MENNONITE LIFE

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FRONT COVER:
St. Joder Chapel located near Grafenort at Altstellen, Switzerland (see article "A Yoder Patron Saint?" p. 103).

BACK COVER:
Representatives of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in a Vietnam war protest stand in prayer in Arlington National Cemetery, February 6, 1968 (including Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy).

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IN THIS ISSUE

Martin Luther King, Jr., stopped by Laurie Pritchett in Albany (see page 99 in this issue) was featured on the front cover of the January 1967 issue devoted to the race question. Violence, which he opposed as a means of realizing a just cause, silenced his voice. But the march and the promotion of the cause he stood for goes on. The poem, the illustration, the fitting words by Franklin H. Littell, and the "Summary of the Report of the National Advisory Commisssion on Civil Disorders and Some Observations" are memorials and challenges for those who carry on. ¶ The article by Rachel W. Kreider is an example of how some names have originated. The widespread Mennonite-Amish name "Yoder" could have had its origin by naming children after a patron saint. The St. Joder chapel on the cover was dedicated to him. Thus this name could ultimately have become a family name, which has been the case in many other instances (Wiebe, Janzen, etc.). Stefan Andres' "The Cows" is a delightful autobiographical narration which reveals meaning, depth, reality, and relationships to God, the creator, where few seek and consequently miss finding such. "Worship Among the Anabaptists" presents an interesting note and source of information for our day, showing how some reformers sought and found meaning in relationships among themselves and with God. ¶ B. B. Janz, who was instrumental in helping many Mennonites find new homes after the Russian Revolution, has found a biographer in John B. Toews. Clayton R. Koppes features the daily life, with emphasis on violence, which was common in the Cow Towns of the prairie states. Stanley C. Shenk presents titles of American Mennonite fiction in addition to that featured previously. ¶ Cornelius Krahn, whose *Dutch Anabaptism* is to be off the press this summer, presents a "revolutionary and violent" aspect of Anabaptism that has been and still is a controversial issue among the Mennonites, the descendants of Anabaptism, and the historians in general. The research reports and the book reviews, as well as the bibliographies, are more extensive this year than they have ever been. This is partly due to the fact that there is an increase in research and also because many friends and scholars gladly shared with the editors the information they had. "Letters and Issues" (p. 114) can become a significant workshop with the help of the readers and contributors.

For Martin L. King, Jr.

After all the formal baptisms of water,
without ceremony
he entered the Jordan of his own blood.

We have been looking for gurus
to move quietly among us
and have not heard the thunder
of souls breaking out of bodies.

Life and death are on television,
dancing
in the words of followers and leaders,
electric and indistinct.
CBS and NBC cannot weep. In their pictures
even tears seem black and white.
No blood drips from the screen
onto my living room floor. Yet,
I walk around it. Lord,
I say to someone I have never seen,
Make me transparent.
Make us all transparent.

By John C. Rezmerski

Martin Luther King, Jr. (left) and William G. Anderson were arrested in front of the City Hall in Albany, Georgia, when they continued to pray in defiance of Pritchett's order to move on.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

IT WAS MY PRIVILEGE to know Martin Luther King, Jr., at Boston University, and to respect and admire the way in which he grew into world Christian leadership across a decade and a half. I attended the founding meeting of the SCLC in Atlanta, and I well remember how unlikely it seemed that this attempt—like so many good Christian causes launched by a handful of devoted people with no real financial resources—would move much beyond dozens of previous projects that exploded in optimism, survived briefly, and withered in obscurity. That this did not happen this time was due to Dr. King's genius for tying the drudgery of the practical to the starlike, charismatic appeal of high principle.

Martin Luther King, Jr., fused two previously inconsonant concepts and practices: the nonresistance of the Sermon on the Mount and the nonviolent coercion (NVDA) of the Gandhian movement in India. Without the deep devotion of black religion to the imagery and language of the Bible, the fusion would never have held. Without the lack of violent alternatives open to the second-class citizens for whom he became spokesman, prayer vigil and boycott might not have gained such a wide following.

As it was, Dr. King will be remembered—as long as there is an America—for his unique combination of Christian faith and love of the American Constitution. With Dr. King's assassination, and the assassinations of President Kennedy and his brother, the question whether the American republic can be saved from the extremists and destroyers is moot.

If the American dream is realized, Martin Luther King, Jr., will be remembered as one of the chief architects.

Franklin H. Littell

Separate and Unequal

A Summary of the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders and Some Observations

By Howard Snider

FOLLOWING THE WIDESPREAD urban disorders of 1967, the President of the United States appointed a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders to investigate three principal problems. 1. What happened? 2. Why did it happen? 3. What can be done to prevent it from happening again?

The Commission investigated 75 major and representative disorders in which destruction of property and life occurred. In the cases studied, 81 deaths occurred. Early reports of property damage were grossly exaggerated. In Detroit, for example, the news media reported damage as exceeding 200 million. The actual damage is now reported to be in the range of 45 million (p. 6).

No single universal pattern of disorders occurred giving the lie to some accusations that outside influences inspired the disturbances. The Commission found specifically that "urban disorders in the summer of 1967 were not caused by, nor were they the consequence of, any organized plan or 'conspiracy'" (p. 9).

Although no single pattern characterized the disorders, some general patterns seem to be fairly evident. The Commission found that a cyclical pattern appeared in that disturbances of the evening flared into rioting in the night but tended to subside during the day. Precipitating incidents giving rise to rioting emerged from small incidents in a generally disturbed social atmosphere. In 24 major disorders analyzed, the precipitating factor was "police actions in almost half of the cases" (p. 6).

The escalation was characterized by violent attack against property in the window breaking, fires and subsequent looting. Violence against persons occurred at the point of attempted control.

The Commission found that a minority of the residents of the riot-torn areas were actually involved. In a survey in a representative case, only 11 percent of the residents were involved in rioting. Twenty to twenty-five percent reported themselves as bystanders. Sixteen percent moved about as counter rioters attempting to "cool" the rioters, and 40 to 53 percent stayed at home or were absent from the area (p. 7). It was found further that in Detroit and Newark 70 percent of the rioters were born and raised in the north. The typical rioter was a high school dropout but somewhat better educated than many of his non-rioting neighbors. The counter rioters were in general better educated than the rioters, older and with more status.

The spectacular nature of the civil disorders and the treatment by the mass media of the specific events dramatized the chaos and destruction. In the midst of this drama little attention was given to the causal factors.

The social conditions underlying the civil disorders were closely analyzed by the Commission in an attempt to find the factors giving rise to the mood of violence among a minority of urban Negroes.

The summary of the Commission report states: "white racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II. Among the ingredients of this mixture are:

Pervasive discrimination and segregation in employment, education and housing, which have resulted in the continuing exclusion of great numbers of Negroes from the benefits of economic progress.

Black in-migration and white exodus which have produced the massive and growing concentration of impoverished Negroes in our major cities, creating a growing crisis of deteriorating facilities and services and unmet human needs.

The black ghettoes where segregation and poverty converge on the young to destroy opportunity and enforce failure. Crime, drug addiction, dependency on welfare, and bitterness and resentment against society

in general and white society in particular are the result (p. 10).

These ghetto conditions of poverty, acute social disorganization and racial groups that are involuntarily segregated are viewed as a product of white policy and economic practice. The results are evident in: (1) frustrated hopes, (2) a climate that tends toward approval and encouragement of violence, (3) the frustration of powerlessness, (4) a mood of militancy, and (5) a feeling on the part of the Negroes that the police and police power symbolize white power, white racism, and white repression, causing police action to spark disorder (p. 11).

Among the specific causal factors indicated in the Commission's findings, unemployment, inadequate housing, inadequate education, and inadequate welfare conditions are particularly noted. The extent of the ghetto problem is indicated by the fact that some 14.8 million of the 21.5 million Negroes living in America are living in metropolitan areas, a vast majority of them in the ghettoes (p. 12).

The Commission pointed to the mass disadvantage and culture of poverty which characterizes the ghettos. Unemployment and underemployment is 8.8 times greater in the ghetto than the overall rate for United States workers (p. 13). In 1966, 40.6 percent of the non-whites were below the "poverty level" ($3,335 per year). In the cities investigated by the Commission in which riots occurred, Negroes as compared with whites were twice as likely to be unemployed and three times as likely to be in unskilled and in service jobs (p. 8).

The impossibility of meeting more than the most elementary conditions for physical survival in this "culture of poverty" destroys any initiative for personal development. The "culture of poverty" leads further to discouragement, disorganization of the family, absent fathers, working mothers, and unsupervised children.

The Commission found that "Negroes averaged 70 percent of the income earned by whites and were more than twice as likely to be living in poverty. Although housing cost Negroes relatively more, they had worse housing—three times as likely to be overcrowded and substandard" (p. 8). It was also found that the average Negro in the ghetto area tended to have completed fewer years of education and fewer had attended high school (p. 8). Thus, the major factors in upward mobility present in our society are working to the disadvantage of the Negro.

The urgency of conditions found by the Commission provided impetus for a speedy release of the report. The recommendations which they make are far reaching and are both general and specific in nature. In general they make the observation that "city governments need new and more vital channels of communication to the residents of the ghetto; they need to improve their capacity to respond effectively to community needs before they become community grievances; and they need to provide opportunity for meaningful involvement of the ghetto residents in shaping policies and programs which affect the community" (p. 16).

Three chapters of the report are concerned with police action in the community, the effort to establish order, and the application of justice under emergency conditions. These chapters observe that there is a lack of effective mechanism for dealing with complaints against the police and that aggressive control action sometimes precipitates tension and hostility. It is recommended that more adequate police protection be supplied with more extensive police training and inclusion of a larger proportion of Negroes in the regular police force.

The necessity to maintain law and order is emphasized and it is recommended that special training in riot control be instituted. It is suggested also that control equipment to provide alternatives for the use of lethal weapons should be established. The Commission was aware that there exist within the ghetto forces which were made for order, and it is recommended that these forces be more adequately utilized in future disturbances (p. 8).

The inability of the courts to deal realistically with the vast numbers of people arrested in the disturbances of 1967 led to recommendations for reform of the courts. The main area of reform recommended is the need for an increase in personnel to facilitate the work of the courts.

The public reaction to the disturbances of 1967 were in some ways a consequence of the reporting by the news media. While paying tribute to the news media in general in terms of their factual accounting of events, it was observed "elements of the news media failed to portray accurately the scale and character of the violence that occurred last summer. The overall effect was, we believe, an exaggeration of both mood and event. Important segments of the media failed to report adequately on the causes and consequences of civil disorders and on the underlying problems of race relations. They have not communicated to the majority of their audience—which is white—a sense of the degradation, misery and hopelessness of life in the ghetto" (p. 20).

The dismay of American citizens, the uncertainty with which the events were greeted, and the urgency of the conditions are not convincing evidence that the events of 1967 will not be repeated. The reporting of the events and pointing to the factors giving rise to the events is not the same as modifying the causal situations. A report does not automatically lead to the implementation of the recommendations of that report. Kenneth B. Clark, a distinguished and perceptive scholar, read the report and made the ob-

servation: "I read that report . . . of the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '35, the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '43, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot. I must again in candor say to you members of this Commission—it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland—with the same moving picture re-shown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, and the same inaction" (p. 29).

The urgency for action now is underscored repeatedly through the report of the Commission. The gravity of the situation is reflected in the Commission's observation that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal" (p. 1). "Reaction to last summer's disorders has quickened the movement and deepened the division. Discrimination and segregation have long permeated much of American life; they now threaten the future of every American" (p. 1). "To pursue our present course will involve the continuing polarization of the American community and, ultimately, the destruction of basic democratic values" (p. 1).

In many cases the response to the disturbances in 1967 was terror on the part of the white society and immediate strong recommendations for repression. Many in the American society do not seem to be aware that violence cannot build a better society—neither violence on the part of the rioters nor on the part of the controlling agencies. Although the major portion of the report deals with constructive recommendations, it appears that many will find in the report those elements which alleviate their own immediate anxiety. It appears that the emphasis on increasing police control and efficiency may be the elements that will be gleaned from the report and implemented in practical programs.

Since the release of the report, relatively little action has been taken by Congress aimed at the alleviation of basic problems. Much effort and money has been expended in many of the urban areas to increase police efficiency in terms of mobility, riot control procedures and other controls aimed at containing riots and apprehending individuals responsible for causing disturbances. It is to be feared that the emphasis on this aspect of the problem which itself is violent in nature will engender further violence in a desperate community where violence is becoming a normal way of life.

The spectacular events surrounding the civil disorders, the drama of burning, breaking, and looting, engage the attention of the mass media and the startled response of the citizens. The underlying causes of these behavioral responses in the Negro ghettoes largely go unnoticed. The Commission Report notes: "What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it" (p. 2). The vast majority of property in the ghetto areas is white owned and white controlled and the use of living space and facilities is determined largely by whites. The conditions thus making for rioting are directly in the hands of those who cry most vehemently for its control and suppression. The living circumstances thus created make for the forming of persons in the ghetto whose self-image is poor, whose self-respect is low, whose capabilities for modification of fundamental aspects of existence are limited. The dehumanizating aspects of ghetto life can only result in inhuman action. These actions are not likely to be modified by the application of inhuman repression and reprisal.

Despite the gravity of the situation and the pessimism, the Commission Report is not hopeless. It states, "This deepening racial division is not inevitable. The movement apart can be reversed. Choice is still possible. Our principal task is to define that choice and to press for a national resolution. The alternative is not blind repression or capitulation to lawlessness. It is the realization of common opportunities for all within a single society." (p. 1).

The gravity of the situation may be cause for either hope or despair. It may spur the American society to make the modifications necessary for the realization of equal opportunity for all in a single society, or it may spur the society to surrender the hope of equality and bend toward increasing segregation, suppression, and separatism.

The road to opportunity, equality and finally commonness of culture and social structure would introduce changes of a monumental nature which would test the moral strength of every American.

The question must be raised as to whether the present social system is plastic enough to make the modifications necessary to the realization of common opportunity. The power structure's commitment to the myth of the American ideal of equality is so great that it is probably incapable of entertaining even in an elemental way structural changes that are necessary for practical realization of the ideal.

The relative worth of person as opposed to property is a fundamental concern. As long as the property rights of the white power structure supersede the right of the Negro in the ghetto to become a self-respecting person, I would see little hope. It would take a colossal upsetting of the value system in order to allow the change to occur. As long as the economic power in the ghetto lies in the hands of the whites, the power to become full and participating persons in the social structure of American society lies beyond the grasp of the ghetto resident.

The fact that the American masses could live for decades unresponsive to the tragedy of the inestimable

loss of human values, dignities and worth and yet become extremely excited at the loss of property augurs ill for any modification that is meaningful.

It is inescapable that human dignity and living conditions are inseparable. The resources of this country are certainly adequate to provide the conditions for the emergence of dignified men. It is less clear that we have the resources of courage to make the allocation of resources in such a way as to lead to the dignifying of all men.

It seems strange that a society committed to the efficient productivity of material items for which adequate planning is a precondition seems almost pathologically fearful of planning for social conditions necessary for the experience of human dignity.

The Commission on Civil Disorders is aware of the need for planning and far-reaching modification. Their recommendations are clear and urgent. Thus far the legislators have chosen to overlook the recommendations. It probably lies with the citizens at the grass roots of American society to press for action.

The task is ours. In the words of the Commission, "If we are heedless, none of us shall escape the consequences."

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. New York: The New York Times Company, 1948.

A Yoder Patron Saint?

By Rachel W. Kreider

ONE OF THE most prolific families of Anabaptist origin in America is that of the Yoders. There have been numerous immigrants of this name, arriving from the earliest years of the eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth. Whether they came via Alsace or the Palatinate, or directly from their native land, they all descend eventually from a very old Swiss family. From both the archives at Bern and further studies based on the same sources, made by Don Yoder, Lancaster, Pa., we learn that the Yoders were a Bernese clan found at the edge of the Oberland as early as the 1100's[1]. According to Dr. Yoder, the name appears in records of Steffisburg around the year 1529 and at Muri, on the outskirts of Bern, soon afterward. In 1531 one Heini Joder was imprisoned at Basel as one of those defiantly spreading Anabaptist doctrine. Don Yoder also found a record referring to a Jacob Yoder of the mid-seventeenth century who had a mother-in-law "under surveillance by state authorities because she was a *hart-näckige Täuferin*."[2]

A Swiss encyclopedia traces the Yoder name back to St. Theodore, who came north across the mountains from Italy to spread the Gospel. A Swiss clan, who loved their missionary saint, took his name, abbreviating it, according to Dr. Ephrem Omlin of the Engelberg monastery, from Sant Theodor, Sant Toder, Santtoeder, Santioder, to Sant Joder.[3] The Swiss almanac still lists St. Joder's Day (August 16); and a mountain peak near the Swiss-Italian border still bears his name—St. Joderhorn. Don Yoder's booklet refers to images of the saint still extant in some old churches, usually showing St. Joder standing with his foot on a little devil to symbolize his triumph over evil.

When I relayed this information to Edith Joder of Basel, who was also making inquiries about Yoders, she decided to take her vacation time in 1966 to seek buildings that might still have such representations of St. Joder. No one seemed able to help her and after a diligent search she was about to give up when by sheer accident she found the name St. Joder on a detailed local map. Driving her own car through the picturesque countryside beyond the mountain range east of Sarnen, she finally came upon the little white chapel of St. Joder in a remote region, a mere white dot at one end of a beautiful little valley about 1000 meters above sea level, halfway between Stans and Engelberg and

A series of nine paintings in the Saint Joder Chapel. For description see text below.

to the east of the main highway that connects the two towns. There was no village left at St. Joder, if ever there had been one, and even people in the neighboring villages knew nothing about it when she had inquired.

The St. Joder chapel, located near Grafenort at Altstellen, was built in 1492. In the same general region is a chapel honoring St. Rochus. It is interesting to note that both these saints are now remembered by feast days on the Protestant calendar, corroborating the belief that the Yoders were among the earliest Swiss Protestants. The St. Joder chapel is in Catholic care and the picture showing the carved figures behind iron bars reflects their effort to protect images which had once been carried away by robbers.

The most interesting feature of the chapel is the series of nine pictures painted on the left wall as one faces the altar. Dating from 1620, the captions, printed in old German characters, can be translated as:

(1) "How King Charles is forgiven his sins by praying with St. Joder
(2) How King Charles hands the spiritual and secular emblems (crosier and sword) over to St. Joder
(3) How St. Joder forgave the sin of the people

of St. Moritzen
(4) How St. Joder overheard the evil spirits discussing their misdeeds
(5) How St. Joder ordered the Bell to ring by itself
(6) How St. Joder ordered the Devil to carry him and the Bell on his shoulders across the Wallis[4]
(7) How the Devil let the Bell fall and it broke to pieces
(8) How bad weather destroyed the building of those who worked on St. Joder's Day
(9) How a priest who threw away a picture representing St. Joder saw his hands dry up"[5]

Although legend makes St. Joder a contemporary of Charlemagne (King Charles in the paintings), Dr. Omlin believes that he really lived at the end of the fourth century and probably was the first bishop of Octodorus (Martigny, Valais). To find evidence supporting either view is difficult. It is possible that he did indeed live in the Valais region in the fourth century, for during the reign of Constantine, Christianity spread rapidly in every direction from Rome. Missionary monks are definitely known to have pushed northward into the Alps at this time. Although some other and lesser Charles may have been contemporary with St. Joder (or even if not), it is not surprising that the St. Joder tradition, or the painter, would have had the mighty Charlemagne turning over his symbols of temporal power to their patron saint. The devout Yoders of the Middle Ages or the Catholic painter of 1620 would have found this portrayal of the relationship between church and state very appropriate.

Dr. Omlin also points out that St. Joder has been honored in many other countries but under the erroneous name of St. Theodul. Thus far we have not found any St. Theodores or St. Theoduls to fit in time or place with St. Joder of the Swiss. It does seem plausible at this point that there was such a saint in the Valais country who was held in such great esteem and affection by his people that they took his name. When they became Protestant they took his feast-day with them, as is shown by the Protestant almanac; but this withdrawal of his followers from the established church may have been reason enough why he was dropped from the Catholic dictionaries and encyclopedias.

We are grateful to Miss Joder for permitting us to use her excellent color pictures and for sharing with us some of her research, which is still in progress.

FOOTNOTES

1. Professor at Franklin and Marshall College. His article appears in *The Yoder Family Reunion Book*, 1954, p. 7.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Letter to Edith Joder.
4. Valais country of southern Switzerland.
5. Translations by Miss Joder.
6. Dr. Omlin to Miss Joder.

The Cows

By Stefan Andres
Translated by Sarah Dyck
Introduction by J. W. Dyck

STEFAN ANDRES WAS born on June 6, 1906, in Breitwies near the city of Trier. To his major inspirations for creativity, the author considers, especially in his earlier works, the Mosel valley, its villages, and the Catholic church. He attended a monastery school in preparation for the priesthood, but soon changed to the study of German literature. Between 1937 and 1950 he lived in voluntary exile, mostly in Italy. After a few years in Unkel on the Rhine, his longing for Italy was too strong and he settled permanently in a modest but comfortable apartment overlooking St. Peter's Cathedral of the Vatican.

Stefan Andres is a natural storyteller. In creating short stories, novels, and poems, Andres has proven himself a master in harmonizing the discords of human longings and endeavors. The duplicity within man, the dualism of joy for the world and, at the same time, of its renunciation; the temptation to submit to the moment and the unconditional consciousness which man has of eternity; the assumption that man is privileged to choose freely and the constant proof of the existence of destiny before which man remains helpless in spite of all his intelligence and wisdom—all this is reflected in Stefan Andres' novels with-

out prejudice and self-pity. His best-known works are the short novel, *Wir sind Utopia, Die Biblischen Geschichten* (also available in English and many other languages) and, perhaps, the novel, *Der Knabe im Brunnen,* from which "The Cows," a story in itself, has been translated. When, with the help of a Research Fellowship from the Canada Council, I was on leave from the university, my wife and I were privileged to visit the author and Mrs. Andres in their Rome apartment. It was a memorable evening of lively discussions with the author himself and with other writers and friends whom Mr. and Mrs. Andres had invited. And when we were asked by Stefan Andres to translate selections from some of his works, which he meanwhile has read in English while on a lecture tour of the far East, we gladly agreed to.

Der Knabe im Brunnen, the author told us, is his most autobiographical work, inasmuch as it concerns most directly the inner biography of his formative years. Kasimir Edschmid, on the cover jacket of the novel, describes the book as rustic, musical, and cheerful; a book about a child, written neither in an artificial nor in a sentimental or moralistic way. It is a book with warmth and overpowering imagination and with a humor which only wise men and children have. Such writing need not be enigmatic or profound. Reality and symbol have become one. The book is masculine, spicy, credulous, reasonable, and poetic; it could be discounted as literature and yet, in a special sense, it is literature at its best. The chapter "The Cows" expresses the author's irrevocable conviction that every man has to fulfill his duties according to the gifts and talents that are given to him and that it is man's divine task to take himself and fellowmen to higher regions, to the original source, i.e., to God.

THE COWS

From: *Der Knabe im Brunnen* by Stefan Andres

IN THE AUTUMN of this year I drove the cows to one of our pastures more often than usual for, as mother said, we needed to be more prudent with the hay. Sometimes my brothers and sisters worked in a neighboring field. Father would then come to me and squat beside me, and together we would watch the pasturing of ruminating cows. I felt the need to say something which would please Father. He seemed to bear endless sorrows which he was hiding from his surroundings. So I praised the cows and said that they were good animals. He immediately nodded and said—yes, the cows and especially such a small mountain like Marscheid, how beautiful it was, to look from here over the Azert Forest and up into the clouds. Or one simply looked into the grass. "As much happens there as in the village," he murmured. "A man who has eyes in his head and doesn't want all that, and who feels how every blade of grass grows from God's hand and how every bug crawls on His hand— And that's why everything you see is as hard to understand as the Lord God in bread!"

I loved it when Father, with searching voice and with his blue, almost blind eyes directed towards the distance, spoke to me.

"And the cows too are God's children!" I said, softly and full of conviction.

"He has made everything, and everything belongs to Him," answered Father. And he advised me to learn from the cows. They were so strong and yet unselfish, and when one saw their big, beautiful heads under the outstretched pair of horns, one could not conceive that they bowed under a yoke, and yet they did. Many said: out of stupidity! But what men called stupid was cleverness for the cows. They lived together with people, obedient to God, who had charged many animals to follow man and to feel and fulfill in his will the will of the Creator. This was why we carried the responsibility for these animals and tended them.

I listened to Father as though an angel spoke to me. I believed every word he said, and what opened my heart to him was the vague fear that his voice would suddenly cease speaking and, if I looked to the place where he was sitting, it would be empty, and I would be alone with the cows on the Marscheid.

We still spoke for a little while. Finally he stood up and ordered me to drive the cows home at sunset, but I should not hurry the animals. I watched him descend the mountain, toward the mill of Uncle Hannes. Since the death of her husband, my aunt had become a little difficult in her sorrow, and so he went down to cheer her up. In his slow and thoughtful way he could speak so much idiotic stuff that even older women again and again laughed and called him an old fool.

Until sunset it was certainly still two hours, I was thirsty and went to Brownie. Gently I stroked her shoulder-blades, but she kept on pasturing. So I kneeled down, grasped at the udder, and, with a milking grip, let a stream spurt out which I aimed at my mouth. Now she lifted her head and looked around. When she recognized who it was that was milking her, a soft, muffled noise escaped through her nose. In it I heard these words: "Ah, you're the calf, I thought so!"

At the edge of the pasture there was an unapproachable bush of hedge-roses, rowanberries, wildplums and blackberries. Whenever I was on Marscheid, I rummaged through it for fruit. The deep blue plums, on which lay a film as of milk, were not to my liking, but when I ate them it was as though I ate the shrub, yes, the whole bush, in which the stragglers of the year quietly rustled and hummed. Many insects had already gone to sleep. And there were no butterflies. I gathered hornbeams and took their kernels. I ate the shell and saved the kernels in order to shove them

down the neck under Francisca's shirt that evening—they itched so beautifully. Then I began to defend my kingdom against the North, and built a suspension bridge, out of wild-plum twigs, which led over a precipice. This precipice separated the city from the fields in my kingdom. When enemy forces approached, we could retreat over the bridge into the city, but we had to witness how our fields were devastated. So I decided to surround the field with a ditch that should be five meters deep and ten meters wide, and to divert a river so that it would flow into this ditch: that was a three-year project. The thunder of the cannons from the west did not ring any louder than the pounding of my heart at this idea. During these three years, I reflected, there should be no war. I signed treaties with all parties, but at the same time I built three forts which were to protect the building of the great trench against the outside. All citizens between the ages of eighteen and sixty were required to work three hours daily on the canal. But I released an edict that all learned men, all pastors, teachers, doctors and pharmacists, were only required to work one hour per day. I, as king, pledged openly to work one-half hour per week. Longer I could not, for I had to reign and, at any rate, was not gifted for physical work.

When all this had been planned, when the bridge spanned the precipice and the water stood in the canal, I was tired. So I stretched out and called to the cows, whom I had in the meantime appointed to my advisory council, that they should awaken me when the time came to go home. They lay close to me and ruminated. Otherwise I had tried to bed myself against the belly of Brownie, to listen to her stomach-noises, and thereby to fall asleep. On this late September afternoon it was still quite warm, and so I laid myself on the pasture, looked out over the blue Azert Forest and fell asleep. I dreamt of my kingdom. Yet when I awoke I only knew that I had fallen into the canal. It was the cold water that awakened me. A chill ran over me. I looked around and saw: the sun had set.

When I sprang up and looked for the cows I saw only the barren autumn pastures of Marscheid spread out before me. There was nothing that stirred. Sheer desperation caused this thought to spring with one leap into light. Breathless I ran up the heights from which I could also overlook the north side of the pasture. But nowhere was there anything similar to a cow.

At last I dared to call for the cows. The grip of fear, which throttled my throat, made my voice plaintively thin. I ran down the railway embankment, hastened through the underpass, and stumbled along the little brook, always calling out the names of the cows.

Finally, then, I made my way home. For it had slowly dawned on me that I could go nowhere else. And perhaps Father would have some advice. He might even call Donner, the village bell-man, who had once, when I was lost, rung for me. He would go throughout the villages of the neighborhood, ring the bell and search for the cows. But then I heard, as I wended my lonely way, neither fast nor slow, along the Chaussee, like a poor sinner who must go home—I heard again the drumsticks of war which were beating their strange, uneven turmoil on the darkening fleece of evening air. At once I thought of the soldiers, the hungry cities, the vagabonds, gypsies, and all the indefinable peoples, who passed through the land in such disastrous times. If they had spied the cows without a herdsman, they would have taken off with them into the Azert Forest, and I did not want to conjecture further what might have happened there. I thought of Father and, above all, of Mother and what she would say if I came home without the cows. And of the outcry of *Lieschen,* and of all the well-deserved reproaches of my other brothers and sisters. Was I then really that which *Lieschen,* most of all, saw in me: a lazy, disorderly wretch who didn't take his work seriously, and only lived for playing and dreaming?

Full of remorse and fear in equal measure, I began to cry. Between my tears I called the names of the cows, reproachfully and complainingly, as if with their names I could lure them out of the darkness. When they did not come, I thrust out their names like threats in my abruptly flaming anger. "Just you wait, old Brown, you are the oldest! You did it! To run away without telling me! An ole cow like you should be ashamed of yourself. And we were so good together! But now—if I get my hands on you! I'll pull a ring through your nose, you ole croak, you ass, you slut, I'll beat your ribs with a broomstick!"

But whenever I had given vent to my anger in words, it fell heavily on my soul that my threats were in vain, for I would never again see the cows. With each step nearer to our house, my legs became heavier. In the meantime it had become so dark that no one could recognize me, and this suited me. At long last I spied the iron gate next to our house. How ominously the iron stared at me, as it stood vaguely in the thin moonlight and seemed to grow into the heavens. The gate had received a face and, moreover, a voice. With a creaking sound it said, as I touched the cold iron: "Ah, there he comes!"

I did not know how to slow down the few steps of the entrance. At the corner was the stall and I heard Father's voice. My knees weakened, I supported myself with my shoulder and in my ears I heard a ringing. Again I began to cry. I was not afraid of the punishment. To the contrary, I desired punishment, a great punishment! Yet it should soon pass over, and the faces of my father and my mother should change with my punishment—but the cows, yes, regardless of how big the punishment and how penitently I bore it, they would never again come.

And then my father stood before me. He had simply stepped around the corner of the stall. I heard his

voice. At first I did not understand what he said. But I immediately sensed that the voice behind the words was mild, yes, it almost sounded friendly.

"Why are you crying here?" I heard him ask. "Where did you come from?" he asked further. "And where are the cows?"

I sobbed out of pain, I cried: "Oh, Father, Father, I lost my cows!" Father was quite obviously taken aback by my outburst of sorrow. So with both arms he seized me from behind and, with great motion, swung me into the stall. In the electric light, which I had never before found so pleasantly bright, I saw cows—three cows standing beside each other: Brownie, White Spot, and Treenie. They tugged at the hay in the rack and ate. I let my breath out and sighed deeply. I said to Father: "I was playing and then I fell asleep; and then I woke up and they were gone."

"Yes, that's how it goes," said Father, quietly, "that's how it always goes when one sleeps at the wrong time." As he said this he handed me a comb and brush for the cows. "So, now clean them a little! Now you know it: the cows are alive! An' clever! An' today you've been at school with them. Yes, old Brown has taught you a lesson today." Then he was silent and stepped between Brownie and White Spot and looked at me over the beautiful, straight back of Brownie. He laid his hands on her glistening coat and smiled at me. So, he said—I should never forget this story. And never forget anything that I had felt on my way home. When I would be older, I would know that every man, exactly as I had today, finds himself on his way home to his heavenly Father's house, to the Father of all Fathers. And without cows! "Do you know—a herd of cows is entrusted to all of us by the Heavenly Father: our strength and talents and all the deeds and works which stem from them. Yes, and then we awake suddenly on the pasture of the world and are alone. We know then, at first glance, that it is time to go home. The sun has set. And that means: I will get up and go to my Father—alone—without cows! Yes, if we could not then hope that nothing would be lost! But we hope firmly that our cows have gone ahead of us, that they have found their way by themselves, and that not a single one has gone astray, no, but waits for us there where everything comes together which we believed lost."

I had forgotten the combing and brushing. His voice disappeared over me. If this little story had not been tucked in, this frightful way home and the joyous arrival in the stall, I would not have understood what he meant. Now, however, I understood him and I sensed immediately that he was talking of his death. I was again saddened, but only in a quiet way. I felt the warm body of Brownie. I heard her chewing her cud and she seemed like life itself, and I did not want to comprehend that Father, who was standing on the other side of the cow, did not have this life more securely in his hands.

When we both entered the room, all my sisters and brothers began to laugh and to ask questions. After Father had quite abruptly and casually told them how everything had happened, Mother said, but her voice was not reproachful: "I say, you would be too stupid to dance with the cow if you were given the tail in your hand!"

"But just wait till he's Pastor," said Lieschen, "he'll fall asleep in the pulpit, and the people will run away from him."

Thereupon Father said, in a conclusive tone, that preaching did not make the Pastor. And it was much more difficult to guide thoughts and dreams to pasture, to tend them and to bring them home plump, than cows. And he for one believed that I was destined to be such a herdsman.

The Mottled Midnight *By Elmer F. Suderman*

When restless night slips down after my desked day,
stung in the mottled black of midnight
by dreams of bacterial cyclones sweeping
through the lonely room, I toss insomnia-smothered.

Outside mushroom-cloud-faced Death
rattles nuclear wind and threatens
rain-missles against my window.
I hug the pillow closer but cannot
escape Death's breath rattling in the world's throat.

He brushes green and serried darkness
over town and thought, and I inhale
night's embalmed terror. I think
I see a million rotting corpses
in the street waiting for disposal.
Miltowns console no longer. Too old to cry
hurting too much to laugh, I lie
a prisoner in mind's Buchenwald.

Pressing the pillow over my head
to muffle Death's explosions,
I feel the harsh wind that sears and burns,
see the shriveling fireball
and hear my inner Hiroshima.

Morning comes at last. The dream moves on.
The sun arises clear and bright.
Death's whistling jet fades into morning light.
He will, I fear, be back with me tonight.

Worship Among the Anabaptists

By Robert Friedmann

WORSHIP FULFILLS a multitude of functions in the various churches or denominations. With the Roman Catholics, for instance, the predominant meaning is the reception of the sacrament of the altar by the faithful, the partaking of an element of objective grace. That seems to be the main reason for attending the Sunday church service. For the Lutherans it means "hearing the Word of God" which Word is then expounded by a minister learned in the field of theology. Since according to the saying of the Apostle Paul "faith comes through hearing," attendance of the Sunday service and listening to the sermons (formerly rather long) is required of all faithful and needed for salvation. To the Calvinist the emphasis shifted (at least in former days) somewhat to a greater stress on the election theme. No one knows whether or not the faithful has been elected by God's eternal decree but he ought to assume he belongs to the elected ones. Hence he attends Sunday worship foremost to demonstrate both his assumed status and a piety befitting to an elect. To the Pietists—and in America one may include all churches based on the principle of revival—attendance at worship means primarily an emotional edification (*Erbauung*) and spiritual uplift. That is, worship is here an experimental rather than an intellectual matter as with Protestant orthodoxy.

But what did worship mean to the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century? (I do not speak of their late descendants of today who have adjusted themselves so much to the general pattern of the Protestant churches, the worship of which is in the main a devotional hour with biblical expositions in order to strengthen one's faith.) Unfortunately, very little information may be gained from the records concerning their way of worshipping and even less about the inner spiritual motivation for attending it. Neither of the aforementioned motives are easily applicable to the Anabaptists. "Hearing of the Word of God" alone would hardly move these brethren to attend their clandestine meetings, held mostly at night in remote places. Their faith was already deeply confirmed at the ceremony of adult baptism. Of course one major motive at least remained, the need for mutual strengthening of the brotherhood in faith, a motive which holds true for practically all churches at all times. But what else? It is worth noting that the brethren never called their devotional meetings *Gottesdienst* but *Zusammenkommen,* coming together or in brief assembling, a term still being used today here and there.

The main idea, besides pious devotion (*Andacht*) pure and simple, was what the brethren called *Aufmunterung,* that is encouragement to be steadfast in one's faith, inasmuch as backsliding or slackening is always a present temptation even for those originally full of enthusiasm. Coming together means also a mutual strengthening in the daily struggle against the "world" and secular temptations from without and within. One author, Peter Rideman, the Hutterite, speaks in 1541 of *die Herzen reizen den Herrn zu fürchten und in seiner Furcht zu bleiben* (to challenge the hearts to fear the Lord and to remain in this fear) whereby we note that he preferred the Old Testamental term "fear of God" for what theologians of the Reformation age called "faith" and later centuries "piety" or *Frömmigkeit.*

Recently, more has been made known by the intensive use of the *Täuferakten* publications, containing archival records of Germany and Switzerland and dealing in the main with Anabaptist court trials. Dr. Elsa Bernhofer-Pippert published last year her doctoral dissertation (of 1956) entitled, *Täuferische Denkweisen und Lebensformen im Spiegel oberdeutscher Täuferverhöre* (1967)[1] which offers a most impressive picture of the Anabaptist ways of thinking and living as reflected in the records of the often so tragic court trials. Of the many facets discussed in this fine book I like to select here only the one dealing with Anabaptist worship because here the author collected a number of sources on this topic. Let me present a brief synopsis of these particular pages to the English readership.

In 1527 Ambrosius Spittelmaier, an early apostle of Anabaptism and co-worker of Hans Hut, was arrested in Franconia and soon interrogated by a judge. Concerning worship he had this to say, "Whenever the brethren come together, they do nothing else but talk about the Word of God (that is they read and interpret

it) and mutually instruct each other in a brotherly fashion."[2] One might easily ask how these simple people were able to do so, and do it effectively, without much university or seminary training. That is precisely the secret of Anabaptist success that even though they had no scholars among them they yet understood the Bible far more profoundly and concretely than most of the learned theologians of their day. It was their newly won spiritual rebirth which seems to have qualified them for this meaningful interpretation which time and again amazed their opponents at trials and debates.

In 1555, an Anabaptist brother, Michael Jungmann, answered the question of the interrogator, "what they were doing when coming together," in the following way: "They admonish each other to abstain from sinning and to stay in all their doings obedient to God and His holy Word."[3] Similarly Hans Payly, called *Kuchenbecker*, a leader of the Anabaptists in Hesse around 1578, had this to say: "Whenever they come together they first sing some Psalms. Then they admonish each other to steadfastness and teach each other, praying also for the authorities, for their enemies who persecute them and for all men that they may become God-fearing and be converted."[4]

About the proper conduct of their worship assemblies Anabaptist sources say practically nothing at all. In Hesse, however, one finds the deposition of one (Protestant) minister who in 1578 quietly attended such an assembly and reported later about his observations. This report gives a graphic picture and conveys vividly the atmosphere which prevailed at such a clandestine worship meeting. Here is his text:

"First they sang a Psalm. Then (the leader, Hans Payly) *Kuchenbecker* began to preach. He did not select a special text but rather began somewhat this way: 'Dear brethren and sisters, you know that ever since the beginning of this world the God-fearing people fared badly,' referring as far back as to the story of Cain and Abel. Then he shifted over to a discussion of Matthew 5:9, 'Blessed are the peacemakers, etc.' and talked about the virtues of peacefulness. Next he turned to the words of the prophet Jeremiah 6:16, 'ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, said the Lord,' and so on. In this manner he spoke for about two hours, repeating over and over the verses quoted, also calling his audience to humility (*Demut*) and repentance. . . . He (the minister) liked best the prayer in which Kuchenbecker interceded with God on behalf of the great misery of Christendom (*Not der Christenheit*). He also interceded with God for emperor, king, prince and lords that God may illuminate them and give them understanding that they may at all times praise and extol God Almighty. Thereupon he asked the people in the congregation, 'Brothers, if you have something on your mind to present to this assembly, please let us know it.' Thereupon one man stepped forward and said, 'Dear brethren, we have a confrere (or fellow believer), he sends you the peace of God. He had me ask you that you may think of him in your prayers that God may strengthen him in his faith. Whosoever is willing to do so may say: amen.' Then another man stepped forward and spoke similarly that there lives somewhere a sister who, too, wishes all of them the peace of God. She likewise asked for an intercessory prayer (*Fürgebet*). Several more people spoke in the same way. All that might have taken about another hour. Finally they all fell on their knees and prayed the Lord's Prayer together aloud. Then they parted. This time the Lord's Supper was not observed but (I was told that) on Easter Monday they did."[5]

This is, as far as we know, the only eyewitness report of such an Anabaptist worship event. Obviously it was a genuine lay-assembly, in some ways reminiscent of prayer meetings of later centuries. Considering the harsh persecution everywhere, one is much impressed by the irenic spirit of the assembly and the total absence of any harsh words or complaints. Rather a spirit of love and intercession permeated the entire event, reflecting an essential element of Anabaptist piety. It was this way in the beginning around 1525, and remained so also towards the end of the century. Christian love was their great message.

FOOTNOTES

1. Muenster in Westfalen, Aschendorfsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967, 160 pages.

2. *Taeuferakten Bayern* I, ed. Schornbaum, 1934, 27, line 9-11, and 28, line 1-3.

3. *Taeuferakten Baden-Pfalz*, ed. Krebs, 1951, 357, line 25-32.

4. *Urkundliche Quellen zur hessischen Reformationsgeschichte*, IV, *Wiedertaeuferakten* 1527-1626, 1951, 394.

5. *Ibid.*, 400 ff.

See the Following on Worship

1. Paul M. Miller, "Mennonite Theology and Mennonite Worship," *Mennonite Life*, October, 1962, 174 ff.

2. *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, v. IV, 1959, 984-5.

3. A. P. Toews, *American Mennonite Worship, its Roots, Development, and Application*, New York: Exposition Press, 1960.

4. Robert Friedmann, "Hutterite Worship and Preaching," *MQR*, XL, 1966, 5-26.

B. B. Janz and the Mennonite Emigration

By John B. Toews

THE RELATIONSHIP between a man and a movement in history is always complex. The degree to which any leader in history submits to prevailing circumstances in the final analysis remains elusive, as does the degree to which he creates them. The Mennonite emigration from Russia in the 1920's resulted from the overall breakdown of the social and economic structure, which the emigres felt, was irreparable. The farms which had sustained them as a distinct minority for over a century were gone. The prospects for religious freedom appeared equally remote. For many the changes which had come to Russia after the October Revolution of 1917 signalled a death knell to their way of life. No satisfactory alternative existed, except that of exodus to a foreign land. The large scale emigration sentiment and the resulting exodus which occurred among the Russian Mennonites during the early 1920's, naturally raises the question whether its leaders could not comfortably ride upon the crest of such a commitment. They only needed to direct the movement, since it sustained itself by virtue of its own vitality. Such an argument partially explains the role of one of the most prominent leaders in the movement, B. B. Janz. It nevertheless ignores the administrative and political difficulties blocking the emigration and minimizes the efforts made by individuals to overcome these.

By 1922 the Mennonites in the Ukraine and the rest of Russia had survived most of the major crises which had threatened their existence. Only now were the settlers able to seriously reflect upon the future facing them in Russia. Much had accumulated to favor a negative verdict. Fire and sword had taken a heavy toll of life and property. Prospects for the reconstruction of time-hallowed ethnic-cultural patterns were dismal. In the Ukraine, the first major effort to make the constituency viewpoint known to the new government occurred on February 19, 1921, when a special Mennonite assembly with representatives from sixty villages was called at Alexanderwohl, Molotchna.[1] Its initial concern related to the release of Mennonite young men, then forcibly being inducted into the Red Army. To negotiate the release of these young men a new organization, known as the *Verband der Mennoniten Süd-Russlands* (Union of South Russian Mennonites), was formed. B. B. Janz of Tiege, Molotchna was elected to head the new organization. Officially, two tasks confronted the new union. For one thing it needed a recognized legal status. Furthermore, the Alexanderwohl assembly pledged to uphold the principle of nonresistance by insisting the newly elected executive negotiate the release of the Mennonite young men inducted into the army. Unofficially, it was expected to do much more. A people's destiny was entrusted to it. The future of the Russian Mennonites, at least in the Ukraine, was placed into its hands.

The new chairman of the *VMSR* had attracted the attention of the Alexanderwohl convention by his ability to penetrate into the heart of complex issues. His friends knew him as a man of broad sympathies. There was something connected with his quiet dignity that was capable of influencing officialdom, frequently more impressed by brazenness and exaggerated self-confidence, than by a retiring negotiator.

The *VMSR* leader held a strongly pessimistic view of the tragedy which had befallen his constituency. There was no future for the Mennonites in the new Russia. Contemporary circumstances allowed no utopian dreams. The most pressing questions of the day still related to survival and it was to this task that Janz first addressed himself. In what became typical of his mode of operation the Mennonite leader directly approached the Central Government in Moscow. On the subject of economic ruin of the southern colonies he appealed to Peter G. Smidovich, an influential member of the party's Central Executive Committee. Subsequently a memorandum, stipulating that the Central Government did not wish to see the historic minority cultures of Russia destroyed, was sent by the Central Executive Committee to the Ukrainian Commissariat of Agriculture in Kharkov.[2] For the present, though not ultimately, the settlements were saved from an arbitrary redivision of the land.

Janz also addressed himself to the crucial question of survival during the fall and early winter of 1921. Famine had reduced the settlers to dire straits. Throughout the first months of 1921 the representatives of the newly formed Mennonite Central Commit-

tee (Elkhart, Indiana, July 27, 1920) Arthur Slagel, Clayton Kratz and Orie O. Miller, unsuccessfully tried to get access to Russia by Constantinople.[3] Finally in August 1921 Alvin J. Miller, who joined the group in January 1921, managed to enter Russia from the West through the auspices of the American Relief Administration. On October 1, 1921, the Moscow government concluded a relief contract by which the American Mennonites, acting through an agency known as the American Mennonite Relief, were allowed to concentrate their relief in the Crimea and the provinces of Taurida and Ekaterinoslav.[4] Kharkov authorities, evincing an obvious sense of national pride, hesitated in accepting the provisions of the contract. B. B. Janz, on his way to Moscow, had stopped in Kharkov to determine whether the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs was interested in aiding a distribution of American relief supplies in the Ukraine. To his surprise Janz was delegated to invite A. J. Miller to the Ukrainian Republic for the specific purpose of negotiating a contract for the entry of the American aid. Miller journeyed to Kharkov and on October 20, 1921, signed a separate contract with leading officials of the Ukrainian government.[5]

It was through these efforts that Janz was also able to begin work on another task facing him as *VMSR* chairman, that of economic reconstruction in the Mennonite colonies. Janz's inquiries were specially welcomed by Dimitry Manuilsky, the Commissar of Agriculture in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.[6] It was through Manuilsky's interest in any scheme which promised economic recovery, that Janz was first able to introduce the question of a Mennonite emigration to Kharkov authorities. His basic argument was simple. Mennonite landholders were essential to economic reconstruction. Civil war, however, had created a rapidly increasing Mennonite refugee population, all of whom were consumers, not producers. By removing surplus population from the settlements two basic problems may be solved: the alleviation of famine, and the creation of conditions which would ensure a future livelihood for the area. Janz elaborated this argument in a special petition presented to the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party on December 17, 1921, which requested permission for the refugee and landless Mennonites to emigrate. Such action clearly reflected the sentiments of his constituency, for when the first representative congress of the *VMSR* met in Margenau on January 3 and 4, 1922, it resolved that the only solution for the starving Mennonite population lay in leaving Russia.[8] Emigration was adopted as an official policy at the January 10 (Tiege)[9] and February 7 (Orloff)[10] *VMSR* executive meetings. Janz was now faced with the implementation of two contradictory policies; on the one hand the organization he headed demonstrated loyalty through energetic participation in the economic reconstruction of the devastated South, a role subsequently recognized when the Kharkov government authorized a charter for the *VMSR* in April, 1922.[11] On the other, Janz had submitted a petition for emigration to the Central Executive Committee in Kharkov, which implied no material betterment was possible. As chairman of the *Verband* (known as the *Verband der Bürger holländischer Herkunft* after the registration of the charter in April 1922) Janz vigorously pursued both alternatives. For him such a dedication to opposites was dictated by prevailing circumstances. Was emigration absolutely necessary to the future of the Russian Mennonites? Janz pointed to the events of the recent past—the bloodshed, destruction and famine. Morally, the fibre of the constituency was deteriorating. The Mennonite schools had been taken over by the state and many of the teachers dismissed. Land allotments were reduced. Integration with surrounding populations appeared inevitable. The loss of the old cultural economic pattern, however, was less disastrous than the loss of treasured religious values. All of these things tipped the balance in favor of emigration. But was his relentless pursuit of the emigration not a grave historical error? Russia found itself in a transitional period. The pendulum of revolution might well swing back to a more rational position in which individual initiative again played a part. Was there not still the possibility for economic and cultural progress and could not the Mennonites play a role in the construction of the new Russia? Janz saw a deeper issue than that of economic adaptation and readjustment. The Mennonites were confronted with a government policy dating back to the last quarter of the 19th century, a policy rooted in the historical, cultural and social pattern of the land, namely Russification. Since the 1870's the pressure to conform the Russian national image had never relented. Even in Soviet Russia minority policy was formulated according to the will of the masses. This historically entrenched trend was irrevocable. A minority of some 100,000 could not long survive such pressures. Emigration was the only alternative.[12]

Janz, though not unresponsive to opposing views, felt that the majority of the Ukrainian Mennonites not only should, but strongly desired to leave. "In other words it [the emigration] has become an elemental tumult, the dams are bursting," he wrote. "The people have made up their minds and are ready to struggle with death and life."[13] On another occasion he commented: "If one has a number of children, if one has learned to thoroughly know the prevailing principles of the whole system, then one's heart cramps in infinite grief."[14] Through the entire emigration period Janz remained an unswerving advocate of emigration. The Kharkov regime had given the Mennonites special recognition ratifying the *VMSR* charter and was even willing to engage in dialogue on the question of ex-

emption from military service. Janz nevertheless felt the concessions were temporary, and should be utilized to facilitate the exodus of as many colonists as possible. At no point in his career as leader of the *Verband,* did he believe that economic reconstruction was really possible in Soviet Russia. For those who remained behind, a basis for economic recovery had to be erected. Even the introduction of the New Economic Policy in March 1921, failed to change Janz's outlook. The arrival of foodstuffs in the colonies through American Mennonite Relief in the spring of 1922 encouraged many settlers to think seriously of reconstruction. Such views were certainly not shared by Janz. For him, reconstruction meant only self-preservation and survival until such a time as it was possible to leave Russia. It was little wonder that B. H. Unruh, concerned with aiding his co-religionists in Russia by exploring reconstruction possibilities in Germany, found Janz's letters on the subject too indecisive. In view of the fact that the *Verband* charter was ratified on the condition that Holland and America supply the colonies with material aid, Janz requested that several tractors be sent as evidence of his organization's good intentions. Simultaneously he emphasized poor credit risks which the Russian Mennonites represented since their economic future was extremely unstable.[15] In his estimation an emigration panic had seized the colonies by 1922 which made rebuilding impossible. "The future is as dark as night," he wrote. "We are still striving after a basis for a regulated, secure, and peaceful existence."[16]

For Janz emigration was the only viable solution for the Russian Mennonites. This conviction became the sustaining ideology undergirding Janz the diplomat. He possessed several qualities which made him an excellent negotiator. He could quickly analyze a situation, propose an adequate solution for it, and pursue the implementation of that solution with a persistence bordering on stubbornness. On occasion he employed a rare sense of intuition which allowed him to press his advantage a shade short of the breaking point. Frequently he confronted the same officials again and again until he obtained the desired terms. A reaction typifying this trait came from the chairman of the Passport Department of the Moscow GPU when one of the emigrant echelon leaders, J. J. Thiessen, sought to complete arrangements for transit to Latvia. Waiting until Thiessen had explained that he sought approval for emigration west he shouted, "So you come from Janz. For three years I have not crossed myself, but if I could ever free myself of Janz, I would cross myself three times."[17] Officials of the American agencies concerned with the exodus encountered a steady stream of letters from Janz urging, pleading, and even cajoling them to take more decisive action.

Whenever an opportunity for extending the scope of the emigration presented itself, Janz pursued it relentlessly. Group emigration stopped almost after it had begun in 1923. Then the possibility for individual emigration emerged. Janz's participation in this operation was equally energetic. Success did not always demonstrate the full extent of his efforts. By the end of 1922 he had completed negotiations for the removal of 20,000 emigrants. This astounding success was hampered by the inability of the American constituency to initiate the rapid removal operation. As a result of this delay, thousands lost the opportunity to leave Russia in 1922 and early 1923. His dedication to emigration did not make him popular with the government authorities. He was questioned by the Secret Police on two occasions, once in 1923 and again in 1926.[18] By the end of 1926 his work was rapidly coming to an end. The government moved to halt the emigration and began to restrict the economic and religious freedoms granted the Mennonites. Janz had been the great proponent of *Verband* autonomy in every area, and continually fought for the preservation of the Mennonites as a distinctive national minority. Willing to cooperate with the Bolshevik regime in economic matters, he staunchly opposed the attempt to rob the Mennonites of their religious heritage. For this reason he advocated emigration. He knew he was fighting a losing battle. Convinced that the Mennonites had no future in the land of their birth, he explored even the remotest possibility which might lead to exodus.

In the spring of 1926 he made preparations for his own departure. On June 3, he left Kharkov and crossed into Latvia on June 4. In the next two years the emigration story came to an end. The lengthy drama had seen the Russian Mennonites in one of their most critical yet finest hours. The episode had also produced great leaders. One of the most prominent was B. B. Janz. He was a unifying if often controversial figure amid the many cross-currents of opinion which came to characterize the Mennonite constituency as it waited impatiently for the emigration to begin, and as it participated in the actual exodus. In a situation where subjectivism and personal experience often determined the constituency viewpoint, Janz possessed the unique ability of projecting Mennonite concerns from a broader base. He loved his constituency, and was willing to stand in the gap and try to provide his brethren with what he felt was the best guarantee of their future existence—a new country.

FOOTNOTES

1. B. B. Janz Archive (Mennonite Brethren College of Arts, Winnipeg, Canada), "Die Gruendung des Verbandes in Alexanderwohl." See also A. A. Friesen Archive (Bethel College Historical Library), Jacob Janz, "Zur Entstehung des Verbandes der Buerger hollaendischer Herkunft."
2. Janz Archive (*JA*), Memoirs, "Die Reise nach Moskau."
3. P. C. Hiebert (ed.) and O. O. Miller (ed.), *Feeding the Hungry. Russia Famine 1919-1925* (Scottdale, Pa., 1929), pp. 111-115.
4. For a copy of the contract see *Ibid.*, pp. 446-52. For a good summary of the general nature and extent of Miller's work see A. J. Miller, "The Beginning of American Mennonite Relief Work," *Mennonite Life,* XVII

(April 1962), pp. 71-75; A. J. Miller, "Relief Work in Revolutionary Russia," *Mennonite Life*, XVII (July 1962), pp. 126-31; A. J. Miller, Clothing the Naked," *Mennonite Life*, XVIII (July 1963), pp. 118-21.

5. Hiebert and Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-162.

6. Friesen Archive (*FA*), B. B. Janz to the *Studienkommission*, November 26, 1921.

7. FA, *Bittgesuch an das All-Ukrainische Zentrale Executiv Komitee*. December 17, 1921.

8. FA, *Protokoll der allgemeinen Versammlung der Bevollmaechtigten des mennonitischen Verbandes in Suedrussland aus dem Saporoger Gouvernement am 3. & 4. Januar 1922 in Margenau*, pp. 1, 2.

9. FA, *Protokoll der Ratssitzung am 10. Januar 1922 in der Kanzlei des Verbandes in Tiege*, pp. 1, 2.

10. FA, B. B. Janz to the *Studienkommission* and others. Kharkov, February 28, 1922. See also H. S. Bender, "A Russian Mennonite Document of 1922." *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XXVIII (April 1953), pp. 143-47.

11. FA, B. B. Janz to B. H. Unruh. Kharkov, April 27, 1922.

12. BA, B. B. Janz *"an die leitenden Brueder der Konferenzen und Organisationen der Mennoniten in Amerika."* Moscow, December 31, 1922, and January 1, 1923.

13. *FA*, B. B. Janz to the *Studienkommission* Moscow, December 16, 1922, p. 8.

14. Board Archive (Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization), B. B. Janz to the CMBC. August 4, 1922, p. 2.

15. *FA*, B. B. Janz to A. A. Friesen. May 27, 1922.

16. *Ibid.*

17. J. J. Thiessen, "Vor 40 Jahren." Saskatoon, Sask., June 1964 (ms. in possession of J. J. Thiessen), pp. 1, 2.

18. *JA*, Memoirs, *Soldaten und Kasernpassagiere*. The record of the 1926 interview has been preserved in both the Friesen and Janz archives under the title *Aktenvermerk*, June 16, 1926. It apparently represents B. H. Unruh's compilation of material received from B. B. Janz.

Letters and Issues

A NUMBER OF responses from readers in regard to our last issue (Vietnam) were received.

Robert Friedmann writes: "I read the entire issue with greatest interest and I am glad that the Mennonites take such a radical stand on the war issue. It was not always so. I remember that many thought that it is "Christian" to fight the Communists. The tragedy of Vietnam is beyond description."

John M. Jost of Hillsboro responds to Walter Quiring's letter in regard to disunity among Mennonites. He points out that the Bible makes it very plain that immodest apparel, the wearing of gold, the use of tobacco and alcohol, the shaven face, the theater and television are sins and are of the world. In regard to unity among the Mennonites he recommends that our leaders consecrate and dedicate themselves to the Lord by practicing and teaching the observance of all that Jesus has taught.

The Prague Peace Conference

During the days of the democratization of the Czech government, the Third Christian Peace Conference convened in Prague from March 31 to April 5. Five hundred delegates from 5 continents attended the meetings, representing 20 European, 18 African, 12 American and some Asian countries. A number of Mennonites from Europe and America were present. This conference convened on the day that Martin Luther King was killed.

Reference should be made to Karl Linke's article "Revolution and the Third World," published in *Stimme*, Frankfurt (May 1, 1968). He points out that it became obvious that the same words do not have the same meaning at a conference like this. For example, the word "imperialism" has one implication in the East, another in the West and still another in the "Third World" which is the world in revolution. A considerable discussion centered around the demand for a "Theology of Revolution." The conference pointed out the danger of a monopoly of power and that it is a Christian's responsibility to call attention and protest the misuse of power and to promote its democratic control. The discussions focused strongly on the great contrast between the North and the South which seems to be graver than the tension between the East and the West. The "South" is the "Third World."

A similar report appeared in *In dit Amsterdam* (May 1968), written by A. J. Koejemans. This significant account contained the following boxed telegram from the Mennonite Church of Amsterdam sent to

> VINCENT HARDING
>
> 201 Ashlystr. s.w. ATLANTA Georgia 30314
> U.S.A.
>
> Friday, 5th April 1968
> 19.37 p.m.
>
> The Mennonite Church of Amsterdam is deeply shocked by the murder of Martin Luther King. Wishes widow, family, friends and all those deprived of their right God's consolation at the death of this witness for justice.
>
> CHURCH COUNCIL

Old Colony Mennonites

El Heraldo, Chihuahua, Mexico, carried an article in spring 1968 entitled "Mennonite Privilegium to Expire in 1972," stating that a commission of Old Colony Mennonites has been created to determine their status and to present their case to President Diaz Ordaz and Governor Giner. Henry Redekopp is said to have com-

municated this information to *El Heraldo*. James R. Jaquith of the Department of Anthropology of Washington University at St. Louis, states that he has "both Spanish and English texts of the Privilegium and that neither suggests any time limit for the rights acquired by the Old Colony Mennonites." However, he adds if there are meetings to take place on this subject on a Presidential level that there might "indeed be some substance to what I have heretofore regarded as nothing more than a rumor."

The Signpost

The Signpost is a new periodical edited by Keith Moxon and published by Signpost Publishing Agency, P.O. Box 139, Chatswood, NSW, Australia. The editor is a Dutch Mennonite, promoting information about Mennonite history and beliefs in Australia and other countries. Number 3 of Vol. I consists of 23 pages.

Correction

Correction of footnote 1, p. 34, January 1968 issue of *Mennonite Life*. Instead of "A Square Verst is equal to 2.6 acres" *read* "A square Verst is equal to 281.2 acres." Correction by J. A. Duerksen

The "War in Kansas"

The *New Yorker*, April 22, 1967, in an article titled "War in Kansas" featured attitudes toward the war in Vietnam found on college campuses in Kansas. A detailed report was given about the planned "Peace Walk" on Veteran's Day by the Bethel College Peace Club.

Conference on Sexuality

The Board of Education and Publication of the General Conference Mennonite Church and the Mennonite Commission of the (Old) Mennonite Church are planning a conference on "Christianity and Sexuality" to convene at Elkhart, Ind., August 5-9. Six lectures and discussion groups will convene daily throughout the week. Among the speakers are H. Kauffman, Waldemar Janzen, Howard H. Charles, Leo Driedger, Laban Peachy, C. Norman Kraus, William Klassen, Robert Carlson. A hundred participants have been invited. Judging by the program the focus is on the biblical basis and contemporary trends and solutions of problems in this field.

The Wildest of Cow Towns: Newton

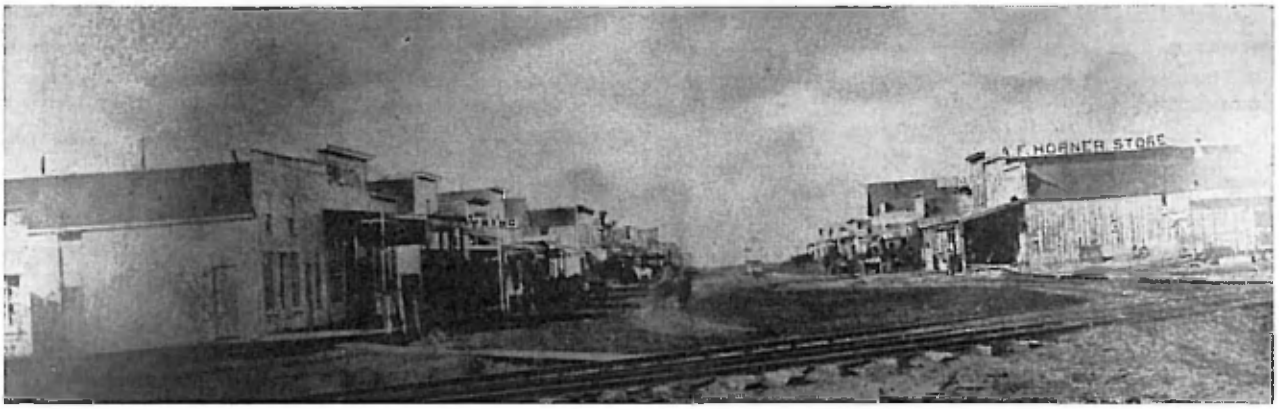
By Clayton R. Koppes

Since the California gold rush of 1849, the violence of the West has been a firmly entrenched staple of American folklore. For more than one hundred years, vigilante groups, claim jumpers, cattle rustlers, and deadeye marshals have enjoyed a popularity equaled by only a few other aspects of American history. In the nineteenth century, thousands of readers of the *Police Gazette* and *Harper's Weekly* thrilled to the exploits of Western desperadoes as preserved in the pen and ink drawings of brave staff artists. In the present decade, millions hang on the latest television recreation of Matt Dillon in Dodge City.

Kansas' contribution to the Wild West tradition has been its cow towns. Dodge City has become a national synonym for frontier savagery; Abilene and Wichita have achieved a lesser renown. Probably even less famous is Newton. Yet Newton, for a season, was the roughest of the cow towns. More men died violent deaths in Newton during its period of seamy glory than in a comparable span of time in any other cow town. Abilene was the first of the cow towns, and Dodge City lived in a rowdy heyday longer, but none was more violent than Newton.

Newton was but an unincorporated village when the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe's mainline reached it in 1871. A few frame buildings lined muddy Main Street. That spring Joseph G. McCoy, who had designed and built Abilene's stockyards, was hired to construct yards in Newton. Since the little city on Sand Creek reduced the long trail drive by some sixty-odd miles, it quickly became the terminus of the Chisholm Trail cattle drives that summer and fall. By the middle of August, two thousand cattle had been shipped east; by the end of the season, the stock cars at the yards a mile and a half west of the city would see forty thousand cattle.

With the cattle came all the low life that had given Abilene its evil reputation. In the respectable district, the three blocks on the north side of the tracks, nearly every second building was a saloon or gambling den. The tough district was called "Hide Park," and was located south of the tracks, some distance from the rest of the town. The area consisted of five rough buildings, two of which were dance halls, three of which were brothels. Eight professional gamblers were in town, and historian Floyd Benjamin Streeter has estimated



Main Street of Newton, Kansas, 1872, looking north from the Santa Fe Railroad tracks.

that gamblers, murderers, roughs, courtesans and the like outnumbered respectable people five to two. A contemporary observer wrote in the *Wichita Tribune,* "I have been in a good many towns, but Newton is the fastest one I have ever seen. Here you may see young girls not over sixteen drinking whisky, smoking cigars, cursing and swearing until one almost looses [sic] the respect they [sic] should have for the weaker sex. I heard one of their townsmen say that he didn't think there were a dozen virtuous women in town. This speaks poorly for a town claiming 1,500 inhabitants. He further told me if I had any money that I would not be safe with it here. It is a common expression that they have a man every morning for breakfast."

The unstable life of Newton was setting the stage for what came to be known as Newton's "general massacre." A correspondent for the *Kansas Daily Commonwealth* in Topeka wrote, "usually after a killing . . . no events of any moment, saving an occasional head breaking or an unimportant stabbing affray, occurred for at least a week or so." By August 20, 1871, no killing had occurred in Newton for a week, which meant the town was ripe for another. The city was relatively quiet early that morning, but beneath the bewitching calm were undercurrents of tragedy. Ten days before, a "Texas desperado" by the name of Baylor had been killed when he assaulted Mike McCluskie, a former night marshal of Newton now employed by the Santa Fe. Baylor had been popular among his fellow Texans, who were in the habit of "standing by one another with a dogged obstinancy that might be called chivalrous, were it not so often exercised in a bad cause." Influenced by liquor and bad counsel, the Texans forgot Baylor's bad qualities; their sympathy "intensified itself into rage; rage, feeding on itself, verged into revenge."

A group of men were hurriedly walked away from Hide Park, talking in low, earnest tones. "There will be a fracas tonight, boys, and Mac is a dead man," said a heavily bearded man who seemed to be the leader of the group. "Texas is on the rampage to-night in dead earnest, and before morning there will be lively music over yonder," he continued, pointing his thumb toward the Hide Park dance halls. Other groups crossed the tracks, heading north, anxious to avoid the fracas.

McCluskie was in Perry Tuttle's dance hall when the signal was given to close. As some Texans chatted with McCluskie to distract him, Hugh Anderson, another Texan, entered the hall. Striding across the room, a revolver in one hand, he hissed at McCluskie, "You are a cowardly son of a bitch! I will blow the top of your head off." The hammer fell on the revolver, and a ball crashed through the victim's neck. McCluskie fired back, his pistol continuing to discharge as he toppled to the floor. Anderson pumped another bullet into the back of the prostrate man. Then gunfire erupted from the other five avenging Texans.

But suddenly a thin youth appeared in the doorway. He stood motionless a moment, surveying the situation. Then a sheet of flame burst from his hand. Jim Martin, Texan, staggered outside, and fell dead at the door of the Alamo. Shot followed shot until all six Texans were wounded. The avenger left the hall, and rode away, unidentified, into the night.

Both dance halls were turned into hospitals. Martin had been taken inside at the Alamo; McCluskie was carried upstairs at Perry Tuttle's where he soon died. Of the six wounded, five died, bringing the massacre total to seven. The *Commonwealth* called Newton's general massacre "the most terrible tragedy that has ever occurred in Kansas during civil times. It is a burning shame and disgrace to Kansas, and measures should at once be adopted to prevent a repetition."

Newton lacked effective city government. The *Commonwealth* later reported that thirty-seven men met violent deaths in Newton during 1871, which easily set a record even for Kansas cow towns. An organized city government would have had difficulty dealing with a massive influx of Texas cowhands bent on having a good time in town after weeks on the trail with no

companionship but their cattle. Newton had no government, however, except township organization. In 1871 cities could not be incorporated in Kansas except during the first three months of the year. Since the bloom did not come to the Newton boom until that summer, it had been too late to form a legal city government. Only an informal government of sorts existed; the police force received their pay from a fund raised by the town's eighty professional gamblers.

The editor of the *Commonwealth* suggested that the U. S. Army be sent in to control the roaring town. But the citizens of the town took quick action themselves after the bloodletting of August 20. A few days after the massacre, a large number of persons met, resolved to bury past differences, and decided to appoint a police force composed of both Texans and Newton citizens. The *Commonwealth's* anonymous correspondent Allegro said, "The few desperadoes who have been in the habit of making their neighbors uncomfortable by a bravo display of pistols and knives have wisely taken to the prairie, and an ordinance is published and rigidly carried out which disarms any and all persons who may be found carrying dangerous weapons within the township of Newton." A little more than a week after the mass shoot-out, a calaboose was erected, the first in the town.

On August 27 citizens met again, this time to nominate a city government. A mayor, police judge, marshal, and five councilmen were chosen. Anyone who was living in Newton or intended to "remain for a reasonable length of time" was permitted to vote. Steps also were taken to raise money to build three buildings the town did not possess—a town hall, a school, and a church.

What authority the new government was able to wield is not completely clear. In any case it faced a difficult situation, for the cattle drive season had barely begun by August; hundreds more cowhands would be pouring into Newton that fall, and they would be just as hard to control as those who had given Newton such a sinister reputation that summer.

In September, Deputy Sheriff C. B. King was shot. Allegro said there was "no more respected man in Newton," About ten o'clock one Saturday evening, King had disarmed Thomas Edwards. Two hours later King was standing outside Perry Tuttle's dance hall when Edwards approached, pressed a Derringer close to King's breast and fired. The ball lodged near King's heart. The deputy staggered into the hall, exclaiming, "Who shot me?" then slumped over on his arm. A moment later he was dead. Edwards fled.

Not until 1872 did law and order settle on Newton. Two chief developments were responsible. Newton was incorporated as a city of the third class on February 22, 1872, and the papers of incorporation signed by the district judge in Sedgwick County. (Newton was then a part of that county; Harvey County, named for the governor, was organized later in the year.) It was now possible for Newton to have a legal city government. More important, however, in Newton's new law and order was the Santa Fe. By 1872 the line had been extended to Wichita, twenty-eight miles south, and the trail bosses made that railhead their new trail's end. Many of the gamblers, courtesans, and roughnecks took their last drink at the Alamo, and hopped the train south. When they left Newton, peaceful civilization gradually descended on the wild little city on Sand Creek.

Law did not come easily to Newton, however. In early November, 1872, M. J. Fitzpatrick, "one of the most noted murderous and wicked men in the country," returned to Newton after a two-week drunk. The evening of November 6, he had hunted several parties of his associates "with pistol in hand to kill them." The next morning he entered the Gold Rooms, Newton's largest and most elegant gambling and watering place. There he encountered George Halliday, a pioneer lawyer who had been city clerk pro tem before the new elections in April, 1872. Ordinarily the two were good friends, but both were drunk that morning. Some "trifling words passed between them." Incensed, Fitzpatrick struck Halliday on the head with his revolver, then shoved the weapon against the lawyer's chest. The revolver missed fire once. Fitzpatrick pulled the trigger again. This time it discharged, killing the victim almost instantly. The murderer then walked calmly into the street, defying anyone to touch him. Within minutes, a crowd of fifty men gathered, armed with rifles, and "swore him death." Marshal Johnston tried to arrest Fitzpatrick, but the latter refused, and drew his revolver on the officer. Unruffled, Johnston walked across the street, "borrowed a Henry rifle and in another minute put an end to his existence—shooting Fitzpatrick dead in the street nearly in front of Hamil & Co's store."

A quarter of an hour after the double shooting, a committee was organized that took down the "names of several hard cases and their roosts." Those who could be found "were ordered to leave town and to *stay away.*" The City Council held a special meeting the next day, and, apparently in reaction to the day's violence, unanimously agreed to allow the marshal to appoint five deputies at three dollars a day "to execute the law" and maintain peace in the city. H. C. Ashbaugh, editor of the *Newton Kansan,* commented, "While we lament the death of Mr. Halliday [he left a widow and a young child], we believe this has been one of the best days our thriving young city has ever seen. Our respectable and law-abiding citizens have taken the matter into their own hands, and will see that hereafter Newton shall give no shelter to men who live by murdering and robbing good people, but shall win that reputation near and far that shall be to it an honor and not a disgrace."

Less than a week later however, Ashbaugh changed his mind. He charged that "our laws are being laughed to scorn, and our police government has been but a farce. In times past and even recently, all that has been necessary for the biggest loafer in christendom [sic] to do to take the sidewalks and run the town business of this place in opposition to the whole police department, was simply to get drunk and then treat the crowd. If someone *happens* to be arrested he is given a schoolboy trial; if he can't pay his fine and doesn't make any threats (providing he is a stranger or from the country), he is marched to the calaboose, left until sober, and then let out, the expenses being charged up to the city. The city council might pass ordinances until doomsday under such officials, and to no effect." A correspondent later charged that a young man from McPherson County who had come to Newton to shop had been the victim of favoritism when his horse ran amuck and broke an old plank. The man was fined only because the plank was in front of the mayor's store, the letter implied. "There are still many leakages yet of enormous size," the writer said of Newton's justice.

Whether conditions were as bad as Ashbaugh maintained or whether his charges were merely campaign propaganda is hard to assess since he ran for councilman in the April, 1873, election. His plea that an "altogether different administration" be inaugurated was heeded by the voters; none of the former city officials was reelected, and Ashbaugh and his ticket swept to an easy victory.

The Halliday murder probably represented nothing more than a temporary setback for the young city. The *Wichita Eagle* commented a week before the shooting, "The morals of the place are improving most decidedly, and in consequence good families are locating in and around the city." By the fall of 1872, more than sixty persons had built farm houses in a four-mile ring around Newton; the majority of them were homesteaders. Two weeks before Christmas, a minister from Peabody, Kansas, said conditions in the city had improved a good deal since his visit in late June, when stores ran wide open on Sundays and children played in the streets. And, while there was no church building yet, Rev. N. K. Crowe was holding weekly services at the courthouse, and some Episcopalians had met at the Newton House in November to organize a congregation. In January of 1873, the city's $4,146 schoolhouse, twenty-eight feet by forty-eight, complete with three rooms and a cupola, was opened to its first classes. Population had dropped nearly one thousand from the summer of 1871, but morals and community stability seemed to have improved appreciably.

The laws of early Newton reflected the concerns of the City Council. Most of the ordinances passed in 1872-73 concerned themselves with the suppression of the rampant vices of the city, such as establishing criteria for the granting of liquor licenses and levying fines for prostitution. The first ordinance passed by the City Council in April, 1872, authorized a salary of seventy-five dollars a month for a marshal, plus $1.50 per arrest; an assistant marshal was to be paid sixty dollars a month.

But before long the council was able to turn from controlling crime to building an inhabitable city. It legislated against allowing certain kinds of animals, notably buffalo, run wild in the city, and it soon required a city license for dogs. The council called for sidewalks of uniform height, brick chimneys and fire walls to reduce the danger of fire, and by 1875 required all new buildings in the business district to be constructed of brick or stone. That same year plans were made to lay out city parks; the previous year money had been voted to pay for smallpox examinations. In December, 1875, the council approved an allocation for two Champion No. 5 fire engines.

Thus, by 1874, the year of the great Mennonite immigration to central Kansas, Newton was taking on the appearance of civilization. Frontier violence had moved to Wichita and then to Dodge City. Newton was to make its name in railroading and hard winter wheat, and the violence that was Newton was to fade into one of the lesser legends of the Old West.

Inevitability

By Elaine Rich

My Pennsylvania Dutch grandfather
on his Indiana farm said,
"When you see the first bumble bee
In the spring, you may go barefoot."

This morning in a Buddhist cemetery
High on a hill overlooking Kyoto
I saw the season's first bumble bee,
But I shall not go barefoot again.

American Mennonite Fiction

Additional Titles and Bibliographical Data

By Stanley C. Shenk

Editor's Note: In the July 1967 issue of MENNONITE LIFE *Elmer F. Suderman published an article entitled "American Mennonite Fiction. A Contribution Toward a Bibliography."*

The following is a list of additional titles and of some bibliographical information submitted by Stanley C. Shenk who is writing a Ph.D. dissertation entitled "The Image of the Mennonites in American Novels, 1900-1964."

1. *Additional Titles of Fiction:*

Beiler, Edna. *Adventures with the Buttonwoods.* Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1960. A collection of short stories. Juvenile. No Mennonite characters.

————. *Mattie Mae.* Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1967. A collection of stories. Juvenile. About the Amish.

————. *Tres Casas.* New York: Friendship Press, 1964. Three stories about Spanish Americans in the U.S. No Mennonite characters.

————. *White Elephant for Sale.* New York: Friendship Press, 1966. Three stories. Juvenile.

Brackett, Leigh. *The Long Tomorrow.* New York: Ace Books, Inc., 1955. Mennonites in the 21st century, two generations after "The Great Destruction"!

Brecht, Edith. *Ada and the Wild Duck.* New York: The Viking Press, 1964. Juvenile. Ada is an eight-year-old Old Order Mennonite girl in Pennsylvania.

Dunham, Mabel. *The Trail of the Conestoga.* Toronto: McClelland and Steward, Limited, 1942. Based on the emigration of many Mennonites of Eastern Pennsylvania to Ontario in the post-Revolutionary War era.

————. *Toward Sodom.* Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, Limited, 1927. Deals with Ontario Mennonites during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Epp, Margaret. *Anita and the Driftwood House.* Chicago: Moody Press, 1957. Nova Scotia setting. Juvenile. No Mennonite characters.

————. *No-Hand Sam.* Hillsboro, Kansas: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1959. Missionary stories for children and young people.

————. *The Brannans of Bar Lazy B.* Chicago: Moody Press, 1965. Juvenile.

————. *The Sign of the Tumbling T.* Chicago: Moody Press, 1956. Juvenile. No Mennonite characters.

Fast, Karl. "Honor the Truth." *The Canadian Mennonite* February, 1955 to August 3, 1956, (75 chapters).

Glass, Esther Eby. "Seven Gales," *The Youth's Christian Companion,* October 10, 1948 to April 3, 1949 (24 chapters).

Helm, Ruth H. *Wonderful Good Neighbors.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1956. Juvenile. Most of the characters are Amish of Eastern Pennsylvania.

Kauffman, Christmas Carol. "According to His Purpose," *The Youth's Christian Companion,* December 2, 1951, to January 13, 1952 (7 chapters).

————. "Unspoken Love," *The Youth's Christian Companion,* October 2, 1949 to August 6, 1950 (45 chapters).

————. "Up Sumac Lane," *The Youth's Christian Companion,* July 22, 1945 to November 18, 1945 (17 chapters).

————. *Hidden Rainbow,* Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1957. A Yugoslavian Family Settles in Lebanon County, Pa., and joins a Mennonite church.

Klassen, Peter J. "Prodigal Sons." *The Canadian Mennonite,* May 28, 1954 to January 21, 1955, (32 chapters).

Martin, Helen Reimensnyder. *The Crossways.* New York: The Century Company, 1910. Deals (in part) with the New Mennonites (that is, The Reformed Mennonites or Herrites).

————. *Gertie Swartz: Fanatic or Christian?* New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1918. Includes a significant New Mennonite character.

————. *Her Husband's Purse.* Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1916. Includes a significant New Mennonite character.

————. *The Lie.* New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1928. Includes a significant New Mennonite character.

————. *The Marriage of Susan.* Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1921. Includes several significant New Mennonite characters.

Miller, Clara Bernice. *Katie.* Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1966. Deals with the Amish.

Singmaster, Elsie. *Katy Gaumer.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915. In connection with this well-written novel, Elsie Singmaster apparently creates her own little Mennonite denomination: "The New Improved Mennonites."

Strachan, Margaret Pitcairn. *Mennonite Martha.* New York: Ives Washburn, Inc., 1961. Juvenile. The story of a Mennonite girl in Bucks Co., Pa., in 1884.

Wonsetler, Adelaide H. and John C. *Liberty for Johanny.* New York: Longman's, Green, and Company, 1943. The novel includes a Franconia Conference Mennonite bishop who aids Washington's army.

2. *Additional Bibliographical Data:*

Yoder, Evelyn Martin. *Mandy of the Amish.* New York: Comet Press Books, 1957.

3. *Points of Spelling:*

a. *Mitsy* instead of *Misty Buttonwoods.*

b. Fernald, Helen Clark, instead of Fernold, Helen Clark.

c. Reimensnyder instead of Riemensnyder.
d. Myers, Anna Balmer, instead of Meyers, Anna Balmer.
e. Miller, Louis, instead of Miller, Lois.
f. Shellenberger, Eunice, instead of Schellenberger, Eunice.

4. *Points of Disagreement*:

a. *Blue Hills and Shoofly Pie* is not fiction; it's a series of essays on the food, clothing, and customs of the Pennsylvania Germans.

b. *One Red Rose Forever* is not a juvenile work. It is very lengthy, deals (in part) with Baron Stiegel's illicit passion for Diane, a French girl; and includes at least one fairly explicit sex scene.

c. I know of no *Dannie of Cedar Village*. I assume this is probably just an accidental misprint for *Dannie of Cedar Cliffs*.

d. *Martha of the Mennonite Country* does not have a significant Mennonite character. The title is somewhat of a misnomer. The only items which are Mennonite in relation to this book are (1) the title, and (2) the fact that Mennonites are referred to very briefly at several points.

e. "At the River's Turning" does not deal at all with Mennonites; it is concerned with a group of German Brethren who emigrated from Europe to Ontario in the 1830's. As far as Phyllis Primmer herself is concerned, her mother was a Mennonite in background, but later became a Methodist. Her father was a Quaker in background, but later also became Methodist. Mrs. Primmer herself was raised in the United Church of Canada, and now is a member of the Christian and Missionary Alliance Church. In a phone conversation she told me that the actual settlement she was writing about in "At the River's Turning" was Quaker.

Dutch Anabaptism and the Muensterites

By Cornelius Krahn

MÜNSTER IN WESTPHALIA has many tourist attractions. High up on the tower of the St. Lambert Church hang three man-sized cages. They survived all disasters including the bombing of World War II. In a coffee shop next to the church, the visitor can enjoy a piece of cake topped with three chocolate cages. At festive occasions the present Münsterites re-enact the drama of the establishment and defeat of the "New Jerusalem" in Münster, which lasted from February 9, 1534, to June 25, 1535. The surviving three leaders of the short-lived "Kingdom"—Jan van Leiden, Bernhard Knipperdolling and Bernhard Krechting—were cruelly tortured to death and placed in cages which were suspended from the tower of St. Lambert.

Anyone who devotes some time to the study of the Anabaptist "Kingdom" at Münster is impressed with the amount of material available on the subject. From the days of the Kingdom to the present it has attracted reporters, scholars, fiction writers, and artists.[1] Both Philip of Hesse and the bishop of Münster, deeply involved in the siege and conquest of the "New Israel," had the leaders properly interviewed before their execution. The printed report[2] by Corvinus was followed by a flood of publications on this subject, mostly heavily slanted, depending on the purpose of the writer.

Much of the scholarly work in regard to this event has been done in Münster. An example is a recently published Ph.D. dissertation by Karl-Heinz Kirchhoff,[3] which is devoted primarily to the military and political aspects of the establishment of the Kingdom, the siege of the city by the bishop, the military aid he received from Catholic and Protestant rulers and cities, and the ultimate conquest of the city.

Of interest to us are such questions as how the see of the bishop was taken over by the Anabaptists and what the relationship is between this event and the Anabaptists of the Low Countries.

In view of the fact that there was such a devastating stigma attached to anyone who had a slight resemblance to an Anabaptist or *Schwärmer* already in the days of Menno Simons and Obbe Philips, there was a tendency to disassociate the violent from the peaceful Anabaptists. The apologetic literature and the bibliography dealing with denial of a common lineage of the peaceful and the Münsterite Anabaptists is impressive and would constitute a worthwhile and interesting study in historiography. On the other hand, some historians under the influence of K. Vos and A. F. Mellink[4] emphasize a revolutionary proletarian background of all Dutch Anabaptists.

I. Melchior Hofmann and Dutch Anabaptism

Before we continue with the question of the interrelation of radical and peaceful, or Münsterite and Dutch Anabaptism, we must devote some time to the question of the origin of the Anabaptists in the North. Although Anabaptism in general was more a movement of people than people moved by leaders, one can point to individuals without whom the movement would not have started at all or would have taken a different course. For the Low Countries or northwestern Europe, the originator is Melchior Hofmann, and for Münster the forerunner, if not the originator, is Bernhard Rothmann. Both started as followers of Luther and later fathered northern Anabaptism.

1. *Melchior Hofmann: Lutheran Lay Evangelist*

As soon as Hofmann, a furrier by profession, heard the Wittenberg Nightingale in his native Württemberg, he went to proclaim the glad tidings. He was possessed by an untiring spiritual *Wanderlust* which took him into faraway lands, and far away from his spiritual starting point. First with the blessings of Luther and Bugenhagen he worked in Livonia on the Baltic coast (1523). When his orthodoxy was questioned, he went to Stockholm (1526). Having probably met Karlstadt in Wittenberg, Hofmann by now agreed with Karlstadt's views on the Lord's Supper; and this soon made it necessary for him to leave again. He had barely arrived in Lübeck when "the regents were after his neck, blood, body and life but God helped the furrier." It sounds almost unbelievable that he now became "Königlicher würden gesetzter Prediger zu Kiel im Lande Holstein" for King Frederick of Denmark. This was a great consolation for him since by now the Wittenbergers considered him a "little worm" and "a dreamer" and he was "mistreated, blasphemed and despised."

His publishing of a book on the Lord's Supper hastened the end of this new position in Kiel. It led to a large scale public religious discussion at Flensburg, attended by four hundred and chaired by Bugenhagen. Karlstadt, whom Hofmann had invited, was not admitted to the meeting. When Duke Christian indicated in advance that the disputation might take an unfavorable turn for him, Hofmann replied: "If all emperors, kings, princes, popes, bishops, and cardinals should be together at one place, truth shall and must, nevertheless, be confessed to the glory of God; may my Lord and God grant me this."[5] The outcome resulted in the immediate expulsion of Hofmann and of Karlstadt, who had come to his rescue. When the latter blamed Bugenhagen, he denied his responsibility, saying that it was merely an answer to his prayer: "Expel, O Lord, those who have offended Thee."

Both expellees proceeded to East Friesland where they found shelter and like-minded supporters (1529). Sacramentarian refugees from the Low Countries, on one hand, and Wittenberg representatives, on the other, were each aiming to set the pattern for the development of the Reformation here. This was to be the cradle of northern Anabaptism. But Hofmann was not yet an Anabaptist himself. Furthermore, Luther was doing his best to have the two removed from East Friesland. After a short stay, Hofmann left for Strassburg, where he arrived in June 1529. Here he found representatives of all shades of the radical reformation. They had come from various places to the "city of hope" and the "refugee of righteousness." Among them were Gerard Geldenhauer, Balthasar Hubmaier, Martin Cellarius, Wilhelm Reublin, Ludwig Haetzer, Hans Denck, Michael Sattler, Pilgram Marbeck, Heinrich Rol, Johann Bünderlin, Caspar Schwenckfeld, Christian Entfelder, and Sebastian Franck, not to speak of Martin Bucer and Wolfgang Capito.[6]

2. *A Strassburg Anabaptist*

Hofmann delivered a report to Bucer about his work in the northern countries, and Bucer introduced him to his co-workers and to Schwenckfeld, who was a guest in the house of Capito. Hofmann published a book dealing with the Flensburg discussion and several in which he expounded his eschatological views. Most important, however, were the influences which Hofmann underwent during his short stay in Strassburg. The range of possible contacts was almost unlimited in this truly cosmopolitan city. Among those who influenced him were Schwenkfeld, Wilhelm Reublin, Hans Denck and Pilgram Marbeck. Strassburg Anabaptism was by no means unified. When Hofmann parted he left behind a *hoffmännisch* group of Anabaptists.[7]

However, all Anabaptists shared certain basic concepts. Outstanding among them was the meaning of the covenanted church (*Gemeinde*) or the *Bund* and the *Bundgenossen*. It was particularly the idea of the covenanted, disciplined fellowship which impressed Hofmann while in Strassburg. There are indications that he obtained these views from Denck and Marbeck who in turn were influenced by Thomas Müntzer. The concept of the covenant, unlike the views of Zwingli, Bucer and Capito, presupposed that only adults enter into a covenant sealed through baptism. It also included the concept of *Gelassenheit* (surrender) derived from mysticism, likely via Thomas Müntzer. These views were advocated with a strong sense of mission. This is briefly what Hofmann added to his concepts and what became the theme of his preaching when he returned to East Friesland. The title of his

next book, *Ordonnantie Godts* (Ordinance) or the Great Commission, and its contents set forth the theme and message which he took to Emden as an Anabaptist evangelist.[8]

He who formerly dealt "with kings and dukes," as he once put it, now boldly petitioned the city council of Strassburg to make one of the churches available to the Anabaptists. It was through this dramatic act—something like a contemporary march for a cause—that he identified himself with a group that had already been forbidden through an edict in 1527. This was even more symbolic than to be baptized somewhere in secrecy. When Hofmann and his printer were to be apprehended, they had disappeared overnight.[9]

3. *Beginning of Dutch Anabaptism*

Upon his return to Emden, Hofmann found the field ready for harvest. The spiritualization of the meaning of the sacraments had reached the point where the number had been reduced to two, baptism and communion, and the latter had been given a symbolic meaning. It was even being advocated by some that baptism was to be understood symbolically and that it should be administered at the age at which Jesus was baptized. Thus Hofmann found homes, hearts, and churches receptive to his Ordinance or Great Commission. The dramatic result of his preaching was the baptizing of three hundred "burghers and peasants, lords and servants," in the *Grosse Kirche* of Emden.[10] From here the preaching of the Ordinance, the idea of the covenant and believers' baptism, spread rapidly through East Friesland, Groningen, Leeuwarden, and Amsterdam and into the smallest fishing villages of the Low Countries. However, this was not because Hofmann was able to devote a lifetime to the proclamation of the message of the covenanters. In 1533 he was imprisoned in Strassburg, never to be freed again.

The covenanters or *Bondgenoten* spread so rapidly because of the urgency with which the message was proclaimed. This urgency was reinforced by Hofmann's eschatological views, which he had incorporated into the Anabaptist message. These views, which gave the message color and appeal, also carried in them the seed of its downfall, particularly since he left a leaderless movement behind when he was imprisoned.

His preaching and his writings emphasized that the time of grace was running out and that tribulation was at hand. The two witnesses, Enoch and Elijah, were to prophesy on earth for 1260 days, but their message would not be accepted before the beast or dragon killed them. Official Christendom would deny Christ, but in this time of tribulation the spiritual Jerusalem would be protected by two powers, one of which was to be Strassburg. At last Christ would appear and rule forever. The seven years during which this was to transpire were originally set for the time from 1526 to 1533. This made the year 1533 very crucial and made Hofmann rejoice when he was imprisoned upon his second arrival in Strassburg. By necessity, the tarrying of the Lord made the details of his interpretation flexible, but he had an unshakable faith and enthusiasm regarding the one fixed point in the eschatological drama—the victorious coming of the Lord and the establishment of the New Jerusalem or millennium. These visions based on Revelation and Daniel remained unchanged through his years of imprisonment. While the Strassburg reformers tried to convert him to their point of view, he tried to convince them that God had assigned an eschatological role to their city. He remained steadfast in his conviction to the end of his life.

We return to the Low Countries in order to describe the soil and the environment in which Anabaptism had its beginning. From the day that Luther nailed his ninety-five Theses to the door of the Wittenberg Church, his fame and influence had spread in the Low Countries. Many Augustinians went to Wittenberg, returning with new views and books which were spread rapidly, particularly through the printshops of Antwerp. Even after it became evident that the Reformation movement of the Low Countries was different in nature, it was still considered to be "Lutheran."

The soil in which the seed of the Reformation was sown had been prepared by the mysticism of Wessel Gansfort, the Brethren of the Common Life and Erasmian humanism. There was a native tendency to spiritualize the traditions and doctrines of the church of the Middle Ages with particular focus on the sacraments. Regardless of how strong the Lutheran influence was at places, this uniquely native aspect of the Reformation, rooting deeply in the mysticism and Christian humanism of the Low Countries, soon overshadowed Luther's influence. The promoters of this reformation movement became known as "Sacramentarians" because they de-emphasized the sacramental character of the eucharist. It was Hinne Rode who in his *Epistula Christiana* clearly expressed the Sacramentarian views pertaining to the symbolic concept of the Lord's Supper, which also influenced Zwingli. In such an environment, extending of the spiritualization of the sacraments to include baptism was not a major obstacle. Many of the Sacramentarians joined the Anabaptists, who represented the only Reformation movement in the Netherlands assuming shape and form at that time.[12]

J. Lindeboom states that there was "an Anabaptist spirit preceding the introduction of (adult) baptism." He continues by saying that the message of the Anabaptist evangelists was "challenging, strongly propagandizing, appealing through promises of nearby eschatological bliss, sharply distinguishing between those who are saved and those who are lost and emphasizing

the priesthood of all believers." Large masses of people were set aflame by these glad tidings. The movement spread like a fire, which, to be true, in some instances was a strawfire, but which also at places and at times left behind a "calmly burning unextinguishable glow." Anabaptism, being a popular movement, found "followers in various strata of society. It was not merely a trend within a spiritual elite group or a school of thought of theologians or the clergy" and thus for awhile it "became predominant in some cities and some areas of the Netherlands."[13]

The disaster came through the collision of two opposing and fanatical ideas. Charles V had his design in regard to the role of the Low Countries. His empire was in danger and so was the Catholic Church, whose protector he considered himself to be. He was determined to prevent the spread of Protestantism in any form and to extend his political influence through the Low Countries to the back door of the German countries which were turning Protestant. Charles V personally headed the inquisition in the Low Countries by applying the Edict of Worms most severely. The government of Brussels and the Court of Holland in the Hague, the arm of the emperor, had had their hands full dealing with such heresies as *Lutherye* and Sacramentarianism. Now to this was added "*anabaptisterye* and all that goes with it." Charles V was determined to stamp out this most horrible of all heresies which had spiritualized all sacraments of the church and considered the Catholic Church itself the Babylonian whore of Revelation. On one hand the persecution dispersed the adherents of the movement and thus helped its spread. On the other hand, the inhuman suffering, through mental and physical torture, death by burning at the stake, beheading, drowning, and burying alive, ultimately drove the shepherdless flock to desperation.[14]

Hofmann's emphasis on the speedy return of the Lord, who would save his suffering children, was not only kept alive but gained increasing significance. Hofmann, now in prison, was still pointing to Strassburg as the "New Jerusalem." But it was only a matter of time before someone would take over his role and select another place more congenial and geographically within reach. As the agony of suffering increased and the stench of those burned at the stake spread over the country the patience of some "saints" was bound to run out. For others the prospect of joining the 144,000 in white robes encouraged willing martyrdom for the cause of the Lord, whose coming was surely at hand. Both groups started looking for the city most ready to receive the Lord in His Second Coming. Although many cities were being named, the one most likely to be chosen was Münster in Westphalia. And with good reason.

II. Muenster: The New Jerusalem

Various forces had been at work leading to a religious reformation and a change in the social and economic structure of Münster, the medieval seat of the bishop. Through such men as the well-known humanist-educator, Johannes Murmellius, and through economic ties, the city was linked to the leading centers in the Low Countries. A rise of the guilds to recognition and power was a tremor of the Peasant Revolt reaching Münster. Luther's message found acceptance among some of the priests. Most outstanding among them was Bernhard Rothmann. He had received his education in Münster and at the school of the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer. In 1531 he visited the Reformation centers of Wittenberg, Marburg, and Strassburg, where he stayed in the home of Capito. Upon his return to Münster (1531) he became pastor of the St. Lambert Church and led in the introduction of the Reformation (1532), supported and influenced by the Wasserberg *predikant,* Heinrich Rol. They were soon joined by other Wassenberg *predikanten* from Jülich-Cleves, who were strong Sacramentarians questioning the validity and advisability of infant baptism. This led to a split among the reform forces at Münster, between those adhering to Luther's views and those inclined to follow a more radical path. In the first Anabaptist treatise of Münster, entitled *Bekenntnisse,* and published November 8, 1533, believer's baptism was openly advocated. This booklet bore the signatures of Rothmann and the Wassenberg *predikanten.* Without intending to do so, this opened the gates of Münster to the persecuted radical chiliasts of the Low Countries looking for the city chosen by God to become the "New Jerusalem." The *Bekentenisse* of Rothmann made him the theological spokesman of the Münster Anabaptists. Even Pilgram Marbeck of South Germany later found it a most valuable basis on which to gather the divergent Anabaptist groups of that day. Thus he absorbed it in his *Vermahnung* (1542).

On January 5, 1534, the radical Anabaptist apostles, Bartholomeus Boekbinder and Willem de Kuiper, arrived in Münster and administered baptism to about 1400 in the course of one week. The apostles had been sent by Jan Matthijsz of Haarlem, who had assumed a place of leadership in the Low Countries.

Before this event in Münster, Matthijsz had spent two weeks in the home of Jan van Leiden, who was a rhetorician, merchant, and innkeeper in Leiden and highly gifted in other areas. Not only had Matthijsz baptized Jan van Leiden on that occasion but the latter also shared with him much of his worldly wisdom as a traveler who had been in London, Lübeck, and Münster, where he had associated with Rothmann and Knipperdolling. The latter was soon to become the mayor of the city. No doubt some of the plans and

the role of Münster were discussed by the two already at this time. It did not take long before Jan van Leiden was back again in Münster with unusual plans.[15]

1. *The Establishment of the New Jerusalem*

The relationship between the city of Münster and the ruling bishop, Franz von Waldeck (elected June 1, 1532), had been strained from the start. Now the introduction of Anabaptism appeared to be an act of insurrection. On January 23, 1534, he issued an edict that the Anabaptists be imprisoned. Bernhard Knipperdolling, who was now mayor, the Anabaptists, and the Evangelicals united against the bishop. The bishop began the blockade and siege of the city. Thereupon the "children of Jacob" expelled the "children of Esau" from Münster. However, there was continued contact with the outside world, particularly with the sympathizers in Westphalia, the Cologne area, Jülich-Cleves, and the Low Countries. Inspired by the Great Commission of Hofmann, the Münsterites sent promotional material to all these areas. Apostles also went personally to extend invitations to the New Jerusalem, which was now clearly Münster rather than Strassburg. The judgment of the Lord was at hand, as demonstrated by the horrible persecution which the evil forces outside Münster were inflicting upon the believers. Imprisoned pilgrims confessed that the Lord would come before Easter and that the "world would be cruelly punished" and "only in Münster would there be peace and security since it will be the city of the Lord and the New Jerusalem." The message sent out included the assurance that Münster was building homes for all. Large numbers succeeded in reaching Münster from as many as seventeen places around the city. As they arrived they were placed in churches, monasteries, and the vacated homes of the "godless." Writings and tracts were even shot into the camp of the bishop's army with the appeal to refrain from attacking the "city of God" and to come and join the saints. As many as two hundred mercenaries at a time followed the invitation. The besieged were still hoping that the Lord himself would intervene miraculously. Jan Matthijsz, with a few followers, was seized by a foolhardy inspiration to go outside of the city wall, expecting that the Lord would disperse the besieging army as in the days of Israel. Hille Feicken tried to imitate Judith when she charmed Holofernes and cut off his head during the night. Needless to say these "New Israelites" lost their lives. Other illustrations could be given of the shift from an attempt to reinstitute the apostolic church to an imitation of the Old Testament covenant. The introduction of the community of goods in Münster can be classified as an attempt to follow the apostolic practice. This principle was applied most fully among the Hutterites. On the other hand the introduction of polygamy, although partly based on an emergency situation, was definitely an imitation of the Old Testament practices of Israel. This was also the case when Jan van Leiden was crowned with great pomp as the "King David" of the "New Israel." We can only guess how these principles would have developed and how long they would have lasted under normal conditions. Rothmann, who structured most of the early views of Münsterite Anabaptism, must have been pushed gradually into the background under the dictatorship of Jan van Leiden. This is being confirmed in a new study of Rothmann by Jack W. Porter.[16]

III. The Dutch Anabaptists and Münster

The path we have followed clearly indicates a deep involvement of the Dutch Anabaptists in the establishment of the Kingdom of Münster. Jan Matthijsz, Jan van Leiden, and others played significant roles in the tragedy. Without their participation the Reformation effort or the Anabaptist movement at Münster would have taken a different course.

1. *Despair and Hope*

New attempts were made in Münster to get the Anabaptists of the Low Countries involved in the kingdom of Münster. The promotional effort reached beyond Cologne, Jülich-Cleves, and Westphalia. In a testimony in the fall of 1534 by Johann Klopreis, one of twenty-seven apostles sent out, he related how it happened that so many Dutch Anabaptists were interested in coming to Münster. The congregation at Münster had decided to accept all who were leaving the Low Countries because of religious persecution but had not figured on such a large number.[17] The situation in the Low Countries was increasingly disastrous for the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians. "Flying columns" were sent out by night to imprison those who had been rebaptized. These apprehended were tortured, beheaded, burned, or drowned. On February 27, 1534, a special decree was issued according to which those who would repent within twenty-four days would save their lives. This was the calm before the storm. Momentous decisions had to be made: was it to be a denial of the faith or martyrdom? It was into this situation that the written and personal invitations to come to Münster were brought.[18]

These tracts, addressed to "All Believing Covenanters in Christ," urged the readers to "flee out of Babylon, and deliver every man his soul . . . for this is the time of the Lord's vengeance" (Jeremiah 51:6). "No man should neglect to go along and thus tempt God" or worry about relatives and property. There would be "enough supplies for the saints." Nothing should be taken along except "money, linen and enough food for the trip!" Parenthetically it was added that "he who has a knife, sword or any other weapon bring

them along, and if he does not have them, buy them because the Lord is going to save us through his mighty arm. . . ." Precise designations of time and meeting place were given: At noon, March 24, 1534, Hasselt, province of Overijssel. From here a "prophet" was to give them directions and protection on their way to Münster.[19]

The whole plan was so fantastic and naive that only people who saw no other hope for survival would follow the invitation. And there were many of them. They believed that they would somehow escape suffering and death and reach the promised city. But this tract was more than an invitation. It stated: "I do not just announce this, but command you in the name of the Lord to obey without delay." And the twenty-four days of grace of the Court of Holland were expiring. Those not far away from ports of the Zuiderzee went to them in order to reach Hasselt by boat. From other parts of the country, even Emden and Brabant, they came by foot and on horses and carts—men, women and children, moving in the direction of Münster.

On March 24, 1534, twenty-seven boats with some three thousand men, women, and children reached Hasselt to be taken by the "prophet" to the "promised land." Instead they were met by officers of the surrounding towns who had been notified by the Court of Holland. Although the pilgrims brought with them more than enough weapons for every male, none were used. They met only a handful of officers. They had obeyed the command without any intention of using the arms. The leaders were put to death and the others, deprived of their belongings, were dismissed. The approximately three thousand Anabaptists were only those coming to Hasslet by boat. As pointed out, many tried to reach Münster via other routes. One estimate of those expected to leave for Münster was between fourteen and sixteen thousand.[20] Even though many were apprehended, some reached Münster. Heinrich Gresbeck, who later betrayed the city, gave an eyewitness account of the life in the city during the siege. He relates about this period that Hollanders and Frisians entered Münster "day and night" and that Anabaptists came from all countries. Kirchhoff estimates that the number of foreign males in Münster was between seven and eight hundred not including women and children. Most of them must have come from the Low Countries.[21]

2. *Appeal and Counter-Appeal*

After having failed twice in trying to take Münster, the bishop had to repeat his pleas for help from all over Western Europe, appealing to Protestants and Catholics, secular and ecclesiastical rulers. "King David" also followed the pattern of worldly diplomacy. The final campaign was planned to get military aid from the outside whereby the bishop's army was to be attacked from the rear in order to end the siege. Now it was not so much a matter of inviting persecuted believers to come to the city of God but a call to arms to free the New Jerusalem from being destroyed by the "godless." In December, 1534, Rothmann's "war cry," *Van der Wrake,* appeared. Some were still hoping that "God himself would come with angels from heaven to revenge the godless." "No, dear brother," says he now, "this is not so. He will come, this is true, but the revenge must be executed first by the servants of God." The Christian must not only "be prepared to suffer humbly with the apostles, but also to take up the armor of David to revenge with the help of God all Babylonian power. . . ." The nonviolent covenanters are admonished "not to make a sin of something that is no sin" and one should "not try to be wiser than God himself is in his word."[22]

On Christmas Eve, 1534, Jan van Geelen, the militant and diplomatic Münsterite, and three others were sent on a special mission to the Netherlands by Jan van Leiden. Their mission was to obtain military aid with the help of one thousand copies of *Van der Wrake* and a large sum of money. Jan van Geelen worked on a number of projects. Not only did he try to get the desired help for Münster but he also aimed to establish outposts of the kingdom in various cities of the Low Countries from Antwerp to Friesland. Negotiations with Peter van Montfoort, a representative of the Brussels government, about a possible surrender of Münster to the emperor disguised van Geelen's secret preparations for an attack on Amsterdam. The attack came on May 10, 1535, just one and a half months before the forced surrender of Münster. The burgomasters of Amsterdam were busy celebrating with the guilds. Jan van Geelen and some forty helpers occupied the city hall during the night but perished the next day. He had miscalculated the spirit of the Amsterdam Anabaptists, numbering between three and five thousand. Of them only a handful took up arms.[23]

3. *The Point of No Return*

It has become apparent that the peaceful, covenanted, eschatologically oriented Anabaptist movement was undergoing a change under the horrible pressure of persecution. Desire for the Lord's coming to establish his kingdom on earth grew ever more intense and focused on the city which the Lord would probably choose as most ready to accept him. In this New Jerusalem the saints would not only find a refuge but would also judge the world with the Lord, for Paul wrote to the Corinthians: "Do you not know that the saints will judge the world?" (I Cor. 6:2). Many of those who believed the leaders when they pointed at Münster as the place chosen by God soon found themselves in a besieged city. However, even without the physical presence of the returning Lord, they still believed they had been called upon to "judge

the world," which they did in a fierce struggle for survival to the bitter end.

Those who did not trust the leaders who interpreted the "Signs of the time" and called them to come to Münster remained in the path of martyrdom wherever they were. For them the covenant they had entered had been sealed by a threefold baptism. It was a baptism with the spirit, with water and with blood, if God would require this extreme testimony of faith. More than fifteen hundred died as martyrs in preference to taking up arms in self-defense.

In line with Matthew 10:23 some did make use of the admonition of the Lord, when he said: "When they persecute you in one town, flee to the next." One example of many was Jacob van Campen, leader of the Anabaptists of Amsterdam, who had refused to cooperate with Jan van Geelen. He was apprehended just at the moment when he was planning to take a boat to Königsberg, East Prussia. Many hundreds fled from the Low Countries to the coastal areas of the North Sea and the Baltic Sea. Nevertheless the majority remained in their country.

Although no figures are available of the total number of Anabaptists in the Low Countries, nor of those who did take up arms, it can safely be said that by far the largest number refused to listen to the prophets of violence. We have seen that there were only between seven and eight hundred male representatives in Münster who had come from the Low Countries. The situation in Amsterdam also gives us some clues from which to draw conclusions. When Jan van Geelen appealed to the Anabaptists of Amsterdam for an armed uprising, about one percent responded. Even if Amsterdam was not typical, because it had a more lenient government than many other places, we can safely conclude that the spectacular and violent minority received much more attention than those who remained in hiding, fled to foreign countries, or died the death of martyrdom.

4. *Menno and Münster*

We have records relating what was going on in the hearts and minds of the leaders with more balanced views. Among them were the brothers Obbe and Dirk Philips. During these crucial years they called on Menno Simons to join them to help restrain those in danger of being misled and to gather together the saner among the disillusioned after the Münster tragedy. One quotation from the *Confession* of Obbe Philips suffices to show how they suffered under pressure of persecution and how they were distressed because of the Münsterite propheeies.

"O how many times were some of us so distressed to death that the heart in our bodies turned cold, and we did not know where to turn, nor what best to do; the whole world pursued us to death with fire, water, sword, and bloody tyranny for our belief. . . . The false brothers whom we punished and spoke out against vowed our deaths and yet the love of so many hearts caused such pity in us that the all-highest King of Glory knows that my heart was often grieved to death. Were it not for the love I felt for the simple hearts who were daily misled by the false brethren, I would long ago have left them and departed from all my acquaintances with some of these innocent hearts." His brother Dirk took a similar position in those crucial days.[24]

Menno Simons' fate was linked with that of the Dutch Anabaptism from the day that Anabaptism reached his parish in Friesland. He had already been influenced by the Sacramentarians to the degree that he had accepted the symbolic view of the Lord's Supper. Now he was disturbed by the radicalism and chiliasm of the Münsterites right in his community. Menno relates in his writings how he as an evangelical priest and preacher was fighting a severe spiritual battle on two fronts: One against some abuses in the Catholic Church and the other against the abuses of the evangelical message by the chiliasts. He found the "ungodly doctrines of Münster in opposition to the spirit, word and example of Christ." On the other hand the "blood of these people, although misled, fell so hot on my heart," he says, "that I could not stand it." Early in 1534 he had two discussions "with the fathers of the rotten sect" which could have included Jan van Geelen, through whose insurrection near Bolsward, Menno lost a number of members of his parish who had followed him.

Consequently, Menno wrote his first treatise, to be followed by many to restore the covenanted fellowship on the New Testament foundation. It was directed against the "Blasphemy of Jan van Leiden . . . written to all the true Brethren of the Covenant scattered abroad." First of all Menno turns against Jan van Leiden, who was "usurping the place of God," but above all he reminds the covenanters that they were baptized upon the cross and not the sword. He prays that God may save all brethren of the covenant from this and that they may be "mindful of what kind of spirit Christ wants his disciples to be" (Luke 9:55, M.S. 32, 34). The ink of the manuscript of the book was barely dry when the kingdom of Münster collapsed. There was no longer a great urgency to have it printed. Menno now had his hands full of gathering the sheep without a shepherd as well as "the dear brethren who formerly offended the Lord a little when they tried to defend their faith by the use of (carnal) weapons." The motto on all his numerous writings from then on was: "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ" (I Cor. 3:11).[25]

The question we raised in this study is as old as Dutch Anabaptism. It was faced by the leaders of the Reformation and Anabaptism and persists to this day. Was the

Münster incident peripheral to Anabaptism or was it an integral part of its make-up? Answers differ widely. The peace witness and the attitude toward the social, economic and political questions among the early Anabaptists were not that of complete withdrawal, nonparticipation and above all not of nonconcern. Their longing for the returning Lord and his ushering in of the more perfect kingdom was too strong to let the world go by without involvement. Their views and hopes were so radical and different that no social, religious and political order of that day saw fit to tolerate them, not to speak of supporting them. The severe persecution which followed and the assumed leadership of some fanatics like Jan van Leiden led to a polarization of views. Once the siege of Münster was completed, the fortified walls of the city were used in defense of the "New Jerusalem" and there was no way of return except surrender, which they declined.

In the days of upheaval and great changes the lines of demarcation between the peaceful and militant Anabaptists were not always clearly defined. This has been shown in a number of cases. It has also become evident that only a comparatively small number of Dutch Anabaptists became actively involved in armed resistance in Amsterdam and in Münster. On the other hand many of those disillusioned returned repentant to the fold of Menno Simons and Dirk Philips.

The polarization, the views, and the universal stigma attached to all Anabaptists, partly because of the radicals, led the peaceful Anabaptists to claim that there was no common origin. The Reformation fostered many and very different spiritual children. So did Anabaptism. The Münsterites were more than "stepchildren" of Anabaptism.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Muenster in the Press," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, III, 779-782.

2. Antonius Corvinus, *Acta: Handlungen: Legation und schrifte: . . .* (1536).

3. Karl-Heinz Kirchhoff, "Die Belagerung und Eroberung Muensters, 1534/35," *Westfaelische Zeitschrift. . .* Vol. 112 (1962), 77-170.

4. A. F. Mellink, *De Wederdoopers in de noordelijke Nederlanden 1531-44* (Groningen, 1953).

5. Fr. Otto zur Linden, *Melchior Hofmann: ein Prophet der Wiedertaeufer* (Haarlem, 1885) 114, 122, 136 f.; C. A. Cornelius, *Geschichte des Muensterischen Aufruhrs* (Leipzig, 1855) II, 292; W. I. Leendertz, *Melchior Hofmann* (Haarlem, 1883) 102-123.

6. G. H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia, 1962) 241 ff., 255 ff.

7. W. I. Leendertz, *op. cit.*, 150 ff.; M. Krebs and H. G. Rott, *Elsass* I. Teil. *Stadt Strassburg 1522-1532* (Guetersloh, 1959) 288 ff., No. 234.

8. *Die Ordonnantie Godts, . . . Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerdlandica*, V, 145-170; *The Ordinance of God, Library of Christian Classics*, XXV, Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers (Philadelphia, 1957), 102-203.

9. *Elsass* I, 122 ff., No. 92; 260, No. 222; 261 ff., No. 211.

10. Carel van Ghendt, *Het beginsel en voortganck . . . BRN*, VII, 519; E. Kochs, "Die Anfaenge der ostfr. Reformation," *Jahrbuch der Ges. fuer bild. Gunst u. vaterl. Altertuemer,*" XX (Emden, 1920), III, 71.

11. C. A. Cornelius, *op. cit.*, II, 223 ff.; Peter Kawerau, *Melchior Hofmann als religioeser Denker* (Haarlem, 1954) 75-114.

12. Cornelius Krahn, "The Evangelical Sacramentarian Movement," Chapter III in *Dutch Anabaptism*, Hague, 1968.

13. J. Lindeboom, *De confessioneele ontwikkeling der reformatie in de Nederlanden* (The Hague, 1946) 31 ff.

14. Horst W. Schraepler, *Die rechtliche Behandlung der Taeufer in der deutschen Schweiz, Sueddeutschland und Hessen* (Weierhof, 1957) 16 ff.; Em. Velvekens, *De inquisitie in de Nederlanden der 16e eeuw* (1949) 167, 181, 186, 189-193.

15. Jack W. Porter, "Bernhard Rothmann 1595-1535, Royal Orator of the Muenster Anabaptist Kingdom" (University Microfilms, 1965); "Muenster Anabaptists," *M.E.* III, 777-783.

16. Jack W. Porter, *op. cit.*; Cornelius Krahn, Chapter V, "Anabaptism at the Crossroads," in *Dutch Anabaptism.*

17. *Ibid.*; Karl-Heinz Kirchhoff, "Die Taeufer in Muensterland," *Westfaelische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 113 (1963) 27.

18. W. J. Kuehler, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Doopsgezinden in de zestiende eeuw* (Haarlem, 1932) I, 93 ff.

19. J. de Hullu, *Bescheiden betreffende de Hervorming in Overijssel.* I, *Deventer* (Deventer, 1099) 153 ff., 155 ff., 159, 161; W. J. Kuehler, *op. cit.*, I, 109 ff.

20. C. A. Cornelius. *Berichte und Augenzeugen ueber das Muensterische Wiedertaeuferreich* (Muenster, 1853) II, 226.

21. Karl-Heinz Kirchhoff, *op. cit.*, 28.

22. Bernhard Rothmann, *Eyn gantz troestlick bericht van der Wrake . . .* in H. Fast, *Der linne Fluegel der Reformation* in *Klassiker des Protestantismus* (Bremen, 1962) 351, 360.

23. "Jan van Geelen" *M.E.*, III, 74.

24. "Bekentenisse," *B.R.N.*, Vol. III, 135; Obbe Philips, *A Confession LCC*, XXV, *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers* (Philadelphia, 1957), 223-25; J. ten Doornkaat Koolman, *Dirk Philips 1504-1568* (Haarlem, 1964), 9 ff.

25. Menno Simons, *Complete Writings* (Scottdale, 1957) 31 ff., 670; Menno Simons, *Fundament* (1539) Riiij.

Martin Luther King, 1963

I HAVE A DREAM that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

I HAVE A DREAM that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I HAVE A DREAM that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.

WE ARE TIRED of living in the dungeons of poverty, ignorance, and want . . . a piece of freedom is not enough for us as human beings . . . we are the conscience of America.

Martin Luther King, 1968

THE WORLD IS CHANGING and anyone who thinks he can live alone is sleeping through a revolution. . . . We must learn to live together as brothers or we will perish together as fools.

European Research in Anabaptist-Mennonite History

By Heinold Fast

RESEARCH IN ANABAPTIST and Mennonite studies is today more internationalized than ever before. American and European contributions to the same topics stand in dialogue with each other. European historians lecture in the United States, while American historians research, lecture, and publish in Europe. The assignment to distinguish between European and American research, therefore, reminds us of the impossibility of separating the Siamese twins from each other. The geographical limiting of my presentation is valid only if we ask where it is in Europe that Anabaptist and Mennonite studies receive their impetus. I will discuss this question under four headings: (1) European source editions; (2) European Anabaptist and Mennonite research carried on by non-Mennonites; (3) Anabaptism within the context of general or specific research in Reformation history, and (4) European Mennonite research contributions to the understanding of their own history.

Source Editions

The critical source editions of the last several decades have been the primary impetus for Anabaptist studies. In this the work of the European Anabaptist Sources Committee (*Täuferaktenkommission—TAK*), working in the context of the Society for Reformation History under the direction of Heinrich Bornkamm of Heidelberg, has been decisive. This Committee not only published twelve sizable volumes itself, but gave substantial encouragement to other publications. Two volumes have appeared during the past five years: *Osterreich* I by Grete Mecenseffy in 1964, and *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* II by Robert Friedmann, in 1967.[1] Other volumes in process include the *Tiroler Akten* by Grete Mecenseffy, and the publication of the *Kunstbuch*, the preparation of a critical edition which has now been completed.

A second series of Anabaptist sources is being published in Switzerland under the direction of Leonhard von Muralt, who also received his assignment from *TAK*, no less than 38 years ago. The second volume of the *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz*, containing documents from East Switzerland 1523-1560, is now almost completed. The third volume, containing Anabaptist documents from Bern, Aargau, and Solothurn will presumably appear one year after volume II. Professor von Muralt has succeeded in securing the help of Martin Haas for this manuscript. A fourth volume has been projected to contain the Anabaptist debates of 1531, 1532, and 1538, together with a register of the Basel documents and possible addenda to the earlier Zürich volume.

These two series do not exhaust the work being carried on with Anabaptist sources. In first place I would like to mention Robert Friedmann. His comprehensive catalog of Hutterian manuscripts, published by the Austrian Academy of Science in Vienna, 1965, constitutes a phenomenal wealth of material and information which will inevitably be the point of departure for any further work in this area.[2] Adolf Mais of Vienna is likewise engaged in the study of Austrian and Hutterian Anabaptism. In 1963-64 he published three contributions to an understanding of the sources, of which the most significant may be the collection of letters and hymns of the Anabaptists executed in Vienna.[3]

For a number of years a source collection prepared by Robert Stupperich on the Anabaptists in Münster has been awaiting publication. In presenting the writ-

ings of the Anabaptists as well as of their opponents, the author makes a contribution both to their local history and to a deeper understanding of the entire movement in the Lowlands. The publication of the so-called *Confession Book* of the Anabaptists by Hermann von Kerssenbrock in 1964, through the work of H. Bitter is of little historical value.[4]

The willingness of several publishers to prepare reprints has made available again two old source collections: the eye-witness accounts of the Münster events published 1853 by C. A. Cornelius, and the *Geschichtsbuch* of the Hutterian Brethren in the 1883 Beck edition.[5]

We might say in summary that the initiative for research in Anabaptist source materials came from the *TAK*, but that the private initiative of various individuals and/or publishers frequently determine the precise direction which this research and publication has taken. If, as we hear, a similar initiative is to be undertaken in the Netherlands here, equally beautiful and rewarding fruit can be anticipated. (See "Research in Progress.")

Anabaptist Research by Non-Mennonites

Anabaptist research by non-Mennonites is carried on primarily on university campuses. Frequently the fully established professors have not been the carriers of this research, though Robert Stupperich, the late Fritz Blanke, and Bruno Becker in Amsterdam wrote significant contributions.[6] Among the significant dissertations we might mention the following: Hans H. Th. Stiasny on *Die strafrechtliche Verfolgung der Täufer in der freien Reichsstadt Köln 1529 bis 1618*,[7] the work of Claus-Peter Clasen on the Anabaptists in the duchy of Württemberg,[8] and in 1966, Wolfgang Schäufele on *Das missionarische Bewusstsein und Wirken der Täufer*.[9] Each of these studies appeared in a different publication series and represents a substantial contribution to the field. Karl-Heinz Kirchhoff's study of the Anabaptists in and around Münster has, over the years, brought together much more material than he has been able to use for his dissertation and has given a new direction to all further study in this area.[10] In his sociological studies of Münsterite Anabaptism Otthein Rammstedt has already made extensive use of these materials.[11] Finally one might mention several dissertations either now in process or awaiting publication: J. K. Zeman, "The Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren, 1526-1628" (Zürich); Arnold Koelpin's study of the sixteenth century Lutheran-Anabaptist debates (Erlangen); Leonhard Gross on Peter Walpot (Basel); Friedwart Uhland on the Anabaptists of Augsburg (Tübingen); Bornhäuser's Heidelberg study (under Bornkamm) of the theology of Menno Simons; Ulrich Gaebler's study on Bünderlin; the study on Calvin and the Anabaptists by Ds. W. Balke, a Reformed pastor in Bodegraven. That these studies achieve a high level of scholarship can be seen in the 1964 Bonn dissertation by Meinulf Barbers on *Toleranz bei Sebastian Franck*. A curious supplement to his dissertation on the biography of Hubmaier is Carl Sachsse's "Die politische und soziale Einstellung der Täufer in der Reformationszeit."[12]

A second line of study pursued by non-Mennonites has been local, regional, or area literature about the Anabaptists. A considerable number of such popular treatments, which are not of particular interest to us, might be listed. The more scholarly publications in this field are: Hans Rössler on "Die Wiedertäufer in und aus München 1527-1528,"[13] Hans Wiedemann on "Die Wiedertäufergemeinde in Passau 1527-1535" (Wiedemann has assumed responsibility for the publication of Bavarian Anabaptist source materials, but professional responsibilities have prevented him from further progress during the past several years)[14], Karl Amon on Hans Has von Hallstadt, the minister from Windischgraz[15], Franz Stark on the Anabaptists of Appenzell[16], and A. F. Mellink on Antwerp as an Anabaptist center.[17]

These dissertations, regional and local histories represent pioneer work in which significant stones for the building of a solid foundation have been laid. Still needed in the German is a historical and/or theological study of Anabaptism which exploits the wealth of materials now made available. More surprising, therefore, is the appearing of volume one of a three-volume work on the "third Reformation" in the Swedish language.[18] The author Karl Kilsmo, is the third Swedish scholar to do serious work in Anabaptism after Gunnar Westin and Torsten Bergsten. Beyond these we need to look to translations of American publications for any overall treatment of Anabaptism.[19] Efforts to understand Anabaptism within the larger framework of Reformation history are, however, not lacking. We now turn to this area.

Within the Context of Reformation History

Four Reformation histories have appeared in Germany in recent years, those by Franz Lau and Ernst Bizer, F. W. Kantzenbach, Robert Stupperich, and Stephan Skalweit.[20] In each of these histories appropriate space is given to the Anabaptist movement. The treatments are considerate and well-informed, relying heavily on Anabaptist studies of recent years.

Anabaptist studies may also be found in the literature appearing about the major Reformers. In his research report on Zwingli studies, the Catholic J. V. Pollet gave an entire chapter to the present state of Anabaptist research.[21] The Zwingli bibliography of F. Schmidt-Clausing (*Sammlung Göschen*) is less informed.[22] Calvin's theological understanding of Anabaptism is given careful consideration in the reliable

work *Evangelische Radikalismen in der Sicht Calvins* by Hiltrud Stadtland-Neumann.[23] Still more detailed is Gerhard Krause's study of Luther's interpretation of the Minor Prophets, from which we gain considerable information about the Worms translation of the Minor Prophets which had been prepared by Ludwig Hätzer and Hans Denck.[24]

Much work has also been done in Europe on the Peasant's Revolt, but we can hardly pursue this literature further within the context of Anabaptist studies. Nevertheless, even though we cannot trace the origin of our history from that point, there were so many parallel and overlapping developments that the study of the Peasant's Revolt aids significantly in our understanding of Anabaptism. How important to us, for example, is the work of Paul Herzog, *Die Bauernunruhen im Schaffhauser Gebiet 1524-1525* for our understanding of the origins of Swiss Anabaptism.[25] Beyond this permit me to mention only the two source publications of Günther Franz: *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges* (1963), and the *Schriften Thomas Müntzers* (1968).

Particular attention must be given to Eastern European studies of the Peasant's Revolt and Thomas Müntzer, an era in which the Institute for German History in Leipzig has taken particular initiative under the leadership of Max Steinmetz and his colleagues Gerhard Zschäbitz, Manfred Bensing, Gerhard Brendler, and Günter Mühlpfordt. It is not possible here to list all of the works available, except for the following: Mühlpfordt, "Deutsche Täufer in östlichen Ländern"[26]; "Westöstliche Ketzerbewegungen in Südmähren"[27]; Steinmetz, "Philipp Melanchthon über Thomas Müntzer und Nikolaus Storch"[28]; Brendler, *Das Täuferreich zu Münster 1534-35.*"[29]

A similar report might be submitted about the research which has again been initiated on antitrinitarianism.[30] The same might be said for the bibliographical studies of Wijnman and Baring in Anabaptism,[31] and for genealogical and migration histories for which we as Mennonites constitute a rewarding field of research—as, for example, the *Westpreussisches Geschlechterbuch,* and the *Heimatbuch der Russlanddeutschen.*[32]

European Mennonite Anabaptist Research

In Europe no less than five independent historical volumes have been published within the last five years. There is first my source collection on the left wing of the Reformation,[33] then J. ten Doornkaat's biography of Dirk Philips,[34] B. H. Unruh's *Erinnerungen zur Geschichte der mennonitischen Hilfswerktätigkeit 1920-1933;*[35] H. W. Meihuizen's edition of Menno Simons' *Foundation Book,*[36] and Hans J. Goertz's dissertation on *Innere und äussere Ordnung in der Theologie von Thomas Müntzer.*[37] Beyond this these authors have written other monographs on these areas of interest, with the exception of the now deceased B. H. Unruh.[38] Other articles were written by Ernst Crous, Walter Fellmann, Samuel Geiser, Horst Gerlach, Adalbert Goertz, Gerhard Hein, Kurt Kauenhoven, Horst Penner, Paul Schowalter, N. van der Zijpp, H. W. Meihuizen, J. A. Oosterbaan, J. P. Jacobszoon, and others.[39] The number of active historians is surprisingly high in our small brotherhood. What common interest drives them to this work? Where do they receive their impulse and inspiration?

I must confess that I find neither a common interest nor inspiration for this, which means that the individual must be given primary consideration. How different are our two veteran historians Samuel Geiser and Jakobus ten Doornkaat Koolman, or Gerhard Hein and H. W. Meihuizen, or Walter Fellmann and Kurt Kauenhoven! For the past fifty years the preparation of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* provided an ideal situation where each could work independently without interfering with each other and sometimes, unfortunately, without taking notice of each other. It is to be regretted that the completion of the *Lexikon* also terminates this coordinated relationship. Still, do our Mennonite historical journals serve a different function? Are they really more than a collection of incidental articles? We ought to rejoice in our individual differences, but we should also use them, and for this we need a place where they can be focused and promoted. The *Geschichtsverein* was founded for this purpose and the *Mennonitische Forschungstelle* established to serve this end. Are our scholars and these agencies aware of this? If the completion of the *Lexikon* constitutes the end of an epoch among us, then hopefully only that epoch in which we have worked independently side by side and published at random. How unfortunate that the Dutch publication *Stemmen uit de Doopsgezinde Broederschap* had to terminate, for though it was not an historical journal it nevertheless, in spite of its varied content, carried a theological image.

What is our common task? The task of rehabilitating our forefathers and, thereby, ourselves, has definitely been completed and must be left behind. This rehabilitation is, in fact, so perfect that we will undoubtedly experience a reversal within this decade. Even today Mennonite studies are sometimes suspect simply as Mennonite apologetics, and often not without cause. Beyond this the tolerance of non-Mennonite historians has not removed the theological contradictions of earlier times but simply obscured them for the present. These earlier tensions will reappear as the source materials are studied carefully. For the time being these sources represent a kind of unknown alibi, but this will soon change. We must prepare for this by critical studies of the theology of Anabaptism and its implications for present thought forms. We have hardly begun this task.

An example of what is needed, it seems to me, is given in the writings of H. W. Meihuizen. I am not hereby advocating a narrow and barren abstract theologizing, but pointing to the fact that even a simple genealogical question invariably has a deeper theological problem implicit in it. In discovering this we will find a new common ground for our work together. Only then will our historical studies in Anabaptism and Mennonitism inspire broader research not only in our own history, but in the history of the Reformation itself, and perhaps even beyond.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Quellen zur Geschichte der Taeufer,* Band XI, Oesterreich, 1. Teil, mit Benutzung der von P. Dedic gesammelten Texte bearbeitet von Grete Mecenseffy, Guetersloh, 1964 (*Quellen und Forschungen z. Ref. gesch.* 31); *Quellen zur Geschichte der Taeufer,* Band XII, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* II, mit Benutzung der von Lydia Mueller gesammelten Texte herausgegeben von Robert Friedmann, Guetersloh, 1967 (*Qu. u. Forsch. z. Ref. gesch.* 34).

2. *Die Schriften der huterischen Taeufergemeinschaften.* Gesamtkatalog ihrer Manuskriptbuecher, ihrer Schreiber und ihrer Literatur 1529-1667, zusammengestellt von Robert Friedmann unter Mitarbeit von Adolf Mais, Wien, 1965 (Oesterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoph.-histor.-Klasse, Denkschriften, 86 Band).

3. Adolf Mais, "Die Bedeutung der Liederhandschrift des Andreas Ehren-Preis" (Neuerwerbung der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Codex S. n. 11.999), *Jahrbuch* der Gesellschaft fuer die Gesch. des Protestantismus in Oesterreich, 78/79, Wien 1963, S. 65-89; ders., "Gefaengnis und Tod der in Wien hingerichteten Wiedertaeufer in ihren Briefen und Liedern," *Jahrbuch* des Vereines fuer Geschichte der Stadt Wien, Bd. 19/20, 1963/64, 87-182; ders., "Das Hausbuch von Neumuehl 1558-1610, das aelteste Grundbuch der huterischen Brueder," *Jahrbuch* der Gesellsch. f. d. Gesch. des Protestantismus in Oesterreich, 80, Wien 1964, S. 66-88.

4. Hermann von Kerssenbrock, *Beichtbuch der Wiedertaeufer in Muenster,* auf Anregung von Prof. Dr. Franz Jostes hrsg. von Dr. Hermann Bitter, Recklinghausen, Lembeck (1964).

5. *Berichte der Augenzeugen ueber das muensterische Wiedertaeuferreich,* hrsg. von C. A. Cornelius, Muenster 1853 (*Die Geschichtsquellen des Bisthums Muenster,* zweiter Band), Neudruck Muenster 1965; *Die Geschichts-Buecher der Wiedertaeufer in Oesterreich-Ungarn,* hg. von Josef Beck, Wien 1883 (*Fontes Rerum Austricarum* II, 43), Neudruck Nieuwkoop 1967.

6. Robert Stupperich, "Die Muensterische Apokalypse" (*Jahrbuch d. Ver. f. Westf. Kg.,* 53/54, 1960/61, Bethel 1962, S. 25-42); ders., "Heinrich von Braunschweig und Philipp von Hessen im Kampf um den Einfluss in Westfalen" (*Westf. Zeitschr.,* 112, 1962, S. 63-75); ders., "Nachwort zum Neudruck von Cornelius" (vgl. vorige Anm.); ders., "Sebastian Franck und das muensterische Taeufertum" (in: *Dauer und Wandel der Geschichte.* Aspekte europaeischer Vergangenheit. Festgabe fuer Kurt von Raumer zum 15. Dezember 1965, hrsg. von Rudolf Vierhaus und Manfred Botzenhart. Muenster, S. 144-162); ders., "Urbanus Rhegius und die vier Brennpunkte der Reformation in Westfalen" (in: *Westfalen, Hefte fuer Geschichte, Kunst und Volkskunde,* 45, 1967, h. 1, S. 22-34).—Fritz Blanke, *Kommentar* zu Zwinglis "Entwurf zu einer Entgegnung auf die Schrift eines Taeufers," 1527 oder 1528 (Band VI/II der Kritischen Zwingliausgabe, Nr. 123, S. 550-560); ders., "Zwingli mit Ambrosius Blarer im Gespraech" (in: *Der Konstanzer Reformator Ambrosius Blarer 1492-1564.* Gedenkschrift zu seinem 400. Todestag. Konstanz und Stuttgart 1964, S. 81-86. Wiederabdruck in: *Mennonitische Geschichtsblaetter,* 23, 1966, S. 24-29); ders., "Wiedertaeufer" (*Lexikon fuer Theologie und Kirche,* 2. Aufl., Bd., 10, Sp. 1107-1109).—B. Becker, "Fragment van Franeks Latijnse Brief aan Campanus" (*Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis,* NS 46, 1965, Afl. 4, S. 197-205).

7. *Muenster* 1962 (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Heft 88.

8. Claus-Peter Clasen, *Die Wiedertaeufer im Herzogtum Wuerttemberg und in benachbarten Herrschaften. Ausbreitung, Geisteswelt und Soziologie,* Stuttgart 1965 (Veroeffentlichungen der Kommission fuer geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Wuerttemberg, Reihe B, Forschungen Bd. 32; vgl. auch ders., "The Sociology of Swabian Anabaptism," *Church History,* 32, 1963, No. 2, S. 150-180; ders., "Medieval Heresies in the Reformation," *Church History,* 32, 1963 No. 4, S. 392-414.

9. Neukirchener Verlag 1966 (*Beitraege zur Gesch. u. Lehre der Reformierten Kirche,* Bd. 21).

10. Folgende Arbeiten von Karl-Heinz Kirchhoff liegen jetzt vor: 1) "Die Wiedertaeufer in Coesfeld" (*Westfaelische Zeitschrift,* 106, 1956, S. 113-174); 2) "Das Protokoll der peinlichen Befragung des Heinrich Lambert Koenig von Soest (*Soester Zeitschrift* 70, 1957, S. 75-86); 3) "Das Protokoll der peinlichen Befragung des Soester Wiedertaeufers Johann Hasenvoet 1538" (*ebd.,* 71, 1958, S. 42-48); 4) "Die landstaendischen Schatzungen des Stifts Muenster im 16. Jahrhundert" (*Westfaelische Forschungen,* 14, 1961, S. 117-133); 5) "Kleine Beitrage zur muensterlaendischen Volkskunde um 1535" (*Rheinisch-westfaelische Zeitschrift fuer Volkskunde,* 8, Bonn, 1961, S. 92-105); 6) "Eine muensterische Buergerliste des Jahres 1535" (*Westf. Zeitschr.,* 111, 1961, S. 75-94); 7) "Die Haeuser der Wiedertaeufer in Muenster 1535. Moeglichkeiten der Auswertung einer Quellengruppe zur Gschichte der Stadt Muenster" (*Westfaelische Forschungen,* 15, 1962, Sonderdruck S. 1-3); 8) "Die Besetzung Warendorfs" (*Westfalen,* 40, 1962, 117ff.); 9) "Wer war Henricus Dorpius Monasteriensis?" (*Jahrbuch des Vereins fuer westfaelische Kirchengeschichte,* 53/54, 1960/61, Bethel 1962, S. 173-179); 10) "Die Belagerung und Eroberung Muensters 1534/35" (*Westfaelische Zeitschrift,* 112, 1962, S. 77-170); 11) "Die Taeufer im Muensterland. Verbreitung und Verfolgung des Taeufertums im Stift Muenster 1535-1550" (*ebd.,* 113, 1963, S. 1-109); 12) "Haben die Wiedertaeufer Muenster befestigt?" (Auf roter Erde, *Monatsblaetter fuer Landeskunde und Volkstum Westfalens,* Muenster, 18, 1962-63, NTN 43, S. 3); 13) "Gab es eine friedliche Taeufergemeinde in Muenster 1534?" (*Jahrb. d. Ver. f. Westf. Kg.,* 55/56, 1962/63 Bethel 1963, S. 7-21).

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15. "Der Windischgrazer Prediger Hans Has von Hallstadt und die 'Neue Synagoge' von 1527" (*Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft fuer die Gesch. des Protestantismus in Oesterreich,* 78/79, 1963, S. 3-15).

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22. Fritz Schmidt-Clausing, *Zwingli,* Berlin 1965 (*Sammlung Goeschen* 1219). S. 60-64.

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39. Die Aufsaetze sind durchweg erschienen in den *Mennonitischen Geschichtsblaettern*, im *Mennonitischen Lexikon*, im *Algemeen Doopsgezind Werkblad, Stemmen* und im *Doopsgezind Jaarboekje*. Ausserdem ist zu erwaehnen neben einer Anzahl genealogischer Artikel von Ernst Crous: "Taeufer und Mennoniten am Niederrhein und in Krefeld" (*Unser Niederrhein. Zeitschr. f. Heimat, Wirtschaft und Verkehr*, Jg. 6, 1963, S. 115-119; Jg. 7, 1964, S. 55-61; Jg. 8, 1965, S. 18-24); ders., "Mennoniten unter Sonderrecht" (*Der Mennonit*, 19, 1966, S. 141f., 157f.; ebd., 201, 1967, S. 13f., 61; Walter Fellmann, "Irenik und Polemik bei Hans Denck" (*Luther-Jahrbuch*, 29, 1962, 110-116).

Reprinted with permission from *Proceedings of the Eighth Mennonite World Conference*, Amsterdam, 1967, entitled *The Witness of the Holy Spirit* (pp. 226-236). Slightly abbreviated.

Mennonite Research in Progress, 1967

By Cornelius Krahn and Melvin Gingerich

IN THE JULY, 1967, issue of *Mennonite Life*, we reported about numerous research projects including M.A. and Ph.D. dissertations. Preceding April issues since 1949 (except in 1961, 1963 and 1967 when they were in the July issues) contain similar information under the headings "Mennonite Research in Progress," "Mennonite Bibliography" and "Books in Review." Of special significance is the article entitled "Anabaptism-Mennonitism in Doctoral Dissertations" which appeared in the April 1958 issue. The listing of additional dissertations is being continued annually in this column. The editors of *Mennonite Life* will be pleased to receive information about research in progress and dissertations to be included in subsequent issues.

Doctoral Dissertations

Balke, W., "Calvin und die Täufer," Ph.D. (in progress).

Barbers, Meinolf, "Toleranz bei Sebastian Franck," Ph.D., Bonn, 1964.

Bornhäuser, Christoph, "Die Theologie von Menno Simons," Th. D., Heidelberg.

Cline, Paul D., "The Relations between the Plain People and Government in the United States," Ph.D., American University, 1968.

Friesen, Abraham, "The Marxist Interpretation of the Reformation." Ph.D., Stanford University (1967).

Gaebler, Ulrich, "Hans Bünderlin," Th.D., Zürich (in progress).

Grossman, Reinhard, "Das Bild der Reformatoren bei einigen Vertretern des linken Flügels der Reformation." Ph.D., Tübingen (in progress).

Hiebert, Clarence, "The Church of God in Christ, Mennonite," Ph.D., University of Case Western Reserve, Cleveland, Ohio (in progress).

Krahn, Henry G., "An Analysis of the Conflict between the Reformed Preachers and the Anabaptist Leaders in Strasbourg between 1524-1534." Ph.D., University of Washington, Seattle (in progress).

Penner, Archie, "Pieter Jansz Twisck, Second Generation Dutch Mennonite Leader and Writer," Ph.D., University of Iowa (in progress).

Sawatzky, Leonard, Mennonite Colonization in Mexico—A Study in the Survival of a Traditionalist Agrarian Society," Ph.D., University of California at Berkeley, 1967.

Smolich, Robert Stephen, "An Analysis of Influences Affecting the Origin and Early Development of Three Mid-Western Public Junior Colleges" (includes Goshen College), Ed.D., University of Texas, 1967.

Uhland, Friedwart, "Über die Augsburger Täufer," Ph.D., Tübingen (in progress)

M.A. Thesis

Peters, Elizabeth, "The Poet Arnold Dyck," M.A., Uni-

versity of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 1968.

Nickel, Arnold, "The Pastoral Ministry in the General Conference Mennonite Church," S.T.M., San Francisco Theological Seminary, 1968.

Parish, Arlyn, "Mennonites of Kansas during World War I," M.A., Fort Hays College, 1968. (Published).

Rath, George, "Hans Denck and the Debate of the Freedom of the Will," B.D., MacMaster Divinity College, 1966.

Sawatsky, Rod, "The Effect of American Fundamentalism on Mennonite Nonresistance," M.A., University of Minnesota (in progress).

North American Committee for Documentation of Free Church Origins

At the Annual Meeting of the NACDFCO in the United Mennonite Church, Toronto, on December 27, 1967, significant steps were taken to carry out the projects undertaken and under consideration. The chairman, G. H. Williams, presented a map prepared by Robert Friedmann, which features the locations of Anabaptist sources and documents to be used to point out areas yet to be covered by publication. All representatives gave progress reports in their specific areas of research and about others engaged in related work. One of the most significant items was the agreement that the members of the committee be subdivided in order to be more effective in the execution of the task. The following is the plan of work and the list of those who have assumed responsibilities for the various tasks. Most of those listed were present at the meeting.

The first member named in each Committee is the Chairman. The correspondence, plans, and activities are initiated by him. He sees to it that copies of all correspondence and minutes are sent to the Chairman and Executive Secretary of NACDFCO.

I. *Täuferakten* and Free Church Sources
John S. Oyer (Chairman), F. Donald Durnbaugh, Irvin B. Horst, T. Canby Jones, J. K. Zeman; George H. Williams and Cornelius Krahn, ex officio members.

II. Translation
C. J. Dyck (Chairman), T. Canby Jones, Walter Klaassen, Carl S. Meyer, J. K. Zeman; George H. Williams and Cornelius Krahn, ex officio members.

III. Monographs
Clyde L. Manschreck (Chairman), Carl Bangs, William R. Estep, John S. Oyer, Richard Pope; George H. Williams and Cornelius Krahn, ex officio members.

IV. Paperbacks
Franklin H. Littell (Chairman), Ronald E. Diener, T. Canby Jones, Walter Klaassen, Clyde L. Manschreck; George H. Williams and Cornelius Krahn, ex officio members.

Selected Research Reports

The following items are selections from reports given by members of the NACDFCO at the annual meeting in 1967.

R. E. Diener, Executive Director of the Foundation for Reformation Research, St. Louis, encouraged the members to use the resources of the FRR and mentioned the Paul Raphael Fund for research in Slavic Reformation. Diener publishes a *Monthly Newsletter* of the FRR.

Carl S. Meyer of the FRR reported that Pelikan's essay on Luther's writing against the *Widertaufe* (1528) appeared in *Luther for an Ecumenical Age*, Concordia, St. Louis.

T. Canby Jones called attention to "Quaker Research in Progress" in *Quaker History* (Spring, 1967).

J. K. Zeman reported that his dissertation is to be published on the relationships of Czechoslovakian Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*) and Anabaptists. The conclusion is that there is no clear evidence of such connection.

John S. Oyer searched for Anabaptist sources in East German archives, in Northern Germany, Copenhagen, and in the Vatican Library. Significant materials were found in Zwickau, Dresden, Leipzig, Jena, Erfurt, Weimar, Hamburg, Kiel, Gotdorp, Lübeck, Bremen, Aurich, Leer, Emden, Isenburg (Taunus). Oyer found excellent cooperation everywhere.

Clyde L. Manschreck reported that a Center for Reformation and Free Church Studies was set up by Franklin H. Littell and others in an academic Ph.D. program at the Chicago Theological Seminary. Garrett, McCormick, Seabury, Western, Chicago Theological, Lutheran Seminary, and one or two Catholic institutions are expected to come in. A Melanchthon Committee has been set up to translate Melanchthon's works.

G. H. Williams related that his *Radical Reformation* is being published in the Italian language, and expressed interest in receiving *corrigenda* and bibliographical *addenda*. He mentioned also that the project *Corpus Reformatorum Italicanorum* will contain pieces by Italian Anabaptists.

Acta Anabaptistica Neerlandica

Dutch scholars have organized a Commission for the Publishing of Dutch Anabaptist Sources (*Commissie tot de Uitgave van de Acta Anabaptistica Neerlandica*). Some reference to this organization was made on page 135 in the July 1967 issue of *Mennonite Life*. As the North American Committee for Documentation of Free Church Origins so does the Dutch sister organization have its roots in the *Täuferaktenkommission* (*TAK*) of Germany, dating back to a meeting held at Heidelberg in July 1963 where it was suggested that the American representatives Cornelius Krahn, Irvin B. Horst and N. van der Zijpp start such organizations in their reprective countries.

The outline (*Een Werkschema*) of April 2, 1968, makes reference to a former undertaking which resulted in the publication of ten volumes of Reformation sources, edited by F. Pijper and S. Cramer of which four were devoted to the Dutch Anabaptists. This *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* (1903-14) was continued more recently in a modified form in the *Documenta Reformatoria* (1960-62) consisting of two volumes which also contained Anabaptist sources.

The Commission for the Publishing of Anabaptist Sources (CUAAN) has a threefold objective. Firstly, it aims to publish bibliographies such as Sebastian Franck's; secondly, it will publish scholarly editions of writings of Menno Simons, Melchior Hofmann, Martin Micron, etc.; and thirdly, it will publish annotated sources, located in the Dutch archives and other countries.

Basic questions about the schedule and the range of

sources are still to be decided. As a norm for the preparation and edition of the sources is to serve the book by Wolters, *Regels voor het uitgeven van historische bescheiden* (1968). The CUAAN expects that the publication of sources will be subsidized and intends to remain in close contact with related organizations such as the *TAK* in Germany and the NACDFCO in the USA. The newly founded organization is working on a constitution and the selection of projects to be undertaken first.

Research and Information Centers

On January 1, 1968, the interests and efforts of Bethel College and the General Conference Mennonite Church, in regard to collecting, preserving and making available information pertaining to the Mennonites, were joined.

In accordance to the "Memorandum of Understanding for the Joint Operation of the Mennonite Historical Library and Archives by the General Conference Mennonite Church and Bethel College" the purpose is

"a. to collect and preserve Mennonite archival materials, historical documents, periodicals and books,
b. to catalog such materials as well as other General Conference materials kept in other Mennonite libraries, and
c. to serve as a Research Center for general inquiries and for other scholars."

The administrative control of the Mennonite Historical Library and Archives is vested in a Board of Directors, consisting of 6 persons: three appointed by the Bethel College Board of Directors and three by the Board of Education and Publication of the General Conference Mennonite Church. This Board of Control is responsible for the enterprise and appoints the director. The responsibility for the administration for the MHLA is vested in the director. He requests the budget, appoints the staff and assistants who classify and catalog the materials of the library and archives and furnish the information requested. One of the first tasks is to move some hundred drawers with archival materials to be classified and filed in a special large room made available by Bethel College.

For a number of years the Historical Committee of the General Conference Mennonite Church and the Historical and Research Committee of the Mennonite General Conference have had representatives at their official meetings. At the last meeting of the G. C. Historical Committee in Winnipeg it was decided to have a joint meeting of the committees which convened at Elkhart, Indiana, on June 13-14 to discuss matters and projects of common interest to both. Both committees are concerned with the preservation of historical documents and the promotion of research and publication in the realm of Mennonite history, life and thought. One of the major issues presented at this meeting dealt with a joint effort to establish an Information Center in connection with the Germantown Mennonite Church, property of the Germantown Corporation. Most of the nine directors of the Germantown Corporation met on June 15 in the Germantown Mennonite Church. It was decided to acquire the adjacent property and to develop the Mennonite Information Center. Another meeting was scheduled for October 12, 1968.

The *Mennonitische Forschungsstelle,* established by Dr. and Mrs. Ernst Crous at Göttingen and now located at Krefeld, is to be transferred to the historic Weierhof, where Horst Penner will be in charge.

The Lancaster Information Center expects many tourists this summer who will stop and pick up information about the Amish and Mennonites of Lancaster County and in general. Grant Stoltzfus is the lecturer at the Information Center. Plans are under way to present the drama, *Strangers at the Mill,* which was written by local Mennonites. The Lancaster Mennonite Information Center is located east of Lancaster on Highway 30.

The *Kartei Ostdeutscher Menno-Sippen* containing 10,000 cards of information pertaining to Mennonite families of Danzig and West Prussian background, can now be ordered on microfilm by writing to Dr. Koeppen, 34 Göttingen, Merkelstrasse 3, Germany.

The venerated Library and Archives of the Mennonite Church of Amsterdam will likely undergo a transfer. This is by far the most unique Mennonite library and archives in the world. Most of the archival material has been microfilmed and the negatives are located in the Mennonite Library and Archives of Bethel College. The Mennonite archives of Amsterdam will probably be transferred to the new University Library, located across the Singel Canal.

Research in Canada

Leo Driedger has received a Canada Council Grant to make a sociological study in regard to the "Ministry of Winnipeg" (including some Mennonite ministers). Dr. Driedger is also the sponsor of a project that has undertaken to study some aspects of Mennonite urbanism in Canada.

Enabled through a Canada Council Grant a group of young Canadian scholars met at an Urban Study Conference in May at which occasion 12 papers were presented. They are the nucleus of articles which will appear in the October issue of *Mennonite Life,* devoted to Mennonite urbanism in Canada.

Leo Driedger (University of Manitoba) presented a paper on "A Survey of Canadian Urban Trends." John Friesen (Municipal Planning, Winnipeg) read a paper on "Rural-Urban Mennonite Mobility," while Peter Letkeman (University of B.C.) spoke on "Ethnic Urbanism as a Way of Life." Herbert Peters (University of Saskatchewan) presented findings about "Martinsville," a Mennonite ghetto in the outskirts of Saskatoon which is undergoing great changes. Victor Doerksen (University of Manitoba) read a paper on "Language Change in an Urban Environment," while Frank Epp related observations about "Mennonite Civil Servants in a National Capital."

William Dyck (University of Toronto), John Bergen (University of Alberta), Otto Driedger (Welfare of Saskatchewan), and Arthur DeFehr (Winnipeg) presented their papers in psychology, education, welfare, and business as they relate to Canadian urban Mennonites. The papers will be published in the October issue of *Mennonite Life.*

Dr. Harvey L. Dyck, Professor of Russian History at the University of Toronto, is devoting his sabbatical leave to a study of "The Autocracy's Use of Foreigners in the Transformation of Eighteenth Century Russia," which will by nature include the emigration of the Mennonites from Danzig and West Prussia to the Ukraine.

Frank H. Epp serves as Researcher of the Canadian Mennonite Central Committee in Montreal. A staff assists him in making use of the various archival and other sources.

Other Research

Dr. David G. Rempel of Palo Alto, California, formerly Professor of History at the College of San Mateo, is devoting the years after his retirement to research and writing about the Mennonites of Russia. What he has at his disposal at Stanford University combined with what he has collected privately probably constitutes the largest collection of materials available on this subject. We are looking forward to the product of his findings, which would also encompass his Stanford Ph.D. dissertation on the Mennonites in Russia written at the beginning of his career.

James C. Juhnke has completed a thorough study of "The Political Acculturation of the Kansas Mennonites, 1870-1940," which constitutes his Ph.D. dissertation (Indiana University, 1968). This is to our knowledge the first study of its kind and should prove to be not only an excellent source of information of the area covered, but should also furnish guidelines for others who will want to continue on this path to make studies of changes leading to political involvement of Mennonites and changes resulting from such acculturation. More has been written about religious and historical developments and the acculturation process among Mennonites in general, but political involvement on a larger scale and its study is still in its infancy.

Some of the chapter headings will give the reader an idea how the author treated his subject matter and what his findings are. In the chapter "The Two Kingdoms and the Coming to Kansas" the issues for the coming to Kansas are presented. Under the "Political Orientations" at the end of the past century the environment into which the Mennonites, who were accustomed to imperialism, came is presented. The period prior to World War I is featured under the heading "Untroubled Generation" (J. G. Ewert, H. P. Krehbiel, A. L. Schellenberg). The rude awakening of the traditional nonresistant Mennonites during World War I is featured under "Crisis of Citizenship," which is followed by an "Era of Readjustment," under which benevolence, voting patterns, inter-war pacifism, and other issues are dealt with. The final chapter deals with "Nonresistance, Nationalism, and Acculturation" up to the year 1940. We can indeed be grateful for this excellent study and hope that before long someone will cover the years 1940-1960.

Adalbert Goertz, Boulder, Colorado, continues his research in West Prussian Mennonite history, and particularly geneology. He is printing numerous articles in various magazines in Europe and in America. He has investigated the Geneological Library of Salt Lake City, Utah, which has a large holding of microfilms pertaining to European Mennonites.

Delbert Gratz spent a considerable time in Europe in 1967 visiting particularly eastern European libraries and archives in search of archival material dealing with Anabaptists. He has obtained permission to have a considerable amount of the material microfilmed by various libraries and archives in eastern countries.

Calvin Redekopp has written a book entitled "A Socio-Environmental Study of the Old Colony Mennonites," which is to appear soon at the Johns Hopkins Press. A related book is under consideration to be published by the University of California Press entitled "Mennonite Colonization in Mexico. A Study in the Survival of a Traditional Society" by Leonard Sawatzky.

Calvin Redekopp has obtained a grant from the National Institutes of Health, Baltimore, for the study of the health conditions among the Old Colony Mennonites. Carl Jantzen is assisting him in this research project.

John A. Hostetler, who has published numerous scholarly studies and popular books on the Old Order Amish, is now engaged in research, "Educational Achievement and Life Styles in a Traditional Society," which is a Temple University Project, 1966-69.

John Unruh of Freeman, South Dakota, has resumed a research project pertaining to the Mennonites of South Dakota started when he dealt with it in an M.A. thesis.

Clarence Bauman, on leave from the Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Indiana, is making studies pertaining to the Sermon on the Mount in Palestine.

The Board of Education of the (Old) Mennonite Church is sponsoring a Study of Philosophy of Higher Education. Members of the study group are Calvin Redekopp, Paton Yoder, Lester Brubacher, Paul Kurtz, Arnold Cressman, and Harold Lehman.

Mennonite Brethren Research

Peter J. Klassen, Waldo Hiebert, and L. Stobbe are preparing a popular history of the Mennonite Brethren Church. The book, entitled *The Church in Mission*, edited by A. J. Klassen, and published in honor of J. B. Toews by the Board of Christian Literature, constitutes a milestone in Mennonite Brethren research and writing. It consists of more than twenty chapters, each written by a specialist of an aspect of outreach and missionary endeavor. It is subdivided into "Biblical Foundation of Missions," "Historical Recovery of Mission," and "Newer Dimension of Mission."

Reprint of Mennonite Encyclopedia

The publishers of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* have asked Cornelius Krahn, editor, and Melvin Gingerich, managing editor, to prepare the four volumes of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* for reprint by making the necessary corrections of typographical and factual errors. The first volume, which is out of print, has been submitted to the press. The second volume is being prepared now and will be submitted in fall. The year 1980 has been set as a target date for the publication of a completely revised edition for which the plans are now being made.

Cultural Conference

Since 1942 the Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems has sponsored conferences annually or biannually at which papers dealing with some aspects of Mennonite cultural, educational and social concerns were presented. The papers have been published in book form and constitute a significant source of information. At a meeting on May 30, representatives of the colleges went on record to suggest to the Council of Mennonite Colleges to discontinue this tradition. It was the feeling that many other efforts are now taking care of what has been the objective of the Conference, and thus its purpose has been fulfilled. On the other hand, the question can be raised why this only all inclusive cooperative effort of all Mennonite colleges would be discontinued at a time when education faces more questions and problems than ever before.

Bethel College Studies

By John M. Janzen and James Juhnke

SEVERAL STUDIES IN Mennonite life, culture, and history are now under way in the Division of History and the Social Sciences at Bethel College. Financed partly by foundations, these studies include both faculty and students in a series of research experiences. Although scholars have long made valuable use of the Mennonite Library and Archives at Bethel College for Anabaptist-Mennonite research, new techniques of investigation are coming into use.

Oral History

The Schowalter Foundation is providing support to the Division for a three year project in oral history. Under the direction of Dr. James Juhnke, instructor in American history, students and faculty are building a Mennonite Oral History Library. The oral history resources will become part of the holdings of the Mennonite Library and Archives at Bethel College.

Oral history is spoken history. It is a systematic attempt to record the voices of historically important persons as they tell of their experiences and convictions. The interviews are recorded on tape, transcribed into typescript form, and made available for study and research at the discretion of the subject. This oral record becomes a valuable addition to the variety of primary historical materials already available in libraries, such as diaries, church records, ship lists, photographs, maps, and publications.

The recorded voices of important people convey to the listener of future generations a quality of personality which is often missing from written records. At their best, oral interviews achieve a level of informality and candor unlike any other preserved historical data. The interview method demands careful research and preparation by the interviewer so the information acquired may be orderly and useful rather than haphazard and confused. Especially in cases when the subject is several decades removed from the events and experiences under review, the interviewer must be fully informed so the right questions will be asked and the problems of blurred memories minimized.

Only in recent years has the potential of oral history been recognized, and today it is one of the fastest growing types of historical research in America. The oral history resources of the Bethel College Historical Library were begun in 1951-1952 by Cornelius Krahn, Director of the Library. Under a grant from the Social Science Research Council, Krahn interviewed large numbers of Mennonites who had immigrated to Canada after World War II. These interviews were recorded and typed and have been a valuable resource for studies on the experiences of ethnic Germans under the rule of Stalin and Hitler.

The present oral history project will focus upon the history of Mennonites during World War I, particularly upon the problem of conscientious objection and civil liberties. World War I was a crucial turning point in American Mennonite history, because at this point a crisis of citizenship and conscience was forced upon the Mennonite community by the demands of wartime American nationalism. No alternative service programs existed for Mennonites to demonstrate that their refusal of military service did not arise from pro-Germanism or from sheer negativism. When Mennonites put Christ before Caesar, it appeared that they were no longer acceptable American citizens. Incidents of harassment in the military camps and in the home communities recalled the Anabaptist tradition of persecution and martyrdom.

The project will be centered initially in Kansas and surrounding states, but people from the West Coast, Canada, and the East will participate. It is hoped that this oral history project will become the nucleus of a large program covering many aspects of Mennonite life.

James Juhnke interviews Gustave R. Gaeddert in regard to Mennonite conscientious objection in World War I.

Hopefield cemetery, west end. Note "concrete" representation of conceptual boundaries.

The work of interviewing is now under way. James Juhnke is working with senior fellows—special assistants in the Bethel College history department—on the project. John Waltner of North Newton, Kansas, has been participating this year as a member of the project. Next year's fellows, Dale Schrag of Inman, Kansas, and Allen Teichroew of Mountain Lake, Minnesota, will continue the work. J. Lloyd Spaulding, chairman of the Division of Social Science, and Keith L. Sprunger, Cornelius Krahn, and John M. Janzen of Bethel College also participate.

The study includes interviewing of persons from all branches of the Mennonites. Project consultants include Henry Fast of Tabor College, Melvin Gingerich of Goshen College, Milferd Wenger of rural Newton, and Paton Yoder of Hesston College.

The Cemetery as a Social Document

A grant from the American Philosophical Society provided support for Dr. John M. Janzen, instructor in anthropology, to begin an investigation into early Midwestern Mennonite cemeteries with the aim of documenting and analyzing a regional, denominational, and ethnic cross section of Mennonite burial groupings. The cemetery, if properly understood, is an excellent record of a unique kind which symbolically depicts the strength of social ties of kinship and church affiliation, and other principles of inner differentiation in society. As the number of well-understood individual cases reflected in burial grows, the social pattern is revealed. In effect, the burial study can be categorized as a project in social archeology in which the material document of tombstones arranged in a socially ordered manner is supplemented with memories and written documents such as church records, deed transactions, and the like.

In the fall of 1967 three senior social science students joined the work begun by Dr. Janzen by selecting four local Mennonite burial traditions for more intensive comparative study. Gene Bergman of Paso Robles, California, focused on the Swiss Volhynian immigrant tradition of Hopefield and Eden near Moundridge, Kansas; Gary Unruh of Harper, Kansas, worked with the Partridge and Yoder Amish tradition near Hutchinson; Ronald Dueck of Laird, Saskatchewan, took on what was perhaps the most difficult assignment, the complete documentation of the northern burial sites of the Russian immigrant settlement near Goessel, Kansas. More than thirty small cemeteries dot this area where, from 1874 until the opening of the Alexanderwohl Church cemetery in 1886, and in some cases more recently, families and early villages organized their own burial grounds. Janzen focused on several family and church cemetery traditions of the Prussian immigrant groups of Whitewater and Elbing, Kansas.

Although there is probably no such thing as "Mennonite burial," the project has discovered that each of the four traditions under study lends itself for the specialized inquiry into a certain social structural problem characteristic of our communities. With its long history of migratory factionalism, the Swiss Volhynian group provided an excellent opportunity to look at the symbolism of factional formation. With a detailed check of modes of recruitment to family, church, and in death, cemetery, it was possible to appraise the long-term effect on the community of the 1895 division in the Hopefield congregation.

Because kinship provides the Amish society with its principal mode of internal organization, the Partridge and Yoder cemeteries seemed the appropriate place to investigate the strength of various kin relationships as they are reflected in burial. With only the Partridge cemetery having received intensive analysis thus far, it has nevertheless become clear that while most Amish families are identified with either father's or mother's side, or both, a few prominent families follow a more patrilineal mode of kin definition, thereby becoming more exclusive both in burial, as the cemetery study shows, and in their exercise of communal rights and duties.

The early Alexanderwohl burial patterns suggest that there was more to some of the villages as social units than mere proximity of residence. What is not so clear, presenting the project with a formidable challenge, is why some villages developed one large cemetery and others several smaller, family cemeteries. In answering this question we may also be learning something about the Alexanderwohl "civic" sense, which some observers believe continues to be present in church government.

The most apparently significant problem worth pursuing in connection with burial among the West Prussian Mennonite immigrant group was social stratification. Although it is not fully substantiated as yet, it seems that the presence of private family cemeteries contemporary with church cemeteries may be the result of a persisting old world social structural feature due originally to the scarcity of land for the Western Prussian Mennonites after 1848. If the growing pressure for land can be causally linked with the subsequent emphasis on cousin marriage, as is reflected in one Whitewater area cemetery, the persistence of social values and structures would prove to be very durable indeed.

Other Research Projects

Keith Sprunger, with interests in both English Puritanism and Anabaptism, is preparing a biography of William Ames, the famous seventeenth century Puritan theologian. Sprunger, who spent the summer of 1967 in research in England and the Netherlands, has found points of reference for Anabaptist studies in the Con-

gregational concept of the church, in the church covenant, and in the Puritan emphasis on practical divinity. A student, John Waltner (class of 1968) completed an independent study on Gerald B. Winrod, the fundamentalist preacher and "defender." The paper reveals many of the close connections between Mennonites and Winrod.

A number of other studies under the senior fellowship program have resulted in recent faculty-student papers on local history and currently an investigation of Bethel College alumni in social work. Copies of these studies, "Bethel College Studies in History and the Social Sciences," are available from the division.

This summer Cornelius Krahn is working on the second volume of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* which is to be reprinted. He is also selecting and translating Dutch Anabaptist sources which are to be published as a companion volume to be used with his book *Dutch Anabaptism* just off the press. During the winter a number of his students wrote substantial papers dealing, among other topics, with the Amish of Kansas (David Wagler, "History and Change of the Amish of Reno County, Kansas," and Harley Wagler, "Education Among the Reno County Amish"). Krahn has written most of the articles dealing with the Mennonites for the Catholic encyclopedia, *Corpus Instrumentarum,* published in Washington, D.C., and he is writing some chapters for the book on *Die Mennoniten* in the ecumenical series, *The Churches of the World,* which is being published in Germany.

James Juhnke completed a Ph.D. dissertation in history at Indiana University, "The Political Acculturation of the Kansas Mennonites, 1870-1940." (See review article p. 135).

Mennonite Bibliography, 1967

By John F. Schmidt and Nelson P. Springer and others

THE MENNONITE BIBLIOGRAPHY is published annually in the April issue of *Mennonite Life.* It contains a list of books, pamphlets and articles dealing with the Anabaptists-Mennonites.

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.

Mennonite publications, featuring Mennonite history, life and thought are the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (Goshen College, Goshen, Ind.), *Mennonite Life* (Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas), *Die Mennonitischen Geschichtsblätter* (Weierhof), *Mennonitischer Gemeinde-Kalender* (Monsheim bei Worms), *Doopsgezind Jaarboekje* (Amsterdam, Singel 454).

General magazines which quite often feature Anabaptists and Mennonites are *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (Gütersloh), *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkegeschiedenis* (Leiden), *Church History* (Chicago) and others.

Previous bibliographies published in *Mennonite Life* appeared annually in the April issues since 1949 (except July, 1961, July, 1963, and July, 1967). Authors and publishers of books, pamphlets and magazines which should be included in our annual list are invited to send copies to *Mennoite Life* for listing and possible review.

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New Books in Brief

By Cornelius Krahn

THIS BRIEF PRESENTATION of a few significant books which have been published in 1968 and some earlier ones which should have been reviewed more fully is an effort to keep the interested reader and scholar informed about new publications by presenting the title and a brief description of the content. Some of the books presented are Ph.D. dissertations which have now been published.

General

C. J. Dyck, Ed., *An Introduction to Mennonite History*, Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1967, 324 pp., $5.75.

Marvin P. Riley, *The Hutterite Brethren: An Annotated Bibliography with Special Reference to South Dakota Hutterite Colonies*, Brookings, S. Dakota: Sociology Department, South Dakota State University, 1965, 188 pp.

The *Introduction to Mennonite History*, written by a number of experts in the field prepared by the Institute of Mennonite Studies, is an effort to present a semipopular account of the over 400 years of Mennonite history, life and thought on the basis of the research which has made rapid progress since World War II. Most of the writers have written their Ph.D. dissertations during the last ten to fifteen years. This is indeed a helpful effort to convey basic up-to-date information to the Mennonite constituency and to those seeking general information about the Mennonites. Maps, charts, and the bibliography after every chapter are helpful aids. It is probably in place to state that the book is written "particularly for young adults" but it is not yet the book for the average teen-ager.

The *Hutterite Brethren* furnished a welcome annotated alphabetically arranged bibliography up to 1964, consisting of 332 titles which appeared in book form and articles. The book gives a brief summary of the history of the Hutterite Brethren from 1528 to 1964 and furnishes a guide to the use of the bibliography which is broken down according to categories such as history, religious beliefs, music, family, agriculture, etc. The book contains an index of authors and a map showing the locations of Hutterite colonies. The book constitutes a helpful guide, particularly for those who are beginners in the field or want to quickly locate information in a special area.

Dutch Anabaptism

William E. Keeney, *The Development of Dutch Anabaptist Thought and Practice from 1539-1564*, Nieuwkoop: B. De Graf, 1968, 247 pp., $12.50.

Cornelius Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism*. Origin, Spread, Life, and Thought (1450-1600). The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968, 312 pp., $9.50.

Keeney's book constitutes a systematic study of Dutch Anabaptism and the formative years between 1539-1564, based primarily on the life and writings of Menno Simons and Dirk Philips. It is unique in that it is the first book that presents the basic doctrines and practices of Dutch Anabaptism in a more fully developed form based on a thorough study of the primary sources in the English language. He does this under the following chapter headings: II. "The Word of God and Servants of the Word," III. "The New Birth," IV. "The Word Became Flesh," V. "The Life of Discipleship," VI. A Fellowship of Holy Beings," VII. "Persecuted but Victorious," VIII. "Dutch Anabaptist Thought and Practice: A Synoptic View."

Krahn's *Dutch Anabaptism* presents a wider range of origin and development of more or less the same subject matter: I. "The Low Countries During the Middle Ages," II. "The Dawn of a New Day," III. "The Evangelical Sacramentarian Reformation," IV. "Melchior Hofmann: A Prophetic Layman," V. "Anabaptism at the Crossroads," VI. "Gathering a Christian Fellowship," VII. "Growth and Molding of the Brotherhood," VIII. "Summary."

Krahn deals with the basic views and geographic areas which lead to the origin of Anabaptism in the Low Countries via the Evangelical Sacramentarian movement and the Reformation. The crucial development centering around figures like Melchoir Hofmann, Menno Simons, Obbe and Dirk Philips, including the radical elements in Münster and other places, are treated. He covers the development of Anabaptist life, thought, and spread throughout the 16th century between Antwerp and Danzig, Cologne and London. This constitutes the first all inclusive English language book of this area and time, based on all primary and secondary sources available.

The two books on Dutch Anabaptism should constitute a unique source of information for all those who had difficulties reading the numerous Dutch publications in this field. In addition to this they cover or lead to all information available in this field.

The Münster Anabaptism

Ottheim Rammstedt, *Sekte und soziale Bewegung*. Soziologische Analyse der Täufer in Münster (1534-35). Köln: West-Deutscher Verlag, 1966, 152 pp., $12.00.

C. A. Cornelius, *Berichte der Augenzeugen über das Münsterische Wiedertäuferreich*. Münster, 1853. Reprint Münster, 1965, 488 pp., $12.00.

The book by Rammstedt and the one by Gerhard Brendler (see review in *Mennonite Life*, July, 1967, p. 140) belong to the most informative treatments of the ever

popular subject on Münster. Rammstedt's book is based on a sociological study which takes into consideration the economic, political, and civic conditions of the Netherlands and Westphalia, which lead to the attempt to establish a perfect community in the city of Münster. Melchior Hofmann, Berhard Rothmann and other leaders and their eschatological and charismatic views are treated, including the social and communal aspect of the Münster kingdom. The book has a thorough and helpful bibliography.

So popular is the subject of Münster that the more than 100 year old collection of *Berichte der Augenzeugen* by C. A. Cornelius has been reprinted. This is indeed fortunate since this valuable source was available only in a very few old libraries.

South German Anabaptists

Else Bernhofer-Pippert, *Täuferische Denkweisen und Lebensformen im Spiegel oberdeutscher Täuferverhöre.* Münster: Aschaffendorf, 1967, 180 pp., $10.00.

Günther Bauer, *Anfänge täuferischer Gemeindebildungen in Franken.* Nürnberg: Verein für Bayerische Kirchengeschichte, 1966, 190 pp.

William Klassen, *Covenant and Community.* The Life, Writings and Hermeneutics of Pilgram Marpeck. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1968, 211pp., $4.95.

Clarence Bauman, *Gewaltlosigkeit im Täufertum.* Eine Untersuchung zur theologischen Ethik des oberdeutschen Täufertums der Reformationszeit. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968, 411 pp.

In *Täuferische Denkweisen* . . . Else Bernhofer-Pippert features basic concepts and practices among the Anabaptists of Baden, Pfalz, Würtenberg, Thüringen, Bayern and Hessen. She treats the view and constitution of the church, the establishment of congregations and the relationship of the Anabaptist church to the world, the government and other churches in considerable detail. This systematic treatment of South German Anabaptism on the basis of recent and earlier published sources and monographs will prove to be a helpful link. (See review in this issue).

Günther Bauer in *Anfänge täuferischer Gemeindebildung in Franken* treats Unterfranken in Bavaria by featuring the origin, life and structure of the congregations. This is a helpful detailed study in depth of Anabaptism in a limited area, its inner development and its relationship to other congregations.

The monograph by William Klassen is devoted to one of the outstanding leaders of South German Anabaptism who because of his engineering skill survived and was able to write numerous books which during the last decades have received considerable attention. Of the five chapters of Klassen's book the first one is devoted to the life and writings of Pilgram Marpeck. In the second one the author develops the regulating principles in Marpeck's hermeneutics, while the third deals more specifically with the concept of the covenant of Marpeck. In an additional chapter the author deals with Marpeck's relationship to other Anabaptists and reformers in regard to his views. This monograph in hermeneutics and the study of the basic views of Marpeck will prove to be a valuable aid in future research.

Clarence Bauman's dissertation also deals with the South German Anabaptists, but with a different focus. His book consists of two major parts. In the historical part he treats nonresistance among the Swiss Brethren, and the Anabaptists in Moravia and in South and Central Germany. The systematic part is devoted to the theological basis of Anabaptist nonviolence. He treats their concept of the scriptures, discipleship, the realization of the "community of the saints," and the dualism between church and world. Bauman's book constitutes by far the most thorough and detailed study of Anabaptist view and practice of nonviolence that has thus far been produced. (See review in this issue).

All these books deserve a thorough and detailed review in *Mennonite Life* as well as other magazines devoted to views and the history of the Reformation in general and Anabaptism in particular. These and other books can be ordered through *Mennonite Life.*

Books in Review

Elsa Bernhofer-Pippert, *Täuferische Denkweise und Lebensformen im Spiegel oberdeutscher Täuferverhöre.* (Heft 96 der Reformationsgeschichtlichen Studien und Texte), Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchbuchhandlung, Münster in Westfalen, 1967, XIV, 180 pp., DM 28.-

The author analyzes the records of sixteenth century Anabaptist trials as they appeared in the official *Täuferakten* series (Volumes I to IV) as well as in the Hesse Anabaptist documents and in those of Switzerland (Vol. I, 1952, reaching up to 1534). This material, recorded by hostile courts, at first seems dry and impersonal, but from it the author culled an amazing wealth of information on the Anabaptists of Southern and Central Germany and of Switzerland. One may call the book the first comprehensive and impartial treatment of the Anabaptist "way of thinking and living" during the greater part of the sixteenth century in Central Europe. Sympathetically and reliably it covers many areas not fully studied before.

A survey of the contents will illustrate the approach of the writer: Part one deals mainly with the Anabaptist concept of the church, the *Gemeinde*, and its inner discipline. It includes also a discussion of baptism, the Lord's Supper and the ban. Part two deals with the establishment of such *Gemeinden* under persecution, covering the missionary activities of these Anabaptists and the life "under the sign of baptism"—what we otherwise might also call "life in discipleship." Finally, Part three studies the unavoidable conflict with the hostile "world" all around them,

both the civic authorities and society in general. This includes the opposition to war and violence, refusal of the oath, and similar problems. A few very pertinent paragraphs concerning the Anabaptist "ethics of suffering" (what we sometimes call the theology of martyrdom) conclude the study. It also makes fairly clear that the movement was by no means uniform all over the land, and that in particular in Thuringia "spiritualistic" followers of Thomas Müntzer vied with each other long after the origin of these views.

The author refrains most of the time from critical comments and allows the sources to speak for themselves, thus enlivening her pages by authentic testimonies. All in all, a volume highly to be recommended.

KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN — *Robert Friedmann*

Clarence Bauman, *Gewaltlosigkeit im Täufertum, eine Untersuchung zur theologischen Ethik des oberdeutschen Täufertums der Reformationszeit* (Vol. III of Studies in the History of Christian Thought). Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1968, XVI, 401 pp.

This dissertation covers much more than the title seems to indicate. It is a most learned and scholarly treatment of almost everything Anabaptist, the history and, broadly conceived, the theology. Let us concentrate on the latter, which is subdivided into five lengthy chapters: 1) the understanding of the Scriptures (Scripture and Spirit, Old and New Testament, etc.); 2) the *Nachfolge Christi* motive behind the Anabaptist position of nonresistance (in German the term is *Gewaltlosigkeit*, which means both nonresistance and nonviolence), dealing with "Love and Cross," and *imitatio* and *participatio Christi*; 3) nonresistance as the avenue towards the realization of the *sanctorum communio* (including the Anabaptist critique of the churches of the Reformation); 4) the Anabaptist idea of man; the issue of both original sin and free will; and, finally, 5) the Anabaptist dualism of *Gemeinde* and "world," treating the problem of their "apolity" and the idea of the two realms.

The last fifty pages, called *Excursus*, deal with material not directly connected with the main topic of the book, namely, with an analysis of the Lutheran understanding of theology and church, the tension of faith and work in Luther's thought, and his particular doctrine of the two realms, so essentially different from the Anabaptist dualism. It seems that *Gewaltlosigkeit* is not the actual topic of this book. When the author began to digest the enormous amount of material available, he felt urged to treat nearly every aspect and phase of the problem both historically and theologically.

Further extensions of the *Gewaltlosigkeit* topic are long footnotes, such as the ones on Zwingli's attitude towards war (pp. 202-4), Oecolampad's "Erasmian pacifism" (204-5), and the Lutheran position concerning this question (205-8). On the question of the Nicolsburg Articles, the Hubmaier-Hut debate of 1527, a footnote in small print covers not less than seven full pages (58-64)! The extensive bibliography offers ample material for further studies in depth.

Bauman was influenced by Helmuth Gollwitzer, who urged an ever renewed confrontation of Anabaptism and Lutheran theology, which made the author weigh all the arguments on both sides, and who most likely also prompted Bauman to include the *Excursus* at the end of the work. The book is so rich in details, using vast source material, that it is hard to focus on one particular idea or interpretation.

Section Four presents a summary in which we find passages to which I would not be ready to subscribe, such as a word by Troeltsch (*Social Teachings*, II, 516) that "the time was not yet ripe for Anabaptism and Anabaptism was not ripe for its time" (p. 298). *Volkskirche* and *Communio Sanctorum* are contrasted, but one may properly ask: Is the latter not a motive of numerous churches? What then is specific (if anything) for Anabaptism? Bauman seems to see its core in the "ethics of the Sermon on the Mount" (p. 302). Even though this Sermon was not so frequently quoted by Brethren as Bauman implies, for Luther it was certainly only a secondary issue in view of his teachings of the "two realms." This ethic, we read, can in principle never be fulfilled, and hence assumes a paradoxical character. On page 309 the author tells us finally that "the theological ethic of the Anabaptists," what he also calls "ethic of obedience," meant in the last analysis *die Einlassbedingung zum Reich Gottes*, the required condition for the entrance into the Kingdom of God, hence finding itself always in conflict with the secular world and its history. "The Truth can be victorious only in defeat" (310-1). Discipleship can never become *Volks- und Parteisache* (313) but will remain throughout a "daring of faith in contrast to the daring of self-affirmation" (*Selbstbehauptung*). For the *Volkskirche*, the nation or the fatherland has such profound significance that in spite of its taintedness with sin its members will always be ready to wage war, allegedly "with a good conscience." The paradox is described but not really answered. In 1968 we still need to ask: *Volkskirche* or the promise of the Kingdom of God?

KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN — *Robert Friedmann*

BOOKS AVAILABLE

The *Proceedings of the Eighth Mennonite World Conference*, Amsterdam, July 23-30, 1967, entitled *The Witness of the Holy Spirit*, edited by C. J. Dyck, have been published. This rich source of information and inspiration can be ordered by writing to Mennonite World Conference, 3003 Benham Avenue, Elkhart, Indiana 46514, or *Mennonite Life*, North Newton, Kansas 67117. The October 1967 issue of *Mennonite Life* was devoted to the Mennonite World Conference.

Most of the books listed and reviewed in this issue and many others can be obtained by writing to:

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