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MENNONITE LIFE

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PHOTO CREDITS

Page 98, 101; Carl G. Karsch, *Presbyterian Life*: Page 104; National Institutes of Health: page 107, back cover; "The Hundred Guilder Print" by Rembrandt from Rembrandt Bible, Hugo Schmidt, Munich, 1921: page 117; United Nations: page 119, 120; Archives of the Mennonite Church.

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"The Good Samaritan" by Vincent Van Gogh, courtesy of Rijksmuseum Kroller-Mueller.

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IN THIS ISSUE

This issue is devoted primarily to the art of healing in the Christian context. A few decades ago, a Mennonite medical doctor in North America was almost as rare as a Mennonite lawyer. But now the medical profession is on the top of the list of professions chosen annually by the ever-increasing number of Mennonite college graduates. To name any single reason for this great change would likely result in our missing the point. Nevertheless, among the reasons would be the appeal that the medical and nursing professions offer, which is the unusual opportunity for Christian service. The ideal of service has been stressed in our churches and communities and is bearing fruit. A world in need calls for Christian service abroad and at home and offers more opportunities today than ever before. ¶ Is the idealism which inspires our young people today to go into voluntary Christian service to the utmost corners of the earth maintained at the home front in the various professions such as farming, industries, business, teaching, nursing, and in the medical service? This issue raises this question pertaining to the latter. ¶ The first three articles feature problems which a Mennonite physician faces in our day. The fourth and fifth present reports dealing with National Health Service in Britain, while the sixth raises some questions pertaining to mental health and the Mennonites, particularly in Canada. The list of Mennonite medical doctors who have graduated from Mennonite colleges in the U.S., illustrates the trend and the popularity of the medical profession among contemporary Mennonites. The article, "Clothing the Naked," by Alvin J. Miller is the third in a series and relates a chapter of early Mennonite service outreach. ¶ "Latest Mennonite Migrations" indicates that Mennonites are still on the move. In "Two Mennonite Pioneers," Elmer F. Suderman gives a review of how Christian Krehbiel and C. Henry Smith in their autobiographies described pioneer conditions of nearly one hundred years ago. ¶ Unusually rich is the belated appearance of "Mennonite Research in Progress," "Mennonite Bibliography, 1962," (otherwise published annually in the April issue) and the book reviews with particular emphasis on Anabaptism-Mennonitism.

The Physician in His Church

By Paul Erb

SIXTY YEARS AGO the Mennonites of America had few doctors, few hospitals, and only the beginning of nursing education. Now there are at least five hundred practicing medicine or preparing to do so. There are hundreds of Mennonite nurses. We have scores of hospitals and clinics in a dozen or more countries. We thank God for this new resource of the church, these persons and facilities which help the church to express compassion through the healing arts.

The Christian physician is an active participant in the life of the congregation. His intelligent and firm faith is a testimony to the compatibility of science and faith. His dynamic experience of salvation is evidence that Christianity supplies a felt need. He carries responsibility in the church program, not asking to be excused because of occasional calls. He and his family express the full brotherhood of the church, asserting or acting no status superiority. He is careful that above average income does not justify a standard of living that separates him from his brethren. He carries his full financial share of the church budget.

The Christian physician defends and illustrates Christian ethics in his profession. He tolerates no schizophrenia of a walk and a talk that do not match. Standing for integrity, he proves himself worthy of trust.

He is honest in his diagnosis and his treatment. It has been competently charged that "America is the most over-medicated, over-operated, and over-inoculated country in the world." The patient must remain a free man. His consent must be enlightened. The doctor is a teacher (*doctus*). He must first convince, then prescribe.

The physician is responsible for the adequacy of the drugs prescribed. Says the New York Academy of Medicine: "If anyone speaks out for improvement of clinical testing of new drugs, it will have to be the physicians. After all, testing is ultimately their responsibility." They must be satisfied regarding therapeutic efficacy, safety, and any significant untoward reactions. Members of a learned society must lead rather than follow.

There must be honest reporting to a patient regarding his condition. A professional lie is as black as any other.

The Christian physician will charge just fees. Life, not money, should motivate him. It is difficult to believe that the powerful American Medical Association lobby is free from selfish interest in opposing legislation on socialized medicine. Dr. Ratner of Loyola, says: "The medical profession has the obligation to see that every patient has the medical care he needs."

Medical advance rather than selfish interests should concern the Christian doctor.

The Christian physician makes his contribution to an understanding statement of position by his church. The church needs the insights of her medical men and women on such questions as planned parenthood. The professional man helps to protect his brethren from charlatans and quacks. He should be a critic of our literature and of our sermons, helping us to avoid inaccuracies of every sort.

The Christian physician is a servant of men. The large number of this group who have contributed or will contribute to the service program of the church is not an accident. Unselfish service is the ideal about which he rallies.

Every doctor should give some period of service to his church. He may have a career abroad, either as a missionary or as self-supported. He may be able to give at least a sabbatical year or a short period in relief work somewhere in the world. He will set up his practice where he is needed. He will use some of his means to help young men complete their training. There is danger of losing the early vision which motivated entering the profession.

The Christian must be a Christian in a disordered world. He must partake of the compassion of Christ. He must be a man who cares.

The Physician in the Community

By J. Winfield Fretz

THE PHYSICIAN AND his family are significant elements in the operation of a social system in modern communities. They are important because in the hectic American struggle for success, the physician stands near the top. On one such survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center in cooperation with the Federal Bureau of the Census and Ohio State University, the physicians in the popular mind ranked second to the Supreme Court justices which were at the very top.

The Status of the Physician

Why are physicians and public office holders rated at the very apex of the stratification scale? It is because they represent achievements which many want but few can attain. There is a limit to the number of people who can be court justices, senators, governors, mayors and physicians. In other words, there is a scarcity of supply. On the other hand, there is an almost unlimited demand for the services of these high ranking professional men. Since most of us live in smaller towns and cities where there are normally no national political personalities, the physician, in most American communities, stands at the top of the social pyramid. While the banker and the manufacturer may equal or exceed the doctor in annual earnings or property holdings, they do not equal him in social rank because the medical profession is buttressed by centuries of heritage as a noble profession. The banking and the manufacturing occupations, on the other hand, have a more questionable lineage. They are in the tradition of the once doubtful occupations of "money-changers," and "robber barons." We need to be reminded of the fact that commerce or trade has only in recent centuries become respectable as forms of economic enterprise in Protestant circles. Let us not forget that as Mennonites most of us are but a generation or two removed from the time when our own forefathers, like our contemporary Amish brethren, frowned on occupations other than agriculture or elemental handcrafts.

The physician is in an important social position in whatever community he may be practicing. In a large number of instances he is also among the community's

most wealthy men. The combined possessions of professional prestige and economic wealth result in a lofty social position, characterized as having social status. Prestige and material wealth in our society spells power. It spells power because, according to the definition of one philosopher "power is the ability to achieve purpose." Power is that situation which enables people to do what they want to do. In America, the combination of occupational prestige and money power spells "success."

Being on top of the pile socially and economically is not without its jeopardies. Bud Wilkinson, the highly successful Oklahoma University football coach, after winning conference championships and bowl games with monotonous regularity, once sagely remarked that: "It is harder to stay on top than to get on top." All of us learned this lesson as children playing the game "King of the Hill." Most of us were able to be "king" at one time or another but usually only for a moment. Few of us were skillful enough to ward off attacks on all sides and remain on top unmolested.

The Physician and Public Opinion

The public image of the doctor in the local community is partly a public relations problem. The physician and his patient, like the employer and his employee, are outwardly polite and pay civil respects to each other, but in reality there is considerable social distance between them. There is a mutual uneasiness that all is not well; that there are significant feelings about each other that are not expressed.

In this respect Reinhold Niebuhr relates a pertinent observation made while ministering to a church in the Detroit area. He had members in his church who were auto executives and those who were members of labor unions. He was impressed what highly motivated Christian men these fellows were as individuals. But he could never reconcile this with their contrasting behavior as members of their collective bodies. Here these same men seemed to approve instruments of coercion, intimidation, and even the use of violence against each other if it was considered necessary. This was one motivating factor that caused Niebuhr to write his classic book on the theme, *Moral Man in Immoral Society.* In this same sense many people see doctors as individuals in a different light than they see them as members of the American Medical Association. While the A.M.A. does not use violence it does use tactics vigorously criticized by the American public.

Already in 1936 Harold Titus, the author of a popular college textbook on ethics, in speaking of medical ethics, said:

While the medical profession has had a long and honorable history and today ranks high among the professions in public esteem, the profession has lost considerably in public estimation during recent decades. A partial explanation for this would appear to include the following: the attempt on the part of the profession to maintain the *status quo* of medical practice in the face of rapidly changing social and economic conditions; its failure to protect itself against the incompetent and the unscrupulous practitioner, who seems to be protected by the code; the extent to which medical ethics and hospital etiquette interfere with the interests of the patient. Some go so far as to assert that medicine is becoming a private business rather than a public service.[1]

Today criticisms of physicians and their professional association are no longer confined to textbooks in ethics. Recently a Bethel College senior wrote a paper on the subject, "The American Medical Profession: A Study of Power, Political Activity and Prosperity." Of the approximately 75 bibliographical references, many were sharply critical and some openly sarcastic. Note the following titles and the variety of periodicals which carried them:

"Ethical Standards of the Medical Profession," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Vol. 297 (January 1955).

"The Patient's Dilemma," *The Reporter,* XX (April 30. 1959).

"The Battle for Your Health Dollar," *Look*, 25 (April 11, 1961).

"The Politics of Medicine," *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 209 (October 1960).

"Doctor's and Politics," *American Journal of Sociology,* 66 (November 1960).

"Who Gets Paid What?" *Atlantic Monthly,* Vol. 201 (May 1958).

"Too Much Unnecessary Surgery," *U.S. News and World Report,* 34 (February 20, 1953).

"The M. D.'s Are off Their Pedestal," *Fortune,* Vol. 40 (February 1954).

"The A.M.A.'s Decsion to End Fight Against Closed Panel Health Plans," *Business Week* (June 20, 1959).

William Michelfelder's widely read *It's Cheaper to Die* provides evidence of the frame of mind of a segment of the American public toward the American Medical Association. The title of the last chapter is entitled, "Organized Medicine Under Fire." The first two paragraphs of this chapter read as follows:

These are grave times for organized medicine. Hospitals and drug manufacturers are learning the same painful lesson that millions of Americans feel that medical service has deteriorated into a business and the ideal of rendering care to sick humanity has become tainted with opportunism and commerce.

Many dedicated, selfless, and honorable physicians are worried by the growing hostility toward their profession. Beset on all sides—the Congressional (power) of the pharmaceutical industry and their relationship to that industry, the assault of comprehensive medical-care plans, the growing number of malpractice suits, the invasion of Blue Cross and Blue Shield territory by

privately owned insurance carriers, the antagonism of responsible leadership in labor and laymen-inspired investigations of medical practices—the ethical physician of 1960 finds himself with his back to the wall and does not know exactly how he was pushed there."[2]

The above is certainly not news to most doctors, however. It is a reminder of the seriousness of the problem we are discussing. Let us shift the focus of attention from the general American picture to a particular Mennonite community. Many of the criticisms of the medical profession in general apply locally as well.

Criticisms leveled against the American physicians are not leveled at the scientific aspects of their practice. Doctors are not under fire because of bad medical analyses or careless treatment of patients. The weight of criticism is directed at their economic activities and their ethical behavior.

One Mennonite public health nurse in Pennsylvania told me she was unable to get any doctors and only one dentist to contribute even as little as three hours a month to clinical examinations of public school children. She was dismayed at this lack of cooperation by medical men in her community to engage in a preventive program. Such professional disinterest reflects unfavorably on physicians and becomes the subject of critical P.T.A. discussion groups.

There is widespread resentment on the part of the public, and even of nurses, against the practice of doctors delegating such duties as giving injections, rebandaging injuries, and handling of routine office calls to nurses, then charging patients regular doctor's fees.

Another oft repeated criticism heard locally is the tendency of the doctors to charge those who are medically insured all that "the traffic will bear." A nurse recently cited two illustrations of what she considered excessive charges. One doctor charged $28 for an X-ray and two office calls. Another in the same hospital charged $32 for the same services. She said it was common practice for some doctors arbitrarily to charge extra whenever the patient had insurance to cover the charges. This suggests greed rather than professional concern for patient welfare.

The Public and the A.M.A.

A significant segment of the American public has not forgotten the past record of the American Medical Association with regard to progressive proposals for medical care. It is a matter of record that the association opposed workman's compensation, blood banks, compulsory vaccinations, the original social security act, hospital and surgical insurance, and various forms of cooperative group practices when they were first proposed. A widely publicized study by Yale graduate students charged the American Medical Association with 1) dragging its feet in supporting expansion of medical education at a time when all America including the association was decrying a shortage of doctors, 2) giving short shrift to minority opinion, 3) blocking virtually all plans for low cost medical care unless controlled by organized medicine, 4) over-emphasizing society membership as a prerequisite for hospital appointments, 5) excluding foreign refugee doctors from medical practice or treating them as professional "coolies."[3] The criticism of the medical profession is not confined to opponents of the profession alone but is found among doctors as well. Already in 1948 Richard Sherwood, a general practitioner from Niagara Falls, New York, wrote an article for *Human Events* entitled "Dooms Day for Doctors" in which he summarized trends in the medical profession. He said:

To a certain extent the doctors have brought socialized medicine upon themselves. Much publicized vacations, new Cadillacs, huge houses, social prominence, and country club membership have served to emphasize the commercial aspect of medical care. . . .[4]

He concluded the article:

The number of powerful organizations and agencies, trying to down the doctors and bring them under the government medicine yoke, is now overwhelming. The more the doctors oppose the idea, the more the public thinks they are trying to line their own pockets. President Truman will merely respond to powerful public demand if he tries to install state medicine immediately.[5]

Health, in western society, is looked upon like education, as a right to which everyone is entitled. It is thought of as something not only for those who can afford it but as a necessity to which all are entitled. The inability of some to have good medical care is considered a threat to all. This universally demanded commodity, in the eyes of the public, often seems to be treated by the medical profession as if it were a private monopoly.

The supply of physicians is limited, yet few serious efforts by the medical profession seem to have been made to raise adequate funds to enable capable but poor students to get a medical training. The A.M.A.'s existing student loan plan is a step in the right direction. One cannot help wondering why the A.M.A. is not as zealously raising money by assessing its members for this purpose as it is by assessing them for funds to fight public health care programs. If federal aid has been proposed to provide funds for needed medical school facilities, it has been opposed by the American Medical Association on grounds that either additional facilities are not needed or that this would be a step toward socialism.[6]

Spokesmen for the medical profession keep telling the American people how satisfactory the present arrangement of medical service is but the people are not persuaded. They insistently demand a more economical plan of securing medical care and want

it on a prepayment basis rather than in sudden large unpredictable doses. The majority of Americans are insurance conscious, security conscious, and amortized-payment conscious. They demand medical care on the same basis that they buy their appliances, cars, houses, insurance, and even stocks and bonds.

Public Health Compared to Public Education

Some time ago I found an article in the *Survey Graphic* which summarized popular arguments against public education in America a hundred years ago. These arguments sounded very familiar.

1) That public education would destroy existing private schools.
2) That it would place education in the hands of politicians.
3) That it would lower educational standards.
4) That some people should not be made to pay for other children's education if they had none of their own.
5) That the entire system would vastly increase the tax burden on citizens.

Yet as a member of a private school faculty, I am constantly impressed, a century later, with the fact that the public schools are setting the pattern for the private schools. I am also impressed with the fact that a great many people who are afraid of socialism in the field of medicine, the area of public utilities, and in large scale industry, seem to be unaware that public schools are a form of socialism. They send their children to public school all their lives and many get their education at state universities rather than at private schools. While I am not advocating an increased measure of socialism in America, I am not one who is afraid of public ownership as long as we have the fundamental forces of freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of the ballot, or saying it differently, so long as we have dynamic Christianity and a rigorous democracy.

Medicine, as a means to health, is not a private right or the exclusive domain of the medical frater-

nity. It belongs to the people. The people in a democracy will ultimately decide who will practice it, how it will be paid for and who will receive its benefits. Health is in a sense no different than any of a long list of other social services which were once private matters but which in the course of time became subject to public supervision. When such social services as health become the conscious desire and the need of everyone, they cease to be the private right of any individual or group.

Water, electricity, railroads, banks, highways, forests, mail service and parks are all public or semi-public services which were once strictly private affairs. As civilization and culture developed these desired services were brought more and more under social control. There was nothing sinister about it, yet as these services shifted from strictly private to public or semi-public they were vigorously resisted by those who held private control and just as strongly advocated by those who stood to benefit by the change. Yet no one today is seriously proposing that the public school system be abolished in favor of parochial schools; no one is advocating the substitution of toll roads for our public highway system; no one argues that we turn our state and national parks over to private commercial recreation companies or all our forests to private lumber companies; or the post office system to a private profit making enterprise. Even our public utilities which provide us heat, light, fuel, and local transportation will not likely again be returned to completely free enterprise to be operated primarily for private benefit.

Health today is one of these social commodities which, like education, is being considered by American citizens as everybody's just right. The American public generally does not care so much whether it is publicly or privately provided so long as health is provided for all at a nominal cost. Electricity, gas, water, and transportation and education are provided in many communities by either publicly or privately operated enterprises. In many areas one is public and in another the same service is provided privately. Neither method is uniformly superior. Both systems have advantages and disadvantages. Particular circumstances in each community dictate which method is preferable for that community.

So too with medical services. If private groups can and do organize and provide adequate services, well and good. If, however, another community wishes to provide such services publicly, why not? There should be no stigma and no halo placed on either method. A system is after all only a means to an end, and in most cases the end is more important than the means. Many doctors and medical associations become extremely defensive whenever groups of citizens wish to organize cooperatively to provide medical services becoming even more bitter when public medicare proposals are made.

Many intelligent citizens cannot follow the defensiveness of the doctor's logic. They grant that the proposals are contrary to tradition but so are numerous other contemporary practices. There is nothing unethical about social change. "New occasions teach new duties, time makes ancient good uncouth," may apply to medical codes and practices as well as to any other aspect of life.

Doctors and Christian Stewardship

Christian doctors do not object to discussing the question of Christian stewardship. Apart from normal human jealousies which tend to exist wherever there are great disparities of income and the achievement of material success, some questions can be raised about the economics of the medical practice.

The extreme defensiveness of the medical doctors of the existing fee system tends to throw suspicion on their motives for being in practice or on the other hand, casts aspersions upon those doctors who are paid a salary such as resident doctors engaged by public and private hospitals, medical missionaries, and college physicians. The inference is often made that salaried physicians are generally second-rate physicians.

Increasingly the public has come to think of the medical practice as a high class business rather than a service profession. There are many who charge openly that many young doctors enter the medical profession solely for monetary gain. The difference between a profession and a business is that a business is operated solely for profit, whereas a profession is the performance of a service in response to a need by specially trained experts, regardless of financial return.

In this sense teaching and preaching are on a more professional basis than is the medical profession. In these professions service is rendered almost totally without regard for monetary considerations. Students do not pay a fee for every interview a teacher gives them. No students stay away because they cannot afford to pay office fees. The tuition charged students is no higher for those with critical life problems and those difficult to educate.

The same is true of parishioners in congregations. The minister gives the people service not by a fee arrangement but in response to the calls that are made upon him for his services. While in Paraguay I ran across an interesting illustration of how the fee system operates when applied to the clergy. A certain Catholic church had one fee for a funeral service in connection with a mass, another for a service at times other than a regular mass, an additional charge if there was to be a parade half way around the church, and a double fee if the parade should completely circle the church. Such a fee system in a church seems ridiculous to us but it has logic in that costs are fixed in relation to personal interests and ability to pay.

Physicians and the A.M.A.

It would seem as appropriate to raise a question about the intense identification of most medical doctors with the American Medical Association, as it is to ask about church members identification with the U.A.W., the Teamsters Union, or the CIO-AFL. The public suspects that the motives of all these organizations are more concerned with advancing the welfare of their members than with the public welfare at large. The American public applauds those doctors who have the courage to challenge the A.M.A. policies when they are at variance with what seems to be public interest. Unfortunately there is little evidence that Christian doctors challenge A.M.A. practices. Are Christian physicians so closely identified with their professional association that they do not see, or do not dare to challenge questionable practices?

To take issue with A.M.A. would seem just as proper as for the church to take issue with organized labor about coercion or with the state about conscription, or with society's practices concerning divorce and alcohol.

Mennonite doctors are to be congratulated for organizing as a Christian professional group. The M.M.A. deserves congratulations for the service projects which it has understaken, such as the aid to the leprosy program in Paraguay, the scholarship fund for medical students, and the securing of equipment at mission and relief situations. It deserves congratulations most of all for its attempt to be sensitive to the Christian demands made upon the medical profession. It can become a tremendously powerful arm in the body of Christ. Dedicated doctors are a strong force for good in every community. They are urgently needed in all parts of the world. Their willingness to serve on an emergency basis for several years in underprivileged areas of the world is to be commended. With the marvelous world-wide relief service of the Mennonite Central Committee it may be that in the words of Mordecai to Esther, the Lord has brought the Mennonite Medical Association forth for such a time as this.

Footnotes

[1]Harold H. Titus, *Ethics for Today* (Chicago: American Book Company, 1947), pp. 313-314.

[2]William Michelfelder, *It's Cheaper To Die: Doctors, Drugs, and the A.M.A.* (New York: George Braziller, 1960), p. 177.

[3]"Yale vs. A.M.A.," *Newsweek*, Vol. 44 (Aug. 16, 1954).

[4]"Dooms Day for Doctors," *Human Events*, Vol. II, No. 50 (December 15, 1948).

[5]*Ibid.*

[6]Seymour E. Harris, "Prescription to Meet the Doctor Shortage," *New York Times Magazine* (May 14, 1950) and R. B. Robins, M.D., "Too Many Wrong Ideas About Doctors," *U.S. News and World Report*, 34 (April 13, 1953), p. 50.

NEWBORN LOVE

When newborn love springs softly in the heart,
how sweet it is!
O thus endowed I live, rich like a queen apart,
full of its bliss!

The tide of life mounts up on soaring wings,
inspired and free,
As deep within my heart love jubilantly sings
its rhapsody.

My soul with awed devotion hears its sound.
O let it thrill!
It is so wonderful to drink its joy newfound,
tenderly, shyly still.

1911-1921 Rixt/Westra

SHOO-FLY OR APPLE?

Elaine Sommers Rich

It's a lie to say
there'll be no pie
in the sky
by and by.
For the earth
we favor pie
and mirth
But
let us not deny
that the most glorious pie
is not yet cut.

Jesus preaching and healing. "The Hundred Guilder Print" by Rembrandt.

The Physician in His Profession

By Wilmer A. Harms

We could dwell at some length on discussing the attributes and qualifications of a Christian physician in our modern society. However, I feel that there is no one here who would want to shy away from being one; in fact, our presence here at this conference gives meaning to our conviction of the tremendous need for Christian physicians in our world today. Paradoxically it would be dishonest to say that any group, or collective groups, of Christian physicians could seize the initiative in the practice of medicine at this time. It is almost utopian for us to consider any possibility of our influencing the policies of the American Medical Association. Yet somewhere there must be the leaven that can cause the bread of Christian influence to rise. We must be more keenly aware that medicine as it is practiced by Christian physicians is not only distinctive but also extremely desirable.

To Go All the Way With Christ

The "all or none" attitude has some very definite implications for us at this point. There is no room or place for ambivalent feelings and actions which would dare to masquerade under the name of a Christian physician. Either we are willing "to deny ourselves" and go all the way with Christ, or else have no part of him. To harmonize our hearts, minds, and wills with that of Christ requires not mere wishing, but great effort and complete surrender of ourselves and our talents.

To bring our problem for discussion into a better perspective I would like us to take a look at a few aspects of Christian ethics which must be dealt with by a Christian physician in his professional relationships. Before going any further I should make clear that the Christian ideals and ethical relationships are no different for a Christian physician then they would be for a Christian politician or businessman. We all have the exhortation "to make our calling and election sure" lest we offend our weaker brother and cause him to stumble.

In the first place, I would like to suggest that our professional contacts with our colleagues must be "goal-directed." There must be a burden and a heart-felt concern on our part for the manifestation of God, be this toward an individual or a group. Our witness must have purpose in order to be effective.

We are all acquainted with colleagues who work hard to achieve financial status. Others will work diligently to attain socio-political prestige—they clamor to be men "in high places." Now, there is no real argument that either goal is not noble, but we must question the means used to arrive at this goal. Such means do not lay up treasures which thieves cannot steal or moths cannot corrupt.

The Christian Physician Image

The term "Doctor Image" has become rather familiar to us in recent years, both to the profession as well as to the lay public, with the help of the press and other media of information. I would like to propose that we give this concept a different connotation which would be more appealing and challenging if we could present the "Christian Physician Image." I am sure this would be desirable for the general public. Within the profession this would help to discourage the indulgence of telling shady anecdotes and the use of profanity and thereby promote a greater respect for Christian morals and ideals. In working toward such a goal we must be on guard constantly to portray Christian character.

In the second place I am concerned that a Christian physician stick to that which is right even at the expense of being unpopular or in the minority. As Christians we should and must hold before ourselves high ideals and beliefs. We must be fortified with scriptural injunctions and divine wisdom in order to make proper and rightful decisions. This is obviously more applicable for those who serve in places of leadership and responsible positions. I am very much afraid that too often when we are faced with certain decisions we are unable to resist leaning over backwards to do what is comfortable and easy rather than what is Christian. We tend to compromise a Christian and ethical principle in order to avoid prejudice.

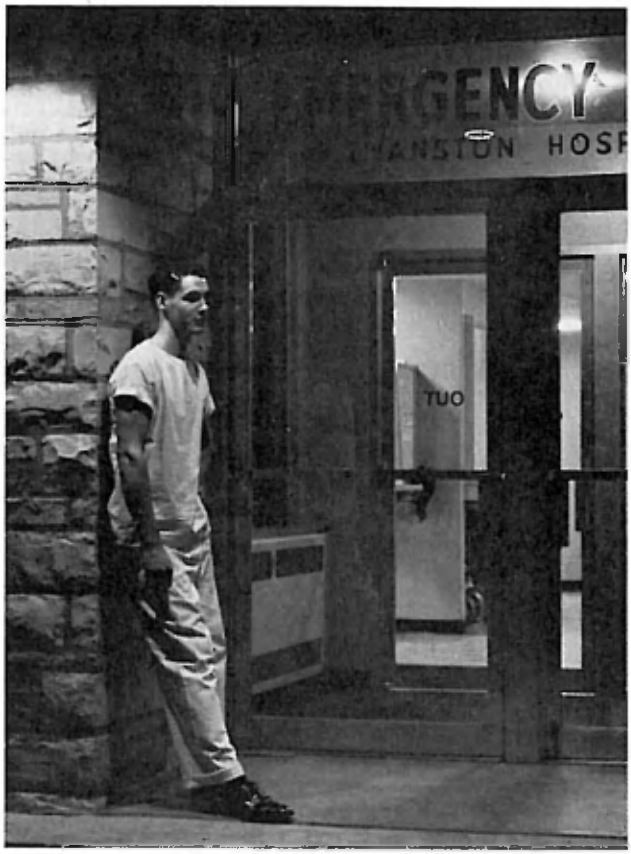
All of us are familiar with problems of interpersonal relationships or dissenting opinions which may have come up among members of a clinic or an associated group, perhaps even more so among members of hospital medical staffs. Doctors are human and must contend with occasional ill feeling. We become incensed at relatively minor incidents; we feel free to express strong feelings of consternation in criticism of our colleagues who engage in practices which are held inviolate of our professional code of ethics and the Hippocratic oath. To be more specific, I can recall occasions at our hospital where we have questioned staff privileges and competence. Criticism has been directed at some members in their care of some patients. Personal affairs in private life have become matters of staff concern. Obviously it behooves Christian physicians not to engage in remarks and feelings that portray injustice and unethical conduct.

The Bible and Prayer

I mentioned earlier that one must be fortified with scriptural injunctions when faced with decisions. To me this has had significant application as I considered the various factors involved and how one might properly deal with problems. I thought of the woman who was brought to Jesus on one occasion by the Pharisees with the accusation that she had been caught in the act of adultery. All of you are acquainted with the astounding answer given to the scribes and Pharisees by the Master, "Let him who is without sin among you cast the first stone" (John 8:7).

Admittedly the application of Christ's teachings are not always this specific; however, it has been a challenge to me during my tenure of staff responsibility to use Scripture as a guidepost in dealing with situational problems which have faced me in my position. A compromise is not difficult to avoid when the problem is either black or white; the real problems of Christian ethics are those dealing in shades of gray.

There is another principle involved in Christian ethics which is of little value to the non-Christian and that is prayer. Pray about your problems. I am sure that here is an avenue to problem-solving we do not use often enough. Now prayer is not a substitute for hard work or an escape mechanism, but it is both a practical help and a scriptural



admonition directing us to reach the right decisions. Prayer will not always bring answers out of the "clear blue sky." However through prayer and meditation you will re-examine the basis on which you are acting; and once you take God into the picture He will not let you feel helpless even though the answer may not be clear. Once your course of action or solution to your problem is clear do not hesitate to do what is plain to you even though it may be unpopular. Keep things in a proper balance. This will relieve you of concern about things which should not concern you and give you a greater interest in problems which should.

Professional Meetings

An area of prime concern for us in our professional relationships is that of medical society meetings. This concern is perhaps greatest on the local and county levels where you meet colleagues with whom you may also be acquainted on a non-professional basis. Here again as Christian physicians we must be on guard against indulging in light-hearted talk. I am also equally concerned about the social hour with its drinks and cocktails. I believe that it is clear to all of us that any participation on our part destroys our testimony.

And now in summary I want to urge you to make application of the Apostle Peter's example who, when he met the beggar at the gate of the temple, said, "Such as I have give I unto thee." Be yourself, do not attempt to pattern your motives and actions after anyone else but those of our Lord Jesus. Be a faithful steward of character, convictions, and principles. Dare to be humble; at times this may tend to embarrass us because it impresses on us just how far we have allowed our pride to lead us. Humility does not mean an admission of error that is not felt, nor a weak compromise. Simply stated, it does mean understanding and kindness. It comes with real difficulty, but nothing could possibly be more rewarding. Places of need and areas of service are not only out in foreign mission fields; they may be at your doorstep.

I am certain that we can do much to enhance our witness in our professional relationships by going about our practice in a quiet and unobtrusive manner which clearly reflects conscientious and faithful stewardship of that which we believe to be right in our hearts. Be a Rock of Gibraltar that stands for sincerity and integrity always, both to your patients and your colleagues. As you make your rounds in the hospital, splash about some of the warmth and goodness of your human spirit. Help weave into the fabric of other lives some of the goodness and faithfulness which God has entrusted to you. Such a life may be your patient, the nurse at the desk or making rounds with you, your consultant, or the doctor who scrubs with you at the operating table. Oftentimes it is not what you say but your manner which may plant the seed that falls into the hearts of those about you.

National Health Service in Britain

A Review by J. Lloyd Spaulding

Almont Lindsey, *Socialized Medicine in England and Wales,* The National Health Service 1948-1961 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962).

Harry Eckstein, *The English Health Service: Its Origins, Structure and Achievements* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).

Paul F. Gemmill, *Britain's Search for Health* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960).

Socialized Medicine

The three studies which are within the scope of this review attempt to interpret the experience of the British in modifying their institutional arrangements in providing health service to British citizens in a most comprehensive fashion. These efforts are the most significant made by American social scientists which have come to the attention of this writer. Apart from being American social investigators, the background of the authors differs widely. Almont Lindsey is an historian of the University of North Carolina. Harry Eckstein is a political scientist of Harvard University. Paul F. Gemmill is an economist, now retired, but long associated with the University of Pennsylvania.

Because of the fact that Lindsey's book is the most comprehensive of the three, most of this review will center on his study and the other two will be used principally to frame points of agreement or difference in conclusions or methods of approach.

The National Health Service represents socialized medicine in a literal sense. The direct economic barrier between the patient and the technology of health which the community possesses has been almost completely removed. Most physicians and other technicians serving in health areas have become civil servants paid by the government from public funds. The hospitals are likewise public institutions. The Service was inaugurated by the Labor Party in its post World War II term of office. Yet the proposal was not a partisan measure and has received consistent support of the Conservative Party, both in its inception and implementation.

The National Health Service, as undertaken in 1948, was the outcome of a search to better meet health needs, which had been underway for decades. Almost forty years' experience with a plan of general practitioner care for wage earners in laboring class families, but not their family members, had been a part of British social security. From this experience was derived the "capitation" plan of remunerating general practitioners, a device in making the system acceptable to the doctors in general practice. (The capitation fee is an annual per capita payment to the general practitioner on the basis of the number of persons on his list whom he has agreed to accept as patients. The fee becomes smaller after a certain point is reached to limit the economic incentive for expansion.)

Other common experience contributing to the plan can be seen in the demonstrated inadequacy of certain private insurance plans, particularly for middle-class families, the proven incapacity of private charity, and very importantly the collective experience of World War II in the field of civilian and military medicine. The observer finds, then, institutions evolving, building on past experience to meet new needs, and not an environment of experimentation without precedents —drastic as some departures from past practice may have seemed to some. Yet the change was not ac-

complished without periods of genuine controversy and tension between the government and the technical people involved in the transition, while matters of honest concern and disagreement were threshed out.

Background

In its present form the Health Service must be understood as comprising three major administrative units, each of which is directly responsible to the Minister of Health, and through him to Parliament. This structure represents an effort to achieve a balance between local autonomy and centralized control. This structure rests on prototypes found in the previous stage of health institutions in England.

The regional hospital boards. This agency administers the program of hospital services which includes the services of specialist physicians and the medical schools as well as the function of routine hospital care and laboratory service. Medical schools were given separate administrative relationships in the regional structure.

County and county borough councils. These groups administer the local health authority which includes recognized public health functions of vaccination and immunization, maternity and child welfare clinics, health visiting and home nursing services, as well as ambulance service and domestic help service.

The executive councils. Within their areas of jurisdiction are found the general practitioner service, the dental service, the supplementary opthalmic service, the pharmaceutical service. The anticipated Health Centers, which did not materialize, were also included under this administrative category.

Why National Health Service?

What were the needs which justified the establishment of the National Health Service? The following interpretation may be suggested with no intention of being exhaustive.

1. War experience had produced a desire to change the old system. War is a great collectivizer and if needs can be met collectively in wartime, why revert to an unsatisfactory previous condition?

2. Discontent with the level of health services existed, as the central government through Social Security measures had only partially met the health needs of the lower groups. Middle-class families in many respects ran the greatest economic risks from health hazards.

3. The cost of hospital and specialist care had reached the point at which it was beyond the means of a large proportion of the population. In part this condition reflected the ever present technological revolution in medicine itself. Indeed adequate medical care was judged to be beyond the reach of 80 per cent of the families in Great Britain.

4. The physical facilities of the hospitals themselves in the post World War II years stood in no likelihood of rehabilitation from private philanthropy or from local taxing authorities or from fees charged patients.

5. Distribution of medical services, particularly general practitioners and hospital services, was uneven throughout the country.

The Cost

In a briefest possible treatment, we find the cost of the National Health Service rose from $1,125 million in 1949-50 to $2,033 million in 1959-60. This monetary increase, however, is attributable to inflation rather than inefficiency of the system on one hand, or the trend in devoting a larger part of the resources of the community to health care. The year 1949-50 saw 3.96 per cent of gross national product devoted to health care. In 1959-60 a corresponding figure was 3.60 per cent of a larger gross national product. In no year has this proportion risen above 3.96 per cent and it had fallen as low as 3.49 per cent in 1958-59. Administrators have been alert to rising costs, partly because highly inaccurate original estimates of need plagued the system in the early days, partly because costs of certain necessary services have risen, and lastly because the total economic position of the country has been precarious in the extreme trying to meet needs of replacing capital equipment destroyed by war, rehabilitating a lost export trade and assuming a share of the expense of the Cold War.

In 1959-60 the per capita cost of the service amounted to $45 per person. About 72 per cent of this amount was appropriated to the service from general tax revenues. The balance was raised through local taxes, diversions from Social Security funds, and payments of persons using the service. In very round terms this outlay represented a little less than half the expenditure of the British government on their defense establishment. The health expenditure constituted about 15 per cent of the expenditure of the central government in fiscal 1960.

The Results

Now for some sweeping generalizations about the experience which may, of necessity, bear qualification at some points. The system has not resulted in impairment of the doctor-patient relationship. Doctors treat patients. Patients choose their doctor. The doctor can reject a patient. The general practitioners have not become salaried employees of the National Health Service through the device of capitation fee and other methods of remuneration. Physicians have maintained high levels of income commensurate with the role of persons of training and ability. Their present relative income position, with few exceptions, is better than the position they enjoyed in the late

1930's. No dearth of applicants for medical careers exist. Because of more widely available scholarship aids certain qualified persons may find opportunities in medicine more easily attainable than in the past. No evidence exists that the quality of applicant has deteriorated.

A gradual alleviation of condition of "overdoctored areas" compared to "underdoctored areas" has been attained. A great stimulus to the creation of partnerships or various kinds of group practice has been produced. The economic burden upon the young doctor entering medical practice has been lightened. No widespread abuse of the system has occurred to impair its effectiveness. A charging of fees in partial payment for prescriptions and other devices was instituted to deter such tendencies at critical points. There has been no effort on the part of the state to intrude upon the clinical phases of medical practice. The medical profession has, in the large, been influential in guiding policy and procedure in the evolving system.

Obviously, not enough time has lapsed to tell whether these institutional arrangements will be associated with a decline in the level of medical care, research, and creativity in the field of medicine. Few evidences of the beginning of a trend in either direction could be cited.

Negative Factors

The tripartite administrative arrangement which was established has proved to be cumbersome and difficult to coordinate on the local community level. While improvement has occurred, such may be an inevitable concomitant of bureaucratic endeavor. Eckstein feels that this problem might have been minimized.

The lack of a suitable technique for negotiating equitable schedules of remuneration for physicians as inflation raised prices during the 1950's produced a major difficulty. Schedules of remuneration will now be subject to review by a special committee established for that purpose by Parliament. A political decision will contribute to any pattern of remuneration rather than a pattern determined solely by market forces. Whether the method of negotiation proposed will prove satisfactory remains to be seen.

A maior lag in capital improvement in hospitals exists. The anticipated expansion of these facilities has not taken place. The establishment of a nationwide system of Health Centers which was a part of the original National Health Service proposal, has not been undertaken. (The Health Center was envisaged as a building designed to house in one place all of the technical services in a community related to the maintenance of health. Experimental Health Centers have been erected primarily in certain new urban developments but the future of this idea is uncertain.) However, recent appropriations from Parliament have begun to meet the need for more and improved hospital facilities.

Freedom on the part of physicians to sell a practice in one part of the country as retirement approaches and buy another in a more congenial climate has been eliminated.

Evaluations

While admitting considerable positive achievement by the National Health Service, Harry Eckstein feels that, at least at the time of his study, the result obtained had been to make a health service of a given caliber more widely distributed than otherwise. Because this result fell short of the more ideally delineated goals of the National Health Service, he would not judge the experiment an unqualified success. Certainly objection cannot be raised to his holding of the system accountable for its claims.

Such deficiencies as the failure to replace capital investiment in hospitals, presaging as they might, similar decisions to starve other portions of the service, pleading the gravity of the overall economic circumstances of the country, cannot be viewed with complacency in Eckstein's judgment.

Almont Lindsey would offer other additional explanations for the abandonment of Health Centers than the shortage of capital funds alone. Doubtless a complex of forces were operative including the reluctance to uproot the routines of neighborhood medical practices by removing offices to the Health Center.

Lindsey concludes "The physician is far more effective clinically because he can minister to all patients irrespective of their economic status, and he can give them whatever treatment is required. No longer does he ask himself, as he once did, whether a patient can afford to go to the hospital or purchase very expensive but vital drugs. No longer does he hesitate to visit a patient for fear his visit may be interpreted as an excuse to collect an additional fee. Under the Health Service, need determines treatment and there is no means test."

On the other hand, Eckstein suggests that he was unable to discover that the economic barrier had ever been a significant impediment to a patient's obtaining whatever kind of medical care was avaliable under the old system and that physicians now likely serve their patients with equal concern and effectiveness.

Paul E. Gemmill's study summarizes the results of a questionnaire which he circulated among physicians and citizens in various communities in England as to their likes and dislikes about the National Health Service. He supplemented his survey questionnaire with personal interviews of a wide scope, visiting with physicians and even with patients in their waiting rooms. His survey presents a brief and concise insight into these relationships after the plan had been underway for about a decade. His book might serve

as an introduction to the Health Service for many American readers who would not wish to look into the more comprehensive work of Lindsey or Eckstein.

From a study of these books I have been impressed by two additional factors. The first of these, pointed out by Lindsey, is the willingness of many lay persons and technical people to serve voluntarily in the intricate committee structure which guides the branches of the Health Service at the various levels of functioning. The flowering of this response when it was feared that the Service would diminish volunteer effort is noteworthy. A second factor, which is overwhelming to a social scientist, is the wealth of social investigation which has gone into establishing the need for the National Health Service and, more importantly, into checking on its progress during its initial phases of operation. Certainly the Service could ill afford to lose these two attributes contributing to its strength.

If the above accounts do not represent a reasonably adequate interpretation of British experience, a genuine service would be rendered by further studies designed to correct any errors of fact or interpretation which these studies convey. Wisdom probably also dictates the perception that these institutions are products of unique British experience—hence as Eckstein suggests "not for export." But accurate knowledge about them is as fully imperative as accurate knowledge of cell structure, for example, if either scientific or social purposes are to be served.

Medical Services in Britain

By Walter Klaassen

THERE IS A great deal of controversy about medical services these days, especially where any attempt is made to provide free services for certain age groups or, more radically, to bring medical services under general welfare provisions through a governmental office. The following paragraphs are a short account of personal experiences under socialized medicine in Britain. Since it records the experiences of two people who did not require medical services at every level, the account is necessarily incomplete in the sense of presenting a total picture.

When my wife and I came to Britain in September, 1957, we automatically became beneficiaries under the national health service. We made inquiry as to our relationship to this service and were advised to go to the local office of the Health Service where we were told that we would have to choose a doctor. We asked the girl in charge to recommend someone to us, but she refused to do this with the explanation that she was not at liberty to advise us on this in order to avoid favoritism. After we had chosen a physician upon the advice of friends we returned to the Health Service office and received our medical cards. Whenever we needed medical aid we went to our doctor, presented our cards, and received the attention we needed.

We ascertained the "surgery" (office) hours of the physician of our choice, and thereafter, when in need of medical advice, we simply went to his office at those hours. Appointments were not necessary and no more waiting was involved than is a normal part of a medical appointment in Canada or the U.S.

The service of our physician was invariably careful, unhurried, and professional in the best sense of the term. It compared favorably with any service received in three Canadian provinces (Saskatchewan, Alberta, Ontario) and in the state of Kansas. In our experience the personal element, confidence on the part of the patient, and of responsibility and concern on the part of the physician, was as integral to doctor-patient relationship in Britain as in Canada and the United States.

Dental care, which is also under the health service, was of the same high quality in my experience. In the spring of 1959 I had five consecutive appointments with a local dentist of my own choice. I have no reason for complaint at any point, for the work he did was excellent, again equal to any I have had done elsewhere.

Apart from personal experience in the city of Oxford my wife and I were able to observe the functioning of the health service in the home of my wife's sister in Ashford, Kent. Their youngest child contracted a particularly virulent form of whooping cough along with serious bronchial complications at the age of four weeks. The family physician called at the house every day for weeks although he had referred the case to a specialist who also made frequent house calls since the child could not be moved. This expenditure of time gave evidence of deep human concern which had not been eliminated from the doctor-patient relationship by the economic aspects of the health service.

These, then, were our experiences. Neither of us were hospitalized during our stay there so that I cannot speak to that aspect of the health service. As people who had no particular ax to grind, we found British medical service as completely adequate to our needs as that in Canada and the United States.

Mental Health and the Mennonites

By Irmgard Thiessen

Our topic is to raise the question: Do Mennonites differ from the general population in regard to mental health problems and if so in what sense? The following discussion is mainly based on clinical-psychological experiences in Manitoba, Canada, and does not intend to generalize or to draw any conclusion in regard to the characteristics of the U.S.A. or even European Mennonites, as I believe there is a difference in the psychological sense.

It is well known that displaced persons and some members of minority groups experience severe personality problems as they attempt to adapt themselves to a different social structure in a community. Sociologists have accumulated evidence that the adjustment of immigrants involves group and value conflicts, which, particularly in the second generation, are associated with a high rate of juvenile delinquency, crime, divorce, desertion and other forms of personal pathology.

A study of the mental health of the Hutterites by Joseph W. Eaton and Robert J. Weil supports the findings that religious conditions are likely to be important factors in the manifestation of mental disorder. If this is so, we should find differences in the frequency and character of psychopathological symptoms on the basis of religious convictions among Mennonites. Experienced psychiatrists who have been treating Mennonites in mental hospitals talk about the "Mennonite psychosis." They believe that the focal problem of a mentally sick Mennonite is related to strong guilt feelings, hostility, ambivalence towards the parental and religious values, a need to blame themselves for not being a good Christian in the sense of their church community. My experiences as a clinical psychologist in Manitoba can support the above observations. My impression is that assimilation outside their own church group causes severe conflicts especially in the young Mennonite patients. Pseudo-religious principles of their church community foster an emotional turmoil. The more intelligent young Mennonite patients realize and verbalize that they sense a logical contradiction in regard to the social rules of their own community and non-Mennonite groups. With pseudo-religious principles, I am referring to certain restrictions set by some Mennonite groups, e.g. smoking, dancing, watching T.V., visiting theatres, drinking of alcoholic beverages.

Some of these mental health problems seem to be related to the following:

If in the Mennonite culture the thinking and values of life are not consistent with the facts of life then the former values and way of thinking may break down. New values have to be established and old values have to be changed. This demands a reassessment of basic values regarding the facts of life and also self-understanding. If a review of the ideals of living and understanding does not take place successfully, the result is conflict, possible thought disorders, behavior problems or depression.

If one studies the four hundred years of history of the Mennonites it is found that they seem to object to influences of other cultures, and even among themselves they become easily disturbed if new ideas infiltrate their life principles. Their usual reaction to the threatened infiltration of outside influences was separation from their own group if it followed the way of accommodation and in founding a new Mennonite community or in departing as a group from the country which threatened their moral principles and values. Their adjustment to the culture of a country in which they live is restricted by their religious principles.

Further, their self-identification is ambivalent. A Mennonite seeks his identification by following the strict rules of the church community and church leaders thus showing a strong dependency and insecurity regarding a personal decision in case it contradicts the church principles. This individual has to defend his principles and consequently withdraws from the "sinful world" but yet feels sub-consciously that it cannot be that all the others are sinners, which causes tension, ambivalence and guilt feelings or a possible mental disorder.

The Mennonites who decide not to follow the demands of their church leaders by communicating with other ethnic groups and following the social life of the

dominant culture, seem to feel guilty about their disloyalty. Their defense mechanism is one of suspicion and intolerance. But if these individuals can find a suitable self-identification and new values and if they have enough ego strength they might adjust satisfactorily.

To support these observations by objective evidence I recently started a psychological study with a group of "normal" people. This research seeks to establish possible differences between Mennonites and non-Mennonites in regard to certain concepts and reactions. It is assumed that if mentally sick Mennonites show a specific reaction pattern that this might be traced in a normal individual. Unfortunately, not enough Mennonite institutions felt interested in such a study and consequently the planned project may be delayed for quite a while. However, it is to be hoped that for the benefit of all, a positive attitude to scientific research might be adapted by all Mennonite groups whose participation could help in the realization of more effective means of the treatment of the mentally ill.

MENNONITE MEDICAL DOCTORS

Graduates of Four-year Mennonite Colleges

BETHEL COLLEGE

Compiled by Robert Schmidt

Name	*B.A. Degree*	*M.D.*	*Medical School*
Paul W. Andreas	1951	1957	U. of Mexico City
Leroy Andrees	1951	1958	Kansas University
Peter Barg	1940	1944	McGill Univ., Montreal
Paul G. Becker	1943	1946	Kansas University
Roland P. Brown	1947	1951	Chicago Univ. School of Medicine
Albert E. Bair	1940	1944	Kansas University
John Arthur Bertsche	1958	1962	Univ. of Ill. Col. of. Medicine
Milton A. Claassen	1954	1958	Kansas University
H. E. Dester	1923	1926	Univ. of Ind. School of Medicine
Joseph Duerksen	1950	1954	Kansas University
Walter Peter Dyck	1957	1961	Kansas University
Carl Ebersole	1949	1952	Univ. of Chicago Sch. of Medicine
O. J. Friesen	1951	1956	Kansas University
Emil Goering	1951	1957	Kansas University
Donald Goering	1952	1956	Kansas University
Ralph Goering	1951	1958	Univ. of Puerto Rico
Robert Goering	1948	1956	Univ. of Mexico City
Leo Goertz	1948	1952	Kansas University
Philip M. Goering	1948	1951	Kansas University
Marden C. Habegger	1938	1943	Northwestern Univ.
Donald S. Harder	1953	1957	Univ. of Minnesota
Edwin M. Harms	1930	1934	Univ. of Oklahoma
Frank L. Harms	1939	1939	Univ. of Oklahoma
G. Lester Harms	1952	1956	Kansas University
Harold H. Harms	1939	1941	Univ. of Oklahoma
Paul G. Haury (dec.)	1923		Northwestern Univ.
Victor G. Haury (dec.)	1923		Northwestern Univ.
Arnold G. Isaac	1916	1922	Rush Med. College
Herman Jantzen	1923	1935	Kansas University
Charles Kauffman	1956	1961	(deceased)
Eugene Kaufman	1952	1956	Kansas University
Leland Kaufman	1957	1961	Kansas University
Willard Kaufman	1949	1953	Kansas University
Peter W. Klassen	1949	1954	Univ. of Toronto
William Klassen	1949	1954	Univ. of Toronto
Roland Krause	1950	1953	Kansas University
Varden Loganbill	1950	1954	Kansas University
A. M. Lohrentz (dec.)	1916	1920	Wash. Univ., St. Louis
Lois (Enns) Lohrentz	1947	1952	Kansas University
Harold Neufeld	1950	1954	Kansas University
David S. Pankratz	1923	1938	Univ. of Chicago
Virgil Peters	1958	1962	Kansas University
D. V. Preheim	1937	1942	Univ. of Colorado
A. K. Ratzlaff	1928	1933	Kansas University
Roland Ratzlaff	1954	1958	Tulane University
Eldon Rich	1938	1946	Kansas University
John R. Scott	1943	1946	Kansas University
Herbert Schmidt	1927	1934	Kansas University
Samuel J. Schmidt	1948	1952	Kansas University
Fredric Schroeder	1952	1955	Univ. of Chicago
Richard Siemens	1951	1959	Kansas University
Dean E. Stucky	1956	1960	Kansas University
Roland D. Stucky	1945	1948	Kansas University
Howard Stutzman	1958	1962	Kansas University
John W. Warkentin	1935	1942	Northwestern Univ.
Kenneth D. Wedel	1956	1960	Kansas University
Kermit G. Wedel	1956	1960	Kansas University
J. Wendell Wiens	1955	1959	Kansas University
Arlen Winsky	1959	1963	Kansas University
Vernon Eli Yoder	1957	1961	Univ. of Texas

EASTERN MENNONITE COLLEGE

Compiled by Emanuel Martin

Name	B.A. Degree
Lester Beachy	1957
George Brenneman	1957
James Brubaker	1956
James Brunk	1950
S. Frederick Brunk	1955
Robert Collins	1949
D. Rohrer Eshleman	1945
J. Lester Eshleman	1945
David Harnish	1955
John Paul Heatwole	1948
David R. Herr	1954
Harold Housman	1949
George Hostetler	1955
David Kauffman	1950
Arthur J. Kennel	1953
Mark Kniss	1944
Leroy Lapp	1956
Ivan Magal	1948
Donald Martin	1952
David R. Miller	1957
Ruth Peachey	1950
Clarence H. Rutt, Jr.	1953
Dorcas Stoltzfus	1956
Virgil D. Stoltzfus	1954
Paul T. Yoder	1950

BLUFFTON COLLEGE

Submitted by Delbert Grätz

Name	B.A. Degree	Medical School
Harvey Bauman	1919	Jefferson Medical College
Mrs. Ella (Graber) Bauman	1919	Women's Medical College
John Bauman	1954	Western Reserve University
Dennis L. Epp	1950	Northwestern Univ. Med. Sch.
Daniel Donovan Hostetler	1955	Western Reserve Med. School
Otto D. Klassen	1949	Menninger School of Med.
Russell L. Oyer	1942	Univ. of Ill. Col. of Medicine

Name	B.A. Degree	M.D.	Medical School
Merle H. Schwartz	1933		Univ. of Ill. Col. of Medicine
Howard M. Shelly	1950		Univ. of Ill. Col. of Medicine
Walter M. Shelly	1955		Jefferson Medical College
Elizabeth (Bauman) Shelly	1954		University of Pennsylvania
Stanley Stauffer	1949		Jefferson Medical College
John C. Stutzman	1950		Univ. of Ill. Col. of Medicine
Robert L. Stutzman	1952		Univ. of Ill. Col. of Medicine
Arthur D. Thiessen	1947		Univ. of Ill. Col. of Medicine

GOSHEN COLLEGE

Submitted by Melvin Gingerich

Name	B.A. Degree
H. Clair Amstutz	1933
David Bachman	1958
Edwin Beachey	1959
John M. Bender	1953
Warren Bontrager	1953
Stanley Boyer	1958
Fred Brenneman	1933
Paul Brenneman	1944
Samuel J. Bucher	1939
John J. Byler	1958
Pete Classen	1951
James R. Delp	1955
Clayton Diener	1950
Robert Ebersole	1948
Lawrence S. Eby	1957
S. George Ens	1950
C. D. Esch (dec.)	1920
D. Rohrer Eshleman	1945
J. Lester Eshleman	1945
Melvin Ira Glick	1940
A. Meryl Grasse	1944
Kenneth Heatwole	1946
Robert B. Hess	1943
Esther Hodel	1925
Paul Hodel	1957
Paul E. Hooley	1949
Joe Royal Hoover	1955
George W. Horst	1951
Daniel D. Hostetler	1921
Carl M. Hostetler	1933
S. Lloyd Johnson (dec.)	1914
Wilhelm Kaethler	1950
Clifford L. Kauffman	1957
Benjamin E. Kenagy	1951
Willard Krabill	1949
Friedrich Krause	1953
Earl Leinbach	1946
Aaron M. Longacre	1957
Norman Loux	1943
George D. Maniaci	1949
Dean Mann	1956
Lester Levon Mann	1958
George Mark	1952
Floyd S. Martin	1929
Truman E. Mast	1957
Albert Raymond Miller	1945
Donald G. Miller	1950
Galen R. Miller	1943
Gerald L. Miller	1959
Glen E. Miller	1957
James A. Miller	1956
Kenneth Devon Miller	1954
Ezra G. Nafziger	1944
Myrl A. Nafziger	1950
Charles Neff	1938
Roger Newmann	1948
Robert Nyce	1950
Jacob B. Redekop	1956
Floyd Rheinheimer	1949
Paul E. Roth	1953
Wilmer Rutt	1956
Walter E. Schlabach	1944
Ernest E. Smucker	1941
James H. Steiner	1953
Samuel L. Stover	1952
Frederick Swartzendruber	1944
G. Weldon Troyer	1953
Marlin Lee Troyer	1956
Merle Allen Vogt	1951
Floyd E. Weaver	1954
Donald Gene Wyse	1957
Carl J. Yoder	1957
Jonathan G. Yoder	1927
Richard J. Yoder	1945
Richard P. Yoder	1939
John W. Zimmerly	1956

TABOR COLLEGE

Compiled by S. S. Loewen

Name	B.A. Degree		Medical School
Ferdinand G. Bartel (deceased)	1920	1924	University of Kansas
Jacob Nick Esau	1925	1932	Rush Medical College
Bennie Faul	1954	1960	Tulane University

Name	*B.A. Degree*	*M.D.*	*Medical School*
John Charles Faul	1955	1959	University of Kansas
Herbert A. Friesen	1951	1956	University of Kansas
Howard Lee Friesen	1957	1963	University of Kansas
Jake Friesen	1944	1950	University of Kansas
Menno S. Gaede	1925	1928	University of Kansas
Marjorie J. Gerbrandt	1957	1961	University of Kansas
Archie Ruben Heide	1955	1959	University of Toronto
Abe E. Hiebert	1922	1925	Washington University, St. Louis
Dan H. Hiebert	1914	1919	Boston University
Joelle E. Hiebert (dec.)	1918	1923	Boston University
J. Mark Hiebert	1931	1932	Boston University
Peter E. Hiebert	1928	1934	University of Kansas
Vernon LeRoy Kliewer	1953	1957	Northwestern Univ.
Francis N. Lohrenz	1946		Vanderbilt University
Andrew Nachtigall	1951	1959	University of Kansas
John Kearney Regehr	1917	1924	Illinois Medical School
Raymond R. Schale	1958	1962	Baylor University
Ludwig J. Seibel (dec.)	1919	1932	University of Kansas
Vernon W. Vogt	1948	1953	University of Nebraska
Dietrich V. Wiebe (deceased)	1923	1925	University of Kansas
Donald Lee Warkentin	1952	1958	University of Kansas
Alvin L. Wiens	1953	1959	University of Minnesota
Frank Lohrenz Wiens	1927	1933	University of Oregon

CLOTHING THE NAKED

By Alvin J. Miller

THE NEED FOR clothing after the Russian Revolution was at its worst in the early 1920's during the starvation time when the American Mennonite Relief began its activities there. Although clothing was not then quite so immediately exigent as was food, it was, nevertheless, an absolute necessity. During the winters of 1921 and 1922 millions of the victims of Communism had scarcely any shoes or boots or other type of footwear. They did the best they could to protect their feet from snow and zero winter weather by wrapping rags, strips of cloth, or other heavy material around their feet and their legs below the knees, holding the wrappings in place with string or twine, or heavier cord.

The descendants of Dutch or German settlers were habitually more industrious than many others and relied far more on native ingenuity in supplying their needs and in protecting themselves from the winter cold. Especially noticeable was this at a time of nation-wide scarcity.

The Cry for Bread and Clothing

For millions of Russians the scanty clothing they had managed to keep as their own for daily wear had by now been worn to tatters. Often these rags were foul and filthy because no soap was available for these people, no change of garment from month to month, and scarcely any possibility of bathing the body or of washing the ragged garments when these starving people were constantly searching for food. Waiting at railroad stations for the trains in 1921-22 were these walking skeletons, scarcely more than skin and bones, but still alive and begging for food, with arms outstretched toward the train windows, pleading for help —"Bread, BREAD! In God's name, BREAD!!" The rags slipped back from the uplifted arms bared to the icy cold of the Russian winter. Starvation! And no food to warm the weak body! Only rags to protect the emaciated form from the rigorous weather. It was this nation-wide scarcity of apparel that made the distribution of our American relief clothing so very imperative and so extremely difficult.

An earlier shipment of clothing from California to Siberia was convoyed by M. B. Fast of the Reedley community. Due to almost insurmountable difficulties in trans-shipment from Vladivostok to Siberia, W. P. Neufeld, also of Reedley, was sent to Vladivostok to assist Fast. Neufeld and his wife arrived just in time to help with the final arrangements for shipment of the clothing via the Trans-Siberian railroad to Omsk. After inspecting the needy villages of the Mennonite colonists, the clothing was distributed among them by responsible men from the village leaders. Credits were also established with some mills in the region to advance food to the neediest. Neufeld and his wife then travelled on to Moscow where they were greeted most cordially. Their shipment had not been arranged by the Mennonite Central Committee and, therefore, was not affected by the stipulations of our American Mennonite Relief contracts with the governments centered at Moscow or Kharkov. Therefore, their clothing supplies could readily be turned over to the designated Mennonite communities.

Problems Encountered

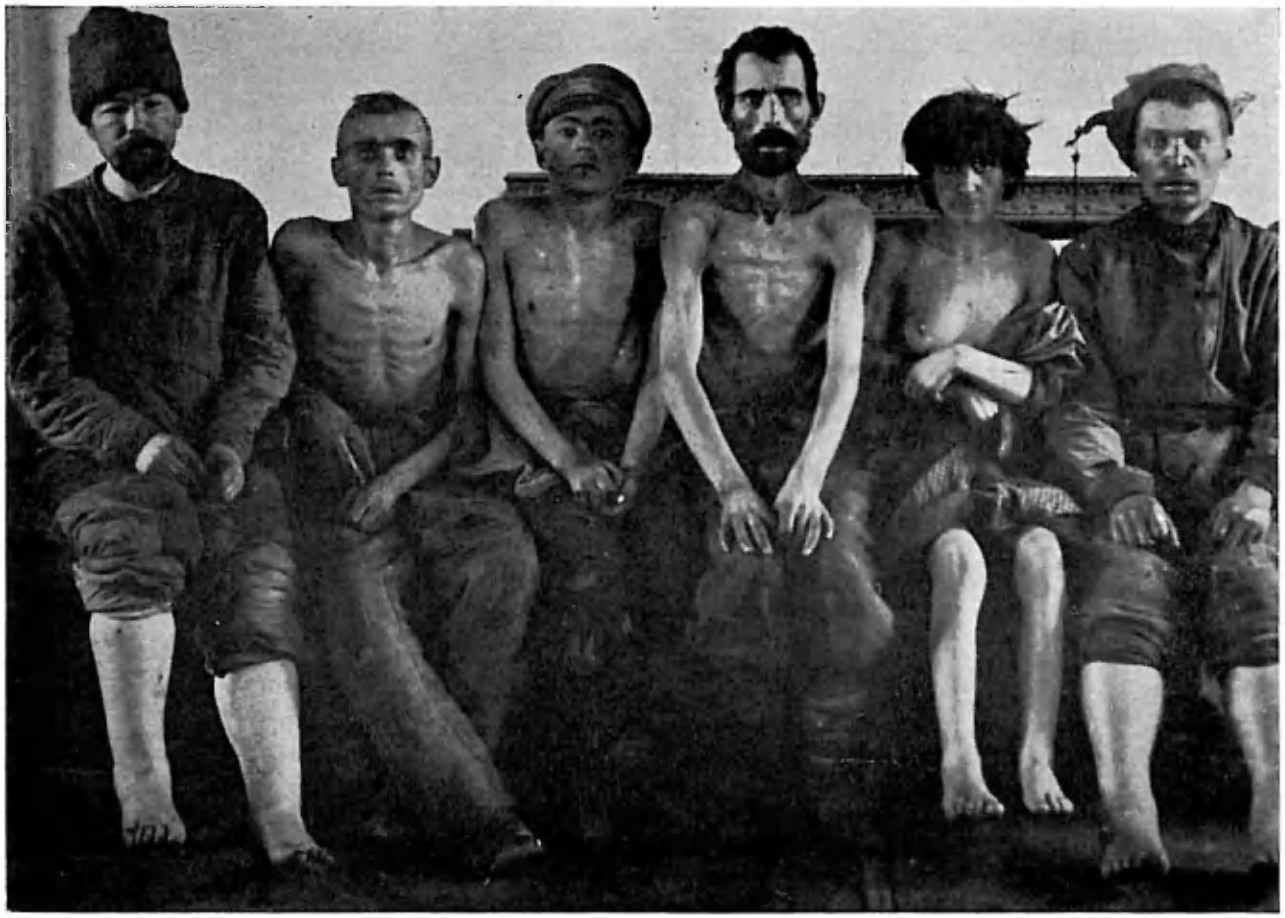
On the other hand, all the supplies sent to the American Mennonite Relief in Soviet Russia, whether food or clothing, were subject to the terms of our relief contracts with the Communist government. Kamenev, one of the highest Communist officials,

next to Lenin in influence at that time, had stressed during our negotiations in Moscow the danger of violent persecution by people in desperate need if our relief help were given *only* to the Mennonites while their non-Mennonite neighbors, also in extreme need, were ignored and left to suffer from lack of food or clothing. For example, if a Moslem physician in an American city during an extreme smallpox epidemic would give medical aid only to those of the Moslem faith, the rest of the population would soon take effective measures, perhaps resort to violent action, to assure impartial use of the medicines. It is also understandable, however, that the Mennonite donors in America and Mennonite relief workers in Soviet Russia were often filled with dismay and chagrin and impatience when so much of our clothing had to be distributed on the basis of need to non-Mennonites, some of whom were exasperatingly irresponsible, or had been habitually profligate, or had come into our assigned *volosts* (counties) because it was rumored that clothing was easily obtainable at the Mennonite centers. Far too many conscientious families endured extreme privations.

Regardless of the complications and the extreme pressures resulting from the terrible need, the American Mennonite Relief could not disregard or violate its fundamental Christian principles in its distribution of food and clothing. The government had been assured that our help would be given to the neediest *bona fide* residents of the *volosts* for which we had assumed responsibility. The choice of *volosts* was left to us. We were not pressured in Moscow to operate in non-Mennonite regions. It was well known that the Mennonite farmers in general were more industrious than most of the others and therefore notably more prosperous than many of their neighbors. So, when it became known that American food and clothing had come to these Mennonite villages, it was inevitable that those in dire need outside of these areas, and especially the shiftless drifters, would gravitate toward the nearest supply centers.

Many can probably recall the mass migrations of the "Okies" to the west coast during the depression years as described in *Grapes of Wrath* when California was flooded by this tidal wave of poverty-stricken humanity. But this tidal wave in America was only

Clothing the naked and feeding the hungry after the Russian Revolution.



a trickle in comparison with the deluge in Soviet Russia.

The Distribution of Clothing

Our very first shipment of clothing for the American Mennonite Relief in Soviet Russia was brought by Arthur Slagel from Constantinople to Odessa to be shipped from there to Alexandrovsk. This was Slagel's second experience in convoying Mennonite relief supplies to Russia, for, in November of 1920 he had accompanied a shipment from Constantinople to Sevastopol in the Crimea, but the ship arrived the morning after General Wrangel had made his farewell address to his soldiers and the army had been disbanded. As the city was in utter turmoil and confusion, the vessel set out for Constanza.

Now in 1922 on Slagel's arrival in Odessa, he came on to Alexandrovsk (now Zaporozhe), where he served as the supervisor of our relief activities in the entire Ukraine. The clothing shipment he had convoyed was detained at Odessa by over-zealous port authorities who insisted on payment of import duty in spite of contractual guarantees against tax charges. The confused rumors that came to Alexandrovsk blamed the delay on a silk hat. Finally we learned it was not a "topper" that caused the fracas but merely a simple hat-band of silk. (A high silk hat in a Mennonite relief shipment was an absurdity). This incident illustrates the querulousness of some of the petty officials' intent on seizing every opportunity to hamper the American activities and to wheedle personal compensation. A "gift" to a key official or some other petty bribery would often have facilitated our work, but would have vitiated our whole program. Our organization sedulously avoided all appearance of bribery, of "oiling" the machinery, of "buttering" the officials.

When the appalling need for clothing became known generally in our Mennonite congregations in America, there were widespread collections of good quality materials for the winter of 1922-23. The difficult work of clothing distribution required so much attention and brought up so many new difficulties that the fulltime attention of an American worker was needed. Fortunately, C. E. Krehbiel of Newton, Kansas, a mature and gifted man of wide experience had come with P. C. Hiebert of Hillsboro, Kansas, to our relief center at Alexandrovsk and was now placed in full charge of this very difficult task in the Ukraine. As always, we preferred a simple procedure, as free as possible from unnecessary red tape, but the complications were so great and so numerous as to necessitate definite regulations. In comparison to clothing distribution our food operation was relatively simple after the feeding lists had been prepared—one meal a day at the village kitchen if the family was in dire need. But in our clothing warehouse were numerous articles ranging from inexpensive minor items to complete suits and fur overcoats. The demand was always far greater than the supply.

Registration of abandoned children.

Representative of American Relief in Siberia, 1924.

Refugees being cleaned of vermin during the Russian famine.

When one of the new shipments arrived in Odesssa, Krehbiel, accompanied by several of our workers from Alexandrovsk, went there to receive the supplies, and forward them to Alexandrovsk. Nine railroad freight cars were required. But Russian freight cars are much smaller than American ones. The utmost care had been taken to safeguard the supplies, but even so, when the clothing cars were unloaded at Alexandrovsk they found a sack of stones and other heavy objects that had been substituted for some clothing. It was one of the unpleasant lessons practically every relief worker had to learn in dealing with corrupt officials and subordinates.

Now with a fairly good supply of garments on hand it became necessary to adopt some basic standards for the determination of relative need for clothing of the kind on hand, and how to make the allocation and distribution. This was extremely difficult. To many needy persons it seemed unreasonable if not directly heartless. Some felt sure their relatives in America wanted them to have the best and the most.

He Who Has Two

It is interesting now at this distance in time and space to note some of the requirements. For example, if a man had two suits of underwear, two pairs of socks, two shirts, a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes or boots, a cap or hat, mittens or gloves, and an overcoat, he could not be classified as one of the most needy, and therefore was not eligible to receive any clothing until those in greater need were cared for first. Sometimes the waiting for one's turn overtaxed the patience. To help make the distribution as impartial as possible, every article of clothing was assigned an arbitrary value in terms of "units." Three handkerchiefs rated one unit; a fur overcoat, thirty-five units. Eighty units was set as the standard of units for persons age sixteen and over, sixty units for ages five to fifteen, and forty units for children below five years of age.

Because of all these details we established a rather elaborate system of records always to be kept on file, showing exactly what each beneficiary had received. At some places the distribution had earlier been made by lot which resulted in too much dissatisfaction. A more realistic procedure was urgently needed.

It is astonishing to note the quantity and variety of clothing sent from America to the Ukraine. Following is a tabulation that summarizes the data. There were:

27,924 pieces of clothing for children under five years of age,
20,310 dresses for girls and children,
17,297 pieces of underwear for children,
8,824 underwear for adults,
6,896 shirts for men,
5,407 overcoats for men and women, including 35 fur overcoats
4,886 waists for women
3,936 skirts
1,169 shawls
36 straw hats
1,596 single blankets and comforters
1,111 double blankets
7,000 pairs of footwear
14,614 spools of thread
2½ tons of new dry goods

The significance of such a generous gift of clothing for Mennonites who had suffered probably more than had any similar group since the days of our martyr forefathers is utterly beyond the comprehension of most of us extremely comfortable Mennonites in America. For them in Soviet Russia it was literally a God-send. For those who gave in a Christian spirit, the blessing was probably greater than for those who received.

Even to this day, the Mennonites from Russia that I met at the Mennonite World Conference at Kitchener were still profoundly grateful to God for the help they received from their American co-religionists at the time they in Soviet Russia were almost overwhelmed by the fiendish forces of evil.

A human interest story from Alexandrovsk should not be overlooked or forgotten. It relieves somewhat the poignant tragedy so often connected with the relief activities. A young woman came to the clothing center to request a pair of shoes. Earlier she had received some clothing but no shoes. Her record was checked. True, she had not been given shoes, but had received her full quota of clothing. Nothing more was permissible now! Why had she not requested shoes then? Her only explanation was that something had happened since that time. At that juncture, with no shoes in prospect, she should have departed. But she stayed, quietly weeping, patiently hoping. P. H. Unruh, Goessel, Kansas, was interviewing her, and he was very sympathetic, but completely nonplussed. She was so reticent. He called C. E. Krehbiel who had organized the efficient plan of distribution and had been in the work much longer. Finally she explained tearfully that tomorrow was to be her wedding day and she would be so very much humiliated to be married without shoes. Needless to say, she departed with the sincere blessings of these two leaders—and the pair of shoes!

And to this romantic incident there was a happy sequel. It suggested to the two Americans a suitable function for the dress suit (swallow tail) and the patent leather shoes in the warehouse. No one had seemed to need them. So out of the clothing supplies came a relatively complete trousseau for a bride and a usable outfit for the groom, both to be loaned free of charge to any candidates for the marital altar. Did the donors of these special gifts hear wedding bells in their dreams? They should have!

Latest Mennonite Migrations

From Paraguay to Germany

By Rie Hoogeveen

When in 1943, 35,000 Mennonites fled from Russia to Germany nobody knew that this would be the beginning of a great tragedy. For, scarcely two years later, the Russian troops caught up with the larger part of this group of refugees, and 23,000 Mennonites were sent back to Russia. In some instances a mother with two children was sent back and the father with one child got off "scot-free" and therefore was not required to return. Such tragedies resulted in families being broken not only socially, but physically and spiritually as well.

Twelve thousand Mennonites stayed in Europe, some in refugee camps in Berlin, others in Gronau, and a group was admitted to Holland by means of the so-called "Menno-pass." However, it was soon clear that these circumstances were totally unsatisfactory. After much preparation the first group sailed for Paraguay late in 1947. Four groups left Europe for Paraguay during 1947 and 1948, totaling 5,501 Mennonites. Many of the Mennonite refugees who did not go to Paraguay, later went to Canada. It would have been impossible for Mennonites to bear the transportation costs to Paraguay without financial help. The International Refugee Organization made $160,000 available for ocean transportation and the MCC did all it could to make a start in the new country possible. In spite of this help the start was hard.

The difficulties began when the first group got delayed in Argentina on its way to Paraguay. Because of a revolution in Paraguay, some of the Mennonites had to stay in tents, guarded by soldiers, for five months. Others stayed in vacant industrial buildings in Asuncion and Buenos Aires. Later some of these exiles founded the colony "Volendam" along the Paraguay River about eight miles north of Rosario. The rest of the refugee groups went to the Chaco and founded the colony "Neuland."

These were not the first Mennonite immigrants to Paraguay. In 1926 the colony "Menno" was founded; in 1930-32 the colony "Fernheim"; and in 1937 the colony "Friesland." The beginning was very hard, and by 1953 some families had decided to go back to Germany.

Before we look at the life of the so-called *Rückwanderer* or returnees, we have to know why some of them thought, and still think, that to build a new future in Paraguay is quite impossible.

Paraguay is a rather isolated country, one of the most underdeveloped areas of South America. This has important consequences for agricultural immigrants. For example, little production credit is available, public transportation is poorly developed, markets are inadequate, and inflation is hindering economic development. The MCC offered limited help to the immigrants, but there were burdening circumstances which made success for some of them impossible.

The percentage of widows and single women among them was large. In some villages as high as 40 per cent of the families had no father. Many of the refugees had held engineering or business positions in Russian collectives, and had no agricultural experience. Most of the refugees had wanted to go to Canada, but could not because of strict immigration regulations. To go to Paraguay was an emergency solution to their problem. In the colony Volendam the villages had to be constructed in the jungle. Every square yard had to be cleared by heavy labor, often with one ax for three families and one saw for twenty families. Furthermore, there were at first just a few buggies, tools and sewing machines for the entire colony. The harvest was often damaged by too little rain, grasshoppers or ants. The climate in the Chaco is unpleasant and exhausting. It is understandable why numerous refugees returned and are still returning to Europe.

One should not think however, that those who left the colonies in Paraguay all returned to Germany. Of the 1,690 persons who left the colonies Neuland and Volendam between 1951 and 1956, many immigrated to Canada, Brazil, Uruguay and elsewhere. Those who went to Canada settled mainly in the cities. The fast rhythm of city life was more satisfying than the silence of the Paraguayan jungle.

Not all Mennonites are considering leaving Paraguay. Many are successful in building their future in Paraguay, and the younger generation feels at home

The "Yapeyu" and "Alberto Dodero" were the ships on which most Paraguayan returnees came to Germany.

Gerhard Harder who ministers to the returnees with family at Stukenbrock.

Camp Stukenbrock near Bielefeld, Westphalia.

Left barrack occupied by Mennonite returnees. . .

Returnee building house in Germany.

Mennonite Fellowship Hall at Bechterdissen, Bielefeld.

there. Even some young families who came from Paraguay to Germany decided to go back to Paraguay, where, they say, they have more freedom. Also, most of them have farming in their bones and for this reason find more opportunity in Paraguay than in Germany.

Some of the returnees had to earn the money in another country before returning to Germany. Some large landowners of Germany paid the trip for some returnees. The returnees then obligated themselves to work for these landowners until their debt was paid. In this way it was possible for some people to come to Germany even though they did not have sufficient finances of their own. There have been no difficulties in paying back these travel debts.

The *Internationales Mennonitisches Hilfswerk* (IMH) has become interested in the welfare of these Mennonite returnees and has decided that a social worker should visit all of them on behalf of *IMH* in order to get an insight into their present life situation. By September, 1962, a total of 583 Mennonites had returned to Germany from South America (5 were from Canada). Later 18 of them returned to South America and Canada and three died. The following figures show how many returned to Germany from South America during specific years: 1952—4; 1953—22; 1954—20; 1955—19; 1956—33; 1958—62; 1959—62; 1960—100; 1961—104; 1962—1.

By far the largest number of the returnees came from Paraguay. Only a few came from other South American countries. Of those who returned to Germany 28 persons went back to South America or to Canada.

Some of the returnees to Germany are located in industrial areas where they have found work. Some have already built their own homes while others are in need of help. The relief agencies of the Netherlands and Germany are helping those in need. Some are located in a camp Stukenbrock and others are being settled at Bechterdissen. Both places are located near Bielefeld, Westphalia.

This is indeed a unique development. The Germany completely destroyed and hopeless during the final phase of World War II has economically recovered so that Mennonite refugees who passed through Germany during the last war are now returning and are able to find work and to establish homes.

Two Mennonite Pioneers

By Elmer F. Suderman

Two books published recently by the Faith and Life Press, Newton, Kansas, in the Mennonite Historical Series, should be of special interest to readers of *Mennonite Life*. Both are autobiographies, and both tell significant stories. *Prairie Pioneer* (1961) by Christian Krehbiel was written in 1906 when the author was seventy-five years old and has been translated and condensed from the German by Elva Krehbiel Leisy and Edward B. Krehbiel. The appendix contains a short life of Christian Krehbiel, a family chronology, and a list of General Conference Mennonite missionaries to the Oklahoma Indians. *Mennonite Country Boy* by C. Henry Smith (1962) was written when the author was fifty years old in 1925. Smith closes his autobiography with the end of his formal education when he received the Ph.D. degree at Chicago University in 1907. Fifty mimeographed copies of the autobiography were distributed in 1943. The appendix has articles which give the reader additional information about Smith. They are reprinted from the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*. A bibliography of Smith's work is also included.

I. CHRISTIAN KREHBIEL

Christian Krehbiel's autobiography reveals the effect of the American frontier in shaping his character. Coming to America in 1851 at the age of nineteen, Krehbiel, European in culture, training and outlook, quickly became Americanized. Accustomed to the comforts of European modes of living, Krehbiel, transplanted to the frontier of Iowa, quickly developed those traits necessary to meet the primitive conditions there: resourcefulness, a practical and inventive turn of mind, and a masterful grasp of material things. These qualities helped him to learn, not without discomfort but without protest and even with zest, to fell trees, split fence rails, mow grass with a cradle, butcher hogs and in other ways find expedients for the hardships of the frontier. Later when he dealt with another generation of European Mennonite immigrants, Krehbiel was wise enough to warn them of the changes of culture and of the necessity of working with their own hands.

The Leader

Moving soon after his marriage to Summerfield, Illinois, Krehbiel, though not now on the primitive frontier, retained his frontier characteristics and by his enthusiasm and shrewd common sense soon became influential in the Mennonite congregation there. Elected to the ministry in 1864, Krehbiel served not only his own congregation but the General Conference Mennonite Church as well. He committed himself wholeheartedly to the two-fold vision of the General Conference to provide a school for training ministers and teachers (Wadsworth) and to unite the Mennonites in America. Later he worked as assiduously and unselfishly to organize mission stations for the American Indians in Oklahoma and Arizona and to resettle the Russo-German Mennonites on the American prairie frontier. In 1879, Krehbiel himself moved to that frontier, settling in Halstead, Kansas. Krehbiel's pragmatic wisdom and genius for getting things done did much to help the General Conference achieve some of its goals.

The Writer

Like most American frontiersmen, Krehbiel was acute and inquisitive, filled with buoyance, exuberance, and a restless, nervous energy. These qualities show up even in his writing style which is clipped, bare, and unadorned. He makes no effort to fill in the outline of his story, to linger over details. He is not interested in the texture of things, in how things feel, look, smell, or taste. His book is almost devoid of images. He wants to get on with the story, with the events, with the action. And there is no lack of

action in the book. A short list of the events (it could be much longer) Krehbiel mentions reveals the great number and the breadth of his experiences: traveling by foot, steamboat, stagecoach, horseback, and railroad, fighting the grasshopper plague in Kansas, fording the rivers in Oklahoma in the 1880s, visiting the Indians in Oklahoma and Arizona. His references to the Chicago fire, the Franco-German War, and the Civil War reveal his interests in current events. But all these are mentioned only briefly, and we rarely discover how Krehbiel feels about these events. One wishes, for example, that he had told us much more about his nonresistant position during the Civil War or how he and the Mennonites in Summerfield felt about slavery—a subject which is never mentioned. One wishes for a more elaborate description of the austere frontier Mennonite church buildings in Missouri in the 1860s and for a more detailed description of just what books Krehbiel found valuable in his work as a minister, though Krehbiel's description of the difficulty of being both farmer and preacher are rather complete.

But sometimes Krehbiel does fill in the details as, for example, in his delightful recounting of his experiences with his *Neu-Täufer* Mennonite host near Berne, Indiana, and of his attendance at the church services there. The coming of Russo-German Mennonites and the story of the negotiations with the Santa Fe Railroad are told in detail. Krehbiel treats with some care his part in the establishment of the Oklahoma Indian Mission.

An Unusual Record

Krehbiel's autobiography is interesting reading, but it is much more: it is the record of a man who saw clearly the problems which Mennonites on the prairie frontier would face. Krehbiel recognized the distinctiveness of Mennonitism, but he was not willing that this distinctiveness should develop in isolation from the rest of society. He saw the danger of life in the closed community with its meager contacts with the outside world, its narrow horizons, its infrequent opportunities to influence the greater American society. He saw, too, that the closed communities which Mennonites were establishing were in danger of shutting out the best of the outside world. Krehbiel recognized that Mennonites would have to unite, to educate their members, to evangelize, to work with other groups.

This autobiography, moreover, is important in yet another way, for it furnishes valuable primary source material for the historian to assess the growth and development of the Mennonite church on the prairie frontier. It will give the historian an opportunity to study just how the Mennonite church reacted to the frontier conditions in America and to compare this response with the response of other churches on the frontier, a comparison which would, I suspect, reveal some interesting similarities and even more interesting differences. Krehbiel's book is not definitive history, but without his book and many more like it the definitive history of the Mennonite church on the American prairie frontier cannot be written.

II. C. HENRY SMITH

As Krehbiel was important in giving to the Mennonites a sense of unity and cohesion and a measure of organization which made it possible for them to carry on the educational and missionary activity of the church, so C. Henry Smith was important in giving to the Mennonites a sense of the significance of studying their history, both American and European. C. Henry Smith did not make history in the same sense as did Christian Krehbiel, but in his evaluation of the Mennonites he was also influential in determining the course of the Mennonite church in America. Like Krehbiel he recognized the importance of an educated church membership.

Born in 1875 in Metamora, Illinois, C. Henry Smith grew up in an era which, though primitive, could no longer be called the frontier. The Illinois Amish community had been established as early as 1831, when it was true frontier, but by the 1870s and 1880s, when Smith was growing up, it had achieved the attributes of the settled community. Indeed, one of Smith's earliest recollections is of the impression that "a new drink, dark in color and put in bottles, called 'pop'" had on him as a five-year-old—hardly a frontier recollection.

Descriptive Reminiscences

Smith's reminiscences, then, are different from Krehbiel's. Where Krehbiel stresses action, Smith stresses description. And Smith's description is worthy of comment and high praise. His concrete images are innumerable and sharply etched. Every sense is brought into play. Smith remembered the familiar barnyard smells, the smell of the new-mown hay in the field and its fragrance after it has cured in the barn. He recognizes the close connection between the olfactory sense and the memory. A single whiff from an oily river was sufficient to overwhelm him with all the homesickness he felt the first time he had experienced the smell, one lonely Sunday afternoon in Elkhart, his first away from home.

Smith is aware of the gustatory pleasures as well. He relishes the memory of his first taste of pop, of lunch and dinner at threshing time with its homemade bread, mashed potatoes, brown gravy, roast beef, pie and cake. And he is able to make the reader experience the difference between the threshers' gusto

for the noon meal and the subdued and tired response to supper.

Images and Sounds

Most of Smith's images are rural. He feels the heat of the burning August sun as he works at the back breaking task of shocking oats bundles. The reader feels the sweat rolling down Smith's dirt-begrimed face during plowing time. And the reader remembers with Smith the grace of a buzzard's flight, the beauty of the deep blue sky at evening after a day's work in the field, the heavy autumn clouds or the low black fringe of clouds—ominous signs of a summer storm—the sharp dart of lightning dashing back and forth, the burning of old corn stalks at night.

It is with sounds that Smith is at his best. He has a keen memory of the sounds which pervaded his life. He remembers clearly the animate sounds of the farm: the neighing horses, the crowing roosters, the myriad sounds of the birds—the cheery evening whistle of the bobwhite, the sharp, shrill voice of the blue jay, the wail of the killdeer, the sudden whir of the prairie hen as she shot into the air—the lonely call of the katydid, the dismal evening croak of bullfrogs, the bleating of sheep, and the baying of hounds in the distance. The inanimate sounds are recalled also: the tinkling of cowbells, the rattle of the sickle bar, the rippling of the draper chain, the click of the arm on the binder, the farm wagon rattling down the road, the rattle of the breakfast dishes and the hum of the cream separator. He marks the city sounds as well: the tolling of the bell on the switch engine and the clattering hoofs on the pavement on a quiet Sunday afternoon. Human sounds intrigue him most. With love and affection he points out the sound of human voices in conversation. Smith loved all types of sounds from the singing of "Let the Lower Lights Be Burning" to the playing of the French Harp, to the brass band ("A brass band," he says, "always had an indefinable attraction for me"), to the orations of William Jennings Bryan, to the "heavenly music" of Caruso and Schumann-Heink.

Smith was not a poet or novelist; he does not always have the skill to show us the scenes he remembers; rather he reminds us of tastes, smells, sights, sensations, and sounds which we have experienced but often forgotten. But sometimes with considerable skill, as in the following description of the end of a day of threshing, Smith can show us, can make us see, feel and hear the scene which he creates for us:

> The feeder delivered the bundles into the cylinder with less certainty than in the early afternoon and occasionally let one slip through with a thud that nearly stalled the engine, calling forth a series of loud puffs as though in violent protest against the extra labor caused by the feeder's carelessness. All the sounds about the machine were more subdued and muffled than usual. Above the irregular hum of the cylinder could be heard the rattle of the shaker arms and the occasional angry puff of the engine. The heavy black coal smoke rose in a straight column like a big rope high into the heavens, where unraveling itself, it floated like a cloud with the prevailing current of air to the east. With every unusually heavy effort of the engine a perfect ring of black was cut through the spark arrester and coughed into the air, where like a wagon wheel lying horizontally, it floated off in the direction of the cloud of smoke. Finally, as the shadows began to thicken, and the evening star began to show its first glimmering light in the west, the last forkful of loose straw was pitched onto the platform from the ground. Father threw the fork over his shoulder; Sam Bally waved his arms; the engineer pushed in his throttle; one of the men shoved off the big belt with his fork handle; and soon everyone had left the late scene of feverish activity for the belated supper table. (pp. 44-45.)

Early Life and Folklore

Smith, however, reminds us of often forgotten social history and folklore. Scattered in these pages the reader will discover the names of textbooks used in the high schools in the 1890s. He will be reminded of aspects of our history which have disappeared or become less important: Montgomery Ward catalogues, home remedies for children's diseases which were often worse than the disease itself, threshing time, the social life centering in the little red schoolhouse, the old-fashioned spelling school, last day of school picnic, weekly singing school, medicine shows, blacksmith shops, traveling by bicycle eighty miles a day.

Just as fascinating for many readers will be Smith's description of the games played at the grade schools and high schools in the late nineteenth century. They survived until recently, to be sure, but as we have become more and more a mechanized and urban society they have all but disappeared. Smith fortunately gives rather complete descriptions of at least some of them. Blackman, Andy-over, prisoner's base, three-cornered cat, crack the whip, needle's eye and pop goes the weasel will be familiar to many older readers, though fir, fire, fits and Dutchball may not be.

It would be possible to comment further on other examples of Smith's concern for the humble particular, for the details which would have been forgotten by most observers. But nothing is too small to escape Smith's careful eye. He describes in gratifying detail the activities on the farm, in the rural and high school, the long Amish church services, the surreptitious activities of a boy escaping from the rigorous disciplines of the community and church. And he can describe convincingly the excitement and pleasure of discovering and writing Mennonite history.

Smith, furthermore, reflects on these events. He contrasts his drab Sundays when he would sit for several hours "on a hard straight-backed bench in a plain little meetinghouse, listening to a farmer-preacher discoursing in German on the sins of wearing a gold watch chain or attending the county fair" with the exciting high school days when his "emotions were stirred by the poetic sweeps of Shakespeare and Tennyson," his "imagination stretched by a study of the stars" and his historical interest awakened by his study of "the campaigns of Caesar and the victories of Napoleon." Smith's interests were not shared by other Mennonites in his community. Though his intellectual life was a solitary one, he maintained his connection with the Mennonites. Even after he went to the University of Illinois and later to the University of Chicago to take his Ph.D., he apparently never questioned his commitment to the Mennonites. If he ever underwent any inner turmoil about the validity of Mennonitism, or ever had any questions about his commitment to the Mennonites, he does not reveal it in his autobiography.

Together these two autobiographies add to the readers' knowledge of the formative period of the Mennonite church in the Midwest, both east and west of the Mississippi. They clearly depict the hardships of the pioneer, both on the prairie frontier and on the frontier of knowledge. They present a stirring picture of how these hardships were faced and often overcome. The publication of these two books under the direction of the Historical Committee of the General Conference Mennonite Church is a distinct service to Mennonite readers as well as to others who are interested in the American frontier and in American church history.

Christian Krehbiel, *Prairie Pioneer.* The Christian Krehbiel Story. Newton, Kansas: Faith and Life Press, 1961. 160 pp. Illustrated. $3.50.

C. Henry Smith, *Mennonite Country Boy.* The Early Years of C. Henry Smith. Newton, Kansas: Faith and Life Press, 1962. 261 pp. Illustrated. $4.00.

The books can be ordered through *Mennonite Life,* North Newton, Kansas.

Mennonite Research in Progress

By Melvin Gingerich and Cornelius Krahn

The April, 1962, issue of *Mennonite Life* reported about various research projects in progress. Preceding April issues since 1947 contain similar information particularly under the headings, "Mennonite Research in Progress," "Mennonite Bibliography," and "Books in Review." Of special research value is the article entitled, "Anabaptism-Mennonitism in Doctoral Dissertations," which appeared in the April, 1958, issue. These reports are being continued annually in the April issue. The following are projects not listed previously.

Doctoral Dissertations

1. Myron S. Augsburger, "Theological Significance of Michael Sattler for the Swiss Brethren Movement," Th.D., Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, (in progress).
2. Melvin J. Loewen, "The Congo Inland Mission, 1911-1961," Ph.D., Free University of Brussels, 1961.
3. Clarence Bauman, "Gewaltlosigkeit im Täufertum," Th.D., University of Bonn, 1961.
4. John R. Dick, "A Suggested Plan of Administration for the Evangelical Mennonite Conference," Dr. Rel. Ed., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1953.
5. Leland Harder, "The Quest for Equilibrium in An Established Sect. A Study of Social Change in the General Conference Mennonite Church," Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1962.
6. Dale W. Brown, "The Problem of Subjectivism in Pietism," Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1962. (Has chapter on Mennonites.)
7. Paul John Kirsch, "Deaconesses in the United States Since 1918: A Study of the Deaconess Work of the United Lutheran Church in America in Comparison with the Corresponding Programs of the other Lutheran Churches and of the Evangelical and Reformed, Mennonite, Episcopal, and Methodist Churches," Ph.D., New York University, 1961.
8. Eric W. Gritsch, "The Authority of the Inner Word: A Theological Study of the Major German Spiritual Reformers in the Sixteenth Century,"

Müntzer, Denck, Franck, Weigel, Carlstadt), Ph.D., Yale University, 1960.

9. Frank H. Klassen, "Christopher Dock: Eighteenth-century American Schoolmaster," Ph.D., University of Illinois, 1962.

M.A. Theses

1. A. J. Klassen, "Mennonite Brethren Theology: Historic Roots and Early Development, 1860-1910," M.A., Wheaton Graduate School (in progress).
2. Peter Thiessen, "The Mennonites and Participation in Politics," M.A., University of Manitoba (in progress).
3. Bruno A. Penner, "The Anabaptist View of the Scriptures," Th.M., Bethany Biblical Seminary, 1955.
4. C. Nevin Miller, "The Effectiveness of Eastern Mennonite College to Achieve Its Religious Life Objectives," M.A., Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1957.
5. A. P. Regier, "Menno Simons in Controversy with Other Representatives of the Radical Reformation," M.A., University of Alberta (in progress).
6. Evelyn E. King, "A Study of the Status of the Unmarried Women Graduates of Eastern Mennonite College," M.A., Madison College, 1962.
7. Abram Goerz, "The Polity of the Mennonite Brethren Church," B.D., Evangelical Lutheran Seminary, Kitchener, 1956.
8. Estel Nafziger, "The Mennonite Ethic in the Weberian Framework," M.A., University of Michigan, 1962.
9. John D. Block, "A Survey of the History of the Mennonite Brethren Church in North America," B.D., California Baptist Theological Seminary, 1954.
10. Heinz D. Janzen, "Anabaptist Church Discipline in the Light of the New Testament," B.S.T., Biblical Seminary, New York, 1956.

Other Projects

Carl Schünemann, publisher of Bremen, is publishing a series of eight volumes under the title *Klassiker des Protestantismus.* The first to come off was Volume IV by Heinold Fast, *Der linke Flügel der Reformation,* which contains selections of the writings of Radical Reformers, including the Anabaptists. (See review).

George H. Williams has completed his volume, *The Radical Reformation* (Westminster Press). Many other significant publications in the realm of the Anabaptists could be listed here (see "Mennonite Bibliography"). C. J. Dyck edited the contributions made by Henry Poettcker, William Keeney, J. A. Oosterbaan, C. J. Dyck, Rosella R. Duerksen, H. W. Meihuizen, N. van der Zijpp, Frits Kuiper, Gerhard Lohrenz, Horst Quiring, J. F. G. Goeters, and Heinold Fast, entitled *A Legacy of Faith. A Sixtieth Anniversary Tribute to Cornelius Krahn.* (See review).

Complete issues of *Mennonite Life* are being devoted to specific areas. The April issue is devoted to the 75th Anniversary of Bethel College. Others will be devoted to: Medical Care and the Mennonites, The Mennonite Church in the City, The Mennonites in the Netherlands, and The Bible in Our Day.

Cornelius Krahn, the Editor of *Mennonite Life,* will be on a Sabbatical leave during the school year 1963-64. The co-editors, Walter Klaassen and John F. Schmidt will carry on with the additional work. Krahn will devote his time to research and writing in the realm of early Dutch Mennonite history, thought and culture.

The historical committees of the General Conference Mennonite Church and Mennonite General Conference are taking steps to prepare a Mennonite history textbook for use in classes of senior high school and college freshman levels. The Institute of Mennonite Studies will sponsor the preparation of the textbook.

Recent Publications Offered

The following books reviewed in this issue may be ordered through *Mennonite Life.* Add 10 cents postage for each book ordered. Kansas readers should add 2½ percent for sales tax.

1. Krehbiel, Christian. *Prairie Pioneer.* The Christian Krehbiel Story. $3.50
2. Smith, C. Henry. *Mennonite Country Boy.* The Early Years of C. Henry Smith. 4.00
3. Hillerbrand, Hans. *A Bibliography of Anabaptism 1520-1630.* 8.00
4. Yoder, John H. *Die Gespräche zwischen Täufern und Reformatoren in der Schweiz, 1523-1538.* 3.00
5. Fast, Heinold. *Der linke Flügel der Reformation.* 4.75
6. Williams, George H. *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers.* 5.00
7. Williams, George H. *Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought.* 4.50
8. Krebs, Manfred and Hans Georg Rott. *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer,* Band VII & VIII. Stadt Strassburg, 1522-1532 und 1533-1535. 9.00 per volume
9. Williams, George H. *The Radical Reformation.* 15.00
10. Dyck, Cornelius J., ed. *A Legacy of Faith.* A Sixtieth Anniversary Tribute to Cornelius Krahn. 5.50
11. Klaassen, Walter, *et. al. No Other Foundation.* Commemorative Essays on Menno Simons. 1.50
12. Fretz, J. Winfield. *Immigrant Group Settlements in Paraguay: A Study in the Sociology of Colonization.* 3.00

Mennonite Bibliography

THE "MENNONITE BIBLIOGRAPHY" is published annually in the April issue of *Mennonite Life*. It contains a list of books, pamphlets and articles dealing with Mennonite life, principles and history.

The magazine articles have been mostly restricted to non-Mennonite publications since complete files of Mennonite periodicals, yearbooks, and conference reports are available at the historical libraries of Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas; Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana; Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio; and the Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Indiana.

Previous bibliographies published in *Mennonite Life* appeared annually in the April issues since 1947. Authors and publishers of books, pamphlets and magazines which should be included in our annual list are invited to send copies to *Mennonite Life* for listing and possible review.

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Kanagy, Lee, and Adella Kanagy. "Japan Witness"—a series of reports of their mission work in Japan, appearing twice monthly in *The Budget*, Sugarcreek, Ohio, 1962.

Kaufman, Ed. G. "Mennonite Missions among the Oklahoma Indians," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (Spring, 1962), pp. 41-54.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

SOME NEW BOOKS ON ANABAPTISM

By Robert Friedmann

THE YEAR 1962 brought us an unusually rich harvest of Anabaptist studies. Dissertations and other papers on the "Left Wing" of the Reformation ("Radical Reformation") have become almost a favorite at universities and seminaries, and scholars are busy trying to discover some new aspects, if not some new sources, and to re-interpret the facts and their background.

Anabaptist Bibliography

One has only to look at the annual bibliography which *Mennonite Life* presents usually in its April issue to realize how much research is being done at many institutes of higher learning both in Europe and America. Thus a comprehensive bibliographical guide was overdue. This Hans Joachim Hillerbrand achieved in his 280-page *Bibliography*

of Anabaptism, 1520-1630 (in USA published by the Institute of Mennonite Studies, Elkhart, Ind.; in Germany by the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1962). It is a bibliography patterned largely after the large and justly famous *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* by K. Schottenloher. Hillerbrand's bibliography comprises 4611 items, plus a title- and author index, a welcome tool for any researcher. The stock of Goshen College Mennonite Historical Library was the starting point, and Harold Bender and Nelson Springer were instrumental in checking and advising the bibliographer. The Bethel College Historical Library and others were consulted. A key indicates in what libraries the rare books can be located. A healthy foundation is now attained from which future researchers may start—even if it is not always easy to find one's way through the thicket of names and items. However, this maze was inevitable if completeness was the goal. It is hoped that a second edition will be necessary soon in which mistakes could be corrected and additional titles added.

Anabaptist Conversation

Yoder's doctoral dissertation (submitted at Basel, 1957) entitled *Die Gespräche zwischen Täufern und Reformatoren in der Schweiz, 1523-1538,* published in the Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins (1962, 184 pages), opens new avenues to the deeper understanding of primary Swiss Anabaptism. It deals with the numerous oral debates or controversies between the Zwinglians and the Swiss Anabaptists, indicating quite clearly the Zwinglian background of the Swiss Brethren and at the same time also the profound difference between the Anabaptist and the state-church Reformation outlook. Yoder states that the essence of all these disputations centered around the concept of the church. Zwingli equated city-authority with church, while the Anabaptists put the emphasis on an autonomous living congregation (*Gemeinde*) bound to suffer in the world, being baptized upon its faith and disciplined by the ban, in brief a congregation evidencing faith in life, something rather distant in Zwingli's mind. The Reformer could not see any sharp dualism of "world" and church, continuing rather the medieval idea of *Corpus Christianum*. Eventually all these debates ended in persecution and police action, the last resort of all state authority. Very profound is Yoder's analysis of the reasons why that tragic break was unavoidable, even though most of the ideas defended by Grebel and his brethren originated in the mind of Zwingli. Yoder claims that a notable change can be recognized in the mind of Zwingli around 1523, while the former companions, such as Grebel, accepted his original ideas and then developed them into that sharp dualism mentioned before. In this dualistic vision Anabaptism remained true to itself throughout its history. All in all, Yoder's study is useful toward a clearer conception of the essence of Anabaptism (*das eigentliche Täufertum*), helping to differentiate it from fanaticism (*Schwärmertum*) or free-church denominations, and making us more familiar with the dynamics of incipient Anabaptism.

These Are My People

From this quick bird's eye view of research about the Anabaptists we turn to a brief look at a few publications "in the spirit of Anabaptism." First and foremost looms Harold S. Bender's Conrad Grebel Lectures, *These Are My People;* the nature of the church and its discipleship according to the New Testament (Herald Press, 1962, 125 pp.). Brief as it is, it yet profoundly represents the typical Anabaptist-Mennonite concept of the church as a living fellowship of committed disciples, a "Fellowship of saints striving after holiness" (p. 54), in short a "Holy Community" (the title of the 3rd chapter) in which everyone is responsible for the welfare and discipline of the whole, not allowing the traditional distinction between clergy and laity. Bender's idea of the church is taken exclusively from the teachings of the New Testament, which did not know as yet a fully institutionalized organization. Though Bender approves the institutional character of the visible church he yet sees clearly the dangers of an overemphasis on it, neglecting its more significant character as a "communion of the Holy Spirit" (p. 61), or as he says later, "The church is first of all the reign of God's life-giving grace and Spirit." (p. 90.)

Not infrequently Bender uses the term "nurture" in connection with the idea of church, and nurture was certainly one of his major ideas regarding the function of the church: she is the mother who nurtures her members, and we must not leave her (as spiritualizers are apt to do) or atomize her (as defenders of congregationalism might do). Even though the new book only marginally mentions Anabaptism as a paradigm of the proper church concept, we yet may assume that this was the background for Bender's entire life-work. This, his last work, will then remain his deepest confession and profession, a lasting monument of a great and dedicated life.

Eberhard Arnold

Likewise "in the spirit of Anabaptism" is the life work of the founder of the Society of Brothers, Eberhard Arnold. For years this group ran a publication enterprise called "The Plough Publishing House." Then they stopped it. Now they have revived it again at their Woodcrest colony, Rifton, New York. They began with five publications, among which are Eberhard Arnold's *The Early Christians* and *The Peace of God,* books well known to friends of that group ever since they first appeared in a German edition. The book on the *Early Christians* is particularly valuable, opening church history to a new interpretation concordant with Arnold's basically Anabaptist point of view. The book presents the Church Fathers up to Tertullian, not with the intention of adding another scholarly dissertation to the many already existing ones, but rather to undergird a "restitution" or revival of primitive Christian life on the basis of the New Testament and the early Fathers. Now a new book has been added, Emmy Arnold's *Inner Words for Every Day of the Year,* a meditation book with sayings from many sources, but predominantly from the writings of her deceased husband, Eberhard Arnold. It is a fine booklet which breathes a profound faith in Christ and His divinity. "One can be a Christian only," Arnold says, "when he has experienced within his own heart the decisive word about Christ's nearness." This is the theme throughout this small but helpful book.

Here I will stop. This issue contains numerous other reviews along these lines. I hope that they will make us aware of the tremendous achievements thus far in interpretative history and may perhaps suggest further inquiries.

Anabaptist Writers

Heinold Fast, *Der linke Flügel der Reformation* Bd. IV *Klassiker des Protestantismus*, Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag, 1962. 432 pp. Cloth.

George H. Williams and Angel M. Mergal, *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, Vol. XXV *The Library of Christian Classics*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957. 421 pp. Cloth $5.00.

With the appearance of the Fast volume late in 1962 we now have two collections of writings from the Radical Reformation available to the general public. The two volumes duplicate only about 70 pages which means that we have upwards of 700 pages of selected sources. Fast's collection is the largest and includes the Antitrinitarians.

Both editors preface their collections with a general introduction in which they attempt classification of the bewildering variety of form in this segment of Protestantism. Both separate Anabaptists from Spiritualists. Williams subdivides the two groups into three further types, while Fast notes the differences within each group but does not further divide them. He does, however, add the *Schwärmer* and the Antitrinitarians as special groups. The classifications of both editors help to clarify further the differences between the various currents, but both attempts reveal the weaknesses of any rigid grouping. When Obbe Philips is listed with the *Schwärmer* (Fast, 319ff.) and Carlstadt with the Revolutionary Spiritualists (Williams, 32); when Denck is called a Spiritualist by Fast (xxv) and an Anabaptist by Williams (30); when Melchior Hofmann is regarded by Fast as a *Schwärmer* (298ff.) and by Williams as an Anabaptist (29), one suspects, that although these divisions may aid the cause of clarity in delineating types, they should not be pressed too far, for there is a unity in all of these that should not be lost sight of. They share a common protest against the externalization of the faith, the consequence of which is a tendency to spiritualize in varying degrees. Both editors admit that these theoretical divisions cannot be consistently pressed.

Editing a selection of writings from such a wealth of available material is not simple and what one man omits another would have included. One wonders why Pilgram Marbeck and Hans Hut were omitted from, and Obbe Philips included in, the Williams volume. And surely a more representative writing from Denck's works can be found than the *Widerruf* which Fast has selected, although the latter is perhaps the most inclusive. These are, however, personal reactions, and the positive aspects of these volumes far outweigh any shortcomings the reviewer may sense.

Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers is more useful in America than the Fast volume because it is in English. That this volume belongs to the noted Library of Christian Classics will certainly help in its circulation, and will be for most students and teachers the standard source of Anabaptist and Spiritualist writings. The introductory notes preceding each selection are extremely useful. The translations are accurate, the type clear, the book attractive. The bibliographical references are mainly to works in English. Unfortunately the intervening five years have seen no significant increase in Anabaptist sources and general treatments in English.

Der linke Flügel der Reformation is a much more representative collection. The introductory notes to the individual selections are more extensive and helpful, and it includes the main representatives of Antitrinitarianism. Sixteenth century German spelling has been modernized, but the sentence structure and vocabulary retained virtually unchanged.

Nearly all the selections in both volumes come from the writings of the more widely known thinkers and leaders of the Radical Reformation. Fast has made a notable exception to this by including the very moving Testament of Anneken Jans, an ordinary wife and mother. He is to be highly commended for this inclusion for it speaks in some ways even more forcefully than the more theologically sophisticated apologetics of a Hubmaier or a Menno.

The fact that both of these volumes appear in notable series indicates that left wing Protestants are now regarded as having made important contributions to the Reformation. Both volumes ought to be in all Mennonite church libraries.

BETHEL COLLEGE — *Walter Klaassen*

Menno Simons Lectures

Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought, George H. Williams, Harper, 1962, $4.50, 245 pp.

This book itself is both paradise and wilderness. On its pages one rejoices to meet a great company of pilgrims, seekers and prophets—Moses and Elijah, of course; Jerome; the mystics—Tauler, Suso, Ruysbroeck, St. John of the Cross; Michael Servetus, Peter Waldo, Melchior Hofmann, Jacob Hutter, John Wesley, Bunyan, Milton, Eliot and Appleseed; Essenes, Mormons, Boers and Negro slaves.

The volume, delivered originally as the Menno Simons lectures at Bethel College in 1958, is really two books bound together as one, each deserving a separate review. The first traces the wilderness-desert-paradise-garden theme through the long history of Christianity; the second is a significant attempt to formulate a Christian philosophy of higher education.

Williams explains the organization of the first book in the following statement. "The classical symphony with its four movements, its variations on two or more themes, has, indeed suggested the basic structure of the following composition as an artistic unity." (p. 7) The five chapters in the first book are the following: (1) Wilderness and Desert; Garden and Paradise in the Bible, (2) Wilderness and Paradise in the Baptismal Theology of the Church of the Martyrs, in Monasticism, and in Mysticism, (3) Fleeing to and Planting in the Wilderness in the Reformation Period and Modern Times, (4) The Enclosed Garden in the Wilderness of the New World, and (5) Conclusion: Wasteland and Wilderness.

Concerning the wilderness theme in Anabaptist history Williams says:

"In seeing how plausibly they combined primitivist, mystical, and sectarian conceptions of the wilderness experience and connected it either with a spiritualized inward Christianity or specifically with the submission to the rite of adult baptism on the pattern of Jesus in the wilderness of Jordan, we sharpen our understanding of the extra-

ordinary mobility, missionary zeal, and readiness to accept martyrdom on the part of hundreds of thousands of earnest people, harried from town to town and fleeing for protection to the fastness of the mountains and forests. With the re-emergence of the wilderness concept as literally a divinely secured place of refuge as distinguished from the contemplative desert-state of the soul, it is understandable that, beginning in the Reformation era, the persecuted sectarians readily assimilated the occasional references to the forest in the Scriptures and thereby enriched the image of *desertum*." (pp. 65 and 66)

Of Melchior Hofmann he says, "Hofmann took over from Rhenish mysticism the concepts of the wilderness (*Wüste, desertum*) as the utter emptiness of the soul at leisure from itself and of the soul as the bride of the heavenly Bridegroom. His innovation was to locate the regenerative experience of the divine nuptials of the wilderness in the public act of repentance and believers' baptism." (p. 67)

Various typographical errors mark the book. The first two lines on page 58 should be interchanged. The top two lines on page 59 should precede the quotation at the bottom of page 58. On page 141 "theological conception *is* illustrated" should read "*as* illustrated."

Part one is a tremendous stimulant to the imagination. The ancient images of the Scriptures are present in all their pristine power. Paths in paradise (or wilderness) beg for exploration. Here is one such example; "The sectarian Calvinist cultivators of the garden in the primeval wilderness and the Iberian Catholic conquistadors in search of El Dorado in his terrestrial paradise, having set out from the Old World with different objectives, laid down such contrasting patterns of life in the two new continents that to the present day these two impulses . . . provide us with a refined set of keys for the unlocking of certain parts of Latin and English New World civilizations which would be inaccessible to the blunter or more standardized keys, such as the contrasting pair: Catholic and Protestant." (p. 100).

Part Two is entitled "The Theological Idea of the University." Williams chooses to study Harvard as an example, explaining, "In dealing with the theological conception of one university, we are ultimately concerned with the Christian meaning of every college or university." (p. 141) He identifies five themes undergirding the formation of seventeenth century Harvard. He then traces these five themes in the history of the Old World to the Reformation. He speaks of the threefold office of Christ—priest, prophet, king—and of Calvin's use of this christological foundation in ordering Genevan society. Williams, using material impossible to summarize here, reduces the five university themes to two: "The paradise-wilderness cycle and the trinitarian-christological pattern of the three intersecting institutions of faith, learning, and commonwealth." (p. 195)

Since the two parts of the book are held together by the paradise-wilderness theme, this review closes with two sentences from the introduction.

"The Christian scholar or poet still lives in an enclosed and fertile part of that garden, sustained by the grace mediated through the fellowship of research, prayer, and kindled imagination. Disciplined by his Christian duty and opportunity to come face to face with the many before him in the vast *communio sanctorum* of the centuries, he may strengthen others who find themselves planted where the soil is exhausted and join with them in the never ending task of holding back the moral and spiritual wilderness on the frontier of which man precariously maintains his hold upon the life that God created and called good." (p. 8)

North Newton, Kansas *Elaine Sommers Rich*

Strassburg Anabaptists

Manfred Krebs and Hans Georg Rott. *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer*, Band VII & VIII, *Elsass* I. & II. Teil, *Stadt Strassburg* 1522-1532 und 1533-1535, Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1959 and 1960.

For decades German scholars and publishers have been publishing *Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte*. Within this framework ten volumes of *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer* have appeared. Volumes VII and VIII consist of sources dealing with the Anabaptists in Alsace, particularly the city of Strassburg. The preparation of the Strassburg sources was begun by Johann Adam. After his death, Walther Köhler continued the work. After World War II, this project was revived through the help of the American Mennonites. Manfred Krebs and Hans Georg Rott checked, reorganized, and edited the material. The two volumes under consideration here contain materials from 1522-1532. Additional material is to be published in one or two additional volumes.

Strassburg is no doubt one of the most significant centers, not only as far as the Reformation in general is concerned, but also in connection with the Anabaptist movement. The Strassburg Reformation, under the leadership of Capito and Bucer, played a unique role. These two reformers took a mediating position between Luther and Zwingli. They were more tolerant toward the Anabaptists than any other official Reformation authorities. This made it possible for some of the Anabaptists and other radical reformers to gather in Strassburg from time to time.

Among the Anabaptists, we find a great variety and wide range of representatives. Not only did the Swiss Brethren (Michael Sattler, Pilgram Marbeck, etc.) have a wing in Strassburg, but also the more spiritualistically inclined representatives such as Hans Denck, Ludwig Hetzer, Jacob Kautz, Sebastian Franck, and others. There were also anti-trinitarians such as followers of Michael Servetus, and chiliasts and enthusiasts such as Melchior Hofmann and David Joris. Among those demanding tolerance and religious freedom were Jacob Ziegler and Otto Brunfels. More radical reformers were Andreas Karlstadt and Martin Cellarius. Strassburg also had followers of Casper Schwenckfeld. Sources pertaining to this wide range of the 16th century radical reformers have been included in these two volumes. Also the reactions to the happenings in Strassburg of Zwingli, Luther, and others are included. Whether it was the peasant revolt or the Münster catastrophe, all are mirrored in the records of Strassburg.

Now for the first time, these sources can be used by scholars the world over interested in the Left Wing of the Reformation. The work and the accomplishments of these

three scholars is outstanding. The most careful methods were used in the preparation of the sources. The index alone, found in Volume II, pages 498-555, is an unusual achievement. Anyone looking for particulars in this collection of sources can find them easily.

It is hoped that the remaining source materials will be published soon. In the meantime, these volumes and those which precede, supply us with an ususually rich source of information dealing with the Left Wing Reformation of Germany.

Bethel College *Cornelius Krahn*

The Radical Reformation

The Radical Reformation by George H. Williams. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962, 924 pp., $15.00

Williams divides the Radical Reformation movement into seven primarily regional groupings: 1) Swiss Brethren, 2) South German and Austrian Anabaptists, 3) Hutterites, 4) Melchiorites or Mennonites, 5) Münsterites, 6) Predestinarians (Italy), and 7) Socinians (Poland) (p. 583).

To the Evangelical Anabaptists belonged the Swiss Brethren, the Mennonites, the Hutterites, and South Germans. The Revolutionary or Maccabean Anabaptists, as well as the spiritualizing Anabaptists, did not survive. Williams speaks of these three groups as the "suffering servants," the "militant heralds," and "watchful brooders."

Geographically, Williams' study covers Spain, Italy, The Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Moravia, Hungary, Poland, Transylvania, and England. The author covers all Radical Reformation efforts of the period of 1520-80, including those of the "classical" representatives such as Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Bucer, Capito, and many others of the local city-state units as far as they had contact with the Radical Reformers.

In a concluding chapter, "A New Perspective," the author characterizes the Magisterial Reformers as equating pedobaptism with circumcision. In opposition to this, the Radical Reformers accepted believer's baptism as a constitutive principle. Although Anabaptism, Spiritualism and Evangelical Rationalism were distinct from each other, Williams states that "the cumulative impression is massive and overwhelming," that they are "part of a still larger upheaval of the strata of late medieval Christendom."

The sweep of Williams' presentation is very impressive; in fact, almost overwhelming. The amount of source material he has consulted is unusual. It is true that not all areas have been investigated and studied with the same thoroughness. This is not at all surprising. The field is unlimited and the sources made available are almost unsurmountable and the author has not yet spent a lifetime on his study.

There is no question that the author has succeeded in demonstrating that all Radical Reformers had enough in common to justify the author's putting them all under one spiritual roof and gathering them on the same foundation. His unique approach and his deep insights open up new vistas for research, and will challenge many to check some former insights and conclusions derived from the research in this field. Generations of scholars will benefit from this magnificent and penetrating analysis of the "Left Wing" Reformation which was in decades past considered to be a "muddy" creek next to the mighty stream of the "classic" Reformation. Williams has demonstrated that the purity of the water in both was about the same and that the little stream was really a mighty river flowing parallel to the one of the Magisterial Reformation.

Although we agree that there is a "massive and overwhelming" impression that the total Radical Reformation has enough in common to justify the classification presented by Williams, one is tempted to do a re-grouping and rearranging of the various shades of Radical Reformers. In fact, one could raise the question whether some of the Radical Reformers did not have more in common with some Magisterial Reformers, at least in certain areas, than they had among themselves, as for example, the Swiss Brethren and the followers of Zwingli. When the Swiss Brethren and Zwingli separated in 1525, the former had more in common with Zwingli than they had with some of the anti-trinitarians or the followers of Münster. On the other hand, the Zwinglians had much more in common with the Swiss Brethren than with the magisterial Church of England. This does not deny the fact that all "radicals" had certain basic things in common. On the other hand, one could go a step further and point out that Luther and Müntzer did not only labor together for the same cause for some time, but they also had the mysticism of the Middle Ages which had quickened their faith in common. No doubt the challenge to investigate similarities and differences within the groups of the Radical Reformation on one hand and also within the Magisterial Reformation will continue to inspire scholars of the Reformation to investigate all aspects and come up with new findings, theories and syntheses.

A weakness of the book is the fact that the author takes the reader too swiftly from one country to the other. A geographical approach instead of the topical-spiral would in many instances have made the book easier to use. The maps and the very extensive index are valuable aids (pp. 867-924). Unfortunately the "Sources Quoted" have been hidden in the otherwise excellent "Indexes." Some inconsistencies of spelling or capitalizing of foreign words and names are found on pages 52, 73, 75, 83, 113, 141, 199, 501, 591, 766, 830 (footnote), etc.

One is struck by the consistency with which Williams Anglicizes all German first names of the total cloud of witnesses wherever possible. For example, whether they are Hans, Johann, or Johannes, they turn into John's. If the English does not have an equivalent, Ludwig turns into Louis and when a Dutch name seems not to have an equivalent either in the English or in the French, as for example is the case with Dirk Philips, Dirk is simply Germanized into Dietrich regardless of what the Dutch think of it. And all this, in spite of the fact that the four-volume *Mennonite Encyclopedia* and hundreds of other publications in the English language had established at times, possibly by a hit or miss method, that a given name, as well as the family name of a person, entered in the records of history should not be meddled with but kept in the original form whenever possible. One can hardly imagine the results of Williams' changing the names of several thousand Dutch persons found in the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* into English, French and German.

Williams has made wide use of recent doctoral dissertations, particularly those which he fathered. Naturally,

many more of the some hundred doctoral dissertations in this field could have been used to a greater extent if more time would have been available to the author. Williams used many primary sources recently made available through the publication of the *Täuferakten*. He also consulted many archives and libraries in this country and abroad. All in all, *The Radical Reformation* is a milestone in "Left Wing" Reformation research.

BETHEL COLLEGE *Cornelius Krahn*

Dutch Anabaptism

A Legacy of Faith. A Sixtieth Anniversary Tribute to Cornelius Krahn. Cornelius J. Dyck, editor. Faith and Life Press, Newton, 1962. 260 pages, 4 illustrations, $5.50.

No Other Foundation, Commemorative Essays on Menno Simons, by Walter Klaassen, William Keeney, Russell Mast, Vernon Neufeld, Cornelius Krahn. Bethel College, North Newton, 1962. viii, 76 pages, $1.50.

A Legacy of Faith

The religious life and thought of Menno Simons continues to be a subject of good report and interest. This is more than a matter of sentiment or loyalty on the part of the denomination bearing his name. Much of the speaking and writing at the recent quadricentennial, it is true, did not rise above respectful feeling. However a sensitive appraisal will not overlook the serious and at times scholarly attention given to the vital elements of his religious faith. It is not only that across the years his writings have nourished a wholesome kind of piety, but in the light of the 20th century it has been discovered that Menno's theology is more germane than was known for many years. The continuation of the study and writing about Menno's faith —which is the main substance of the two books considered here—is therefore both proper and welcome. One of these is occasioned by the quadricentennial of Menno's death; the other is a tribute to Cornelius Krahn, leading contemporary scholar in the field of Menno Simons studies.

In terms of ethnic origin as well as in his work as a church historian Cornelius Krahn stands in the Dutch tradition. He has in a sense retraced the history and culture of his people, for his writing has dealt not only with origins in the Netherlands but also with the later history of Mennonites in East Friesland, West Prussia, Russia, and America—the areas in which Mennonites of Dutch extraction established themselves. C. J. Dyck in the introduction of the book tells the story of Krahn's life as a scholar. After a youth in Russia he studied in Germany and eventually migrated to America. At Heidelberg he wrote his doctoral dissertation about the life and theology of Menno Simons. The leading chapter of this work, "Menno Simons' Concept of the Church," is here translated into English and reprinted. This was long overdue, for this elaboration of the nature of the church as understood by the Anabaptists is a principal source in recent Anabaptist historiography.

The twelve colleagues, students, and friends of Krahn who contribute to the book all belong to the Dutch ethnic family—all except J. F. C. Goeters, who gives here the text of "the oldest Anabaptist confession of faith in the Rhineland." It is a foretaste of his coming volume of *Täuferakten* from the Lower Rhineland. Heinold Fast contributes to a subject pertaining to the other leading Anabaptist tradition, that namely of the Swiss and South Germans. In a very strictly controlled piece of research about Hans Kruesi, an Anabaptist in the vicinity of St. Gall, a great deal of light is thrown on the earliest days of the movement in this area of Switzerland. It is doubtful, however, whether Hans Kruesi the schoolteacher (Paul Peachey says monk[1]) can be identified with Hans Nagel "ain Ledergerber." Gerhard Lohrenz marshals considerable evidence in "The Mennonites of Russia and the Great Commission" to show that the settlers, although stymied by political restrictions, engaged nonetheless in evangelistic outreach. This was done by indirect means and by supporting non-Mennonite agencies. Later they were the mainstay of the Dutch Mennonite missionary society in Sumatra and Java, supplying some 50 missionaries who went out during 1870-1914 under this society and others into foreign service. A brief article by Horst Quiring notes the dominant Flemish element among the early Mennonites coming from the Netherlands into the Danzig area. These four articles form Part II of the book and are in German, except for the article by Lohrenz.

Toward a Theology of Anabaptism

Part one is taken up with eight articles about Dutch Mennonite life and thought. The first four are theological in nature and are intended, together with the article on the doctrine of the church by Krahn, to form a major thrust of the book. Henry Poettcker studies Menno Simons' view of the Bible, particularly as he interpreted it as the authoritative Word of God. Menno holds to the unity of Scripture as it is revealed through Christ and strikes a good balance between the Outer Word and the Inner Word, with a tendency, however, to adhere unduly to the letter. William Keeney takes up the doctrine of the incarnation as taught by Menno Simons and Dirk Philips. The error, the author holds, pertains chiefly to physiology, and seen in the total theology of these writers it takes on a more plausible character. C. J. Dyck examines the doctrines of sin, regeneration, and sanctification in the writings of Hans de Ries. It is striking to observe that de Ries, who preoccupied himself with the traditional view of original sin, retained an optimistic view of man and was himself a leader among the more liberal Waterlanders. These studies make extensive use of original sources and raise many of the central issues in Anabaptist theology, but some suffer from lack of clarity.

In the chapter, "Grace in Dutch Mennonite Theology," J. A. Oosterbaan pushes back to a primary principle. Grace like truth is an absolute characteristic of the nature of God. The Anabaptists not only moved with Luther and Calvin beyond an objectifying of grace, as found in Roman Catholic theology, but they also corrected Protestant theology by asserting that the work of God's grace began at creation and not at reconciliation and forgiveness of sin. "Grace signifies nothing less than the creating love itself, which is the essence of God," (p. 82). Menno Simons thus arrived at a more fully-orbed view of grace. In this light the Anabaptist movement is to be seen as a secondary movement within the Reformation, a reaction called forth by the reformers.

The remaining four chapters have a varied character. Rosella R. Duerksen provides a summary treatment of Dutch Anabaptist hymnody. H. W. Meihuizen writes about Dutch painters in the time of Rembrandt and Vondel with many cogent observations and with a sprightly style worthy of the subject. Is the work of Carel van Mander for all its Renaissance flourish less Anabaptist than John Milton's, for example, is Puritan? N. van der Zijpp writes an introduction to a subject long neglected and using hereto untapped sources: the mutual aid of the Dutch to their afflicted brethren in the German Palatinate and Switzerland. Frits Kuiper ventures into the 19th century with an account of Jan de Liefde, whose voice and particularly his social concerns remind one of the *Innere Mission* and other contemporary evangelical movements. Even though much of the criticism was directed against the author's progenitor, Samuel Muller, he generously recognizes the values of de Liefde's criticism.

No Other Foundation

The seven chapters in *No Other Foundation* are of a more popular nature. An exception is Krahn's article on Menno Simons Research 1910-1960. Do the large number of recent studies owe their inspiration principally to the quadricentennial or is there a renewed interest in Menno Simons?

"Menno Simons and the Mennonite World Brotherhood," also by Krahn, is a reminder that the 20th century Mennonite brotherhood is not unlike the 16th century one. This is further verified in "Menno Simons and the Twentieth Century," by Vernon Neufeld. He holds that basic issues raised by Menno are the importance of the individual, the relationship between the Christian and the world, and the question of authority in questions of faith. Other articles by William Keeney and Russell Mast treat in summary fashion Menno's views about faith, reason, and the place of the Scriptures. No doubt these messages were more effective as speeches than they are as essays.

The Focus

In reading these books the thoughtful reader finds himself in need of a focus as he shifts his attention from the many 16th century sources found in the books and what is claimed about them by their 20th century interpreters. Possibly such a focus can be found by quoting from a message by Elton Trueblood at the Friends Third World Conference at Oxford in 1952. "Friends," he said, "had no notion of becoming a sect or developing into a highly respected denomination with well-managed institutions and pious anniversaries."[2] What is here said for Quakers may also be said for Mennonites. Mennonites today, as James Hastings Nichols has reminded us, are for all practical purposes a denomination.[3] It is with the denomination in mind that one must read most of our books, for they have the typical points of strength and the limitations which characterize this point of view.

It is characteristic of denominational history to emphasize uniqueness. Most historians believe that if one has to choose between the unique and the general a more adequate understanding of the past can be obtained by emphasizing the unique, particularly if it is done sympathetically. Persons, groups, and movements have their individual character. Both books tend to underscore the distinctive life and faith of 16th century Anabaptists, especially Menno Simons, and certain aspects of their life in later history. The value of this is obvious. Some of the articles go further and seek to legitimate the Mennonite past. This does not mean that the events are related uncritically. Heinold Fast is capable enough as a historian to note that Hans Kruesi had a revolutionary tinge. Henry Poettcker is not certain that Menno's views are always the right ones, and C. J. Dyck has some qualifications about Hans de Ries. Other examples might be mentioned.

George Williams in his account of American church historical writing points out that among the major denominations a turn away from denominational history came sometime in the 1930's.[4] Mennonites had a late start and much more has to be done to clarify the uniqueness of the theology of the Anabaptists, but it may be time now to do some thinking in more universal terms. Not that we swing to the other extreme, for the best historical writing takes place when the unique and the general are kept in tension. This has not been lost sight of in these books. Both continue the conversation about the faith of the Anabaptists. Both are attractively printed and well edited. The *Tribute* especially will find its way to students and pastors as well as to all those who are interested in a serious dialogue between the Christian and the world in the 20th century.

[1]Paul Peachey, *Die Soziale Herkunft der Schweizer Täufer in der Reformationszeit*. Karlsruhe, 1954. p. 109.

[2]Elton Trueblood, "The Conversion of Quakerism," *Third World Conference of Friends*. London, 1952. p. 5.

[3]James Hastings Nichols, *History of Christianity*, 1650-1950. New York, 1956. p. 12.

[4]George H. Williams, "Church History," *Protestant Thought in the Twentieth Century*. New York, 1951. pp. 162-178.

Irvin Horst

Anabaptists in German Literature

EDITORIAL NOTE: *The following "Abstract" is a brief summary of the author's findings presented in her dissertation entitled "The Sixteenth-Century Anabaptists as a Theme in Twentieth-Century German Literature (1900-1957)," which was presented to the Department of German of Indiana University* (1959).

Quantitatively, the thirty-one twentieth-century German belletristic works on Anabaptism treated here represent a striking increase in the use of the Anabaptist theme, since only thirty-four had appeared in the previous four centuries. Even more marked is the increase in the treatments of evangelical Anabaptism proper, of which twice as many (twelve) have appeared since 1900 as before 1900. Equally noticeable is a change in tone. All the literature written since 1900 reflects clearly a positive attitude toward Anabaptism. However, the new historical or theological insights are seldom reflected in this new literature.

The literary appeal of the Münster theme remains, as it has always been, largely one of sensationalism with emphasis on the problematics of its leaders' motivation. Works which transcend the level of sensationalism treat the Münster episode as an epitome of post medieval dissolution of form in which to study "modernity" or as a prototype of National Socialism. In Friedrich Dürrenmatt's

important drama *Es steht geschrieben* (1947), Münster represents not only chaos but also the possibility of faith within chaos. In F. T. Csokor's fine novel *Der Schlüssel zum Abgrund* (1955), Münster is an island of form in chaos. Only one of the eight important works on Münster (Bernhard Kellermann's drama *Die Wiedertäufer*, 1935) distinguishes between the evangelical Anabaptists and the Münsterites. The rest present all of Anabaptism much as it has been traditionally regarded, as social revolt perverted by chiliastic mysticism with its climax in Münster.

The literary interest in the evangelical Anabaptists is not primarily in its theology, but in the superficial aspects of its nonconformist, "modern" ethic. Most of the works exploit Anabaptist ethics tendentiously, as they support such goals as democratic social structure, tolerance and brotherhood, or even a Germanic "folk" church. The evangelical Anabaptists are presented with great disparity as voluble mystics, social revolutionaries, antipietistic activists, or Nordic heroes. Only Caesar von Arx's *Brüder in Christo* (1947) may be said to combine profound insight into historical evangelical Anabaptism with a high degree of literary excellence. Its concern focuses primarily on the absolute nature of Anabaptist *Imitatio Christi*. It illustrates the most important contemporary literary appeal of Anabaptism: the appeal of uncompromising faith to an age of relativism and doubt.

Mary Eleanor Bender

Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. *Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*. Dritte, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage in Gemeinschaft mit Hans Frhr. v. Campenhausen, Erich Dinkler, Gerhard Gloege und Knud E. Logstrup herausgegeben von Kurt Galling. (Tübingen: Paul Siebeck, 1957), 6 vols.

Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart (*RGG*) is a unique source of information and a monument to German theological scholarship. The first edition appeared before World War I, the second after the war (1927-1932), and now the third edition, started in 1957, is completed. The alphabetical treatment of subject matter and persons from A-Z was completed in the sixth volume in 1963. An index volume, including brief biographical sketches of all writers is to follow.

For the sake of efficiency the field of religion was divided into Science of Religion, Old Testament, New Testament, Biblical Archaeology, Church History, Denominations, Ecumenical Movement, Doctrines, Philosophy of Religion, Philosophy, Ethics, Social Sciences, Practical Theology, Missions, Canon Law, Church Music, Education, Christian Art, and Literature. The editor, Kurt Galling, and his assistants in the various fields, were primarily from Germany, although Denmark and Sweden were also represented. The writers of articles are truly representative of all denominations and countries around the globe.

The systematic way in which the publisher, Paul Siebeck of Tübingen, now the third generation of publishers of the *RGG*, went to work in preparing and planning this edition is astounding. Naturally not all areas have been treated with the same thoroughness. The various articles dealing with the Bible cover columns 1122-1251 of volume 1. The breakdown under which the various articles on this subject appear is Old Testament, New Testament, Doctrines of the Bible, the Bible in Education, the Bible in Missions, the Bible Manuscripts, Bible Translations, Bible Illustrations, Bible Associations, Bible Distribution, Bible Scholarship, Bible Hermeneutics, Bible Inspiration, etc. There is a considerable change in the spirit and the approach to the Bible, and of Christianity and Theology, in general, if one compares the articles of the first and second editions with this third edition. World War I and II and the progress in research and discoveries in archaeology have made a great impact. Theological articles reveal a more positive Biblical emphasis. The theology of Karl Barth and a more penetrating search for Christian truth in connection with the upheaval in modern times have had their influence. The articles are exact, brief and to the point. The last edition consists of six volumes instead of five.

Attention should be called to the fact that the Anabaptist-Mennonites found a fairly good treatment in the *RGG*. General articles on *Täufer* (Fast) and *Mennoniten* (Krahn), each consisting of approximately three columns, inform the reader briefly about Anabaptists and Mennonites, including the basic bibliographies. Among the leaders we find Conrad Grebel (Fast), Felix Manz (Moeller), Michael Sattler (Goeters), W. Reublin (Fast), Hans Hut (Mecenseffy, Balthasar Hubmaier (Dollinger), Hans Denk (Goeters), Pilgram Marbeck (Fast), Jacob Hutter (Mecenseffy), Rothmann (Stupperich), Melchior Hofmann (Kawerau) and Menno Simons (Crous). Some of these articles are shorter than others, as for example Conrad Grebel and Menno Simons, get about one-third of the space of that allotted to Rothmann and Hubmaier. If any criticism is in place it is that insufficient space was allotted for some persons and others were completely omitted (Obbe and Dirk Philips, etc.).

It can be said that there is no other source of information in the field of religion which covers any question which the theologian and interested layman may raise as comprehensively, thoroughly and reliably as does the *RGG*. Many generations of scholarship and research have been packed into these volumes.

Bethel College *Cornelius Krahn*

Settlements in Paraguay

Immigrant Group Settlements in Paraguay: A Study in the Sociology of Colonization by Joseph Winfield Fretz. North Newton, Kansas: Bethel College, 1962. 194 pp. Illustrations, tables, maps. Foreword by George L. Warren, Department of State.

With the aid of a Guggenheim and a Fulbright Grant J. W. Fretz spent some time in Paraguay making this sociological study of colonization. Though this work includes other immigrant groups, the major thrust is on the Mennonite colonies. This is understandable since Fretz, having earlier made an extensive study of the Paraguayan Mennonites (*Pilgrims in Paraguay*), can no doubt be classed as the outstanding sociological authority on that subject.

In the present volume the author, after discussing Paraguay as an immigrant country, deals with unsuccessful immigrant group settlements, and then with the successful group settlements. He brings out the interesting point that the successful immigrant groups are confined very largely to

Germans (including the Mennonite colonies). And of these, despite the inhospitable Chaco, the Mennonite colonies in that area are among the most successful. In no small part this is due to strong religious motivation, good leadership and organization, and cultural cohesiveness.

Two of the most interesting chapters deal with the interactions and relations between the colonists and the Paraguayans, although the chapters are mis-titled somewhat in that the discussion is largely on the relations between the Mennonites and Paraguayans. Fretz has found that there is considerable interaction, although not as much as many Paraguayans would wish, and perhaps more than some Mennonites desire.

In the concluding chapters the author discusses the prospects for future immigration to Paraguay, which thus far has been quite small. There is no question that the country could take care of many more people, but Fretz feels that the government will have to provide a more attractive immigration policy and will have to be more aggressive in letting prospective immigrants know about it. The author ends his study on a fairly positive and optimistic note.

This is a solid and worthwhile study. Some scholars may feel that, from their viewpoint, fuller and more adequate documentation and the use of more Paraguayan sources would have made the work still more valuable. There is also an occasional slip and inaccurate statement. But the few slips noted are more than compensated for by the fact that the author, a scholarly sociologist, refuses to use a lot of technical, sociological jargon which the layman does not understand. The book can therefore be recommended not only to scholars, for whom it will have great value, but also to that large number of people, Mennonites and others, who have an interest in Paraguay.

GOSHEN COLLEGE — *Willard H. Smith*

Catholic Hymnody

Wilhelm Bäumker. *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied in seinen Singweisen. Begonnen von K. S. Meister. Auf Grund handschriftlicher und gedruckter Quellen bearbeitet, nach dem Tode des Verfassers fortgesetzt von Jos. Gotzen.* 4 volumes. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962, 2420 pp. (cloth). Reprint of Freiburg edition, 1883-1911. DM 312.00.

The literature that concerns itself with the *Kirchenlied* (church hymns) during the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and well into the nineteenth centuries is primarily of Protestant origin. Not until about the middle of the nineteenth century did the Catholic church show much interest in the *Kirchenlied*. *Kurze Geschichte des deutschen Kirchengesanges im Eichsfelde*, a small booklet by Johann Wolf published in 1815, is the first book of its kind by a Catholic author. Hölscher followed in 1848 with his book, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied vor der Reformation*. At this time Kienemund presented his book, *Kurze Geschichte des katholischen Kirchengesanges*, in which the German *Kirchenlied* receives attention. In a more thorough manner Bollens surveys the *Kirchenlied* in his book, *Der deutsche Choralgesang in der katholischen Kirche*, published in 1851. *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied in seinen Singweisen* by Wilhelm Bäumker is the most scholarly and complete treatment on the subject of the Catholic *Kirchenlied*.

Each of the four volumes by Bäumker are divided into two sections, the first being the general, the second the particular and/or detailed. In the general sections the historical aspect of the *Kirchenlied* is discussed both from the Catholic and the Protestant viewpoint. These discussions are thorough, detailed, and interesting with a complete bibliography appended. The hymnbooks of each period under consideration are presented and evaluated.

In the particular and/or detailed sections the *Kirchenlied*, both lyric and melody, from the Latin, German and other languages, as well as the folk songs, are presented. The fact that both lyric and melody are presented, in the opinion of this reviewer, makes these volumes of such great significance and value. Any person interested in the history of the Catholic *Kirchenlied* should certainly look into this *opus* by Wilhelm Bäumker.

BETHEL COLLEGE — *Walter H. Hohmann*

Creed and Laity

The Rebirth of the Laity by Howard Grimes. New York: Abingdon Press, 1962, 176 pp., $3.50.

"This is a book *about* and partly *for* the laity, though it is hoped that the clergy will also take its point of view seriously." By "laity" is here understood the "non-professional members of the Church's ministry." The general position upheld in this book is that the layman no less than the clergyman is involved in the ministry of the church. This is the case since this ministry is the obligation and responsibility of the whole church and not only of a special group or class within it.

In the development of this theme there is one chapter on the biblical basis for the point of view and another one which traces its historical development, with particular attention given to the Reformation. With this strong emphasis on the ministry on the laity, what then happens to the ordained clergy, the "set-apart ministry"? In his chapter on "The Gathered Church" he considers numerous attempts to resolve the problem. He concludes by suggesting that the ordained clergyman, while never separated from the whole people of God, is still essential to the well-being of the church. Because of his special "gifts and graces" he is in a position to function representatively for the church.

To this reviewer the strongest chapter is the one entitled, "The Laity in Dispersion." The church is engaged in its most significant dialogue with the world when laymen are dispersed in and throughout the world. For it is precisely at those points where the laymen must make decisions and face choices that the most significant witness for Christianity is made. The ordained clergyman has as his major responsibility the task of preparing the congregation for its work of ministry to the world.

The chapters in which he suggests specific methods of renewing the life of the laity may have less permanent value. In his use of small groups within the church he is aware of the criticisms made by John Fry regarding many of the current group techniques. Here the author demonstrates less candor and seems more susceptible to current fads than abiding principles. For the most part the book holds a very fine balance, and speaks eloquently to a very important point.

BETHEL COLLEGE CHURCH — *Russell L. Mast*

Smart, James D. *The Creed in Christian Teaching.* Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962. 238 pp. $4.50.

The author points up the need for Christian education to be based on a vital belief—a theology; thus helping those who work in this field to understand the importance of theology in the search for truth. Theologians are also challenged to recognize that theology becomes vital only as the questions of belief are raised and faced in an educational context so the truth of Jesus Christ becomes the source of the answers by which men find a new life in Him.

Smart points out that the truth found in Jesus Christ can be discovered only through a study of the Scriptures and of the faith the Church has found in Him. As the New Testament is the original apostolic confession of faith and the Apostolic Creed distills that faith into a brief compass, the author structures his study of the truth found in Jesus Christ by examining each phrase of the Apostolic Creed. In examining each phrase, he gives Christian educators very helpful information on the background or original context in which each phrase was used and on its meaning or significance at that time. He further proceeds to discuss the questions modern scholarship and contemporary thinking may raise regarding various phrases or words and their significance to Christianity today.

The teacher will be forced to recognize the theological implications of various aspects of his teaching. While the book is written plainly and interestingly, the lay reader who is unaccustomed to theological thinking may not find the significance of the Creed to Christian teaching obvious in a casual reading; however, further study will be rewarding and should help teachers to make their teaching more vital and relevant to basic beliefs.

Bluffton, Ohio — *Martha F. Graber*

Griffin, Clifford S. *Their Brothers' Keepers,* Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1880-1865. New Brunswick; Rutgers University Press, 1960. 332 pp. $6.00.

This book is both scholarly and a readable story of the interesting activities of the colorful persons who organized and controlled the American Education Society, the Home Mission Society, the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, the American Sunday School Union, the American Peace Society, the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, and the American Anti-slavery Society.

The author is somewhat unsympathetic toward the methods used by those who wanted to convert or change the behavior of others. They are pictured as self-righteous, dictatorial, and pompous trustees who used propaganda and force to violate other men's privacy and exploited the evangelical impulse for their own purposes. There is not always a clear distinction between the use of persuasion or coercion in their efforts to achieve the public welfare. That the stewards may sometimes have been inspired by disinterested or noble purposes or may have made unselfish or sacrificial efforts, or that the societies may have made worthwhile contributions is not clearly recognized. Nevertheless, this book makes a valuable contribution in telling the interesting story of this period, and in its extensive listing of the original sources used to assemble this information on a segment of American history.

Bluffton, Ohio — *Martha F. Graber*

William Childs Robinson, *The Reformation; A Rediscovery of Grace,* Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1962. 189 pp. Cloth $5.00.

In the face of ecumenical interest both in Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, this book represents an attempt to restate "the central beliefs and teachings of the Reformers concerning Grace, God, the Gospel, Justification, Theology, the Word, and the Church." Anabaptism, although now recognized by leading church historians as an important part of the Reformation, is dismissed at several points as not being true to the Reformation norm which is presumably Lutheranism and Calvinism.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Not all books received for review can be reviewed as quickly as the authors and publishers would like. In order to present to our readers a sampling of what has been published recently on various subjects we present this list without further comment. This does not mean that some of the books will not receive more attention in short reviews in future issues of *Mennonite Life.*

Christ and the Bible

Anderson, Wilhelm. *Law and Gospel. A Study in Biblical Theology* (New York: Association Press, 1961), 80 pp. $1.00.

Anderson, Stanley E. *Our Dependable Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1960), 248 pp., $3.95.

Bruce, F. F. *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1959), 82 pp., $2.50.

Cornell, George W. *They Knew Jesus* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1957), 286 pp., $3.75.

Cragg, Herbert W. *The Sole Sufficiency of Jesus Christ for Creed and Conduct* (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1961), 110 pp., $2.50.

Glueck, Nelson. *Rivers in the Desert. A History of the Negev* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1959), 302 pp., $6.50.

Gospel According to Thomas, The. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), 62 pp., $2.00.

Knox, John. *The Death of Christ* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1952), 190 pp., $2.75.

Lightfoot, Neil R. *How We Got the Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1963), 128 pp., $2.50.

Ramsay, William M. *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1963), 446 pp., $4.95.

Reik, Theodor. *Mystery on the Mountain* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), 204 pp., $3.75.

Thielicke, Helmut. *Between God and Satan* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1958), 84 pp., $2.00.

Thomson, James G. S. S. *The Praying Christ* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1959), 155 pp., $3.00.

Theology

Barth, Karl. *The Faith of the Church. A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed According to Calvin's Catechism* (New York: Meridian Books, 1958), 188 pp., $1.25.

Barth, Karl. *The Great Promise. Luke 1* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1963), 70 pp., $2.75.

Berkouwer, G. C. *Divine Election* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960), 336 pp., $4.50.

Berkouwer, G. C. *The Triumph of Grace in the Theology of Karl Barth* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1956), 414 pp., $2.45.

Carnell, Edward John. *The Case for Orthodox Theology* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), 162 pp., $3.50.

Carnell, Edward John. *The Theology of Reinhold Niebuhr* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960), 250 pp., $2.45.

De Wolf, L. Harold. *The Case for Theology in Liberal Perspective* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), 206 pp., $3.50.

Haller, William. *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 464 pp.

Halverson, Marvin, editor. *A Handbook of Christian Theology* (New York: Meridian Books, Inc., c. 1958), 380 pp., $1.45.

Hazelton, Roger. *New Accents in Contemporary Theology* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), 144 pp., $3.00.

Hordern, William. *The Case for a New Reformation Theology* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), 176 pp., $3.50.

Kraemer, Hendrik. *A Theology of the Laity* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958), 192 pp.

McCulloh, Gerald O., editor. *Man's Faith and Freedom. The Theological Influence of Jacobus Arminius.* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 128 pp., $2.50.

McIntyre, John. *The Christian Doctrine of History.* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957), 119 pp., $2.50.

Martin, James P. *The Last Judgment* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1963), 214 pp., $4.00.

Mixter, Russell L., editor. *Evolution and Christian Thought Today* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1959), 224 pp. + illustrations, $4.50.

Oman, John. *Grace and Personality* (New York: Association Press, 1961), 255 pp., $1.50.

Paul, Robert S. *The Atonement and the Sacraments* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960), 396 pp., $6.50.

Richardson, Cyril C. *The Doctrine of the Trinity* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1958), 159 pp., $3.00.

Runia, Klaas. *Karl Barth's Doctrine of Holy Scripture* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1962), 225 pp., $4.00.

Thielicke, Helmut. *Out of the Depths* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1962), 89 pp., $2.50.

Torrance, Thomas F. *The Doctrine of Grace in The Apostolic Fathers* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1959), 150 pp., $3.00.

Philosophy

Buber, Martin. *Hasidism and Modern Man* (New York: Horizon Press, 1958), 256 pp., $4.00.

Clark, Gordon H. *A Christian View of Men and Things* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1952), 325 pp., $2.45.

Croxall, T. H., editor. *Meditation from Kierkegaard* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1955), 165 pp., $3.00.

David, George W. *Existentialism and Theology* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957), 88 pp., $2.75.

Durant, Will. *The Story of Philosophy* (New York: *Time* Incorporated, 1962 edition), 509 pp.

Heinemann, F. H. *Existentialism and the Modern Predicament* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), 229 pp., $1.25.

Hoefeld, Friedrich. *Der christliche Existenzialismus Gabriel Marcels* (Zurich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1956), 174 pp.

Roberts, David E. *Existentialism and Religious Belief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), 344 pp., $5.00.

Spinoza, Baruch. *The Book of God* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958), 121 pp., $3.00.

Troeltsch, Ernst. *Christian Thought. Its History and Application* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957), 191 pp., $1.25.

Ethics

Angell, Robert Cooley. *Free Society and Moral Crisis* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1958), 252 pp., $6.00.

Lefever, Ernest. *Ethics and United States Foreign Policy* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957), 199 pp., $1.25.

Niebuhr, Reinhold. *An Interpretation of Christian Ethics* (New York: Meridian Books, 1956), 224 pp., $1.25.

Mysticism

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