place at the home of the bride; quite a number are conducted in the church where the bride is a member.

The young people also need to know that in preparation for the wedding a number of states, including Pennsylvania, require that the bride and groom have a physical examination by a medical doctor previous to their applica-



"Just married" in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.



Quartets are popular at weddings.



Unwrapping the wedding gifts.



Another couple "just married."



Cutting the wedding cake in Lancaster.



The kichen staff and the young people.

tion for a marriage license. After this is secured, young people can make application at the county courthouse and through a local notary public or justice of the peace secure a license to marry.

Wedding

The wedding day is a sacred day. The wedding is conducted in such a way that the couple can look back to it with satisfaction. The bishop board expects the couple to adhere to certain regulations and suggestions that apply to a Christian wedding.

The attire of the bride and groom, as well as of the attendants, is not different in design and pattern from that which is required by the discipline of the church for faithful membership. The same requirements that are held forth for baptismal applicants and faithful communicants obtain in regard to those who wish to be married. It is not modest to do otherwise. Corsages are not allowed, whether the wedding is held in the home or the church. No flowers at all are allowed in the church. The carrying of the white Bible is discouraged. The use of streamers is not permitted under any circumstances, as it is felt this is a useless and worldly practice which does not become the people of God. "Flower girls, junior bridesmaids, and ring bearers are not in keeping with simplicity and, therefore, are not allowed."⁵

Congregational singing is used in the church wedding when any singing is desired. No special singing, that is, quartet, duet, etc., is allowed in any church wedding. Under no circumstances can instrumental music be used.

The bride and her attendants and the groom and his attendants walk into the auditorium at the most convenient place. Wedding marches are not allowed. After the couple and their attendants are in the auditorium, the whole party sits on the front benches. The bride and her attendants sit on one side of the middle aisle. The groom and his attendants sit on the other side of the middle aisle. After the wedding party is seated, the bride's minister comes to the pulpit and has a formal opening with Scripture and prayer similar to any regular church service. He then makes some suggestions and comments to the couple and everyone who attends.

It is the custom for the bishops of both the bride and the groom to invite the congregations where they have their membership. This is announced the Sunday before the wedding. It is traditional for the groom's minister to deliver a fifteen or twenty-minute message before the groom's bishop delivers a twenty or thirty-minute message. After these messages the bride's bishop goes through the ceremonial vows with the couple, asking the people if there are any reasons why this couple should not be married.

The couple kneel in front of the bishop and repeat the marriage vows. While the couple is kneeling, the people in the congregation stand. To seal the vows, the bishop prays a special prayer for the couple. After the prayer the couple rises, embrace and kiss each



Many wedding guests require a large staff of willing helpers.

other. The couple then walk to the back of the church. Then everyone shakes their hands and greets them. The parents of the couple are the first to greet them after they are married. The whole service usually lasts from two to two-and-a-half hours.

After the wedding all the invited guests go to the bride's home, groom's home, or maybe the local fire hall. The wedding party sits at an elevated table so that they can be seen. In many cases two or three hundred guests have been invited to the reception. This is a grand and happy occasion.

The meal is always elaborate, cooked by the bride's aunts or some close friends of the couple. It seems there is no end to forthcoming foods of seven sweets and seven sour. The reception will take about an hour and a half to two hours.

The gifts are opened after the reception by the couple or the gift receivers and put on display. The gift the bride receives from the groom is placed where everyone will see it.

While people are looking at the gifts, everyone visits with one another. The men usually congregate and talk about their farming and sometimes smoke cigars. The women admire the beautiful gifts and chat about house work. The young people and couples play games outside if weather permits. Otherwise they use the barn floor, which has been cleaned for that purpose. There is usually little throwing of rice and confetti, decorating the car and various worldly practices. It is not unusual for a wedding to last a whole day.

¹Board of Bishops. *Christian Weddings and Happy Homes*. Lancaster: Board of Bishops of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference, 1951.

²*Statement of Christian Doctrine and Rules and Discipline of the Mennonite Church*—Lancaster Conference.

³Board of Bishops, . . . p. 9.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 20-22.

THE GOLDEN KNIGHT



Hendrika Akke van Dorsen or Rixt

By Mrs. Paul Bender

AT PENTECOST TIME she came vacationing to the Dutch Brotherhood House Heerewegen in Zeist. I saw her first on the evening of her arrival. White-haired and queenly, she was sitting at the center table of our living room talking absorbedly over a book with another guest. Even a casual glance gave the impression that she was more than an ordinary person.

On Pentecost she happened to be walking in front of us on our way to the Zeist Mennonite Church. She and a young ministerial student, Jan Oldekamp, were having an earnest conversation. In the quiet church she joined in the worship. Without leaning against the back of her chair, she intently followed the sermon of W. Mesdag. On Monday morning I saw her again. After breakfast, according to the Dutch custom in the brotherhood houses, she came jauntily into the kitchen, found a teatowel, and began taking her turn with the washing of dishes.

Someone called attention to a group of girls in the distance playing a ring game with rhythmic grace on the green grass, arched by Heerewegen's stately trees. In quick response to the pleasant scene she transformed the routine household task into a gala occasion. Following the lead of her deep, rich voice, soon the dishwashers were singing Dutch and Frisian folk songs. A bit later, in the crowded kitchen, she was stepping rhythmically with the singing, her dishtowel keeping time.

The mystery of her identity was solved for me when our director, A. van Gilse, told me that she was a Frisian poetess. He added that he had invited her to talk to all of us that evening and that she had consented to his invitation to tell about her work and to read some of her poetry.

Near twilight we gathered in another living room, sitting chair-to-chair in a double semi-circle. Mrs. van Gilse had charge of the evening. First she played a few piano selections that set the mood for the poetess. During the music she sat in quiet meditation, a soft-colored scarf draped over her shoulders. After she was introduced, she told us something of her life in Friesland, of her schooling, of living with her mother during her last years.

She rose to read her poems. They were written in her native Frisian language. She read with warmth and

intensity, communicating both her poetry and herself to us. Keen insights and feelings were expressed with lyric beauty.

This unforgettable experience brought a regret that Frisian poetry is little known outside Friesland. This feeling engendered a plan. The author of the poems welcomed the suggestion of having some of her verses and their translations published. Memorable hours were spent with her in selecting appropriate texts and in preparing them for English-speaking readers. This was made possible by her knowledge of English.

One day early in our association she handed me a book with a rich blue-green cover, decorated only with a golden motif and with the following words along its spine: *De Gouden Rider. Fersen fan Rixt*. The appearance of the book suggested a sensitive, vigorous approach to life. I opened the book. She had autographed this gift volume for my husband and me and had inscribed a verse to Heerewegen, signing with *Rixt*, for she was *Rixt*.

This, her only published book, was given to the public on her sixty-fifth birthday, September 27, 1952. That the contents called for a second edition in 1953 and a third in 1954 by the Laverman Printery of Drachten, Friesland, emphasizes the enthusiastic response this book has enjoyed. Because *Rixt* understands many of life's joys and its sorrows from having deeply experienced them, and has made a positive adjustment to them, many readers have given her thanks; and where she shakes a rebuking finger at her portraits and at her mirror image readers appreciate her honesty and her aspirations. We grow along with her because we find in her poems identification and inspiration.

De Gouden Rider has seventy-two pages; its contents are divided into three parts, giving the poetry written in the periods 1911-1921, 1922-1941, and 1942-1952 respectively. Almost throughout there is a poem to a page, printed in clear, black type. The pages please the eye.

To follow the contents of *De Gouden Rider* is to share vicariously in the vital experiences of a life earnestly and sensitively lived. These poems are warm, forceful, deeply personal; and they are skilfully executed.

Rixt and the cynics are poles apart. For her, life has purpose and meaning. She is a Christian idealist and optimist, with a strong sense of responsibility. Her purpose is expressed in these lines from " 'Tis Later Than We Think," page 66, *De Gouden Rider*:

Each one is called to lead his own existence,
 Unique in form and goal, in time and race;
 And so I must reflect my noblest essence,
 High-minded and sincere—a crystal vase.

Rixt/Westra

Perhaps this delineation of her personal life—something of an innovation in Frisian poetry, made it easy for her to assume a pen name. For she was the advance guard of the Young Frisian Movement, part of the Frisian literary renaissance, whose followers wrote in this new manner. E. Howard Harris, in his very readable book, *The Literature of Friesland* (published by Van Gorcum, Assen, 1956), writes about an anthology, *De nije moarn*, which gives some of the work of Frisian writers of this period. In writing about Rixt he terms her a lyricist. Another critic, G. Stuiveling, in *Het boek van nu* (Today's Book) of October 1953 characterizes a number of her lyrics as "pure poetry" because of their universality, their timelessness, and their quality. A number of her lyrics have been set to music, some to more than one melody. Among these are *De lyster* (The Thrush), *Joun* (Evening), *Yn't wald* (In the Woods), and *'k Sil foar dy sjonge* (I will Sing For You).

An Italian writer, Giacomo Prampolini, has translated and published some of her poetry, which he qualifies as "exquisite."

In a radio broadcast from Groningen on January 2, 1953, F. Sierksma analyzed Rixt's poetry as "a dream fulfilled" in contrast to the lost dreams of so many other writers. He compares her favorably to great poets of The Netherlands and compares and contrasts her with our own Walt Whitman. He points out that she has learned how to lose her life and find it. And through her poetry he sees that she has grown steadily through the years into a wise maturity. Central in her verses he finds truth, beauty, and goodness.

G. Stuiveling characterizes Rixt's work as unique in current Frisian literature and ventures the prophecy that it will be unique for the entire century. Because of the quality of her poetry and the importance of her place in the Frisian literary world, in 1953 Rixt was awarded the Gysbert Japicx-prize, the provincial prize for poetry.

Rixt, Hendrika Akke van Dorssen, was born in the Halbertsma village of Grouw in Friesland in 1887. She is a *Mennist* (Mennonite). She still loves Friesland and identifies herself with it, although for years she has lived elsewhere, presently in Deventer, Overijssel. The late years have brought bereavement in the loss of the last members of her immediate family. But with wisdom and fortitude she has made the renunciation.

For some years she had felt that her work as poetess was done. But with joy she describes a renaissance: "In August 1957 we had a religious meeting at Barchem. The evening of the seventh there was a lecture, *The Primitives and Religion*, and we listened to records with Negro spirituals. It was overwhelming. I was deeply moved. Afterwards I went to my room, my dark brothers singing in my heart. That night the poem (*Negro Spirituals*) was born . . . How happy I was!"

It is regrettable that translations always lose some intrinsic quality, but the following will help acquaint the readers of *Mennonite Life* with poetry that ennobles and inspires and evokes appreciation for its beauty. We owe a debt of gratitude to our Frisian sister, Hendrika Akke van Dorssen, self-styled Rixt.

Dewey Westra of Grand Rapids, Michigan, has translated some Frisian poetry, including a large part of *De Gouden Rider*. He has given generous permission for the use of those poems accredited to him in this article.

'k Sil Foar Dy Sjonge

'k Sil foar dy sjonge as de jountiid komt,
 wrald, libben, minsken swije,
 stiltme in wund're wijing jowt
 wurden en melodije.

'k Sil foar dy sjonge as 't lust'rijend hert
 siele stimme forstiet,
 trillet tomielte de hertslach fan 't swiet-
 ludich songene liet.

'k Sil foar dy sjonge! - de jountiid komt,
 twieljocht oer alles leit. . . .
 yn us de klanken, yn us muzyk,
 om us de uneinichheit.

—1914

I Will Sing For You

I'll sing for you at eventide
 when life, . . . world, . . . all grows still.
 The pregnant silence shall indite
 the words and melody.

I'll sing for you! The list'ning heart
 will hear the voice of soul,
 and answer to the living pulse
 of thought and harmony.

I'll sing for you! . . . Now evening comes;
 twilight broods o'er all. . . .
 Within us chants love's canticle,
 our world—infinity!

—1914

Rixt/Bender

The Thrush

When in the bright night
dreams recede for an instant,
your melody is a new dream
to me.

The velvet sound
rising from your throat
climbs up to the sky
in the silence of the summer night:
tones soft and tender,
flutings full and clear,
in sweetest harmony.

When in the bright night
dreams recede
for an instant,
your melody is a new dream
to me.

—1914 Rixt/Bender

O They Who From The Stillness Come

O they who from the stillness come,
who have been alone with God,
what radiance from their faces wells,
what holy peace their heart indwells,
what calm lies on their being!
O they who from the stillness come,
what warmth they shed abroad,
How comforting their voices sound,
their word how lucid though profound,
with inner peace agreeing.

O they who from the stillness come,
the bourn of harmony!
What peace lies in their eyes again,
what blessings for the hearts of men
by strife and worry driven!

O they who from the stillness come,
who have felt infinity,
all whom their soothing hands caress
cast off their gloom, their weariness,
and look again to heaven.

1911-1921 Rixt/Westra

Toward The Last

She who in all my life was e'er the nearest
and dearest refuge, where my safety lay,
in all that changed my never failing stay,
is now my charge, my child, my very dearest.

Thin silver threads about my fingers flow,
and unto the dear form that bore me long ago
my hands attend, devoted as in prayer.
What joy—her deep and restful trusting in my care.

I hear her humming old-time melodies
of childhood days, a long-obscured career
in sharp relief again. Sadly I realize
the secret groping from another sphere.

The noble cup is full—full to the lip,
and every hour an added gift, a tiny lease;
tenderer still my ministering to her ease.
I bear the whole world on a fingertip.

1942-1952 Rixt/Westra

Cypress By Lake Maggiore

Black and mighty stands the cypress,
driven up from the rocky soil,
tree of stone.
Shining, colorful houses,
playful and happy people—
wreath round its foot—
passed by generation after generation.
But century after century
the cypress stands
gigantic,
torch of stone.

1942-1952 Rixt/Bender

Empty

Now I'm but an empty bottle,
the wine fermented out;
and nowhere have I found refilling—
I stand idle in the day.

Now I'm but an empty bottle:
a sparkling, night-green mirror;
but God and I poorness know—
no one but God and I.

Now I'm but an empty bottle.
O that soft rain would come
and with its simple purity
my hollowness would fill.

Now I'm but an empty bottle:
God brand that in my soul!
or of Thy living water none—
no drip shall be my dole.

1942-1952 Rixt/Bender

Negro Spirituals

The negroes sing, the Lord comes down.
O throw me back into primitive life
to join my dark brothers.
Let me beat the drum
and shout my joy to the glory of God
'til jubilating unto Him I come.
Rombom, rombom, rombom, bom.
O God, throw me back into primitive life.

The negroes sing and the Lord comes down—
the Lord from Whom we so often are astray,
our Fortress strong that seems so far away;
we people of stone, we men made of steel,

without any fire, without any tear,
we talk and weigh, we doubt and spell,
smiling mildly of heaven and hell;
but the negroes sing and the Lord comes down.

The negroes sing, the Lord comes down.
O, throw me back into primitive life
to join my dark brothers.
Let me beat the drum
and shout my joy to the glory of God
'til jubilating unto Him I come.
Rombom, rombom, rombom, bom.
O God, throw me back into primitive life.

August, 1957

Rixt

The original of this poem was published in the Frisian literary review, *De Tsjerne*, October 1957.

WAR

and rumors of war

By Warren Kliewer

THOUGH IT WAS comforting to know that he had never read my violence and passion, my complaining about having done what was his, a soldier's, daily business; I thought how much better it would have been if he rather than I had owed the letter. For he was dead now, shot on guard duty while stationed just north of Seoul. And though I knew as well as anyone else that a man's last statement may have no significance in itself, a friend's last words to a friend must certainly have great

meaning, I thought. In another sense, however, his death had answered my question, though the answer was as enigmatic as my letter. His death suggested to me that my feelings, my felt conclusion, were right. Or at any rate, his death concluded the discussion, the disagreement which we had argued, sometimes seriously, sometimes lightheartedly, ever since the war began.

With the envelope still sealed, the letter lay on my desk from that September Saturday, the day when it was returned to me, until Wednesday of the next week, my day off, which I had planned to devote to Harold's memory. And I had decided to celebrate not the death

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of a friend but the life of a man, or at least that part of his life which I had most recently known, in seeing again the things and places we had seen during the month-long furlough when he visited me in Topeka. All the places but one, the first which he had eagerly gone to. Hal was not a historian, for his knowledge of history was a series of gaps and fragments. Yet I have known no one who felt history as he did, those parts of history which interested him. And so the first place which he wanted to see in Topeka was the State Historical Society Library and Museum, and for the first week he had gone back every day. But on the day when I was following our old route again, I obviously could not bear to go back to the Museum.

Harold always had a taste for what ordinary people would, I suppose, call remoteness. The very fact that he came to visit me in Kansas seemed to bear this out. I am sure that he almost approved of the war because it was taking place in Korea rather than in New York or Paris, and approved of what I was doing to the extent that Kansas seemed outside the traffic of civilization. Yet Hal was seldom isolated, never unrelated so long as he could discover that something had happened in the spot a hundred or fifty years ago or even two years ago, so that he imagined the action, the people, the time, the colors, the smells. And he even took sides. One day, for example, when we were walking down Ninth Street toward the Capitol, Hal suddenly stopped. His eyes squinted as if he were thinking. "That must have been the corner," he said, pointing ahead.

"What must have?"

"The Populists, the Populists," he said excitedly.

"Who?"

"In the 1890's. They had a battle. Barricaded themselves in the Senate chamber. For three days. Conscripted the state militia."

"Where? On this corner?"

"No, no, that one," he said, pointing ahead again. "Don't you know about them?"

"Well, no."

"You live only six blocks away from here and don't know about the Populists' battle?"

And as he described the battle, incredulous that I could keep from getting excited about it, he gradually shifted from talking about the Populists as "they" to "we." This was not the thing a scholar would have done, of course. And if Hal had been a scholarly historian, he would have puzzled throughout the rest of the day, trying to remember where he had read about the Populists. But he was interested only in smelling the gunpowder and feeling the sweat run down his back.

It was the same impulse which prompted him to say one day, "Let's go to Lecompton."

Having no idea whether Lecompton was a restaurant or a movie or a used car dealer, I must have looked puzzled, for Hal laughed and said, "It's a town, one of the first capitals of Kansas, the slavery capital."

"Really?"

"Haven't you ever been there?" Of course he knew I hadn't and he showed me on a road map how easy it was to drive to the town, for it turned out that he had planned the trip long before he had come to Topeka.

When we arrived, he walked slowly around all four sides of the old capitol building, patting the rough yellow limestone, peering into all of the windows. "That's all I wanted," he said, "just to touch it."

It was Signal Oak, however, that excited him most, so much that he was almost entirely silent. He said only, "The irony! The irony!" and then, "It's become so peaceful now. How beautiful!" And so Signal Oak was the first place I went to on the day which I had set aside to commemorate Harold, turning south on Highway 59 before I reached Lawrence and then north again just on the other side of Baldwin. There, beneath a tree which was too young to be the original signal oak, I first opened the letter which I had written to him. Whether it was because of the anxiety of re-reading my letter, the memory of Hal's excitement when he first saw the four flat-topped hills jutting above the bluish mist of the valley, or what I now saw, the valley dried, the leaves turning pale and not yet red, the fields gray where the wheat had been harvested; whatever the reason, my hands shook. Though the paper was spread out on my knees, it was long before I could begin reading.

"Topeka, Kansas

July 18, 1951

"Dear Hal,

"I don't know which I hope for most—that you have heard or that you haven't. One is as uncomfortable to me as the other. Knowing that you may already know, that you may have heard a distorted version, that you may have been told the full story in all its ambiguity and you may have surmised the worst, not in order to condemn me but only to save yourself from disappointment, expecting me to be . . . well, whatever the worst could be . . . and still hoping for some way to vindicate me—if you already know, then there is much that I won't have to tell. The details. But I wouldn't be content in this case with telling you the facts. There are so few facts, anyway. I would want to go on and interpret, interpreting what I don't really understand, analyzing what only the policeman or the county attorney can see clearly enough to analyze—if they would take the trouble to think about it, had the capacity to, had enough interest to. They, with the facts, don't. I, without the facts do. Without any facts but the one: the man died.

"Or you may not have heard about it at all, and so I may at this moment be breaking the news to you—or have broken when I so bluntly said that he died: 'he,' whoever he was. And if you didn't already know, hadn't already heard by some route of gossip or other, then I should feel obligated to explain everything from the very beginning, how I felt on the day before, what I

had for breakfast that morning, why I happened to be on that street, on that corner at precisely the right time for the coincidence to occur . . . all the seemingly irrelevant details which gratuitously coalesced on the corner of Tenth Street and Van Buren.

You remember the corner, the smell of fresh bread blowing across the street from the bakery, the streaked gray of the vulgarly ornamented granite building of the Historical Society Museum and Library, the equally streaked and gray State Printer's office next to the Masonic Temple and across from the open lawn of the State Capitol. Why was I there? Certainly I had been on the corner many times before, but only in the daytime. Never at night. And I almost wasn't. I almost did keep on walking down Eighth, and turned onto the diagonal sidewalk only when the thought flickered in my mind that I was getting into a rut. Maybe my purpose was only to see Abraham Lincoln in the evening, only to pat his bronze knee again, which I did. Yet I don't really know why I was on the corner. Nor why the man turned that way, toward Tenth, when there's a perfectly dark alley in the middle of the block. That's where I would have run. He didn't. Nor why he. . . . You see what I'm doing? Explaining, explaining, loading and overloading with details, telling you what anyone half as wise as you would already know, that the act was surrounded by dozens, hundreds of facts, all of which are irrelevant, none of which explain anything. You don't need to be told facts which you can quickly imagine. Nor do you need my attempt to soften the impact—you who know better, since you are more imaginative than I, that we are all murderers, by intent if not by deed—when I tell you that there's a good chance that I may be a murderer."

I stopped reading. Below the hill lay the farmyard which, in the spring and after a rain, had looked clean in its washed bright colors, red and white. Then we had seen the sheep walking to the barn in a long line, the lambs frolicking away from the flock until the ewes bleated them back. It so happened that I now saw the flock walking back to the barn for water. The lambs were almost grown now, and the fleece of their shanks was green with flakes of manure. A hot breeze dragged up the long slope of the hill, carrying along the sour smell of the sheep yard and shaking the oak branches so that a half dozen of last year's acorns fell off. I picked up one which seemed plump, but it was wormeaten and it crumbled between my fingers.

I resumed reading the old letter.

"No, no, stop here. The obvious conclusion is the wrong one. I am still a pacifist. At seven the next morning I went to work at the hospital as usual, read as usual the Ward Seven report, wore my usual clean starched white shirt and my stiff black bow tie, scurried around with the breakfast trays at seven-thirty, gave three baths by nine-thirty and two enemas by eleven. And seventy-nine year old Mrs. Johnson said as she always

says when I raise her bed and she pats my hand, "My, you conscientious objectors are such nice boys," or something to that effect. And Peggy Mac (or rather Miss MacDowell, R.N., as her nameplate says) smiled indulgently. And flirted across the bedspread as we tucked Mrs. Johnson in.

"All this was routine. One floor below, also following their routine, were similar nurses and aides tending a man who was dying. And perhaps they were flirting across his bed too, as I might have done were it not that my bullet may have been the cause of his death. My bullet. My hospital. The irony was too heavy, too surrealistic. And as I went about the ward that day, morbidly imagining my smile to be the grin of a death's head, I mentally drafted a half dozen newspaper headlines, for naturally I had been interviewed. I finally settled on 'Cowardly CO Turns Murderer.' You know what the paper said? 'Conchie's Bravery Saves Police Officer.' I even had a phone call of congratulation from a nurse, no less than the head nurse of the afternoon shift, who added when she called at five-thirty, 'I thought you might like to know that the man died.' And I went to work the next morning.

"All right, I'll outline all the neat rationalizations that you might be tempted to advance. I'm a hero in other people's eyes but not in my own. This, both of us will agree, is not much worse than being an unrecognized hero, and not much better than being neither hero nor recognized. But the deception! The deception! Deception of any kind, in the abstract—it is because of this you'll cringe and squirm for me, though I naturally would not ask you to grieve for the particular deception I'm forced to perpetuate. Yet you're an imaginative person. Surely you can understand the guilty horror with which I receive the praise that you would have felt honored to receive."

From where I sat, as I turned the page of the letter, I looked at each of the four flat hills in turn, gazing longest at Mount Oread which was just barely visible through the dust. The buildings of the University of Kansas were blurred, looking like no more than a pale cloud bank rising above the slope. Because of the haze and distance the hill reverted to its primeval appearance—and partly, I suppose, because my eyes blurred the lines with tears as I remembered Harold's first visit to Signal Oak.

It had taken him only two days to find the place which he had read about and which I after living in Kansas for almost a year, had never heard of.

"This must be the place," he had said, and then added, "See how far you can look toward the northeast." His whole arm had swept along the horizon. "They stood here. I'll bet it was right here. A hundred years ago. From down in the valley they wouldn't be able to see anything that was happening on the hill, but we'd be able to see everything they did from the time they crossed over between that low hill and the grove of trees."

"Who are 'they'?" I had asked.

"They? The guerillas, of course."

"The what?"

"Guerillas. Fighters. Soldiers. Those raiders from Missouri. They came over just before the war."

"What are you talking about?"

"Burned their houses. Killed the abolitionists."

"Oh, that war," I had said.

"What did you think I was talking about?"

"I didn't have the slightest idea."

He had laughed. "You should have known what I meant. They don't take slaves across the border now, only liquor. You should have known that. This is the place where the abolitionists had their lookout post and watched for the slave-holding raiders. "And see," he had said pointing to the north, "you can almost see Lawrence from here. Here's the place where we first noticed the massacre of Lawrence when Quantrill's men set fire to the town. And a rider left from here and notified John Brown who was camping at Osawatimie. And it was here we first got word of his counter raid at Pottawatomie. They did, I mean, not we. I read it somewhere."

I couldn't help smiling when I remembered Hal's excitement. Perhaps I should have asked him whether he would have identified himself with the Confederacy if he had been on the other side of the Missouri border. And he probably would have answered, "Naturally," amazed at my foolish question. For Hal was capable of being both slave-holder and abolitionist, both William Quantrill and John Brown.

I spread the next page of the letter across my knees.

"And you won't be tempted—will you?—to tell me that I did what was necessary, that I was in a situation over which I had no control, that since all have failed who have tried to live by a standard higher than that of the rest of the world, I may now take my place along with such other glorious failures as Socrates. Even if the cases were not different, I should be sorry to hear such a clear and neat and tidy statement coming from you who have always known that nothing in life is clear. And thus I warn you against the thing which you habitually avoid. Can I assume that you will also agree that there is no solution to the problem?"

"These are the issues. I may have killed a man. It may have been the policeman's gun that killed him. We both fired at the same time. The man may actually have been guilty of the attempted rape. He may not. The man may actually have had a criminal record as thick as my fist. He may have been only another nameless vagrant. My killing him may have been not only self-defense but actual bravery in saving the policeman's life. His death may have been, as I think it is, completely unjustified by any standard, and certainly by mine: I am a conscientious objector. I begged, literally begged, the desk sergeant to have the bullet examined to determine whether it came from the policeman's gun

or mine. It slipped his mind, he said to me a few days later when the corpse had already been cremated. The end of the story, as far as they were concerned. There is now no way for me to find out anything.

"Unless in time I can dredge up something more from my memory. For several days I could remember nothing at all but the officer screaming 'Shoot. For God's sake, shoot.' And of course I remembered or thought I remembered the gun going off. Or remembered feeling the concussion in my arm. That was all. Yet about three days after the accident (well, wasn't it more accidental than anything else?), after I had walked for three or four times over the same route, turning off Eighth to the sidewalk that runs from corner to corner of the State House grounds, through the parking lot surrounding the Capitol, and straining all this time to recall the least fragment of an idea or feeling or image that had been running through my mind at the time of the arrest (not accident); and after I had even examined the walls of the Museum in looking for a bullethole, examined the dirt beneath the shrubs in searching for any possible place where the bullet might have fallen if it missed; then I began to recall the police officer's constraining me to help with the arrest. Or did I, after all that effort, only seem to remember it because I read it in the papers? I'm suspicious. If I really remembered it, I should be able to recall the image of the policeman's face or his handing me the pistol or his saying that he authorized me to act in the capacity of a deputy; yet I remember only the abstract concept of constraint. I recall no more. The policeman said, 'Shoot, for God's sake.' I remember no more.

"I didn't faint, of course. I have forgotten, yes, but naturally I didn't faint. I'm not a coward, not that kind anyway. I could face blood and death and wounds and the screams of the policeman as he lay writhing on the ground and clenching his teeth as the shaky left hand took aim—I could face these things as well as anyone and better than most. I can remember how shocked I was when I began working here at the hospital and an aide told me how he had hardened himself to giving an enema at eleven and eating lunch with chocolate pudding at twelve, and how shocked I was to discover that I could do it too. I can remember the old man who died on the operating table when his mangled leg was being amputated, and how shocked I was to discover myself carrying the leg down to the ambulance without fear or nausea. Nor was I horrified by even the fact of the death, aside from the cause of death, of that supposed rapist whose name I never knew and whose face I can't remember. I believe that I can modestly assert my bravery, my physical bravery. Nor was I afraid to assert my convictions. Not moral cowardice. No. Under other circumstances I might possibly have said to the policeman, 'Sir, the pacifist has caught sight of an ethical standard which is superior to yours,' and I might have calmly explained it, and possibly have even half-convinced him. Nor was I

BOOKS IN REVIEW

shocked that in finding the policeman wounded rather than in a conversation over coffee, I discovered that the pacifist ideal did not pragmatically work, that it was not a practical ethic, any more than I was shocked with your incontrovertible proof that pacifism cannot be applied to problems of world politics. I was not even inordinately shocked that the nameless man, whom I may have killed, suddenly leaped into my consciousness as an accuser. Any man with a fragment of conscience would have expected this. Nor am I confused. But always granting in the past that it would not solve international problems, I still clung to the belief that pacifism was the solution to an individual's moral problems. Now I also know that it did not solve this one. Yet I am a conscientious objector still unwilling to believe that pacifism, ideal not practical, is anything but true and valid."

And I had signed my name to the letter without a complimentary close. Now that I had finished reading it, I folded it and pushed it back into the envelope before I touched the corner with the match. "It is finished," I said to myself as I watched the black ashes curl backwards from the flame.

The abandoned limestone quarry was about a half mile back from the road, and it was there we had gone on the last day of Hal's visit, and there we had finished what had been our month-long friendly argument.

"Look at those rocks crumbling," I remembered him saying as I stepped down the jagged and irregular steps.

I had posed on the edge of the quarry, one hand pushed stiffly between the buttons of my shirt. "Here is the young Goethe," I had said, "surveying the ruins of Rome."

"There's the solution to our argument," Hal had said. "Goethe could not revive ruined Rome any more than I could raise these dry bones into a house any more than you as a pacifist can refine war out of human nature."

"No, say rather that this is a young man looking at an abandoned limestone quarry," I had said, knowing that he had won his point.

"Here's a young butterfly communicating with his ancestor," Hal had said, pointing to a Monarch butterfly that had settled on the rock and was crawling stiffly over a fossilized snail. "Perhaps even our ancestor. Perhaps the butterfly would be a man if one of his ancestors had had the guts to fight his way out of the mud."

"I suppose that one could find a moral lesson in the rock and the butterfly. Even the butterfly has reverence for what is nothing but the memory of life."

"I suppose." Hal had laughed. This was the last time that I had heard him laugh before his departure on the following morning. "I suppose that one could say either of those things."

By now the sun was setting, and a small cloud drifting toward the horizon darkened the quarry with its shadow. I found the snail fossil, but there were no butterflies in the vicinity.

Christianity and Communism Today by John C. Bennett. New York: Association Press, 1961, 188 pp., \$3.50.

This is a revision of a book which, since its first publication in 1948, has been widely read and has received general acceptance. No basic change in the point of view is to be found in this present revision, however more recent developments in the Communist world are taken into account, so that it may speak to the immediate situation with more telling force. The point of view is simply stated in the very beginning. "This book is written by one who believes that Communism as a faith and as a system of thought is a compound of half-truth and positive error, that Communism as a movement of power is a threat to essential forms of personal and political freedom, and that it is a responsibility of Christians to resist its extension in the world." There is an important exposition of the exact nature of Communism, a clear statement of the issues between Christianity and Communism and an honest appraisal of the problems and difficulties in co-existence. In defining the policy of Christians in relation to Communism, he warns against the hysterical forms of anti-Communism on the part of economic conservatives.

Unfortunately he is unable to extricate himself completely from a reliance on nuclear defenses and the role of military force in this conflict of ideologies, but he hastens to point out that the military role is secondary. One would also wish that his chapter, "The Policy of Christians in Relation to Communism" might have been longer, for it is at this level that the challenge of Communism and the perils of false anti-Communism must be met. Nevertheless this book will go a long way to restore a measure of sanity to an issue that is often characterized by hysteria.

BETHEL COLLEGE MENNONITE CHURCH *Russell L. Mast*

Religious Drama

Religious Drama 1 selected and introduced by Marvin Halverson, *2* by E. Martin Browne, and *3* by Marvin Halverson. New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1957-59, 410 pp., 317 pp., 317 pp., \$1.45 each.

The three-volume anthology, *Religious Drama*, is a compilation of selected high-quality plays which deal with

religious and moral issues, volumes 1 and 3 being limited to twentieth century works and volume 2 to medieval English plays.

Volume 2 is probably the least successful of the three, for there is little point in reprinting plays which are already available in cheap editions. Furthermore, in modernizing the medieval language so that the plays can be acted for a modern audience, the editor has produced highly inaccurate texts.

But the first and third volumes are more exciting. In spite of the inclusion of the silly pseudo-mysticism of *David* by D. H. Lawrence, volume 1 can easily be forgiven because it includes rare and brilliant works by W. H. Auden, Christopher Fry, Dorothy Sayers, and James Schevill. The last-named author, whose *The Bloody Tenet* dramatizes the trial of Roger Williams, is particularly interesting for his subtle treatment of the relationship of history to doctrine.

Almost half of the third volume is devoted to modern experimental one-act plays by James Broughton, Charles Williams, E. E. Cummings, and Pär Lagerkvist. Though all the authors in this group are dramatically skillful, the most perceptive theological insights occur in the companion morality plays of Charles Williams, *The House by the Stable and Grab and Grace*. Concluding the volume are two full-length plays: *Billy Budd* by Louis O. Coxe and Robert Chapman, and *The Gospel Witch* by Lyon Phelps. The latter play, dealing with the Salem witch trials, must be compared with another play on the same subject, Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*, which by comparison seems wordy, stale, and conventional. For the Phelps play is written with economical dramatic structure and imaginative poetic language.

EARLHAM COLLEGE

Warren Kliever

Hans Denck

Hans Denck, *Schriften*.

1. Teil. *Bibliographie*. Edited by Georg Baring, 1955, p. 68.
2. Teil. *Religiöse Schriften*. Edited by Walter Fellmann, 1956, p. 120.
3. Teil. *Exegetische Schriften, Gedichte und Briefe*. Edited by Walter Fellmann, 1960, p. 148. *Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte*. Herausgegeben vom Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, Band XXIV, published by C. Bertelsmann Verlag, Gütersloh.

With the appearance of the third part, the Täuferakten-Kommission has completed publication of the critical edition of the works of Hans Denck, spiritualizer and Anabaptist.

The first volume comprises a complete bibliography of all discoverable editions and reprints of Denck's works. It is a meticulous piece of work, indicating in addition to the publisher and place of publication, the type, size

and format of each edition. The editor, Georg Baring, lists all the literature on each work and indicates where all the extant copies of Denck's works are to be found today. The genuineness of the second part of *Von der wahren Liebe* is clearly demonstrated on the basis of the evidence available at the time of writing.

The second volume, edited by Walter Fellmann, will be, for most of us, the most significant of the three, for it contains Denck's theological treatises written between January, 1525 and November, 1527. It is introduced by a short but helpful sketch of Denck's life, extensively documented. Then follow the seven theological works including the confession before the Nürnberg Council and the so-called "Recantation" which Denck sent to Oecolampadius just before his death.

For a review of Denck's main theological views, we go to a short treatment by Walter Fellmann entitled "Der Theologische Gehalt der Schriften Dencks," published in *Die Leibhaftigkeit des Wortes*, Furche Verlag, Hamburg, 1958. Because of its brevity, the treatment touches mainly on those points at which Denck diverged from Reformation theology.

The Nürnberg *Confession* already contains in embryo all the main elements of Denck's theology, writes Fellmann. Two points are of major significance. Denck confessed that for him the final authority was the inner voice. This voice stood for him above Scripture. This implies for Fellmann that Denck rejected the principle of *sola scriptura*. In his attitude to the sacraments, Denck completely ignored their historic origin. This indicates the tenuous connection between Denck's mystic orientation and historic Christianity. In this respect Denck was a disciple of German mysticism, especially of the German theology. Fellmann also sees a heavy dependence on Thomas Müntzer in his mystic formulations. Denck attacks Luther in *Was geredt sei das die Schrift sagt* and insists on the freedom of the human will to respond to God's working in him, rejecting vigorously any determinism. In the second half of *Van der wahren Liebe*, Denck deals with practical matters of Anabaptist church life.

By and large Fellmann gives an accurate portrayal of the basic theological orientation of Denck. It is questionable, however, that Denck made as sharp a distinction between Scripture and the inner voice as Fellmann indicates. For Denck, as for the rest of Anabaptism, the Bible without the life-giving power of the Spirit of God was like any other book. The quotation which Fellmann uses itself indicates that Denck is here speaking about the Scripture as a mere book or letter. The voice in him is the Spirit of God, the same Spirit who also brings the Word to life.

Fellmann is also critical of the traditional emphasis on Denck's pacifistic and retiring nature. No doubt Denck had his shortcomings, but on this score Fellmann's criticism is not convincing. He quotes him as saying that men excuse themselves with Paul's words that every-

one remain in the calling to which he was summoned. "Des sinns: Wenn der herr einen im ehebruch beruffen, so müsst er darin beleiben" (II, 43, 20 ff.). That the precise example cannot immediately be adduced to which Denck appears to refer is really beside the point. He says, "des sinns" or "for example." That this is an extreme example is true, but one need only think of Philip of Hesse's bigamy which Luther, although reluctantly, countenanced, to show that such a distortion of Luther's doctrine of vocation was not improbable.

It has been the reviewer's contention that Denck indeed expressed regret for his participation in public ministry as can be seen from his "Recantation," but that this did not involve his abandonment of Anabaptism. Fellmann also takes this view when he says that Denck did not give up the basic elements of his Anabaptist theology.

The third volume, also edited by Fellmann, contains the text of and commentary on the prophet Micah, with the text interspersed throughout the commentary in blocks convenient for comment. The text is the translation of Hätzer and Denck in what is known as the *Wormser Propheten* and exhibits a freshness and force that would be hard to match today.

Although there is no absolute certainty that this commentary is Denck's work, it does reflect Denck's ideas and trend of thought in many places, as for instance in the preface by Johannes Vielfeld (8:9 ff.), and at many places in the commentary (43:5 ff.; 46:26 ff.; 65:11 ff.; 83:13 ff.). If it is not by Denck, it does at least show, as Fellmann writes, how Denck's spiritualism affected circles outside of Anabaptism. In addition to the commentary, there is Denck's writing on baptism as found in Johannes Bader's book, *Brüderliche Warnung vor dem neuen abgöttischen Orden der Wiedertäufer*, chapter three, which is of some importance in the question of Denck's relationship to the Anabaptist movement. Then there are the three Latin poems and finally five extant letters of Denck, including his last to Oecolampadius of October, 1527.

BETHEL COLLEGE

Walter Klaassen

Reformation

Even Unto Death, by John C. Wenger, Richmond: John Knox Press, 1961. 177 pp., \$2.50.

This is an attractive little book that will render a real service among Christians in America. It offers to those unfamiliar with the Anabaptist-Mennonite heritage a moving presentation of the truly Christian and evangelical character of this sixteenth century Reformation movement. The book is free from polemics while at the same time stating without apology what the author regards as the theological and practical shortcomings of the Lutheran and Reformed positions.

The book is divided into three main sections: the historical, the doctrinal, and what may be called a short martyrology. In the first section comprising chapters

I and II, the author traces in broad outlines the historical developments of the Anabaptist movement. He emphasizes especially the beginnings in Zürich in 1525, and then continues the story by means of several short biographies of notable early leaders, among them Felix Manz, George Blaurock, Michael Sattler, and Pilgram Marpeck. He then traces the rise of Dutch Anabaptism through Melchior Hoffman, dealing briefly with the kingdom of Münster, and then concerning himself at length with Menno Simons.

In the second part, the author deals with what he regards as the most notable theological views of the Anabaptists under three headings: Anabaptists and the Bible, the Church and the Sacraments, and the Christian Life. He describes the Anabaptist attitude toward the Scriptures, which were regarded as sole authority, and their views of the ordinances and the Christian life. The martyrology is a moving collection of stories of those who sealed their faith with their blood.

The feature that makes this book especially valuable is the abundant use of quotations from Anabaptist writings and records to document the author's statements. Thus the reader is brought into the very presence of the sixteenth century Anabaptists themselves. It is a volume that should be in every Mennonite church library and could be used for group study, although it is not especially designed for such a purpose. The agreeable style and the simplicity of language should make the book widely useful.

With all these commendable aspects, this reviewer was nevertheless disappointed with the book. Since it is designed to serve the wider public in the dispelling of distorted views long current about Anabaptism, one would expect as accurate a presentation as it is possible to arrive at. There are several points at which Wenger's treatment is deficient.

First, there is no clear recognition given to the vast complex of South German and Swiss Anabaptism. There is only one passing reference to the possibility of a separate movement (p. 31), and the Hutterite movement is in a limited sense so regarded. Men like Wolfgang Brandhuber, Jakob Huter, Eitelhans Langenmantel, Leonhard Schiemer, Hans Schlaffer, and Pilgram Marpeck are indeed mentioned, but it is stated that they were all Swiss Brethren (p. 105). The writings and statements of these men will show that they cannot be thus included without some considerable qualification. And why, one may ask, are two of the most outstanding leaders of early South German Anabaptism, Hans Denck and Hans Hut, not even mentioned? These men are too prominent in sixteenth century Anabaptism to be overlooked—Denck being an attractive Reformation personality and Hut a zealous missionary.

The chapter entitled "Anabaptists and the Bible" is also incomplete, because it neglects to take into consid-

eration Denck, Hut and Marpeck. All three of these men wrote extensively about the Bible, its function, and authority. Marpeck in particular has much to contribute at this point. Although he is mentioned, he does not receive his due (p. 67). Denck and Hut and their followers, Langenmantel, Schlaffer, Schiemer, and Huter, sought to qualify the *sola scriptura* principle, not in order to undermine its validity or to replace it with something else, but to clarify it. Is this the reason for their banishment from the ranks of the "true" Anabaptists? Mennonites have long complained about being inaccurately represented by non-Mennonite historians. Shall we fall victim to the fault which they have now largely overcome?

There is one other point which can give rise to misunderstanding. "In the early seventeenth century," writes the author, "Anabaptism revived under the influence of such men of God as John Smyth and Thomas Helwys" (p. 112). Contact between Anabaptists and Baptists there certainly was, but it cannot be stated without qualification that the earlier gave rise to the latter.

These criticisms ought not to discourage anyone from buying this book. The price is reasonable and the reader will be repaid many times by reading and re-reading the inspiring story of those who were faithful "even unto death."

BETHEL COLLEGE

Walter Klaassen

Bible

Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel (first four volumes) and Gerhard Friedrich. Stuttgart: Kohhammer, 1957—. 6 volumes (to be completed) from 793-1,332 pages each. DM 60-84.—per volume.

The one truly monumental work in New Testament studies of the present century is the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*. This theological lexicon was inaugurated in 1933 by Gerhard Kittel, professor of New Testament at Greifswald (1921-1926) and Tübingen (1626-1945), and edited by him until his death in 1948. Since then the editor has been Gerhard Friedrich. The work now comprises six volumes to the Greek letter *rho*, with several more volumes yet to appear.

It has been the conviction of the editors that a lexicon of the Greek New Testament must include a history of the semantics of words in their development. Thus, a word used in the New Testament must be understood in the light of its root meaning, its use in secular Greek, classic and vernacular, and its use and meaning in the religious connotations provided by the Septuagint (Greek translation of the Old Testament). The shades and nuances of meaning found in such a broad usage add to the understanding of a given word as used in the context of the New Testament.

This scholarly work, which includes such well-known contributors as R. Bultmann, K. L. Schmidt, J. Jeremias, E. Stauffer, H. Windisch, O. Michel, and Bo Reicke, has had a profound influence upon New Testament studies, certainly in philology and semantics. A number of the articles on key words, as *love*, *kingdom*, *righteousness*, *Lord*, have been translated into English and published by Harpers. Recently other theological word books have appeared, which in a sense are miniature models of Kittel, including those edited by Alan Richardson and J. J. von Allmen.

With the customary thoroughness of German scholarship, the articles on key words are usually lengthy, though comprehensive. For thorough study, there is no better single source. Not the least valuable is the bibliographical information with each of the more important words that are discussed.

Bethel College

Vernon Neufeld

The English Bible. By F. F. Bruce. New York: Oxford University Press, 1961. 234 pp. \$3.75.

This book is a comprehensive study of the translations of the English Bible from its earliest beginnings in the 7th century to the most recent, the New Testament translation of the New English Bible of 1961. This study includes also the various private translations and versions in England and in the United States.

The book is written in an interesting, non-technical style. It is a fascinating story for any one who is interested in knowing how we got our English Bible. Citations from various translations with comparisons, together with anecdotes that picture popular and scholarly reactions to new translations, add color and reality to his presentation. This book is a valuable addition to the library of any Bible student, church, or school.

Bethel College

Henry A. Fast

A Revelation of Jesus Christ. By J. B. Smith. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, c. 1961. 369 pp. \$5.75.

This is a commentary on the book of Revelation by J. B. Smith, edited and published posthumously by J. Otis Yoder. Dr. Merrill C. Tenney of Wheaton College, who writes the introduction, characterizes the book well in his preface.

Dr. Smith is a futurist and a premillenarian, holding that all the Book of Revelation beginning with the fourth chapter relates to the future period of judgment known as 'the great tribulation,' which will be followed by the personal return of Christ and by the establishment of His kingdom.

The introductory chapter of the book is a valuable feature in understanding the author's viewpoint and in getting the overview of the study. The book is interesting to anyone who wants to study Revelation from the viewpoint of a premillenarian.

Bethel College

Henry A. Fast

Education

The Legal Status of the Public School Pupil. By Peter Frank Bagen. Toronto, Canada: Macmillan, 1961. 172 pp. Ph.D. Dissertation. \$4.00.

The Church and Secular Education. By Lewis Bliss Whittemore. Greenwich, Connecticut: Seabury Press, 1960. 130 pp. \$3.25.

Many educators and business leaders have voiced their concern about problems and crises in education. In the two volumes mentioned above, a leading churchman and a superintendent of public schools present two different problem areas and point to ways of improving them.

Bagen finds that many educators in Canada do not have as thorough knowledge of school law as they should have. A good deal of litigation could be avoided if school boards and administrators would make more of an effort to conform meticulously to legal requirements. He further recommends that schools should obtain competent legal advice and that regulations should be adopted which would contribute to the safety of the students. Much of what the author has to say would apply to schools in the United States. The report is somewhat technical and would not appeal to the general reader.

Whittemore looks to the church to help in correcting the faults in the public school program. In some ways he feels that the school has attempted to assume the responsibility for the moral character of youth as well as some aspects of family life, so that the pupil's complete day is dominated by the public school.

The church, Whittemore feels, should take the initiative and work out a curriculum enriched by the addition of history, literature and philosophy. With such an approach, the church would be in position to ask for a part of the week—perhaps a full day—in which it could take full charge of the student.

Professional educators will probably not agree with Whittemore's proposal. In this day of debate regarding the proper relationship of private and public education and the separation of church and state, the book makes a contribution. It bears re-

reading for those who would look for a starting point for change and for improvement in American education.

Both of these books point up the fact that the education of our young people is exceedingly complex. It is also a co-operative enterprise. The school, the church and the community must work together to produce an acceptable educational program or else the needs of children attending school in the 1960's will largely go unmet.

Bluffton College

Eldon W. Graber

War and Death Penalty

War and the Christian Conscience by Paul Ramsey. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1961, 331 pp., \$6.00.

Ramsey's book bears the subtitle, "How Shall Modern War Be Conducted Justly?" and this theme delineates the actual scope of his inquiry. The significance of the doctrine of the "just war" for moderns can be seen in Roland Bainton's statement in his discussion of the just war problem that "the position [of Augustine] continues to this day in all essentials to be the ethic of the Roman Catholic Church and of the major Protestant bodies." (Roland H. Bainton. *Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1960, p. 99.) The application of thermonuclear energy to military technology has caused discussion of certain theological issues involved by thinkers within Protestant groups and in the Roman Catholic Church. In this book Ramsey develops one essential thesis—a contemporary doctrine of "just war" would preclude waging war on non-combatants, a tendency to which thermonuclear war is particularly prone.

Ramsey reviews a sector of the literature produced in the new discussion of issues surrounding a "just war." From this review comes his theological argument against waging war on non-combatants—a major pillar in his refurbishment of "just war" doctrine. To achieve this objective, he takes the reader from Augustine to Aquinas, to Luther and to modern theological writers and military strategists.

No less than Augustine, Ramsey believes that Christian love requires, under certain conditions, obedience to the state in the use of violence to preserve the given social order of which the Christian finds himself a member. The Christian impulse cannot, or has not as yet eliminated war as a social phenomenon. Hence, as with Augustine, if the Christian ethic is to encompass more than the ethic of the sect, its only hope is to limit the impact of war and make it more humane—particularly non-combatants should be immune from extermination. Even "total" war is not that total in his opinion.

Certain comfort might flow from the argument were one able to demonstrate an authentic impact of the Christian ethic on the conduct of warfare. Doubtless the evidence is partial and contradictory. Ramsey believes "In the tortuous course of human civilization, the history of warfare has more often than not been the history of just warfare, in the sense that weapons have been used—all of them, so far—more often than not within limits and controllably to serve some cause."

However, Veale, in his forthright book of some years ago, *Advance to Barbarism* (pp. 41 ff.), holds that Christian culture through the ages has had little effect on the actual conduct of war—save for the emergence of what he calls "civilized warfare," which to a degree has characterized the conduct of some of the numerous "civil wars" of Western Europe. Even the "civilized warfare" of Europe has largely disappeared in the twentieth century in his judgment.

Yet, does it not remain true that our theology remains that of Samuel who hewed Agag to pieces before the Lord in Gilgal? We build a theology around our ethnocentric tribal deity at our unthinking worst.

Still others of us, indeed, moral men, find it incumbent to resist evil as we understand it, because we are moral men. We take our lead from Christian insights, resist evil with violence because no other alternative appears open to us—we become the conscientious soldier. Moral men must be true to their highest natures. Morality with this scope of content and insight may not be adequate equipment for modern man.

Whether the religious spirit, fed by the springs of Christian or any other religious insight, will ever produce a theology of

non-violence to claim the allegiance of large masses of men cannot be predicted. If such a social situation ever emerges, one suspects that theology may be among the last of the disciplines to adjust its teaching to the fact—let alone help produce it. Then Christians may rediscover the Sermon on the Mount and the meaning of discipleship. Ramsey's book has numerous other facets which are timely and thought provoking but which cannot be commented upon in a review of this length.

Bethel College

J. Lloyd Spaulding

Das Problem der Todesstrafe. By Hans-Peter Alt. München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 168 pp. DM 8.50.

The father of Alt was a chaplain in the München-Stadelheim prison in Germany, where he gathered much material and experience with prisoners awaiting their death. Out of these deep, difficult experiences grew the profound conviction that capital punishment is not the will of God. Hans-Peter Alt has systematically gathered this into a challenging book.

The book deals more with the philosophical, theological, and biblical aspects of capital punishment than most books do. Alt portrays the Old Testament concept of revenge (*Blutrache*) and the many primitive ideas of punishment that Israel held to. In a similar way he spells out the contrasting New Testament teachings of love for even our enemies. Alt systematically interprets the Scriptures and their view of capital punishment as few writings do. This is the strength of this book.

Experiences with well-known problems and theories such as the necessity for deterrent, economic, and biological reasons and the need for the safety of society from criminals are treated. Statistical comparisons are lacking, however, which have value as proof of given statements. Numerous other books can give us more help on the sociological and psychological questions of capital punishment. The book deals considerably with law, the application of law, traditions in the past, and a history of the attitude of law to capital punishment.

Newton, Kansas

Leo Driedger

Communism

Communism and the Churches by Ralph Lord Roy. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1960, 495 pp. \$7.50.

This book needed to be written, and it needed to be written now. With McCarthyism a little more than a memory, we are now in the midst of a new wave of Communist witch hunting. At a time when many feel that Russia is gaining ground in the current cold war, there is a fresh outburst of hysteria, issuing in reckless and irresponsible charges of Communist loyalties and sympathies directed against ministers and church leaders. Quite understandably the people of the churches are shocked and not a little confused to read the statement by J. B. Matthews, for instance: "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." Without knowing anything about J. B. Matthews, and without realizing that there is in fact no evidence to support such a huge generalization, they become the victims of fear and suspicion. What, then, are the facts?

Ralph Lord Roy has now completed an impressive piece of fact-finding and solid investigation, which ought to set the record straight. The very size of the book indicates something of the thoroughness with which he carried out his task. The story begins with Bolshevik Revolution, when Marxism first became a factor with which to be reckoned. The attitude and activities of church leaders and church bodies to Communism are carefully followed through the intervening years as well as the Communist strategy with respect to the churches. But with painstaking attention to detail he sifts through the evidence bearing on the charges, similar to the charge made by J. B. Matthews which have been made against the clergy of America.

It is not denied that there have been some churchmen who have been avowedly sympathetic with the more idealistic phases of Communist ideology, nor that they embraced its atheism or even became members of the party. Yet they did feel that Communism was making the best answer to the very great problems that were facing the world. Without seeking either

to condone or to condemn, the facts regarding such men as Harry Ward, William Howard Melish, and Jack R. McMichael are carefully examined. To say that there has been no Communist influence, even adverse and harmful influence on the churches and on churchmen, would certainly be untrue.

It is part of the strength of this book that it does not dodge facts that are unpleasant. His conclusions after this monumental effort, however, are both illuminating and reassuring. For example, he declares, "While Marxist Communism has been an outspoken foe of religion, ironically, more damage has perhaps been done to America's churches by the noisiest antagonists of Communism." "In their efforts to protect religion from 'Red atheism,' too often they have directed their fire instead at the legitimate social concern of both Christianity and Judaism." He declares further: "The notion that America's churches and religious leaders are significantly influenced by Communists or Communist sympathizers is absurd." Thus it finally turns out that only a very small number of clergymen ever joined the Communist party within the past forty years. Most of these were Negroes who were impressed by the declared racial attitudes of Communism, but who knew next to nothing at all about Marx or his ideas. He finds that the Communist influence in the churches has declined since World War II, so that today it is very near to the zero mark. Furthermore, had the churches been more alert to the social implications of the Christian ethic, there would have been even less occasion for ministers to become active in so-called Communist front groups. Communism may therefore be thought of as a judgment upon a church which too often was not "grieved at the affliction of Joseph."

Unfortunately the price and the size of this book may discourage the would-be reader. Nevertheless, the information here gathered is of such critical importance in clearing up the confusion that surrounds this issue that one can almost regard it as "must" reading. At any rate, it will remind us that the dangers of irresponsible and reckless anti-communism are no less serious than the dangers of Communism itself.

Bethel College Mennonite Church

Russell L. Mast

Church and Hymns

The Suburban Captivity of the Churches by Gibson Winter. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961. 216 pp. \$3.50.

It is the thesis of this book that as metropolitan Protestantism has moved out of the central city to the suburbs it has become largely an upper middle-class church, ministering almost exclusively to white-collared people. Having become single class churches there was great emphasis on conformity and even uniformity, a friendly hand clasp, a warm cup of coffee and something for everyone to do. All this is in opposition to the early church which included rich and poor, bond and free, Gentile and Jew. Moreover, this exodus from the central city to the suburbs left the central city to the left-wing fundamentalist groups or unchurched entirely.

Out of the situation there has emerged a new religious style, or a new kind of church, which the author aptly terms the "organization church." He is devastating in his criticism of the kind of church which has become nothing more than a "busy-ness center," where members do penance for their faults by sharing in the vast organizational work of the church. It is a modern form of salvation by works.

The strength of the book lies in its diagnosis of what is the real sickness of the suburban church, and in its courageous recognition of the fact that a church to be true to its nature dare not be confined to a particular class, whether economic, racial or otherwise. To meet the needs of the entire metropolis and all the classes of people in it, the church building can no longer be regarded as the only unit in the life of the church. Rather by a "sector ministry" the church defines the whole metropolis and every sphere of life as its mission field.

Whether the proposal here given is the only answer or even the best answer may be open to question. Nevertheless there are insights throughout the entire book which are exceedingly relevant not only to suburban churches, but to churches wherever they are located.

Bethel College Church

Russell L. Mast

The Care And Feeding Of Ministers by Kathleen Neill Nyberg. New York: Abingdon Press, 141 pp. \$2.50.

In short, pithy sentences, the author makes observations from her experiences as a minister's wife, for the purpose of helping the young minister's wife understand her husband in relation to his ministry.

She is not as much concerned with the mechanics of being a minister's wife as she is with the relationships in a parish, emphasizing the minister's needs and feelings. Not intending to make a "question-answer" book, the author rather attempts to suggest a positive way in which a wife can share in the ministry and considers various ways in which her specific behavior can enhance the ministry.

Cleverly and humorously, Mrs. Nyberg provides discussion on many aspects of a minister's life—his home, children, time, friends, money, confidences, as a recipient and giver of gifts, his health and welfare, ego, ambition, and finally his marriage. She states the most important way a wife can relate to her husband's work is by supporting and understanding him. The wife's role is one of acceptance and of understanding her husband's individuality and the demands which his work makes upon him. Maintaining the home as one of relaxation and a place of refuge, the wife quietly undergirds her husband. Encouragingly enough, in her conclusion, she states that a wife can fail in most of the mentioned categories, but still be a good minister's wife by thoroughly loving her husband.

Although written particularly for the young minister's wife, this easy-to-read book provides thoughtful stimulation for others as well.

North Newton, Kansas

Mrs. Robert J. Carlson

Bibliographie zur Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes im XVI. Jahrhundert. By Philipp Wackernagel. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961. 717 pp. DM 62.—

This book is a reprint of the edition published in 1855 by Heyder and Zimmer in Frankfurt a. M., except for the dedicatory page in the earlier edition, which is omitted in the 1961 publication.

It is as complete a bibliography of hymnbooks and individual hymns published in the German languages in the sixteenth century for the Protestant Evangelical Church as I have found. The section of the book containing the "foreword" to most of these old hymnbooks is extremely valuable and informative. A close study of this section will reveal something of the reason for the hymnbook, often something of its contents, as well as something of the religious and theological thought of that time. A person could wish for more information about the melodies to which the lyrics were sung, but such information must be sought elsewhere.

This republication of Wackernagel's book is very opportune and is to be highly recommended to the serious student of hymnology.

Bethel College

Walter H. Hohmann

Deep Furrows by I. W. Moomaw. New York, New York: Agricultural Mission, Inc., 1957, 192 pp., \$2.50.

Those who have had firsthand experience, are dedicated and deeply committed to a cause, can best enthuse others. I. M. Moomaw is such an individual when he comes to speak about the rural community. He has had firsthand experience as a missionary. He has traveled extensively and has taught sociology at Manchester College and at present, is executive secretary of Agricultural Missions, Inc.

The book *Deep Furrows* is a rich imaginative and inspiring volume suggesting methods and programs that are being carried on by church groups in different parts of the world. It is kind of anthology of practical programs in Christian rehabilitation of village life throughout the world. Mennonites will note with interest the brief discussion by Robert Unruh on the problems of colonization in Paraguay. The volume is delightfully illustrated and attractively written.

Bethel College

J. W. Fretz

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