MENNONITE LIFE

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COVER

Menno Simons, Pencil Sketch by Arend Hendriks.

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Conditions for a Revolutionary Century — 3
By William Keeney

The Biblical Basis for Civil Disobedience — 6
By Alvin Beachy

A Case Study in Civil Disobedience: Pilgram Marbeck — 12
By Alvin Beachy

The Quiet Revolution: Menno Simons — 15
By William Keeney

Mennonite Migrations as an Act of Protest — 20
By Cornelius Krahn

The Agony of Civic Isolation: Mennonites in World War I — 27
By James Juhnke

Mennonite Benevolence and Civic Identity: The Post-war Compromise — 34
By James Juhnke

Mennonites and Confrontation — 38
By Joseph Smucker

Finding God and Neighbor — 41
By Myron Schrag

The Hutterites in Contemporary Society — 42
By George G. Thielman

Books in Review — 46
By J. Thiessen, Cornelius Krahn, Gerhard Lohrenz, J. Lloyd Spaulding, William Keeney.

IN THIS ISSUE

we present primarily the Annual Menno Simons Lectures delivered at Bethel College on October 26-29, under the general topic "Reformation and Revolution." The Menno Simons Lectureship was established in 1950 by the John P. and Carolina Kaufman family of Moundridge, Kansas, by contributing an endowment fund to Bethel College to promote research and public lectures related to Anabaptist-Mennonite history, thought, life, and culture, both past and present. ¶ A great variety of topics have been treated, not all related to the Mennonites, by speakers like Roland Bainton, Martin Niemoeller, George H. Williams, Elton Trueblood, Gordon D. Kaufman, and others. ¶ This time the question of the relationship of Reformation to Revolution or the Anabaptists and civil disobedience and some aspects of violence were dealt with. William Keeney introduced the lectures on Sunday morning by describing the revolutionary character of the age of Reformation. Alvin Beachy presented the biblical basis for a stand of civil disobedience in order to remain obedient to God and showed how Pilgram Marbeck at times disobeyed civil orders so that he might remain faithful to his divine calling. In his second lecture William Keeney featured Menno Simons as a representative of a quiet revolution who withdrew from the Catholic Church but opposed the radicalism of the Münsterites. ¶ Cornelius Krahn cited instances of protest in Christendom in general and in Anabaptism as a built-in mechanism which often led from witness to martyrdom and from martyrdom to escape and migration. That this witness continued was illustrated in Krahn's second lecture dealing with Abraham Thiessen of Russia (published in the April issue, 1969). James Juhnke presented two lectures dealing with the American Mennonites in their agony of isolation in search for identity during and after World War I. ¶ The paper by Joseph Smucker, not a part of the Lectureship, deals with a related question—namely, how Mennonites today face confrontations to which they must respond in line with their witness tradition and in order to preserve their integrity. Myron Schrag's sermon deals with our dual relationship to God and neighbor in our day. In George G. Thielman's article, we become aware of the great gap existing between a group of Anabaptist descent and its environment. The Hutterites, who aim to preserve their identity in isolation, are misunderstood and rejected by modern society. Thus, this issue of *Mennonite Life* presents a synopsis of religio-ethnic minority groups that aimed to preserve their witness throughout the centuries in witness, protest, in nonconformity, and even in withdrawal.

Lunchtime: Carl Schmidt, Williams, Peter Neufeld, Albert Unruh, John Andreas, Paul Bartsch, Detention Camp No. 1.

Conditions for a Revolutionary Century

By William Keeney

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY is one of rapid change in many areas. We are tempted to think that no other century, no other situation could be similar to ours. If so, no previous experience can be helpful in understanding our condition. Study of history to help us understand our plight would be fruitless. We would now face such novel experiences that we could only work out a radical revolution in style of life to meet the utter uniqueness of our own time.

Yet we should look at the sixteenth century and try to relive it as the people of that time would have experienced it. They must have felt as though they lived in a time when so much was in the process of change that they too must make radical and revolutionary changes. With such an approach their responses should illuminate our own century of change.

The Variety of Changes

The twentieth century has seen the end of most geographic frontiers on the face of the earth. The past decade has seen the race in space culminate in the first landing of man on the moon. Probes have been extended to Mars. Man feels that he is on the verge of ventures into worlds previously unknown, leaving both excitement and some anxiety about how such exploration will benefit or threaten man.

At the end of the fifteenth century the explorers were pushing beyond the horizons to discover "new worlds." Columbus had reached the new world. Magellan was circumnavigating the globe for the first time early in the sixteenth century. Men were trying new voyages around Africa. Old myths were exploded and new hopes and fears stirred in the minds of men.

New fears were real in part. We take great pains to assure that the men who land on the moon do not come back contaminated with germs for which we have no natural immunities or known cures. The sixteenth century knew little of any such precaution. As a result some new diseases were carried to Europe and ran through it like an epidemic. Henry VIII's problem of providing an heir to the throne was in large part due to such disease, to mention only one example of the effects of the discoveries.

The discoveries brought other mixed consequences. Gold and silver were imported along with other goods. The economy changed accordingly. New wealth was available. A new class of people arose to handle the trade that developed. Inflation hurt people who were not engaged in production of goods or services which benefitted from the new wealth. Especially hard hit were the peasants. The population began to move from the rural areas to the expanding cities with all the dislocations which such a rapid shift entails.

Urbanizaiton and the population explosion are major current problems. In the sixteenth century cities also grew because of another factor of change. In the fourteenth century the Black Death swept through Europe, decimating the population. Estimates of the number of deaths run as high as a third of the population, with the number, of course being much higher in certain localities. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, about 125 years after the plague,

a population explosion took place. The growth of the population left many unemployed and they tended to move to the cities, as have many in the United States following the two world wars. Many people could not support themselves on the land and had no new skills to use in the cities. The conditions led to widespread discontent over the inequitable distribution of the wealth. Peasant revolts appeared sporadically in several areas in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Technology brings many benefits, but also creates problems. A new technology likewise appeared in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and a knowledge explosion left the people open to new ideas which also made them ready for change. Paper had become increasingly available beginning as early as the fourteenth century. It took the invention of movable type about 1450 to link the two together for mass production of printed matter. A number of consequences followed.

When books had to be laboriously hand copied, and were expensive, only the elite could be scholars. Most people would depend on the relatively slow and unreliable method of oral communication for news or new knowledge. With printing and paper ideas could be disseminated rapidly to almost everyone. Luther could hardly have obtained the widespread support to oppose an institution as predominant as the Roman Catholic Church except for the availability of means to get his ideas out quickly to masses of people. Practically overnight his ideas were put into pamphlets and flyers and circulated all over Germany and soon to other lands.

Another consequence was the increased use of the language spoken by the common man in the printing of books. The translation of the Bible into various languages broke the ironclad theology of the medieval period which was in part maintained by the use of the Latin language. Since translation is always necessarily in part an interpretation, the appearance of the Bible in many languages would give people reading differing languages differing understandings of the doctrines in the Bible.

The appearance of the many public and private versions of the Bible in English in the twentieth century broke the hold which the King James had. We know well enough what kind of repercussions that has brought. The shift from the Latin Vulgate to German, French, Dutch and other languages had even greater impact in the sixteenth century. In the Netherlands, for example, between 1513 and 1531 twenty-five translations of the Bible as a whole or the New Testament appeared in Dutch, Flemish, or French.[1] Thirty printings of different translations of the Bible in whole or in part were published between 1522 and 1530.[2]

If the twentieth century is going through a communications revolution as we move from the printed word to the electronic media, the sixteenth century did the same in moving from the spoken to the printed message.

The knowledge explosion was further increased by the humanistic study of the classics, both of the biblical background by use of Greek and Hebrew and of the secular background by use of Greek and Latin. The Renaissance introduced a new critical approach to the study of the past which raised questions about many of the accepted ideas of the time.

The same mood led to an interest in the world which was different from the prevailing interest of the medieval period. Copernicus lived from 1473 to 1543 and developed his views which proposed the sun rather than the earth to be the center of our solar system. New discoveries were being made about the human body. Michael Servetus, a man whose death as a heretic was instigated in part at least by Calvin, was also a physician who proposed a theory about the circulation of the blood even before Harvey announced his theory.[3]

The new knowledge and interest in learning led to the founding of thirteen universities between 1409 and 1507.[4] The Council of Trent was to lay a large share of the blame for the Reformation on the universities. They instituted seminaries as an answer to the failures of the universities to prepare the leadership for the church.

The late medieval period also experienced a philosophical revolution. Already as early as 1000 the Mohammedan scholars were making the ideas of Aristotle available in the west. Plato's philosophy was the major form in which Western Christian thought was cast up to the rediscovery of Aristotle. A conflict developed between the "Old Way" (*Via Antiqua*) and the "New Way" (*Via Moderna*).

The church also contributed to the unrest of the times. A great deal of popular piety was evident, but often based upon the hope in the miraculous or the largely personal desire of escape from an unhappy world. The sacramental system covered a person from the cradle to the grave, but the sacraments also were often administered in a perfunctory manner and were believed to have magical rather than moral or ethical power.

The ecclesiastical system was corrupt at many places because of the political and economic power it controlled and because of the personal failures of the leadership. The church owned large amounts of land. Church run businesses had special privileges such as freedom from duty or tax. They could then offer their products at lower prices and force others out of business. The church offices were assigned often more on the basis of the political advantage or the financial resources available rather than because a man was a good shepherd of his flock.

In many instances the clergy and monks violated

their vows of celibacy, so that in parts of the Netherlands up to 60% of the priests practiced concubinage which had legal status.[5] Even so, others fathered children outside either marriage or the quasi-legal concubinage system. Some monasteries were known as hotbeds of unrighteousness.[6] Yet it must be also acknowledged that the impulse for religious reform and for many social institutions of charity came from within the church.

Another area of change which will be noted would be in the political realm. Europe was faced with a threat from the East which might be compared to the Communist threat today. The Mohammedans were pressing at the gates to Western Europe. Charles V could not deal with Luther and the rebellious German nobility because he was engaged in responding to the greater threat from the Mohammedans. This gave time for the Germans to consolidate opposition before being faced with a direct challenge of power. Without the Mohammedan distraction, Luther might have been plunged into obscurity before he really started as had happened to other reformers.

Underlying the conflict was another basic and longer range development. The preceding period was characterized by a feudal order which was primarily local in organization but held together by the ideal of the overarching Holy Roman Empire. The nation state was emerging as the new predominant political unit. In the process a struggle was going on between the kings and the emperor, the kings and lesser nobility, the cities and the kings, and with the church seeking to play its role in all of it.

To return close to where we began, the kings in seeking to find additional sources of revenue to run their political structure devised all sorts of new taxes to levy. As one of our guides in Israel suggested when we were there in 1967, the problem was not to find a new tax but to find a new name for it. The taxes imposed an almost unbearable burden on the peasants who already suffered from the inflationary trends of the movement from a barter to a money economy.

The Implications of Conditions for Revolution

The preceding analysis of conditions suggests that Europe was in a state of flux. Conditions were ripe for revolution because of a considerable amount of turmoil. Inequity was already present and change was characteristic of the age.

Perhaps some additional factors need to be made clear. The conditions necessary for revolution usually are thought to be two. The first is that people need to feel that they are victims of oppression and injustice. But the feeling of oppression and injustice alone is not sufficient to bring revolution. The medieval period had plenty of such conditions for centuries with little evidence of even latent revolution. Conditions for revolution exist when some change and improvement is occurring so that people have hope for change but at the same time the change is not occurring fast enough. People do not see that the changes will take place fast enough so that they will realize the benefits of them.

Another observation might be made about the nature of the revolution. Two opposing errors are frequently made. On the one hand secular historians have a tendency to look at history in terms of natural factors only. They see the social, economic, cultural, and political factors described above and attribute the total movement of history to these exclusively. The religious or spiritual forces are ignored or treated as sentimental notions of certain interest groups but of no real consequence in the ongoing movement of history.

On the other hand, church historians often are inclined to look at only the religious factors, they ignore or treat as of little or only tangential interest the social, economic, and political factors in history.

The biblical view sees God acting in and through history. He uses the processes of history to work out his purposes, as Isaiah 10 and other passages suggest. He discloses to man the nature of truth in the events of history. In so doing, we can discern both his constancy but also his surprises in each age. Certain principles remain true and are operative, but in each new age events occur which could not be fully known in prospect even though we may see in retrospect how they came about.

Several propositions could be developed to be tested as we proceed with this series of studies to see if we can gain some insight into the course of change in revolutionary times. These may help the Christian to know better how to respond to revolutionary conditions in his own time.

The first proposition might be that revolutionary conditions will elicit a wide variety of attempts to find new forms of response. Old forms will be shattered or discarded and many will claim to have the full and final answer. How else can one explain the apparently spontaneous emergence of so many religious movements and groups scattered over such a wide area of Europe at about the same time in the sixteenth century? George Williams has probably done the best job in trying to identify, describe, and classify the myriad of such groups in what he calls the Radical Reformation.[7] They sprang up from Spain to Poland, from Italy to England with so many variations that they almost defy any classification which gives any basis for comparison among them. Yet they compose only one segment of the Reformation.

A second proposition would be that the numerous attempts to respond will vary over a wide range from extremely radical departures from existing forms to reactionary attempts to conserve the existing forms, with all gradations in between.

Two kinds of extremes which are equally false

usually are evident in such reactions. One is the attempt to justify one's sensual desires and to embody them in some radically new forms, such as in sex, food, material comforts or goods, and the exercise of power. The other is the attempt to absolutize some particular moral and legal codes or some creed and to justify destruction of any who violate them. The sixteenth century exhibits both in stark contrast to each other.

A third more distinctly Christian proposition would be that in the flux and change of history God is allowing judgment to come upon men at the same time that he is working to redeem and renew men. Evil counters evil. It has no coherency, no ultimate unity. It works against itself and tends to destroy itself. Good does have its coherence and ultimate unity in God's work as Creator and so is a stronger, more enduring force than evil.

The next set of propositions comes from the preceding one. The Christian should be ready to look at every response to revolutionary change and try to discern where God is seeking to work redemption and judgment. The Christian should test his responses against the person and teachings of Jesus Christ. He will face the varieties of response with confidence that what is real and true will survive. If God is in control of history, then what is contrary to his nature cannot survive.

The Anabaptists believed that the New Testament taught that it is not man's responsibility to root out and destroy every evil. Indeed when men abandon good means to achieve good ends, they defeat themselves. When revolutions turn violent or reactions to revolution turn violent, no matter how lofty and noble the ideals, they have lost the ends for which they strive.

When revolutionary conditions emerge in history God is seeking to rectify injustices and upset institutionalized evil. He is seeking to turn the world right side up. Christians ought to seek to identify such revolutionary movements and became a part of them, even if it has the risk of crucifixion. Out of such voluntarily accepted death to undermine evil comes resurrection which overcomes evil with good. The study of God's acts in history, including his work in the midst of revolution, should enable the Christian to be better able to recognize God's continuing activity and participate with him in it.

FOOTNOTES

1. Thomas Martin Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation*, Vol. II, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913, p. 229.

2. Wilhelmus Johannes Kuehler, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Doopsgezinden in de zestiende eeuw*, Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink and Zoon N.V., 1932, p. 42.

3. See translation of section from Michael Servetus, "Restitution of Christianity" in *The Reformation*, ed. by Hans J. Hillerbrand, New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1964, pp. 278-280.

4. See Thomas Martin Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation*, Vol. I, p. 53 for listing of the universities with their founding dates.

5. See Cornelius Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism (1450-1600)* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968, p. 15.

6. J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, *Geschiedenis der Kerkhervorming in Nederland*, Amsterdam: G. L. Funke, 1873, p. 11.

7. *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, ed. by George Huntston Williams and Angel M. Mergal, The Library of Christian Classics, vol. 25, Philadelphia: The Westminister Press, 1957, pp. 19-35. See also, George Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1962, pp. xxiii-xxxi; *Der linke Fluegel der Reformation*, ed. by Heinold Fast. Bremen: Carl Schuenemann Verlag, 1962, pp. ix-xxxv.

The Biblical Basis for Civil Disobedience

By Alvin Beachy

IN HIS BOOK, *The Secular City*, Harvey Cox has a chapter entitled "The Biblical Sources of Secularization." This chapter should be required reading for all those who wish to grapple seriously with the subject here under discussion. Cox stresses first the fact that the biblical doctrine of creation (which in the latter part of the Old Testament is very close to the Christian doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*) resulted in the disenchantment of a previously enchanted forest. In the enchanted forest everything in nature was permeated with the divine life. What the biblical doctrine of creation does is to divest nature of its divinity and set it in a new relationship to man where it is neither his brother or his God. In the biblical doctrine of creation the world of nature is a gift which man receives in trust from a creator who transcends both man and nature.[1]

Cox reminds us also that as the biblical doctrine of creation resulted in the disenchantment of nature, so the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt resulted in the

desacralization of the state; the exodus removed politics from the realm of the divine. It is of the utmost importance for an understanding of the central issue of our subject that we see how closely the concepts of the divinity of nature and the divinity of kings were related to each other in that part of the world where the beginnings of the Old Testament and, therefore, also the beginnings of the Christian faith are rooted.

As the Bible itself testifies, the Hebrews, despite their later monotheistic faith, were aware that they had emerged out of a polytheistic background. Joshua, in his farewell address to his people, acknowledged this when he said, "Our fathers on the other side of the flood, worshipped other gods."[2]

From our own sophisticated standpoint, we are inclined to sneer at the polytheistic faiths as inadequate and absurd, but in truth the accomplishments of the polytheistic faiths were many and impressive. G. Ernest Wright sums up their contribution as follows.

> The belief in many gods was occasioned by the fact that the forces which man met in nature and to which he had to adjust were many. Yet the great achievement of polytheism was in its reduction of this plurality to a cosmic order, one in which there was coherence and meaning. The universe was seen to be organized into a cosmic state in which the various powers assumed the respective duties decreed for them in Primordial time. Complementary forces were paired off as male and female, and derivitive powers were interpreted as their off-spring. The opposing or contradictory forces of nature were believed to be in yearly combat with each other so that at the end of the annual cycle of events, life could begin afresh.[3]

Wright then goes on to point out how the life of the gods was in this annual cycle seen as the life of nature, and how man's own life was then integrated into this cosmic rhythm. "It was this desire for order that made polytheism the religion of the status quo. The bad man was the self-willed person who dared to question or to disobey the authorities."[4]

This was true in Mesopotamia as well as in Egypt where, to quote Norman K. Gottwald, the Pharaoh was at the time of the exodus "the very epiphany of the gods on behalf of human society. He was not a man selected to serve the gods, nor was he a man deified at the time of his coronation. He was a god by birth, publicly recognized as such at the time of his accession and coronation."[5]

It was the business of the Pharaoh to preserve this universal harmony on behalf of both gods and men. He ruled through a body of traditions and conventions which were deemed absolute and which could therefore be modified only in very subtle ways.

Seen against this background, the exodus did indeed become the focal point for the desacralization of politics. The exodus was, as Cox points out, "a massive act of civil disobedience."[6] Furthermore, the exodus as interpreted and reinterpreted by the later Hebrew prophets meant a radical break with the polytheistic status quo religions of both Mesopotamia and Egypt. The crucial difference lay precisely at this point. Were the Israelites as subjects of the Pharaoh to continue to obey him without question, and thus recognize in his person the essential divinity of the nation state itself? Or were they to disobey Pharaoh in order that they might worship and obey Yahweh, the God of all nations?

The importance of the exodus for the later development of Israel's understanding of Yahweh as the Lord of history cannot, I think, be overstressed. For in one sense, the exodus is also the origin of Old Testament eschatology. That is a word which simply means that the world moves toward that end event which Christians say lies beyond history where the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ. All present kingdoms are therefore under the judgment of that coming future kingdom of perfection.

The prophets of the Old Testament first gave expression to their eschatological hopes by speaking of the "Day of the Lord." The earliest hopes seem to have embodied a longing to return to the good old days under King David. But with the prophetic work of men like Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the gaze was shifted from the past to God's new action in the future.

The German scholar Gerhard von Rad reminds us that in Israel there is no abstract word for time. For Israel learns to know time only in terms of the saving events that make up her history. As Yahweh has worked in the past to save and deliver her, so also he will act in the future. Therefore, Israel's security lies not in the preservation of the status quo, but in openness toward the future. To quote von Rad directly. "Israel's security rests not in the status quo, but in God's new action."[7] This, I wish to point out. is radically different from the polytheistic tradition that Israel discarded as a result of her spiritual pilgrimage.

Old Testament scholars have for the last quarter century or longer carried on a dispute with each other as to *when* Israel's faith became truly monotheistic. But there is little or no difference of opinion among them as to *how* or *why* this took place. It was, as Millar Burrows reminds us. through the interpretation of national disaster as the judgment of the living God upon his chosen or elect nation. To quote Burrows directly,

> The final emergence of monotheism in the religious consciousness of the Hebrew people is probably to be explained as the prophetic interpretation of history. confirmed by national disaster. The warnings of the prophets came true. . . .
>
> Thus Hebrew monotheism was reached in a way

unparalleled in other faiths, not by logical inference from the unity of the world (as in some forms of Greek and Hindu philosophy), not through military conquest and political unification (as Re was exalted in Egypt and Marduk in Babylon, though without the achievement of monotheism in either case), but actually through national disaster. Only the moral interpretation of history made this possible. Hence, Hebrew monotheism is distinctly ethical monotheism.[8]

To be 'elected' or chosen finally came to mean under the prophetic message not greater privilege for the chosen, but rather, added responsibility. Amos declares 'you only have I known of all nations of the earth; therefore, I will punish you.'[9]

It was never possible after the exodus to identify the will of the nation-state with the will of Yahweh, thanks to the ministry of the Hebrew prophets. It took a long line of prophets, however, to prevent such a relapse, and a continual reinterpretation of the original Mosaic vision in the light of new situations as they arose in Israel's history.

In any royal court outside of Israel or Judah, men like Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah would have lost their lives as men who were traitors to their country and at least discourteous if not disobedient to the crown. Though both Israelite or Jewish kings were uneasy in the presence of these prophets in their times, and sometimes killed or imprisoned the prophets after their messages had been delivered, no king dared dismiss a prophet lightly. For the king, like his subjects, was under the covenant with Yahweh, and therefore not an absolute monarch, even though the goal of the nation was to be a theocratic state.

Suffice it to say that Amos, because of his warning of judgment to come from the long quiescent Assyrian Empire at a time of great national prosperity, was accused of conspiracy, a not unfamiliar charge in our own time against those who for religious reason dissent from national policy. Amaziah, the priest at Bethel, gave this message to Jeroboam, king in Samaria; "Amos has conspired against you in the midst of the house of Israel; the land is not able to bear all his words" (Amos 7:10). Neither in the royal chapel at Bethel (perhaps the equivalent of that East Room in the Whitehouse in our time!), nor in the political capital in Samaria was the word of the prophet welcome because it was a criticism of the status quo, in which the national policy had become so closely identified with the will of God that it was in the prophetic mind, idolatrous.

During the reign of good King Hezekiah Isaiah got by with his declaration that the Assyrian Empire in all its cruelty was the rod of God's anger wherewith he would judge the prophet's own sinful people, but he was less fortunate under this king's successor. Tradition tells us that Isaiah was sawn asunder during the reign of Manasseh, who sought to escape the full fury of Assyrian might by cooperating so fully with it that Assyrian idols were set up in the temple of Yahweh.

Perhaps it would be stretching a point too far to say that either Amos or Isaiah ever engaged in civil disobedience. Yet, certainly both were involved in strong dissent of the national policy. It should not be necessary to remind ourselves that in our own contemporary situation dissent is equated with treason in the minds of many. Such an equation is possible only when we have lost our vision of him who is the God of all nations and have once again made a god out of the nation itself.

The one Old Testament prophet who is the example par excellence of civil disobedience is Jeremiah. He lived during that most difficult period of his nation's history when Babylonia rather than Assyria was the instrument of God's judgment, and when the judgment involved siege, defeat and exile. With the city of Jerusalem under siege, and the armies of Nebuchadnezzar at its gates, Jeremiah counseled, of all things, the surrender of the city rather than armed resistance! Where in the world was his patriotism? Jeremiah's life was placed in jeopardy by his famous temple sermon which is found in chapter seven of the book that bears his name. The reaction to the sermon is found in chapter twenty-six. Because Jeremiah had warned in the sermon that the city of Jerusalem was not forever safe from attack simply because the temple was in it, the people and the prophets and the priests wanted to kill him. Temple and nation were so closely identified in the popular mind, that to criticize even the abuse of the temple was an act of treason against the state. Jeremiah escaped with his life on this occasion only because the princes defended his right to speak to them in the name of Yahweh. Uriah, a friend and contemporary of Jeremiah, was less fortunate. When he fled to Egypt, he was pursued, brought back, and slain before King Jeroboam who then had his body cast out into a common burial ground.

As Jeremiah persisted with his messages of judgment, his freedom of movement became more and more restricted. When he saw that King Zedekiah would not or could not heed his advice to surrender the city and began instead to prepare it to withstand the siege, he counseled individual citizens to leave before the siege began and surrender themselves to the Chaldeans, so that they might escape death by pestilence, famine, and sword. His advice was overheard by Pashur, the priest, and we can be sure from the events that followed that the advice was considered treasonous.

Pashur heard the words that Jeremiah was saying to all the people. Thus says the Lord. He who stays in this city shall die by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence; but he who goes out to the Chaldeans shall live; he shall have his life as a prize of war and live. Thus says the Lord, This city shall surely be given

into the hands of the King of Babylon and shall be taken (Jeremiah 38:1-2).

When word of this latest act of Jeremiah was brought to the princes, their conclusion this time was that the prophet deserved the death penalty. His advice to the people would undermine the morale of the soldiers who had been called into service to defend Jerusalem. Jeremiah was then cast into an empty cistern where the princes hoped he would sink out of sight and in the process be suffocated so that he would bother them no more. Their wish would have been realized had not Ebedmelech intervened to save Jeremiah from the fate the princes had devised for him.

In the light of the military and political situation within which Jeremiah carried on his ministry, his words and actions cannot be regarded as anything other than a form of civil disobedience. Yet his course of action was shaped at every turn by the conviction that the will of the nation was at variance with the will of him who is the God of the nations. When obedience to Yahweh meant disobedience to the state, the consequences for Jeremiah were on more than one occasion extremely uncomfortable, yet he did not seek to evade them. For the acceptance of the consequences of his acts of civil disobedience flowed from his full obedience to Yahweh. The acceptance of consequences of acts of civil disobedience so motivated provided the only ground upon which Jeremiah could stand and maintain his integrity as a true prophet of God.

There is one more illustration of civil disobedience in the Old Testament that is worthy of our brief attention. It is the story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in the book of Daniel. Though listed in our English Bible as a prophetic book it is actually an apocalypse which was probably written during the reign of Antiochus IV who tried to compel the Jews to become Greeks, and who claimed to be divine. Although the book of Daniel is written as though the events related in it took place in Babylon, the message to those who lived under the tyrannical rule of Antiochus IV was clear. And the message was this. "Do not obey the nation-state, when through the person of the emperor it pretends to be God and demands the absolute loyalty of its subjects."

The speech of the three men about to undergo trial by fire is magnificently defiant, and it embodies a type of civil disobedience. "If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning firey furnace, and he will deliver us out of your hand, O King. But if not, be it known to you O King, that we will not serve your gods, or worship the golden image which you have set up."[10] Here, as elsewhere in the Old Testament, civil disobedience has its roots in a final loyalty to him who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

When we pass from the Old Testament to the New Testament the place where we meet civil disobedience at its sharpest is obviously in the book of Revelation. It is quite clear from the context of that book that the John of Revelation had been exiled to the Isle of Patmos because he was a Christian pastor who not only himself engaged in acts of civil disobedience but encouraged the members of his congregation to do the same. His offense was that he could not place incense on the altar of a pagan temple and say "Caesar is Lord" without denying Christ. Neither could his fellow Christians. Most New Testament scholars think that the apocalypse of John was written about 90 A.D. during the reign of the Emperor Domitian. He was the first Roman emperor to demand that he should be addressed as Lord or Kurios, during his lifetime. So far as the Romans were concerned, this was only a political device to unite the far-flung empire under one visible manifestation of the divine in the person of the emperor. For pagan Romans this demand was no problem, since they already worshipped a multiplicity of gods. For Christians it was an impossible demand, because it involved giving that degree of allegiance to the nation-state which belongs properly only to the God of all nations.

The Christian pastor of the apocalypse of John saw his own civil disobedience as well as that which he sought to encourage in his parishioners, as rooted in obedience to the glorified and exalted Christ—his eyes a flame of fire, his feet like burnished bronze, his voice like the sound of many waters (Revelation 1:12-16).

How much this Christian pastor's civil disobedience may have been influenced by a type of civil disobedience which Jesus himself engaged in during his life and ministry, we have no way of knowing. Yet surely the triumphal entry into Jerusalem may at least be regarded as a public demonstration in which Jesus intended to present his claim to be the Messiah in a way that left no room for doubt as to the kind of Messiah he intended to be. Those claims could not be regarded as other than heretical by the Jews and as seditious by the Romans. Yet to Jesus himself the triumphal entry was undertaken in obedience to a higher will than that of either the Jewish Sanhedrin or the Roman government.

Unfortunately, the eschatological vision of a coming future kingdom of perfection by which all present kingdoms are judged, a vision which had served so well as a bulwark against the exaggerated claims of the state upon its subjects during the Old Testament and early Christian periods, soon began to grow dim after the time of Constantine the Great. For nearly three centuries the church was persecuted by the Roman Empire, but after Constantine made Christianity the established religion of the Empire, it became the religion of the status quo, much as polytheism had been prior to the exodus. The church lost interest in eschatology as that dimension of her faith which is necessary

to prevent all present kingdoms from becoming demonic and idolatrous, and became more interested in the establishment of herself as the institution through which God works here and now. Paul, in Romans chapter thirteen, supplied the church with a passage of Scripture which has been used many times since to place divine approval on the demands of the state, however dubious these may seem to be in the light of the Christian Gospel. It is highly doubtful that Paul intended this passage to be so used, but once it was let loose in the world, men could and did use it for their own perverted ends. And in any case, those who wish to have a balanced view of the New Testament view of the state should remember that the New Testament also contains Revelation thirteen!

Once this passage from Paul was linked to Augustine's philosophy of history in the *City of God*, the church completely lost sight of eschatology and its basic insight as "openness to God's new action in the future." For Augustine sees God as ruling the church here and now through the hierarchy.

The late Paul Tillich states in his *History of Christian Thought* that the greatness of Augustine was that he saw Christ as ruling the church now, in the present time. These are the thousand years and there is no future stage of history beyond the one in which we are now living. The Kingdom of God rules now, through the hierarchy and the chiliasts; those who look for a thousand year reign of Christ on earth at the end of history are wrong.[11]

This, as Tillich correctly points out, is a departure from both those earlier and later sects in the church which saw history unfolding, as in the case of Joachim of Flora, in a threefold stage, modeled on the doctrine of the trinity. In Joachim's scheme the third age was to be the age of the Holy Spirit. And while we may smile at his dating of this age as beginning about 1240 A.D., at least as Carl E. Braaten reminds us, he did look for some radically new structures to appear during this last and final age of the Spirit, rather than a simple return to the good old days through the preservation of the status quo. As Tillich states, it was the abandonment of the eschatological dimension of the church's faith that brought to light the tension between the revolutionary attempts of the sectarian movements and the conservatism of Augustine's philosophy of history.[12]

Such was to remain the stance of the established church not only in relation to the church, but also in relation to the state up to and including the sixteenth century Protestant Reformation, with the notable exception of the Radical wing of that movement. Somehow or other the Radical Reformers were able to break with the Constantinian pattern of church-state relationships, while the Magisterial Reformers, as Dr. George H. Williams calls them, were not able to do so. Perhaps one reason for this breakthrough was that the Radicals rediscovered the eschatological dimension of the biblical faith. To be sure, it was sometimes distorted with fantastic interpretations of apocalyptic literature, visions, and dreams, but at least eschatology was a vital part of the Anabaptist vision.

It is, I think, highly significant that in our own era, at the same time that the biblical theologians are discovering that eschatology was at the center of Jesus' teaching, rather than on the edge, the young and promising theologians are beginning to see the importance of eschatology for a theology that will be adequate for this revolutionary period in which we live. Carl E. Braaten makes the attempt to begin theology with eschatology in his recent book, *The Future of God*. He examines just what has happened to the church as it has tried to construct a theology of the state without an eschatology. What Braaten finds, through careful historical analysis, is that from Augustine to Luther, and from Luther to the present time, the church has had one long and weary record of blessing, in the name of Christ, some of the worst evils in society. For example, Augustine himself declared human slavery to be within the divine intention. The same was true of the Southern white clergy during our own civil war. In other words, when we look at the church as she has constructed theology without eschatology, there is some justification for the Communist criticism of religion as the opiate of the people. A theology that takes eschatology seriously, on the other hand, has a firm base from which to attack those structures in society that are unjust and tend to destroy the true personhood of those who suffer from these injustices. This is the point at which our current stress on law and order in the absence of an equal stress on social justice, again becomes a feature of the religion of the status quo. The law and order people understandably abhor violence. Do they remember how much violence is sometimes done to human beings by the maintenance of a law and order that is simply the preservation of an unjust status quo?

In his book, *The Future of God*, Braaten notes the results of a study conference held at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1966, on the theme "Christians in the Social and Technical Revolutions of our Time." He states categorically that the theological contributions to that conference were almost nonexistent, and those that were made were unsatisfactory from the point of view of those delegates who had come to the conference from the so-called Third World, i.e., from Asian, African, and South American countries. Let us, however, allow Braaten to speak for himself.

This is not surprising when we consider that for centuries theologians have been producing systems in which the virtues of harmony, order, and stability have been stressed. The people from Africa, Asia and South America were hoping to hear from the theolo-

gians a theology of revolution which could equip them for the revolutionary struggles in their own lands.[13]

The word revolutionary here should be understood as a synonym for change. All who know of the social conditions within these countries where wealth is the privilege of the few and poverty the plight of the many, know that these conditions cry out for change. Yet here, too, and especially in South America, the church has most often spoken out on the side of privilege, or for preservation of the status quo. Dr. Braaten quotes Harvev Cox with approval when he states that "we are living in a revolutionary period without a theology of revolution. The development of such a theology should be the first item on the theological agenda today. . . ."[11]

We Mennonites who have been for too long a time *die Stillen im Lande* will have difficulty with the concept of a theology of revolution. We will be inclined to regard this very term as being completely unbiblical. Braaten, however, would define a theology of revolution "as the politics of eschatological hope in society. In order to practice Christian hope for the world, we must reflect on whether or how God may be active in revolutionary situations."[15]

We have been accustomed to thinking of God as present only where there is harmony and order. But the truth is that the creating, renewing and redeeming God cannot leave anything as it now is. This brings us back to the eschatological vision of the Hebrew prophets as openness to God's new action in the future. Perhaps there, as well as in the eschatology of the apocalypse of John, and in the rediscovery of eschatology of sixteenth century Radical Reformers and the present-day theologians, who again take this dimension of the biblical faith seriously, there is a basis for a theology of revolution understood as change. When the established government is so firmly entrenched on the side of privilege that it resists all attempts at meaningful change, the question of whether Christians are obligated to obey such a government must at least remain an open one. Those who feel led under certain circumstances to engage in open acts of civil disobedience will show that they are not anarchists when they, like Jeremiah, do not seek to evade the consequences of those acts. Yet such acts may also be the opening wedge that will eventually bring about the reforms that are desperately needed.

Braaten contends, and I think rightly so, that one of the major reasons for the anti-Christian character of the modern revolutionary movement is that the church has too often betrayed the promises of the Gospel for the purpose of securing alliance with those who had privilege, power, and position. The result is that

the eschatological message of Christianity has been turned against the church. The modern conflict between western Christianity and Marxism may be a case of two heresies fighting each other. The driving force in Marxism is its secularized dynamic of the Bible. When the church loses this dynamic it becomes a conservative institution, forcing the present into the mold of the past, favoring those in the present who inherit the benefits of the past's unjust structures. A theology of revolution, will call the church to repentance, not in the individualistic terms it has piously cherished for its faithful, but in socially concrete term.[16]

What Braaten means to emphasize here is that the church must be interested in effecting changes in those structures within society which in their present form tend to destroy the individuals that the church seeks to save. He suggests that in a theology which would make eschatology its starting point, God

is not the supreme being presiding over a world whose end is but the restoration of the beginning. He is the God of history whose end is something new. The movement from Exodus to eschaton is not to regain paradise lost, to return to the good old days. The world is not a closed cosmos within which things recur cyclically; it is a project which is now under way toward a future goal. To reach that goal the world must be changed, transformed by the power of God's creative future. History moves forward to the kingdom of God. On the way, there are novelties, surprises, new starts, dead ends, tragedies, and glimmerings of fulfillment.[17]

Our survey of the biblical history here set forth, as well as our Anabaptist beginnings in the 16th century, seem to indicate plainly that there are times in the history of man when Christians can be obedient to the coming kingdom of God, only as they are civilly disobedient to their earthly rulers.

It should also be pointed out that in the heart of Braaten's proposal to begin theology with eschatology lies the conviction that Christ is Lord of both the church and the world, and within the two-kingdom system as developed by Luther, it was forgotten that the church has a message for the world as well as for itself.

FOOTNOTES

1. Harvey Cox. *The Secular City*. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1965, p. 23.
2. *The Holy Bible*, RSV, Joshua 24:2, 3.
3. G. Ernest Wright, "The Faith of Israel," *Interpreter's Bible*. Vol. I, Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1952. p. 358, Cols. A and B.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 350, Col. B.
5. Norman K. Gottwald. *All the Kingdoms of the Earth*. New York: Harper and Row, 1964, p. 13.
6. Harvey Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
7. Gerhard von Rad. *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. II. pp. 115-116.
8. Millar Burrows. *An Outline of Biblical Theology*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1946, pp. 58, 59.
9. *The Holy Bible*, RSV, Amos 3:2.
10. *Ibid.*, Daniel 3:17-18.
11. Paul Tillich. *A Complete History of Christian Thought*. Edited by Carl E. Braaten, New York: Harper and Row, 1968, p. 121.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
13. Carl E. Braaten. *The Future of God*. New York: Harper and Row, 1969, pp. 140-141.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 155-156.

A Case Study in Civil Disobedience: Pilgram Marbeck

By Alvin Beachy

MOST AMERICANS, SHOULD they be so alienated from the mainstream of society as to be in quest of a model for civil disobedience, would turn to Henry David Thoreau and his justly famous tract *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience.* Thoreau wrote this either during or after the Mexican Border War to which he objected so strongly that he refused to pay his war tax, and for this refusal he was imprisoned.

Whether or not the account of Ralph Waldo Emerson's visit to Thoreau during his imprisonment is fact or fiction, I do not know. I do know, however, that the reply he is said to have given to Emerson when the learned divine inquired, "May I ask sir, why are you in prison?" fits in well with the views that are put forth by Thoreau in *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience.* For the popular story is that Thoreau replied, "May I ask, sir, why are you *not* in prison!" From his point of view, prison was the only place for one to be who wished to behave as a man toward the American government of his time. Thoreau maintains that that government is best which governs least, but he would like to add that that government is best which governs not at all. The reason for this rather startling statement is that Thoreau had become aware that a standing government, like a standing army, "can be used by a comparatively few individuals as their tool in an enterprise which at the outset the people would not have consented to in this measure."[1] We have only to remind ourselves of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, and all that has followed in its wake, to know how accurate Thoreau's analysis was at that point! A further concern of Thoreau's was his awareness that government by majority rule cannot be based on justice, and his conviction that at the same time there is a dreadful lack of justice "when men do not listen to their moral sense."[2] In that situation Thoreau asks, "How does it become a man to behave toward this American Government today?" And he answers thus. "I answer that he cannot without disgrace be associated with it. I cannot for an instant, recognize that political organization as my government, which is the slave's government also"[3] Thoreau maintains further that under a government which imprisons unjustly, the true place for a just man is in prison.

It would seem that the spiritual resources for Thoreau's civil disobedience are rooted in an enlightened humanism. At least he makes it clear in the tract that he is not a member of the church and does not wish to be taxed for the support of an organization which he has not joined on a voluntary basis. This is not to disparage Thoreau's contribution in the whole area of civil disobedience; and I have no wish whatever to topple him from that pedestal which he has so long occupied.

However, for those among us whose spiritual roots are in the Anabaptist movement of the 16th Century, there is another and an earlier model or case study in civil disobedience that we ought to know more about. Hopefully, those whose roots are not in this tradition would benefit by learning something about him as well. His name was Pilgram Marbeck, or Marpeck. His life contains, after he became an Anabaptist, instance after instance of examples of civil disobedience.

Marbeck and Thoreau are separated not only by the centuries, however, but also by what motivated their actions. Thoreau, as we have noted, acted out of a commitment to an enlightened humanism, and let me say again that I neither despise nor discourage commitment on that level. In an age of mass conform-

ity, I welcome anything that will help us to be less like a nation of sheep. Yet, I believe that we find in Marbeck a more enduring basis for civil disobedience than we find in Thoreau. For he acted on the basis of a commitment of what it means to be an obedient disciple of Jesus Christ in this world, and was, therefore, perhaps more free from the shifting winds of political fortune than Thoreau could have been, since his position was theologically rather than politically based. I hope this is not simply the bias of a theologian showing through, but if it is, then perhaps that bias also enables one to see some issues more clearly than those who are minus this particular bias could see them.

The family of Marbeck had been prominent in the Inn Valley of Austria and the city of Rattenberg for nearly a century before his time. His father had been first a judge and then mayor of the city. The date of Pilgram's birth is unknown. Since it is known that he was married and had one daughter of his own by 1520, and that by February 26th of that year he had united with the miner's brotherhood in Rattenberg, we may assume that he was born somewhere between 1490 and 1495. He came from a devout Roman Catholic family and received a good education in the Latin school, as well as some later technical training in the field of what we today would call civil engineering. It was this latter training which qualified Marbeck for his appointment as judge or superintendent of mines in Kutzbühl, in the Austrian Tirol, an area which remains to this day a source for the mining of copper ore. As superintendent of mines, Marbeck had charge also of the wood and timber cutting in the area. That the position was one which involved far ranging responsibilities is revealed by the following quotation:

> The mining director in Austrian areas as well as in other lands, is the official who is commissioned within certain limits to administer the laws of the local regent. Accordingly he has to lease new mining strips or pits, to settle legal controversies related to the personal affairs of the people working in the mining and smelting locations, with the adoption of criminal law, which the local regent alone can settle. Further he must supervise the adherence to the mining code and collect the revenues to the mining royalty for the royal treasury and keep a record of that as well as of the loans and judgments, as well as of the royalties, keeping an exact record of all through the services of an accountant. A beadle of his own assists him in this.[1]

Marbeck received this appointment on February 20, 1525. Prior to this he had opportunity to show himself as a reliable and responsible person, first as a member of the outer council of the town of Rattenberg, to which office he was appointed as early as February 11, 1523. After his appointment as superintendent of mines, he was also appointed, on June 11, 1525, as a member of the inner town council.

At the same time that Marbeck held this position, his father was apparently the mayor of the city. As a result of this relationship, Marbeck was sent on a mission which probably became the turning point in his life. Austria was at the time strongly Catholic. It was at the instigation of the Austrian Catholic authorities that Balthasar Hubmaier and Michael Sattler received their cruel death sentences as Anabaptists. The authorities were also on guard against anything that smacked of Lutheranism as well. Because of this, the learned Augustinian Monk, Stephan Agricola, who had been at least four years a resident monk at the monastery in Rattenberg, was imprisoned by Cardinal Mattheus Lang on the suspicion that he was spreading Lutheran heresy in Catholic Austria. Agricola's chief offense seems to have been that he had preached from all the books of Holy Scripture, rather than confining himself to the ancient pericope of the church. Pilgram was sent to visit Agricola in prison at Mühldorf, and then to plead with Cardinal Lang for his release.

The visit left a deep impression on Marbeck, if this was indeed his only contact with Lutheran ideas for the traces of this influence can be seen in his theology for the rest of his life.

Meanwhile, the economic affairs of Marbeck had prospered so that he was able to own two houses. His generous spirit was revealed in the fact that he and his wife took three orphaned children into their home to care for them as well as their own daughter.

These days of prosperity were soon to be exchanged for a type of life-long persecution. For Marbeck had somewhere come into contact with the soon-to-be-outlawed Anabaptist movement. No one knows for sure when or where this contact was made. However, it is known that an Anabaptist, Loenard Schiemer, was executed by the sword in the Austrian Tirol in February of 1527. What is also known is that Marbeck, who had been disappointed in the fleshy freedom which he said he found in the places where the Lutheran gospel had penetrated, found the Anabaptists increasingly attractive. Meanwhile, however, the Catholic civil authorities were more and more determined to ferret them out and destroy them.

The services of Marbeck in his position as superintendent of mines were sought in apprehending these heretics. Marbeck politely but firmly declined to assist the civil authorities in their attempt to root out and destroy the heresy. As a result of this refusal, he was relieved of his position on January 28, 1528, and his property was confiscated to pay for the care of the three orphans to whom he had given shelter. His own daughter was apparently to receive a part of the proceeds of the sale of the property which was valued at 3500 guilders. The city eventually bought it for 400, and it is doubtful whether the daughter received anything at all from the sale.

Marbeck and his wife deemed it wise to leave the city of Rattenberg and look for employment elsewhere. Had it not been for the fact that Marbeck's family

was well established and highly respected in the city, he would probably have been dealt with even more sternly. And had the authorities suspected that he was an Anabaptist, in addition to being sympathetic with them, he would surely have lost his head.

It is not altogether clear where Marbeck went right after he left Rattenberg, but in October 1528 the records list him as being a citizen of Strassburg. Here he was soon the undisputed leader of the Anabaptists in the city as a civil engineer and helped it to overcome an acute wood shortage with a system of dams and flukes which enabled him to cut wood from the Black Forest and float it into the city. While the city fathers found the newcomer an extremely valuable asset, the church fathers, Wolfgang Capito and Martin Bucer, found him exceedingly annoying. Marbeck was not willing to accept their word as the last authority. He argued with them about infant baptism and requested a public disputation on the issue which was not granted him. He, Marbeck, maintained that the ministers of the church in Strassburg did not preach freely under the cross of Christ, since they received their salary from the city, or the civil authority. At last the church fathers, annoyed by the upstart whom they could not silence, prevailed upon the city council to banish Marbeck. This was done with great reluctance, for his services to the industrial life of the city were great. The expulsion notice shows this, for it states that Marbeck may gladly remain if he stops his preaching and his agitation about infant baptism and the founding of a separatist church. If not, then he must leave the city or promise never to return to it. Capito and Bucer apparently did not understand that given Marbeck's presuppositions, complying with these conditions would have meant apostasy for him.

The discussion between Marbeck and Martin Bucer, from which this decision by the city council derived, took place on December 19, 1531. Marbeck agreed to leave, since he said that he had always taught that it was the duty of the Christian to obey the civil authorities in those matters which they had been ordained of God to oversee. He could not, however, promise that he would never under any circumstances return, since he did not know whether the Holy Spirit might not at some future time drive him to return to Strassburg. If this should be the case, Marbeck announced in a letter written to the council before his departure on January 12, 1532, he would return and accept without complaint whatever penalty was meted out to him.[5]

In this letter one finds the key to Marbeck's theory of civil disobedience. The civil government is ordained of God, but it is not, under every circumstance, to be obeyed by the disciple of Christ without question. For the civil government may at times overstep the boundaries of its divinely ordained function. When that happens, the disciple of Christ has no choice except that of civil disobedience. But it is an action that flows from the desire to be fully obedient to Christ in life, and if need be, even in death.

Marbeck's own experience of suffering for his faith, as well as the martyr deaths of others which he witnessed, colored his theology of the church. The church is Christ's suffering body on earth, and to enter the church is to enter willingly into whatever suffering the faithful disciple of Christ will meet along the way. The disciple who finds it necessary to engage in civil disobedience shows that he is not an anarchist by the voluntary acceptance of his suffering. Or, in other words, he accepts, without complaint, the consequences of his civil disobedience.

It is a mark of the measure of the maturity of Marbeck that he could see the legitimate place and function of the civil government even when he was persecuted by it. In his long and sometimes acrimonious dispute with Schwenckfeld, he replied to Schwenckfeld's accusation that he, Marbeck, did not think the civil government was ordained of God. Marbeck said, "We praise and thank God for it, and we also pray for it."[6]

Until rather recently it was not known where Marbeck went after he left Strassburg in the winter of 1532, except for a brief interval in 1534 when he returned to the city, but was again forced to flee. What has revealed the whereabouts of Marbeck during the years 1532 to 1544, except for that brief return to Strassburg in 1534, is the discovery of the *Kunstbuch.* It is a collection of forty-two letters, dating from 1527 to 1555. Most of these letters were written by Marbeck to Anabaptist groups in Strassburg, Württemberg, Appenzell, St. Gall, Grissons, and Moravia. Marbeck apparently traveled widely during these years in an effort to unite these scattered Anabaptist groups into one church.[7] Jan Kiwiet is of the opinion that the *Kunstbuch* reveals Marbeck as the leader of a South German Anabaptist movement that was theologically independent of and different from the Swiss Anabaptist movement. While Hans Denck is seen as the founder of this movement, Marbeck is seen as the conserver of it.[8]

By 1544 Marbeck was employed by the city of Augsburg in a position similar to the one he had earlier held in Strassburg. He held this position until the time of his death in 1556. Though warned repeatedly by the city council to cease and disist his Anabaptist activities, the *Kunstbuch* reveals that he did not heed these warnings. The letters are concerned with such matters as the unity of the church, the meaning of the Lord's Supper, the humanity of Christ, and the proper use of the ban. Marbeck not only wrote to these scattered groups to encourage them, but appears to have traveled widely in order to visit them, even while he remained in the employ of the city council which had warned him on more than one occasion to end his Anabaptist activities or be gone. He probably got by with his activities only because he now no longer chal-

lenged the established church openly as he had done in Strassburg; and also because the city found his services valuable. That the council was suspicious even so, is revealed by the fact that little more than a year before his death the council ordered an investigation of Marbeck with the stipulation that if he be found guilty of Anabaptist activity, he should be told to go and spend his penny elsewhere.

What they would have done had they known of the correspondence in the *Kunstbuch,* as well as the two major works, the *Verantwortung* and the *Testamenterläuterung,* both written during the Augsburg years, is not hard to imagine. It is not likely that he would have been granted the liberty of dying peacefully in his own bed!

Marbeck's life, after he became an Anabaptist, represents one of the longest records of civil disobedience within the sixteenth century. From the time he left Rattenberg in January of 1528, because he could not in good conscience assist the civil authorities in the identification of Anabaptist heretics, to 1532, when he was expelled from Strassburg because he could not promise that he would no longer minister to them; to the time of his residence in Augsburg, 1544-1556, when he carried on an active Anabaptist ministry in secret, Marbeck was engaged in civil disobedience of one degree or another. It was never reckless or revolutionary in that it sought the overthrow of the government by violence. It was, however, consistent in that Marbeck steadfastly maintained that the government was not ordained of God to rule in matters of faith. Rather, its proper function was to protect the good and punish the wicked, as well as to care for the widow and the orphan. It was only when the government overstepped these divinely ordained functions that the disciple of Christ, acting in full obedience to his Lord, was by that obedience required to engage in civil disobedience.

FOOTNOTES

1. Henry David Thoreau, *Walden and Civil Disobedience.* New York: Harper and Row, p 251.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 253.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
4. William Klassen, *Covenant and Community—The Life, Writings and Hermeneutics of Pilgram Marpeck.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Erdmans, 1968, pp. 24-25.
5. Alvin J. Beachy, *The Concept of Grace in the Radical Reformation.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard Divinity School, 1960, p. 301. The information in the quotation is based on Marbeck's *Verantwortung,* pp. 325-326, as well as on his letter to the Strassburg city council.
6. Pilgram Marbeck, *Pilgram Marbeck's Antwort auf Kaspar Schwenckfelds Beurteilung des Buches der Bundesbezeugung von 1542.* Vienna, 1929, p. 326.
7. Heinold Fast, "Pilgram Marbeck und das Oberdeutsche Taeufertum," *Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte.* Vol. 47, 2, 1956, pp. 238-242.
8. Jan J. Kiwiet, Pilgram Marbeck, *Ein Fuehrer der Taeuferbewegung im sueddeutschen Raum.* Kassel: J. G. Oncken Verlag, pp. 40-81.

The Quiet Revolution: Menno Simons

By William Keeney

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY was a time of tumultuous change. The social, economic, political, and religious fabric was becoming unraveled and many attempts were made to reweave it. Those who benefitted from the status quo were attempting to prevent change. They were fearful of it and invoked all the powers at their command to stop those who would encourage, hasten, and take advantage of the change.

Others saw the processes of change working to their advantage and sought to use it. With them, however, were many who had positions of privilege within the old order but who saw the injustices, the failures, and iniquities of it. They were moved by compassion and a sense of righteousness to try to direct the change to bring in a new and better order.

As indicated in the lecture on "Conditions for a Revolutionary Century," the responses were varied and ranged over a wide spectrum. Three differing but related movements will show some of the range of reaction. The similarities and contrasts may help to illuminate the methods of revolutionary change and some of the dangers and possibilities in these approaches to revolution.

Melchior Hoffman, the Peaceful Chiliast

The father of Dutch Anabaptism was Melchior Hofmann. He is an intriguing but tragic character. He was originally a furrier who moved successively from Catholicism to Lutheranism to Anabaptism. He apparently had no formal theological education, and not much otherwise, but was a creative and dynamic personality.

His interests were particularly drawn to the apocalyptic section of the Bible as he tried to envision how society might be reordered. He also became enamored with dreams and visions as means of determining the course of events. His lack of formal training may account for this tendency to be interested in the sensational.

He became an evangelical preacher and must have picked up his Anabaptist convictions in Strassburg where he went after being rejected and expelled from Denmark as no longer acceptable to the Lutherans. He traveled north again from Strassburg to Emden and held meetings where many were converted by his preaching. From Emden leaders traveled to the Netherlands to spread the movement.

He returned to Strassburg where he believed that God would soon institute his kingdom. Hofmann believed that the kingdom would come as an earthly city set up by the direct act of God. The faithful were to gather and await its coming. The kingdom would bring in the ideal state of human existence for those who were prepared to receive it by entrance into the covenant.

Hofmann was a peaceful man. He did not want bloodshed and tumult. He advised his followers to withhold baptism and tried to forestall open conflict with the authorities when they appeared ready to persecute those who followed him. This aversion to bloodshed was not due to any lack of courage or faith on the part of Hofmann. He presented himself to the authorities in Strassburg and allowed himself to be imprisoned. He even rejoiced at his arrest and took it as a sign of the impending coming of the kingdom. Though he remained in prison until his death about ten years later, the last clear evidence we have from him points to his continued hope despite delay in fulfillment of his expectations.[1]

The Muensterites, Revolutionary Chiliasm

The followers of Hofmann were thrown into some disarray and confusion by his proposal to suspend baptism and his actions in allowing himself to be put in prison. In Amsterdam a leader arose who persuaded the majority to follow a new course. Jan Matthijsz, a baker from Haarlem, assumed leadership and proceeded to take a more active course. He first sent out emissaries who resumed baptism.

The emissaries returned with reports of developments at Münster in Northwestern Germany. A reform under the leadership of Bernhard Rothmann was gaining a large following and he was receptive to Anabaptist ideas. The reports led Jan Matthijsz to believe that Strassburg was not the place for the coming of the kingdom but Münster. He also developed the notion that the kingdom would not come initially by the direct act of God. Instead the faithful should set up the place where the kingdom would then come.

The Münsterite Anabaptists committed themselves to a militant revolutionary movement. They thought that divine aid would assure them of a victory and out of victory could come the new kingdom of God which would endure for a thousand years. They are called Chiliasts from the Greek word for a thousand.

Once committed to the way of violence and force to set up the kingdom, certain necessary consequences followed. Their force was met by a counter force on the part of the bishop of Münster. He laid seige to the city. The severity of the seige caused the Münsterites to take certain other actions and step by step the initial commitment to militant revolution took them down the road to disaster.

Jan Matthijsz was butchered in a foray against the bishop's army. He expected to be a Gideon who with a small force would disperse the larger forces. He was captured and his body delivered before the gates of the city in a basket.

Jan van Leiden succeeded him. Jan van Leiden tried to carry forward the program but seems to have had less spiritual perception than his predecessor. He tried to introduce certain practices which had some biblical basis and were responses to the difficulties of the siege, such as a sharing of goods in common and polygamy to assure care for the excess of women over men as the battles continued. The practices could and probably did have some genuine spiritual concerns to support them.[2] The evidence as to what actually took place is often from opponents who put the worst possible construction on the activities to justify their slaughter of the Münsterites. Nevertheless, it does seem that some of the revolutionaries in Münster confused the new order with fulfillment of their sensual appetites, and excesses did occur.

The Münsterites were defeated and were slaughtered in savage fashion. Jan van Leiden and two other leaders were captured. Jan admitted to error before he was executed. His confession and the excesses which were exaggerated and misconstrued were used to discredit the Münsterites and with them all others who espoused any radical beliefs or practices at all similar to theirs.

The Münsterites had lofty and noble ideals. Certainly men such as Bernhard Rothmann had had great visions of what might be accomplished in a new society, the eschatological kingdom where God's will would be fully manifest. The attempt to establish the kingdom by revolutionary force and violence not only led to eventual military defeat and destruction, but also undermined Münsterites from within. Others who were Anabaptists and who also wanted to institute a radical reformation by other means had to carry the burden of the Münsterite failure when facing those who would maintain the status quo or who wanted a less radical reform.

Menno Simons, the Quiet Revolutionary

The Münsterites were not the only Anabaptists in the Netherlands after Hofmann started the movement and then left it. Jacob van Campen is a semi-tragic figure who remained as the leader in Amsterdam after Jan Matthijsz left for Münster. He refused to go to Münster and did not approve of the militant revolutionary tactics in Münster. He also refused to participate in an attack on Amsterdam when a group of Münsterites thought the city was ripe for revolt and would become a second Münsterite kingdom. The attack ended in disaster also.

The thirty-year-old former sheep herder, Jacob van Campen, was captured in his cabbage cellar where he was in hiding before he had made good a planned escape. He had already traveled to Emden to arrange for shipment of his goods. Indications are that he planned to go to Königsberg, East Prussia.[3] He was executed still steadfast in his faith. He continued to expect a physical kingdom to be set up by the direct act of God. He waited for a clear sign of the coming of that kingdom, and thus refused to take up arms to establish it though otherwise he held views more in common with the Münsterites than with other Anabaptists who chose another course.

Two brothers from Leeuwarden, Dirk and Obbe, sons of a priest named Philip, followed another way to Reformation which they believed to be more biblical. Obbe was very early disillusioned with Hofmann's prophecies, on the basis of dreams and visions. Events did not prove them to be accurate. Dirk probably had a better grounding in theology than did Hofmann or Jan Matthijsz and most of his colleagues in Amsterdam. He probably was associated with the Franciscans in Leeuwarden and would have received training from them.[4]

Obbe and Dirk gave leadership to a group who from the beginning believed that the revolution should be peaceful, that the Chrisitan should not engage in tumult, militant rebellion and armed revolt. They were soon joined by Menno Simons. He had a long period of growing dissatisfaction with the status quo. The Dutch had a movement generally known as the Sacramentarians which was dissatisfied with the Roman Catholic practices with regard to the Lord's Supper. They generally espoused a popular piety encouraged by early Dutch mystics. They were never captured by Lutheranism but tended rather to become Anabaptists. It was probably that group which first aroused Menno's interest in reform. Luther helped Menno find a base of authority in the Scriptures from which he could criticize current practices.

Interestingly enough it was this very principle of scriptural authority which also led him to reject the Lutheran position on infant baptism when one of Hofmann's leaders from Emden raised the issue for Menno. Menno was attracted to the Anabaptists, but early rejected the Münsterites. He went off on his own when he could no longer stay in the Catholic Church but could not agree with a militant revolution. Obbe and Dirk sought him out and persuaded him to join them. He eventually assumed the primary leadership when Obbe became even more disillusioned not only with the Münsterites and Hofmann but also with the whole attempt to institutionalize the religious revolution, whether it was militant or peaceful. It is likely that he chose to become an individualistic mystic or pietist and lost practically all influence as far as is known.

Principles for a Quiet Revolution

Menno, Dirk, and their group wanted a drastic change. What they sought was a revolutionary departure from the prevailing society. They rejected the chiliastic notions of the Münsterites since they did not expect that the kingdom would be set up as a political entity either by the direct intervention of God or by the militant action of the Christians. They did believe that a new and better society was intended by God and history's end or goal was to be in fulfillment of that intention.

In history they were called to live as fully as possible according to the principle of that kingdom and to demonstrate their citizenship in it both in their personal and their group life.

Believers' baptism became the primary test of identity for the quiet Anabaptist revolution. It symbolized the personal revolution which was necessary for the new society. To become truly human, a man had to abandon himself to Christ. Only in radical discipleship, only in a total commitment to a new style of life could the freedom be found to break with the old ways and bring in a true revolution. Men had to find a new identity. The way to it was not by self-assertion as so often is proposed. That way led to the search for power and did not bring any true revolution. It sought only the shifting of power from one person to another, from one group to another. The mere shifting or transferring of power may appear to be a change, but it is illusory for it only calls for a realignment of power and not a shattering or breaking of the pattern. As long as the power is not shattered and broken the society will again settle down to injustice and oppression, perhaps with a new set of oppressed and oppressors.

The second principle of the revolution was the voluntary gathering of the new humanity, the new creature in Christ into a new community, the church. The old society was based on the principle of coercion and restraint. External compulsion was exercised to hold the society together and keep it functioning. It could only operate so as to restrain some of the evil and minimize its effects. Since this order worked on a

principle of external force but still basically on self-interest it was doomed to lapse into failure. The failures would come because of the disorders of competing wills and the tyrannous use of order for the self-interest of those who could exercise power.

A community drawn together by a mutual abandoning of self to Christ and the internal discipline of a voluntarily accepted discipleship would have a new basis for existence. It would not be held together by the external compulsions of force, ultimately symbolized by the sword in their day, but by the threat of mutual nuclear annihilation in ours. Instead the society would be held together by the bonds of love, a mutual concern for the welfare of each for the other.

The Dutch Anabaptists, no doubt influenced by the failure at Münster, never went the way of religious communism as practiced by the Hutterites. They did, however, propose a radical change of attitude toward property and goods. Within the community the concern for each other's welfare was not to be simply spiritual, though that was central to their interest. It was to include the material as well. To help a brother who was in need when you had the means to do so was as true a celebration of the Lord's Supper as taking the bread and wine. Indeed you condemned yourself if you symbolized the partaking of the new nature in Christ by the use of the bread and wine but denied it in deed when faced with a brother in need.

The eschatalogical dimension of the revolution was essential when the new creature and the new society related to the world which had not yet undergone revolution. The faith that the Christian is part of the real movement of history regardless of the apparent contradiction when persecution and martyrdom occurred enabled the Anabaptists to use radically different means from those used by the world. To use the ways of the world would deny the revolution and defeat it. To practice the ways of the new society was to win even though apparently defeated. This is the principle symbolized in crucifixion and resurrection.

Thus the Anabaptists could rejoice in martyrdom even when they shrank back from its physical pain and the disruption of ties with loved ones. They steadfastly refused to choose wrong means to seek good ends. One fifteen year old youth, Jacques Dosie, was taunted with the accusations that he did not take the sword only because he was not in a position to do so. The following dialogue is reported between him and a group of nobles and ladies of Friesland:

The lady asked him: "Do you not belong to the people who rebaptize themselves, perpetuate so much evil in our country, make rebellion, run together, and say that they are dispersed on account of the faith, and boast of being the church of God, although they are a wicked set, and cause great commotions among the people?"
Jacques. "My lady, I do not know any rebellious people, nor am I one of their number; but we would much rather, according to the teachings of the Scriptures, assist also our enemies, satisfy them, if they hunger and thirst, with food and drink, and resist them in no wise with revenge or violence." Rom. 12:20, Matt. 5:39.
Another said: "It would be seen, if you only had the power."
Jacques replied: "Oh, no my lady, believe, if it were permitted among us, to resist the evil with the carnal sword, know, that no seven men should have brought me here, [This may be some of the exaggerated exuberance of youth!] and I should have kept out of your hands, for there would have been power to do it."
Lady. "I know there are many sects, who are very wicked and kill the people, and also have their goods and wives in common."
Jacques. "Oh, no, my lady, we are quite unjustly charged with these wicked things, and occasion is thereby sought, to persecute us; but we must suffer and endure all this with patience." Matt. 5:11; Acts 21:38; II Tim. 2:3.
Lady. "Was it not your people, who with great dishonor took up arms against the government at Amsterdam and Münster?"
Jacques. "Oh, no, my lady; for those people erred greatly; but we regard it as a doctrine of the devil, to seek to resist the authorities with the external sword and violence, and would much rather suffer persecution and death from them, together with everything that is inflicted upon us." Rom. 13:1; I Pet. 2:13; Tit. 3:1.[5]

Menno believed that such a revolution was not intended merely for a church withdrawn and isolated from society. He witnessed to it as God's intention for all society. He protested to the magistrates against the injustices in the society and called for magistrates to rectify them.[6]

It was difficult for Menno to conceive of a Christian being a ruler because the state operates on a principle which assumes the power of the sword as its ultimate sanction. Nevertheless, he did not believe that any double standard existed whereby a Christian could operate by one principle as a Chrisitan and another as a ruler.

That the office of the magistrate is of God and His ordinance I freely grant. But him who is a Christian and wants to be one and then does not follow his Prince, Head and Leader Christ, but covers and clothes his righteousness, wickedness, pomp and pride, avarice, plunder, and tyranny with the name of magistrate, I hate. For he who is a Christian must follow the Spirit, Word and example of Christ, no matter whether he be emperor, king, or whatever he be.[7]

To call men to exercise even the offices of government in such a manner would effect a revolution, not by the force of arms but by the sheathing of the sword, a quiet revolution. While Menno accepted the possibility that a magistrate could be a Christian, he would not politicize the new order in a secular fashion.

Menno and his colleagues were radical and revolutionary in their dissociation of the church as the new order separated from the state. The Radical Reformation receives the name in part because of its departure from what G. H. Williams calls the Magisterial Reformation.[8] The Magisterial Reformation tried to find some means whereby the Christians could continue to operate in the state on its political assumptions about the nature and exercise of power. The Radical Reformation tended to withdraw from government. When it did seek in some way to penetrate and redeem the political order, it sought to do so on radically new grounds. Menno indicates this differing basis as follows:

Neither boast that you can compel lords, princes, cities, and countries, but boast in this the rather if so be you subdue your earthly mind, and can overcome carnal temptations in the power of faith, and die to ungodliness, triumph through Christ and with all the pious soldiers of God, take the kingdom of honor and receive the promised crown at the hand of the Lord. For if you are such kings, then you are not only kings according to the flesh, but also according to the spirit: those who love the Prince of all kings, who are cleansed of sin by His blood, and have been made to be kings and priests of God His Father, to reign with all the children of God, conquer the world, flesh, blood, sin, death, devil, false doctrine, and all the gates of hell. They rejoice not because their names are enrolled in the registers of the kings of the world; but in the book of life which is in heaven.[9]

Menno and his followers also contributed to the de-sacralization of the state. They would not accept the rulers as having absolute authority. The authority of the state was always limited by the higher authority of God. Therefore a disciple should never give absolute and unquestioning allegiance to any ruler. The Anabaptist martyrs again and again affirmed the principle. Jacques d'Auchy said, "If I have transgressed the king's command, it is a small matter, since I have fulfilled the command of that king who is the true God and eternal king."[10] Even more explicit was the testimony of Hans van Overdam at Ghent in 1550 as evidenced by the following exchange:

Councilor: "You have held meetings of this new doctrine, and the Emperor has commanded that this should not be done."

Hans: "God has not authorized him to make such commandments; in this he transcends the power which God has given him, and in this we do not recognize his supremacy; for the salvation of our souls concerns us more; so that we show obedience to God."[11]

The quiet revolution proclaimed and witnessed to by Menno and his followers had a power which transformed lives. Even the opponents and persecutors attested to that fact, often in exasperation. Some accused them of using a pious life as a guise to win followers after which they would disclose their true nature and produce rebellion, corruption, and wickedness. Friar Cornelis, a Franciscan monk, is reported to have said the following to Jacob de Keersgieter:

Exactly; God has revealed it to the weavers at the loom, to the cobblers on their bench, and to bellow-menders, lantern-tinkers, scissors-grinders, broom-makers, thatchers, and all sorts of riff-raff, and poor, filthy, and lousy beggars. And to us ecclesiastics who have studied from our youth, night and day, He has concealed it. Just see how we are tormented. You Anabaptists are certainly fine fellows to understand the holy Scriptures; for before you are rebaptized, you can't tell A from B, but as soon as you are baptized, you can read and write. If the devil and his mother have not a hand in this, I do not understand anything about you people.[12]

Here is also evidence for what is indicated at many other places in the testimonies found in the *Martyrs Mirror*. The Anabaptists must have appealed to the alienated and powerless people of their day. Such people found acceptance and identity by abandoning themselves to Christ. They found a freedom to act and become fully human. They could find joy even in the prospect of a painful death. These "non-entities" described by Friar Cornelis found that they could become "somebodies" in Christ.

Today many are asserting that the oppressed and powerless minorities can only become human by taking power into their own hands and using it against those who discriminate against them. That may be one way to become a participating member of a world operating under the old ways. Those who become persons by the exercise of power in this way do not, however, become as fully human as they might. The very objectifying and using of other people so that a man may become a person detracts from his humanity.

The abandonment of self to Christ and then freely accepting the role of servant to the other is an alternative, revolutionary route to personhood as demonstrated by the Anabaptists. A man could become fully human, not by taking away from others in the self-assertion of his own power but in giving himself to others so that they might become fully human also. It also appeals to others to relinquish that which prevents them from being truly human.

Menno states this method as follows,

O beloved reader, our weapons are not swords and spears, but patience, silence, and hope, and the Word of God. With these we must maintain our heavy warfare and fight our battle. Paul says, The weapons of our warfare are not carnal; but mighty through God. With these we intend and desire to storm the kingdom of the devil; and not with swords, spears, cannon, and coats of mail.[13]

The way of radical discipleship and the community

of faith which lives in the world as a new society formed by the work of the Holy Spirit is revolutionary. The world sees itself unable to escape the necessities of violence and power struggles because it is unwilling to risk abandoning itself to the freedom of discipline and the mastery of servanthood. To such a world the quiet revolution is folly. Nevertheless, the quiet revolution of the sixteenth century undertaken by Menno and his colleagues may well be more instructive for our response to revolution today than many of the more popular responses offered then and still proposed now as the only "realistic option" in the struggle with power and the search for identity and self-fulfillment.

FOOTNOTES

1. This section and the following are developed in fuller detail with documentation in Chapter I of my unpublished S. T. M. thesis *Dirk Philips* (A Study of His Life and Writings and of His Teaching concerning the Church.). Submitted to the faculty of the Hartford Theological Seminary, May, 1957, pp. 1-40.

2. For a fair treatment of the Muensterites in English where many of the problems in this section are discussed in fuller detail, see Cornelius Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968, pp. 135-164. He follows closely the authoritative account by Carl Adolf Cornelius, the archivist from Muenster, *Geschichte des Muensterischen Aufruhrs*, Vols. I, II, Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, (1855, 1860), and recently published sources and studies.

3. Carl Adolf Cornelius. *Die niederlaendischen Wiedertaeufer waehrend der Belagerung Muensters*, Muenchen: Verlag der K. Akademie, 1869, pp. 49-51; Cornelius Krahn, *op. cit.*, p. 196B.

4. Much of the material in the following will be found in greater detail in my previously published studies. See "Dirk Philips' Life" and "The Writings of Dirk Philips", *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. XXXII, no. 3, 4, pp. 171-191, 298-303; *The Development of Dutch Anabaptist Thought and Practice from* 1539-1564, Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1968.

5. Thieleman J. van Braght, *The Bloody Theater or Martyr's Mirror of the Defenseless Christians*, 6th ed., tr. by Joseph F. Sohm. Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1951, p. 498B (hereafter referred to as *Mart. Mirr.*): Cf. Thieleman J. van Braght, *Het bloedig Tooneel, of Martelaers Spiegel der Doops-Gezinde of weerloose Christenen*, 2nd ed. Amsterdam: Hieronymus Swaerts, Jan ten Hoorn, Jan Bouman, en Daniel van Dalen, 1685, p. 101 (hereafter referred to as *Mart. Spieg.*)

6. Cf. Menno Simons, *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons, c. 1496-1561*. Tr. by Leonard Verduin; ed. by John Christian Wenger; Biography by Harold S. Bender. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1956, pp. 528, 206. (hereafter referred to as CWMS.); Menno Simons, *Opera Omnia Theologica, of alle Godtgeleerde Wercken*, ed. by J. Jz. Herrison, Amsterdam: Joannes van Veen, 1681, pp. 329A, 59. (hereafter referred to as *Opera*.)

7. CWMS, p. 922; Cf. *Opera*, p. 604.

8. Cf. *Spiritual and Anabaptists Writers*, ed. by George Huntston Williams and Angel M. Mergal. The Library of Christian Classics, vol. 25. Phila.: The Westminster Press, 1957, p. 21. Also George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962, p. xxiv.

9. CWMS, p. 206; Cf. *Opera*, p. 59.

10. *Mart. Mirr.*, p. 593; Cf. *Mart. Spieg.*, p. 214A.

11. *Mart. Mirr.*, p. 489A; Cf. *Mart. Spieg.*, p. 90B.

12. *Mart. Mirr.*, p. 775B; Cf. *Mart. Spieg.*, p. 426A.

13. CWMS, p. 555; Cf. *Opera*, p. 502B.

Mennonite Migrations as an Act of Protest

By Cornelius Krahn

The Church in Protest

The church was born in protest. In the days when the church was in its infancy, Peter told the high priest of the Jewish establishment, when he was proclaiming the glad tidings, that "one must obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29). His bold witness for Christ and his criticism of the "establishment" caused him to be crucified as was his master. Did not Jesus say, among other things, "Do not imagine I have come to bring peace on earth; I have not come to bring peace but a sword. I have come to set a man against his father and a daughter against her mother. . . ." (Matthew 10:34)?

It is true the Gospel or the good news of Christ and his church area "balm in Gilead", but they also carry a note of impatience similar to the message of the prophets of old, "For the Word of God is living and active and sharper than any two-edged sword and discerning the thoughts and intentions of the heart . . ." (Hebrews 4:12). When Jesus cleaned the House of God, the temple, he used more than Dutch Cleanser. "He found those who were selling oxen and sheep and pigeons, and the money-changers at their business. And making a whip of cords, he drove them all, with the sheep and oxen, out of the temple; and he poured out the coins of the money-changers and overturned their tables . . ." (John 2:14, 15).

This attack on the temple religion of the Jews, and specifically of the Pharisees, the guardians of the tradition, was initiated by John the Baptist. Clad in a coarse garb of protest, proclaiming his message in the wilderness, he told the Pharisees and Sadducees, "You brood of vipers, who told you to flee from the coming wrath? Now, produce fruit that answers to your repentance" (Matthew 3:7-9).

Protest, a Built-in Mechanism

There has never been a time in the history of the Christian church when no protest against or for a cause was raised. Whenever the church was in danger of becoming a mere functioning mechanism, it was aroused by some inside or outside forces to reconsider its identity and mission. It was in the days of the great Augustine, who wrote a document demonstrating the permanency and universality of the church in his *The City of God,* that the eternal city of Rome and its empire collapsed under the onslaught of non-Christian nations from the north. The church survived the disaster and accepted the challenge of the day and a new mission and role among the invaders.

Likewise the church has been constantly challenged by inward dissensions. All efforts by the established Roman Catholic Church to suppress "heresy" and "sects" by formulating creeds and regulations and by punishing dissent were in vain. The unique emergence of more than a dozen monastic movements can only be viewed as protest and manifestations of the raised finger of the risen and living Lord against a too rigid adherence to the outward form of the church. Later on the same church that felt uncomfortable when the voices of the dissatisfied leaders were heard, declared them saints. We mention only St. Jerome, St. Benedict, St. Francis, and St. Bernard. Many others led crowds of dissatisfied disciples into the wilderness in a protest movement to awaken the church; and as a by-product, their living faith created and promoted Christian civilization in the ghettos and underprivileged areas of that day. They often marched to Rome and other public places in protest, but their greatest contribution was made through their disciplined life and their creative self-denial in secluded areas. Today the Catholic Church is again being challenged like it was in the Middle Ages by dissenting movements.

A Shake-up of the Church

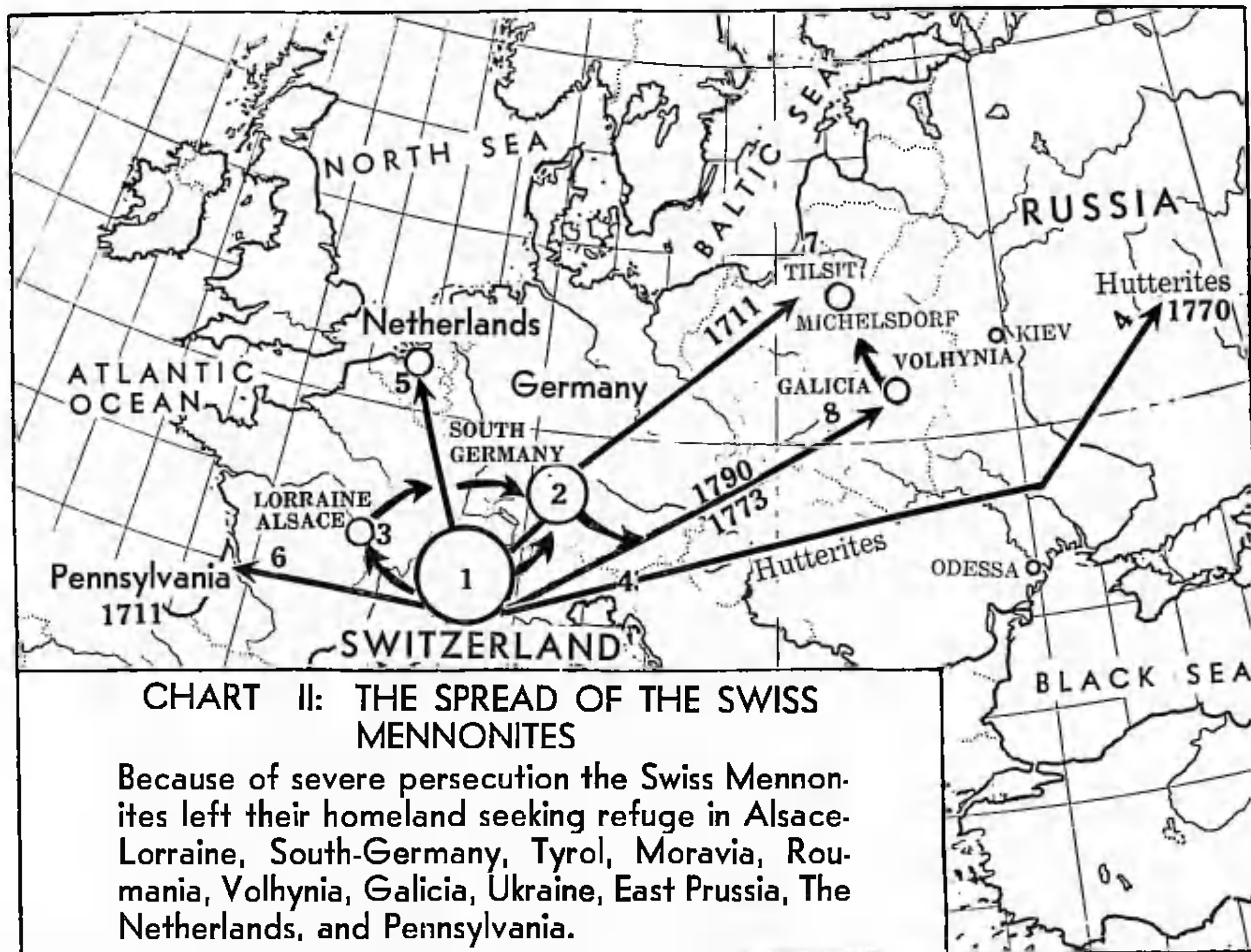
When Luther shattered the bulwark of the church through his dynamic faith and proclaimed the new way in which man is saved "by faith alone", his followers became known as "Protestants". This name remained, even though they did not want to be known under the name Protestants nor Lutherans, but wanted to be Evangelicals. For their contemporaries, the striking thing was their protest against the establishment. But the cycle of establishment-protest and protest-establishment never ends. Soon a more radical scripture-orientated Evangelicalism challenged Luther's remodeled establishment, and particularly his attachment to the ruling princes of his day and his retaining some of the features of the sacramental character of the Catholic Church. Luther, in turn, called these radicals *Schwärmer* or fanatics who, he said, were carried away by their own imaginations and not directed by the Spirit of God. They, in turn, accused Luther and the other reformers of retaining some objectionable elements of the organization, worship, and sacraments of the church, bordering on idolatry. Many of these protesters, disagreeing with the Lutheran revised tradition, started more radical fellowships. They put forth efforts to purify, spiritualize, and make relevant a total Christian faith finding expression in love of God and neighbors in all walks of life.

Among these more radical protesters and initiators of a new way and a new brotherhood were the Anabaptists. In many respects they resembled closely former protesting movements, including the various monastic efforts in church renewal. Centers of Anabaptists were found, particularly in Switzerland and the Netherlands from where they ultimately, throughout the centuries, spread into some twenty countries. This "spread as an act of protest" is really the topic of this paper. The "migration as an act of protest" cannot be isolated from the origin, faith, and deep-seated convictions of the Anabaptists and their martyrdom brought about by a hostile environment that could not and would not understand and take their voice seriously.

The Medium Can Be the Message

These protesting and witnessing radical Anabaptists had a message and found many means of communicating it. Having found a new way and a renewed message, they witnessed everywhere in their daily contacts: in church, in public, and in private life. They used all kinds of means to draw attention and to express themselves. Some went so far as to interrupt a worship service. They would post announcements on the door of the church. They would even throw a message into the pulpit while the priest was speaking. They willingly risked their lives by marching to various cities on a number of occasions.[1] They met in small groups to read the scriptures, to interpret them, and to find a consensus to apply them for their day. They lived in large cities and had access to underground printing presses. Their persecution was severe but they knew what Jesus said about it, namely, "When they persecute you in one town, flee to the next" (Matthew 10:23).

These radical Anabaptists were undergirded by a firm foundation and carried by a positive Evangelical witness derived from the newly-discovered scriptures. This, like in the days of the Old Testament prophets, did not preclude rebuke, a call to repentance, and the use of symbolic means of protest employed by John the Baptist, the prophets, Jesus, and his followers. Their positive witness was coupled with the "ordinance" which the disciples received from the resurrected and departing Christ; namely, "Go to all the world and preach the gospel to every creature . . ." (Mark 16:15). This they did. Their testimony spread often like a prairie fire. The medium became the message. It included a vital, personal faith in the healing grace



The Anabaptists originated in Switzerland and the Netherlands. Because of severe persecution, they spread into numerous countries in Europe and ultimately to America. Chart II *illustrates the spread of the Swiss Mennonites into various European countries.* Chart III *shows the spread of the Mennonites from the Netherlands into Prussia, Poland, and Russia, while* Chart V *illustrates the first Mennonite migration from Prussia, Poland, and Russia to North America and South America. This article deals with Mennonite migrations as an act of protest and witness.*

of God through Christ and a constant worship of God in "spirit and truth". This did not make the traditional church obsolete, but it minimized the significance of some of the characteristics of the church, particularly in the forms of a sacramental and administrative nature. This led to small group meetings of brothers and sisters, as pointed out previously.

On the other hand, this "separation" or "withdrawal" of the Anabaptists from the Catholics, Lutherans, or the Reformed Church could not be tolerated by those from whom they separated. The dissenters were considered to be in revolt against "God and government", which in those days was the gravest and most unpardonable sin that could be committed.[2] It was punishable by death since the days of the Roman empire. Such radical dissenters were considered to be directly and irrevocably servants of the devil. Consequently, they had to be removed like a cancerous growth from the body of the church.

Witness, Martyrdom, Escape

These brothers and sisters, on the other hand, believed in the totality of Christ's redemption of man and all aspects of life. They eagerly awaited great things to happen through the power of Christ, who had come from God to be among men and was to come again to accomplish and finish man's restoration in the image

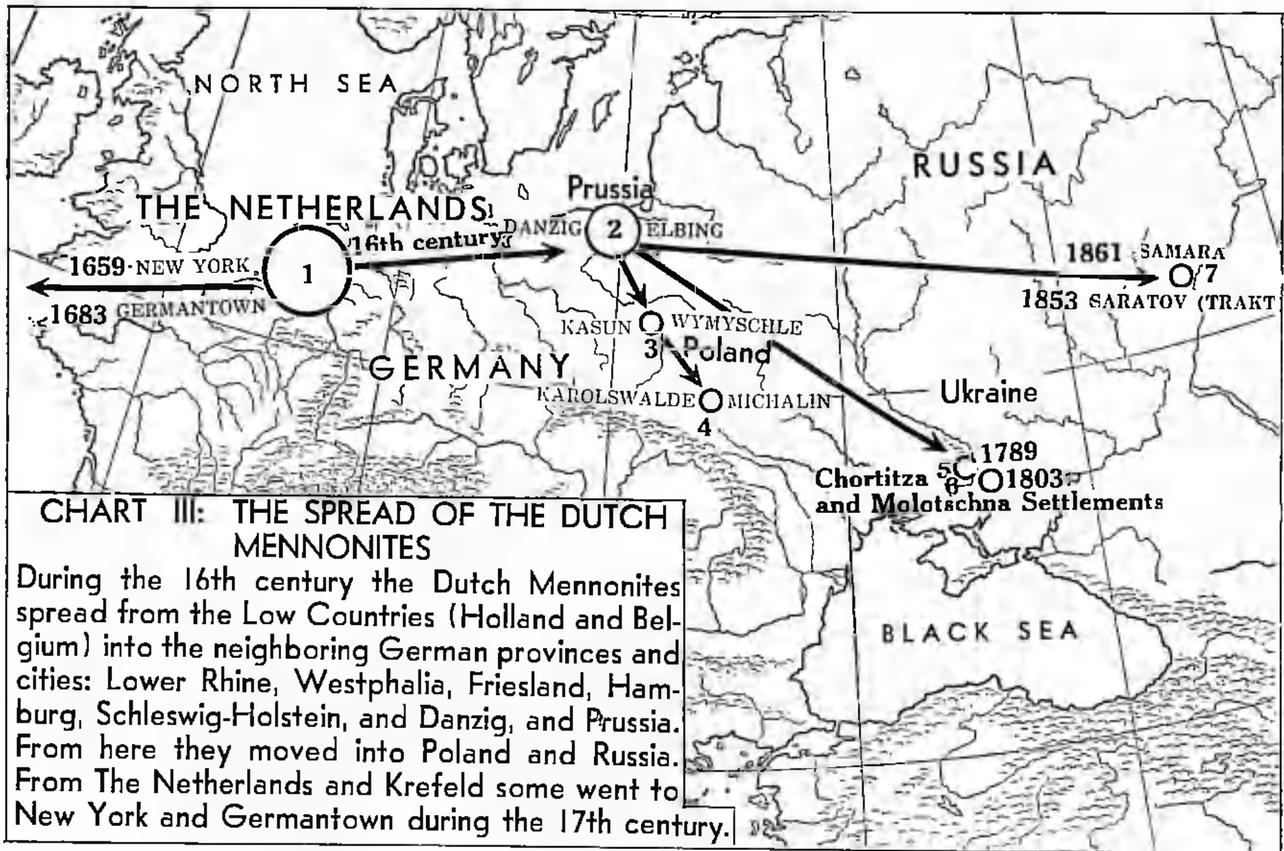


CHART III: THE SPREAD OF THE DUTCH MENNONITES

During the 16th century the Dutch Mennonites spread from the Low Countries (Holland and Belgium) into the neighboring German provinces and cities: Lower Rhine, Westphalia, Friesland, Hamburg, Schleswig-Holstein, and Danzig, and Prussia. From here they moved into Poland and Russia. From The Netherlands and Krefeld some went to New York and Germantown during the 17th century.

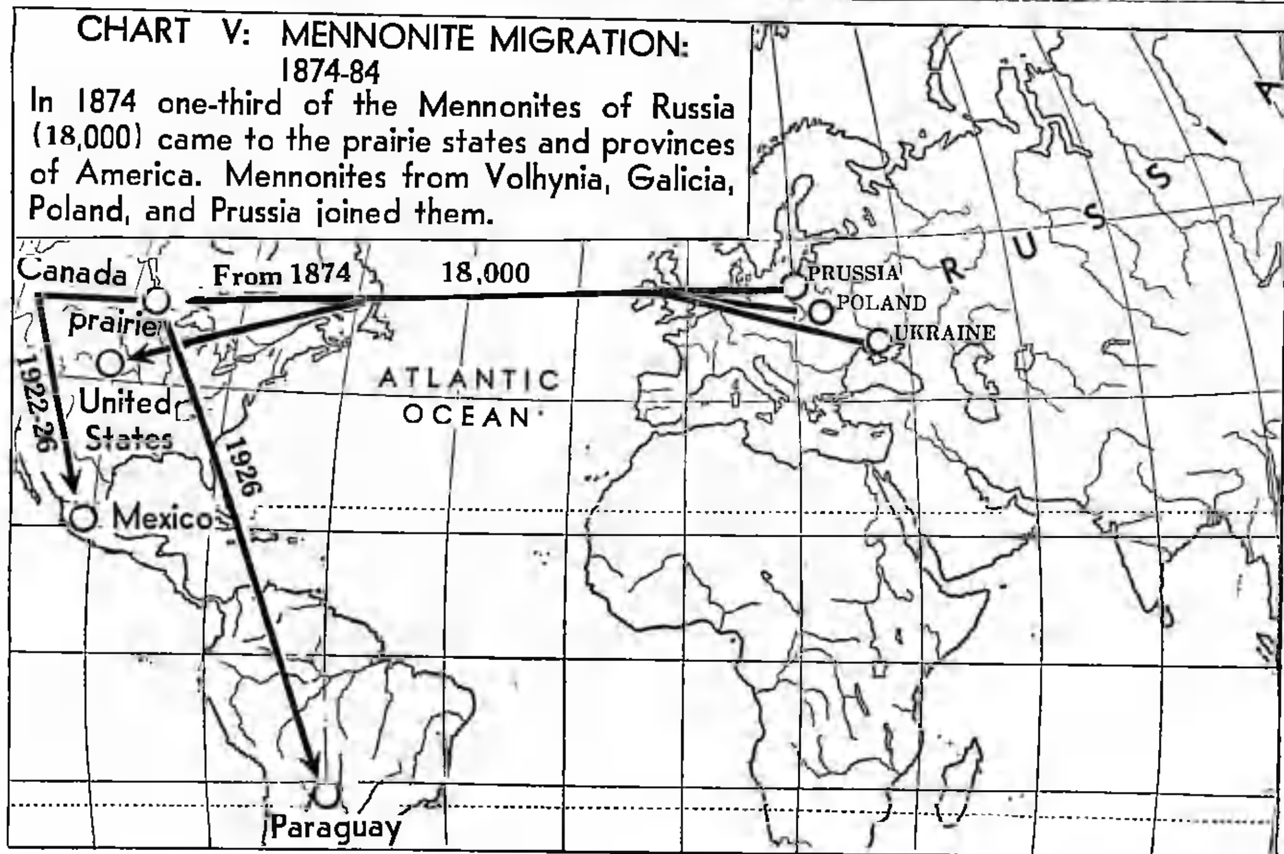


CHART V: MENNONITE MIGRATION: 1874-84

In 1874 one-third of the Mennonites of Russia (18,000) came to the prairie states and provinces of America. Mennonites from Volhynia, Galicia, Poland, and Prussia joined them.

of God. At times it looked like these consequent and radical believers were expecting the New Jerusalem to come to earth to those willing to enter it under the severest pressure of persecution. They developed a hope against hope. That under these conditions some lost their balance and control of themselves, is understandable. Others, uneducated and simple as they were, could embarrass and impress highly trained theologians in their debate. They rose to unbelievable heights in faith, courage, endurance, and witness.

Some 2500 witnesses unto death gave their lives in martyrdom. Some would have escaped if they could have, rather than die. Some others even denounced their faith in order to survive. Others succeeded in escaping in order to live and continue the witness somewhere else. Such an escape was an act of protest and made a survival of the witness possible, as suggested by Jesus to his disciples. Such individuals or groups would settle and gather at places to continue their fellowship and witness. Examples are the Hutterites in Moravia or the Swiss Mennonites in Emmental, high up in the valleys of the Alps, or again the Dutch Anabaptists escaping into the swamps of Giethorn, Aalsmeer, Wüstenfelde near Hamburg, or along the Vistula River at Danzig from where they later moved to the steppes of Russia, the prairies of the United States and Canada, the plateaus of Mexico, the Chaco of Paraguay, and the slopes of Brazil.

We have seen how Anabaptism originated as a protest movement founded more on the biblical sources than on the tradition of the established church. This foundation and inspiration gave the brotherhood direction and a goal toward which it worked with determination. The Anabaptists intended to change the world, the life, and the church around them completely. They were a dissenting minority, determined to improve conditions around them, whether they were spiritual, social, or economic. They had given up hope that this could be achieved within the established churches of that day, be this the Catholic Church or any of those that emerged during the Reformation. They reached for the impossible in order to make the impossible ultimately a possibility.

To Go or Not to Go

The Anabaptists wanted to realize a utopia and when they were exterminated and driven out of their communities, cities, and countries in Switzerland and in the Netherlands, they took with them the dream of the goal not yet achieved and the desire to "seek the country" toward which they had striven. Even after 450 years, the descendants of these courageous utopians carry with them some built-in tendency to strive toward the goal set by their spiritual ancestors. It is true this tendency or aspiration expresses itself in very different ways and sometimes in seemingly contradictory and opopsing directions. Most often, it probably is a subconscious or hidden talent, dormant, but still there. However, in many instances, the heritage has been covered up completely by many layers of other influences undergone by the sons and daughters of Menno. What effect does all of this have on the heritage of seeking a country as an act of protest?

First of all, let us in a general manner categorize the Mennonites of our day in regard to their heritage and their desire to take issue with their environment in forms of protest and witness, and their trying to solve their problems by leaving their country in search of utopia. This is indeed a very complex picture we are dealing with, and an oversimplification is necessary in this brief presentation.

1. *Those who are adjusted.* The largest number of Mennonites, regardless in which country they live and what their ideology and manner of life may be, have adjusted themselves so thoroughly that the thought of leaving their country out of an ideological or religious protest does not occur to them unless it is because of upheavals such as those resulting from World Wars I and II. By the time of World War II, most Mennonites, be this in North America or Europe, had become so much a part of their environment that the thought of migrating did not enter their minds anymore. However, to some extent the built-in mechanism of protest within the environment is still noticeable. The question, of course, can be raised as to what extent is this protest, whatever the cause may be, due to the built-in mechanism and "Mennonite conscience" or the acceptance of a view prevalent in their society. The use of the word "Anabaptist" in this context may simply be an attempt to be more convincing in promoting a cause accepted from the environment.

It is true that World War I and World War II aroused some inquiry and resulted in some studies and visions in regard to the Anabaptist faith and relevance in our day, but the average Mennonite, one could say, is more influenced by what he sees, hears, and reads in his respective communities and countries than by the basic tenets of "the faith of our Fathers". This is the case in the countries such as the Netherlands, Germany, Canada, and the United States. They are, as a rule, solid citizens of their country and even slightly aware of their Mennonite heritage, but they can disagree among themselves very thoroughly as to what this heritage means in times of crisis and the forming of attitudes in regard to issues. The picture presented here is confined to the average Mennonite who cannot be recognized as such by garb, mannerism, or language as being different from his environment. They are adjusted.

2. *The migrating Hutterites.* After this description we turn to those who are recognized as outwardly being either "Mennonite" or "peculiar" in some way, be this by appearance or certain forms of "non-cooperation".

How have they preserved their heritage and built-in mechanism of protest? And how is it being used by them? It is obvious that the outward characteristics speak for themselves. The most striking example is the Hutterites who to this day have preserved more characteristics of protest than any other group of Mennonites. They have retained forms of religious life and aspirations which originated over 400 years ago in the form of communal living, religious inspiration, and the notion of migrating from country to country as an act of protest and in search of utopia. From Moravia they migrated to Romania, Russia, the United States, and Canada. They have been influenced by their environment less than any other Mennonite group, but this should not lead us to believe that they have not been influenced at all. They, and other groups to be referred to, often adjusted to their respective environments. Styles of life and dress frowned upon by them originally were later accepted and perpetuated as their characteristics and an expression of their faith and tradition.

3. *The Old Colony Mennonites.* The next group most rigidly adhering to the above characteristics of migrating from country to country for the purpose of retaining a spiritual heritage in unique cultural forms and doing this whenever the environment threatens to break the crust of the cultural container are the so-called Old Colony Mennonites. Among those who traditionally, as a total group, have retained the protest practice of migrating, these two, the Hutterites and Old Colony Mennonites, have been the most consistent.

4. *The Amish Stay.* Looking at the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition and history from this perspective, we turn to another group which has been more "compromising", even though most of the United States Mennonites would not be ready to accept this statement. I have reference to the Old Order Amish who spread from the slopes of the Alps to the rolling hills of Pennsylvania, and from there all the way to the West Coast of the United States. They left Switzerland because they were persecuted, and to some extent, also out of fear of adjustment to the environment in which they lived in Switzerland. They definitely have a common characteristic with the Hutterites and Old Colony Mennonites by using a cultural pattern of the past as the means of protest and perpetuation of their spiritual heritage. In details, all three differ, but in this respect, they are one, without ever having had any contact.

However, there is one distinct difference between the migrating Hutterites and Old Colony Mennonites and the Old Order Amish. Since the arrival of the Amish in the United States more than 200 years ago, their pattern of migration and spreading hardly differs from the Mennonites or from Americans in general who followed the slogan, "Go West, young man". It is true that there have been some movements from state to state and even more recently to South America of the Amish out of protest against state laws in regard to public education. But there has been no general protest exodus among the Amish. Their protest is restricted to their appearance, educational practices, and the acceptance of modern technological inventions. In this respect, they differ widely, but all shades of Amish have retained some common characteristics along this line.

Leave in Protest or Stay to Witness

Not in all European countries did Mennonites preserve a sense of apartness. By the middle of the nineteenth century they had lost much of it in the Netherlands and northwest Germany. In the countries to which Mennonites had withdrawn during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the ingredient was still potent. When the general conscription law was passed in West Prussia in 1868, the Mennonites were still alarmed, but most of them remained and found it satisfactory to accept an alternative service in lieu of military service. At the same time, this question came up among the Mennonites of Russia who had settled there just a few generations earlier. One third of the Mennonites of Russia left for the Prairie states and Canada between 1874 and 1882. Two-thirds found the acceptance of alternative service and the introduction of Russian into their schools acceptable. For a long time, the issue of whether they were to leave *in* protest or to stay *to* witness was the theme of a lively discussion. Let us illustrate the point.

Gerhard Wiebe, elder of the Bergthal Mennonite Church, vividly described the reasons and the mood in favor of a migration. He feared a loss of the Mennonite heritage in Russia and was certain that they would betray it if they accepted the alternative service and the gradual infiltration of the influence of the Russian Department of Education in their schools. This view was inherent and widespread.[3]

Another Wiebe, Jakob Wiebe, was a vocal opponent of this view. For him, it was not a matter of choice and escape, but he felt that Mennonites had to stay to witness and, if necessary, to protest. In Abraham Thiessen, we have another strong supporter of this view. Both claimed that it was God's will and the duty of the Mennonites to remain in Russia in order to make a positive contribution to the country. They argued that "we are supposed to be the salt of the earth and Russia is a part of the earth where the salt is needed as much as anywhere else".[4] Jakob Wiebe agreed that some were going to America for conscience sake; however, he feared that others were just a part of a crowd, some of whom had no idea what nonresistance or even Christianity in general were all about. He and Thiessen were strong representatives, advocating that the Men-

nonites were called to stay in Russia for conscience sake and to witness and protest against evil and injustice.

The difference can be illustrated in the case of Cornelius Jansen, who felt that the Mennonites had to migrate from Russia in protest. Because of his activity, he was "exiled by the czar". Abraham Thiessen, on the other hand, protested against abuse, injustices, and evil among the Mennonites of Russia and in general, and he was also "exiled by the czar".[5] Both exiled from Russia, these two men became neighbors at Jansen, Nebraska.

Those protesters and witnesses following Gerhard Wiebe to Manitoba have continued their journey in search of utopia. Most of the heirs of this built-in search have moved on to Mexico, British Honduras, and the Chaco of Paraguay. The old idea is best represented among the group now known as the Old Colony Mennonites. Sometimes we are inclined to consider them as having hopelessly petrified their heritage without a concern and mission for their environment. Perhaps it is more appropriate to classify them as God's personal untapped reservoir of grace and persistence. Meanwhile, they are fulfilling the ordinance of God and Christ in going to the uttermost parts of the earth, tilling the soil in desert places in order to restore the image of God's creation, to regain paradise lost, and also to show their neighbors how to subdue the earth and make a better living. Should not that in itself be a worthwhile and a quiet witness which can sometimes be more effective than so much of the noisiness found and heard elsewhere among us? *Die Stillen im Lande* also make a contribution.

An Ultimatum Protest

In the 1870's, those who felt called to be the "salt of the earth" in Russia and remained, were in the majority. The 1969 issues of *Mennonite Life* were devoted to illustrating the witness and protest that they have made in Russia. In closing, we single out one event of this rich, turbulent, and catastrophic history of the Mennonites.

In the early days of the Russian Marxian revolution, Mennonites felt threatened. This time they realized that the foundation of their total way of life was being pulled out from under them. Their schools were nationalized and Marxian atheistic teachers, often poorly prepared in subject matter, took over. Preachers and churches were heavily taxed. Ministers and more prosperous farmers were killed or exiled. This caused the Mennonites to review and fortify their Christian convictions and to protest and testify.

A most spectacular and daring appeal, formulated by the members of the Mennonite Commission, dated May 23, 1924, was sent to Moscow.[6] It was addressed to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet government. The Mennonites stated that the minimum conditions under which they could continue to live in Soviet Russia would be the following:

1. Complete freedom of religious worship and assembly.
2. The unconditional right of children and young people to assemble for religious worship and instruction. (This was forbidden by law: "The giving of religious instruction to children or minors in public and private educational institutions or schools or a transgression of laws in regard to it shall be punished by forced labor.")[7]
3. Permission to get a supply of Bibles and other religious material and periodicals.
4. Bible training courses for ministers.
5. That schools be permitted to be neutral, that is that they do not engage in religious nor anti-religious propaganda.
6. Exemption of Mennonites from military service and drill in lieu of some other noncombatant constructive service.

This request was turned down and the result was that an unprecedented protest migration of Mennonites from Russia to Canada resulted until the Soviet government firmly closed the gates. Between 1923 and 1927, some 20,000 Mennonites left their property, homes, and the land of their fathers again "seeking a country".

In 1929, even a more spectacular and spontaneous movement of Mennonites and other oppressed religious minorities began. Suddenly they knocked at the gates of Moscow requesting that they be issued passports and permitted to leave the country. This was so overwhelming that even Moscow seemed to be helpless. Most likely this would have resulted in the largest exodus in Mennonite history if Germany, Canada, and the United States would have been prepared and willing to accept this stream of immigrants. This was still in the days of the Depression, and these countries were not willing to take the risk of opening their doors for such a flood of newcomers. It is mostly to the credit of Germany and the South American countries that at least some 5,000 Mennonites were permited to leave. When the Soviet government noticed the unwillingness abroad to accept these provocative, daring, and protesting Mennonites, they shut the gates for emigrants and sent the remaining applicants to their homes or into exile in Siberia in freight cars. This was indeed a march of protest unprecedented in Russia, but it seemingly resulted in greater hardship for those remaining behind. The even greater movement of Russian Mennonites for the purpose of evacuation and exile in connection with World War II does not belong in the realm of our deliberation.[8]

The Protest Witness Today

We have seen that a protest witness is in a way a built-in mechanism which in one way or another

becomes noticeable in our history even in countries like the Netherlands and Germany where the sense of "having a special mission" has been almost completely lost. This witness element was again revived there after World War II. Looking at the present American scene we find that among most of the Mennonites there is still an awareness, or a new awareness of our special mission in witnessing and protesting in regard to our own faith and conditions in which we find ourselves, be they of a religious, spiritual, social, or economic nature. We have a strong pietistic or fundamentalistic background but also a consciousness that we have to demonstrate a living faith in Jesus Christ within the framework of the church and are therefore called to a worldwide mission.

Within this group of Mennonites there is an emerging generation of those who feel that in this church framework the dead weight of tradition is strangling our aspiration and our responsibilities to our environment. New ways to express our faith and doubts, our views and problems, and the needs of our environment are often sought. This generation speaks of the church as being impotent, outdated, and irrelevant. There is much truth in this, and this paper has dealt at length with the validity of protest and reform and our need for it. The danger that these protesters face is that they can overreach themselves and lose contact with the past and the foundation itself on which the church of Jesus Christ was built. The church of Christ can be compared to an unbroken chain. We can break a link and lose our relationship to the foundation. The shortcomings, mistakes, corruptions, and weaknesses of the past and present, within and outside of the church, should not mislead us into severing our relationship with this foundation. These shortcomings and corruptions are human and are present in any society, be it Christian or non-Christian. We cannot escape from them, just like the extreme conservative element in our Mennonite fold could not and cannot escape contact with the environment that corrupts it. Formerly, some Mennonites as a body of Christians aimed to escape the world in protest and settled in isolation. They were often too nearsighted, too extreme, and too narrow. In our day some repeat an escape, but this time from the church, in order to be true to their inner voice and convictions and to the society they live in. This is a protest movement we should listen to and give a voice and a place of activity in the church, but we should also point out that a severance from the best of the Christian tradition, convictions, and aspirations of the past and present will not strengthen but weaken their protest witness, if not kill it in the long run. We need protests, criticisms, and new aspirations within the framework of the Christian heritage on the foundation of the church. However, without this foundation, we are building on sand. Of this foundation of the church its founder said, "the gates of hell will not prevail against it".

FOOTNOTES

1. Cornelius Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism. Origin. Spread, Life and Thought* (1450-1600), Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1968, p. 73.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 132f.
3. Gerhard Wiebe, *Ursachen und Geschichte der Auswanderung der Mennoniten aus Russland nach Amerika,* Winnipeg, pp. 16-18.
4. P. M. Friesen. *Die Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Bruederschaft in Russland* (1789-1910) *im Rahmen der mennonitischen Gesamtgeschichte.* Halbstadt, Raduga, 1911, pp. 511-513.
5. Cornelius Krahn. "Abraham Thiessen: A Mennonite Revolutionary", *Mennonite Life,* April, 1969 pp. 73-77.
6. C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites,* Newton, Kansas, Mennonite Publications Office, 1957, p. 505.
7. "Religious and Ethnic Groups", *Mennonite Life,* July, 1969, p. 122.
8. C. Henry Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 519-526.

The Agony of Civic Isolation: Mennonites in World War I

By James C. Juhnke

ANABAPTIST-MENNONITES HAVE typically related themselves to governments in three ways: martyrdom, migration, and compromise. The nature of the choice between the three options depended upon which Mennonites and upon which government were in question. Some governments are easier to get along with than others. Some Mennonites have deeper spiritual resources than others. In the sixteenth century, many chose martyrdom. In following generations, many fled from one country to another in search of religious autonomy. In America in the twentieth century, Mennonites have reached a compromise with the government.

The themes of martyrdom and migration have loomed especially large in Mennonite historical conscious-

ness. Martyrdom has its model in Christ. Migration has its model in Abraham. Martyrdom and migration are dramatic events involving decisive action, deep commitment, and unbending faith. We appropriate these virtues to ourselves by remembering and celebrating the heroic acts of our fathers, both biblical and Anabaptist. The Menno Simons Lecture Series is one such celebration.[1]

Most Mennonites in twentieth century America have had no direct personal experience with the conditions of martyrdom and migration. Ours has been the more comfortable opportunity of compromise with a democratic government which protects the rights of minorities. Our immediate experience is less dramatic and less demanding than that of our migrant fathers. Ours are the temptations of the lukewarm.

The historical basis for the great compromise which has marked the Mennonite relationship to the government in the twentieth century was laid down during World War I from 1917 to 1918. The wartime experience wrenched the Mennonites out of their easy complacency and forced them to redefine their relationship to their world, and specifically to their nation.

World War I amplified two characteristics of American nationalism which were to be decisive in shaping the Mennonite response to government demands. The first is that American nationalism, like all nationalism, tends to become a religion. American nationalism has all the elements of a religion—the sacred shrines, the revered martyrs, the holy flag and national anthem, the prescribed rituals for holy days (holidays), and the ethic of ultimate sacrifice. In World War I, Americanism became a crusading religion, and the Mennonites had to come to terms with the crusade.

A second characteristic is that American nationalism has become increasingly militaristic. World War I, which was to rescue Europe from autocracy, was only a foretaste of the giant military-industrial complex and worldwide military machine built up in America during World War II and the Cold War. The Mennonites have had to respond to a militarizing nation, both in its domestic institutions and in its foreign interests. In such a context the issue of military conscription took first rank in the definition of Mennonite civic identity.

The Mennonites had anticipated neither of these characteristics in America. They assumed that it would be possible to be both Mennonites and Americans without serious conflict. President Ulysses S. Grant had assured wary Mennonite leaders in 1874 that the United States constitution "has a concession that it will not

Conscientious Objectors in World War I

The following illustrations are a record of Mennonite young men during World War I. Between 1874-82 Mennonites from Russia, Poland, and Prussia had come to North America to escape military and noncombatant service. During World War I they were forced into military camps in the United States. The illustrations on these pages show them in these camps and how they did services of "national importance."

St. Sgt. Cabiness takes muster roll, Barracks No. 527, Camp Funston.

over-ride a man's conscience. . . ."[2] That promise held good for forty-three years. Meanwhile the Mennonites developed thriving agricultural communities, secure in their separate German-American culture and convinced that their productivity and institution-building made them foremost citizens in the land.

But in 1917 America had other promises to keep. The preservation of democracy and freedom, America decided, demanded military conscription. To the Mennonite mind, however, conscription in 1917 seemed a denial of freedom. "We had not believed that this would be possible in the United States," wrote C. E. Krehbiel, editor of *Der Herold,* upon the passage of the Selective Service Law in 1917.[3] Mennonites now had to decide whether to register and to report to army camps in a nation where refusal to do so would be followed by swift punishment. H. P. Krehbiel saw the agony clearly, "The Mennonites will now be purified by fire," he wrote. "What will become of us in the heat?"

The first compromise came early. The Mennonites decided to have their young men register for conscription and go to the army camps as assigned.[4] For most this decision was an obvious one, and did not involve extended reflection. The Selective Service Law, while it left no room for non-military alternative service, did have a clause opening the way for non-combatant military service to religious conscientious objectors. Moreover Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, promised Mennonite leaders that their boys would be treated well and would not be required to do anything against their conscience. So most Mennonites answered the draft calls in 1917 and 1918.

But a small minority refused to compromise and chose the time-honored Mennonite option of migration or flight. This option seemed easiest for Mennonites who had come to America in the 1870's at the same time that their brethren chose to move to Canada, where they received an enclosed land area and full exemption from military service. An undetermined number of Mennonites from Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska moved as families to join Mennonite communities in Canada in 1917 and 1918. Some of them returned to the United States after the war, but others remained in Canada.[5]

Occasionally draft age Mennonites fled to Canada alone or in small groups without their families. The story of one of these refugees is reminiscent of the Underground Railroad. They met a contact man near the border who smuggled them across in the dead of night. These men usually found work as farm laborers in Canada: some found it possible to attend school. After the war they returned to mixed receptions in their home communities. Two brothers of Henderson, Nebraska, were arrested upon their return and sentenced by military court-martial to prison terms at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Another returned to McPherson County where he was accepted and became a prominent citizen, being elected to the post of county commissioner without the "draft dodger" issue being raised. Another from Marion County became embarrassed over the fact that he had fled to Canada, and today he threatens legal reprisals against anyone who inquires into his story.

It is interesting to note that this episode of flight to avoid conscription has not been preserved in Men-

Barracks No. 527, Camp Funston.

Detention camp No. 1 (Fort Riley): Williams, John Andreas, Peter Neufeld, Paul Bartsch, Carl Schmidt.

Boys at work near "First capital of Kansas," Fort Riley.

nonite historical consciousness. No one knows how many wartime migrants there actually were. Little has been written about this migration, nor is it prominent in the oral tradition passed from father to son in the Mennonite communities. It is as if the community wanted to forget that America was once unacceptable to some of its most idealistic sons.

If World War I migrations from America to Canada have not gripped the Mennonite historical imagination, the one example of World War I Mennonite martyrdom has fared somewhat better. Joseph and Michael Hofer were South Dakota Hutterite draftees who were persecuted and died for their faith at Fort Leavenworth in 1918. The story was told recently by Cornelius J. Dyck in *Christian Living* and by John D. Unruh in *Mennonite Life.*

They spent four months in Alcatraz. Their cells were below sea level, dark, and filthy. They went without food for days, once four days in a row. They wore only their tattered underwear since they refused to wear the uniform. They slept on the wet cement without blankets. They were beaten, even to unconsciousness. Once they were suspended from the ceiling by their arms, with their feet barely touching the floor, for 36 hours. Finally, they were sent to Fort Leavenworth in Kansas. Joseph collapsed and died soon after their arrival, and Michael a few days later. When their widows came to claim their bodies they found them in the morgue—dressed in uniform.[6]

But the immigrants and martyrs were few. Most Mennonite draftees acquiesced to conscription and met their real crisis of conscience in the military training camps. The decisions were never easy or clearcut. Should a nonresistant draftee wear the uniform? accept a gun? participate in drill? salute the officers? obey any orders? accept work but only under protest? try to distinguish between military and nonmilitary orders? The situation was doubly confused because Secretary of War Baker had issued confidential orders to the camps to treat the CO's decently but to try to convince them to accept military service. Baker believed that most would accept service after a time away from the influence of home, church, and ministers.[7]

Neither the Selective Service Law nor the War Department's orders were completely clear on what should be done with the CO's. A promised definition of noncombatant service was delayed until March 20, 1918, and a farm furlough system for Mennonites who refused noncombatant military service was not worked out until June 1, 1918, only about five months before the end of the war.

The experience of individual draftees in the camps was varied. Some came through without physical or psychic scars, particularly if they were willing to accept noncombatant service in the Medical Corps or the Quartermaster Corps. Physical brutality in camp often came at the hands of fellow privates who harassed the CO's while the officers were looking the other way. Those who were confined in the guardhouse were often treated indecently by other prisoners. A special burden was borne by the several hundred CO's who were court-martialed and sentenced to terms of 15 to 35 years in the Fort Leavenworth Military Prison. The full story of Mennonite camp experience has not been told, but this is clearly another significant chapter in the martyr-studded history of nonresistance under test. One Mennonite wrote from camp, "you cant emagen how it is to be hated. if it wasent fore Christ it would be empossible."

Part of the agony of the military draftees derived from the fact that once they accepted conscription there was no position possible which was entirely free of compromise. The Mennonite draftees at Camp Travis, Texas, for example, agreed to cultivate gardens for their own food, but then refused when they learned the surplus food would go to the army. Later when they were convicted and imprisoned at Fort Leavenworth they accepted work as military prisoners, an example of military conscription at an even more regimented level. Those Mennonites who accepted furloughs for farm work were likewise compromised, for they were furloughed army men working at jobs defined as contributory to the national military effort. The army insisted on paying these men for their work, though some returned the money to the War Department or gave it to the Red Cross. There was, however, escape for no one in the system. Everyone contributed in some way to the war effort. Above all, Mennonites accepted the principle of conscription.

Although Mennonite congregations in 1918 regularly prayed that their drafted boys in camp might be faithful under test, the home communities were often put under pressures equally severe. The Mennonites were a German-speaking people who had a deep appreciation for the German language and culture. America in 1917 decided that bilingualism was unpatriotic, and campaigns were waged across the country to eliminate the German language from homes, churches, and schools. One Mennonite girl reported how she broke her German mother's heart by speaking to her in English over the telephone. A sign above the public telephone said, "Only American spoken over this Phone," and there were Americans watching her.

Mennonite farmers were typically willing to cooperate in wartime efforts to increase wheat production and quality. Growing wheat was the Mennonite genius, and they could hardly feel guilty about that, even if the war had tripled wheat prices. The purchase of war bonds was more questionable, however, for bonds were voluntary and directly supported the war. But the war bond drives were vigorously carried out with the threat of humiliation or physical reprisal if the Mennonite citizen refused to buy his quota. Enough

Before Sunday worship service at Camp Funston (Fort Riley).

incidents of mob violence against refusers of war bonds took place to throw scares into the most consistent pacifist. In central Kansas there were mob tar-and-featherings, or yellow paint smearings in Burrton, outside McPherson, and outside Canton. Many Mennonites were convinced to buy bonds, including some who initially said it would be an unacceptable compromise. H. P. Krehbiel said the war bond was a kind of tax and Jesus told us to pay our taxes.[8]

There was no single typical Mennonite experience in

Boys on a hike: tableland north of Camp Funston (Fort Riley).

Moving to Detention camp No. 1, Funston.

Camp Funston (Fort Riley, Kansas), 14th National Army Cantonment, 89th Division.

P. H. Richert and P. C. Hiebert during Sunday morning worship at Camp Funston.

World War I. The researcher is bound to be impressed with the great variety of wartime experiences and the variety of ways in which Mennonites responded. There were some who jumped on the war bandwagon from the beginning, such as Rudolph Goerz who told a war rally in Newton that the Mennonites would do everything possible to contribute to military victory. And there was Henry Pankratz who claims he wanted to go into regular military service but was prevented because his pastor forged a baptismal certificate for him. And there was Albert Voth who refused his father's advice to wear the uniform, and who was court-martialed and imprisoned for his firmness. And there was Harry Graber who served in the medical corps and went into relief work in Yugoslavia after the war. Some bought war bonds; some refused. Some were treated well in camp; others were abused. Some felt their church gave them adequate counsel and support; others felt their leaders were cowardly and let them down in fear of the Espionage Act. The final summary of the Mennonite wartime experience will have to take into account the great variety and richness of the personal encounters with American authorities at the various levels.

Bridging the variety of Mennonite experiences and responses to the war, however, was their common agony of civic isolation. Mennonites of all kinds were suddenly unacceptable as American citizens. Because they were German-speaking and because they were pacifists they could not stand with other citizens in America who claimed to be worthy of their citizenship. The change took place almost overnight, and it was shattering in its impact. In 1916, the Mennonites had been among the most valued, the most trusted, the most highly regarded citizens in the community. In 1917 and 1918, they were despised, spat upon, and told to return to Germany. In 1919, when the War Department granted clemency to imprisoned Mennonite conscientious objectors, both the Kansas State Legislature and the Oklahoma State Legislature passed special resolutions condemning the government for its leniency toward these cowards and slackers. The Kansas resolution read, in part:

> Whereas, the action of the Secretary of War has brought the blush of shame to the cheeks of all patriotic Americans, is an insult to the United States Army, and has placed a premium upon slackerism, cowardice, and mawkish sentimentality, now therefore,
>
> Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Kansas, the Senate concurring therein:
>
> That we heartily condemn the action of Newton D. Baker . . . as mischievous, unwise, unpatriotic, and unAmerican, and destructive to the morale of every person wearing the uniform of the United States; . . .

The resolution went on to call for an investigation of the War Department for the iniquitous and irresponsible action in coddling the conscientious objectors. This resolution has not gone down in the annals of Mennonite history as a memorable document, even though it may shed more light on Mennonite behavior than many other documents which do appear in Mennonite history books.

What does it do to the self-identity of a people to be told they are not worthy of their citizenship? What did Mennonites think when they read this resolution in their newspapers? Perhaps it would not have been so agonizing had the Mennonites not considered themselves Americans, had they been able to be satisfied

with just being good Mennonites. But they were already acculturated to their American environment so that it was important for them to be Americans also, and they wanted to be *good* Americans. They insisted upon being both Mennonites and Americans, though they would eventually be willing to drop their German identification in the next several decades.

The experience of the black community in America may be instructive at this point. The blacks today are saying that human integrity depends upon self-love. It is necessary for a people to overcome its shame and self-hatred if they are to play a productive and fulfilling role in the community. If people are to love themselves they must experience themselves as the source of their own creative powers. They must share in the definition of their own social situation. They must exercise power if they are to love themselves, for only after the achievement of self-love will it be possible to love others.

World War I was an experience of overwhelming powerlessness for the Mennonite community. Heretofore they had defined their own situation in America and had carved out their own spaces and fashioned their own identities. Now their world was out of control and there was no escape from guilt and fear. To the extent that Mennonites failed to contribute to America's glorious war crusade, they were guilty of unacceptable citizenship. To the extent that Mennonites compromised their nonresistant principles, they were guilty of abandoning their historic faith. No fully satisfactory compromise was possible.

The Mennonite experience in America was permanently altered by the agonies of guilt, fear, and isolation brought on by World War I. Mennonites began to behave in many ways like an oppressed minority group which was striving to reassert itself. Mennonites were on the defensive. Mennonites needed to find reasons why they should not be ashamed to be Mennonites. Mennonites needed to convince both themselves and the world that they were not inferior, that they were acceptable and productive.

This condition of double consciousness for Mennonite Americans became a permanent feature of their identity in the twentieth century. Always it has been necessary to attempt to be truly American and truly Mennonite. Never has it been fully possible satisfactorily to bridge the gap.

The Vietnam War has brought some new obscurity to the prevailing American Mennonite condition of civic isolation. In the past, Mennonites, Quakers, and Brethren have had the pacifist action pretty much to themselves. To be sure, there were always some humanitarian or socialist pacifists around who did a lot of talking about pacifism, especially between wars when talk was cheap. But every time war rolled around the humanitarian pacifists evaporated, and it was up to the Mennonites to provide the conspicuous majority of refusers of military service. Humanitarian pacifism has never had a secure base in America, either ideologically or sociologically. Everyone in America marches off to war when our enemy seems to be the devil incarnate or when our war aims appear impeccably idealistic.

But in Vietnam America does not fight the devil, America cannot win, and America's aims are not clear or persuasive. Pacifists' ranks are swollen with protesters and resisters of all conceivable types. It almost seems that everyone is doing the Mennonite thing. Mennonites can suddenly feel thoroughly and virtuously American in their pacifism. But will this condition last? What if America gets into another popular war? Will Mennonites be ready for a new civic isolation?

In the context of the national Vietnam moratorium on October 15, 1969, the crude sign of those who threw eggs at Bethel College peace marchers, "If you can march you can fight," seems strange and out of place. But the Mennonite pacifist marchers should not ignore the basic truth in the argument of these inarticulate patriots. They are saying that the American creed demands that all citizens be willing to sacrifice for their country, and that in wartime the young men are expected to fight, kill, and die for their country. Anyone who is not willing to accept the responsibilities of American citizenship, they say, should keep his mouth shut. The pacifist, from the American point of view, is a parasite. He should be grateful that he is allowed to live in freedom in this country. He has no right to make demands of his own.

World War I taught Mennonites that there are no easy answers to this kind of challenge, for nonresistant pacifists have no fully satisfactory method for earning their right to civic respectability. Their relief and service programs, the work of the Mennonite Central Committee, was one attempt to establish a basis for civic pride and belief in self. Mennonites can ill afford to forget that their normal condition is that of strangers and pilgrims in this world.

FOOTNOTES

1. See the lecture by Cornelius Krahn in this issue entitled "Mennonite Migration as an Act of Protest."

2. Abe J. Unruh, ed., *Great Grandfather's Diary*, Montezuma, Kan. This was the interpretation of Tobias A. Unruh, member of a Russian Mennonite 1873 deputation team to the United States. See also Leland Harder, "The Russian Mennonites and American Democracy Under Grant," in *From the Steppes to the Prairies*, edited by Cornelius Krahn, Newton, Kan.: Mennonite Publication Office, 1949, pp. 54-67.

3. *Der Herold*, May 24, 1917, p. 4.

4. On the Mennonite wartime experience see J. S. Hartzler, *Mennonites in the World War*, Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1921. The Schowalter Oral History Collection in the Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas. contains over a hundred interviews with Mennonite World War I draftees.

5. Allen Teichroew, "Accommodation and Escape: The Mennonite Response to World War I," Independent Research Study, May, 1969, Mennonite Library and Archives.

6. Cornelius J. Dyck, *Christian Living* (November, 1969), p. 21; John D. Unruh, "The Hutterites During World War I," *Mennonite Life* (July, 1969), pp. 130-137.

7. James C. Juhnke, "The Political Acculturation of the Kansas Mennonites, 1870-1940," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1966, pp. 156-158.

8. H. P. Krehbiel, "Die Stellung der Gemeinde Jesu Christi zum modernen Staat," *Der Herold*, (April 25, 1918).

Mennonite Benevolence and Civic Identity: The Post-War Compromise

By James C. Juhnke

In the Menno Simons Lecture Series of 1963, Theodore O. Wedel of the Episcopal Church spoke in glowing terms of Mennonite relief and service programs.

If one looks at what is happening to the Mennonite tradition right here in America today, one development which has occurred is one which, I think, all outsiders who become acquainted look at, and they look at it with amazement and . . . with Christian envy. And this is your outgoing service—diakonia—your outgoing world wide service of the needy, the poor, the naked, the homeless. There's nothing else like it. . . . Why here is a manifestation of the Church that no other church body on the American continent is beginning to rival.[1]

Despite the favorable publicity gained for Mennonites through their relief efforts, from the highly lauded Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) post-war reconstruction work in Europe to the widely-televised Mennonite Disaster Service cleanup teams in the wake of hurricane Camille, Mennonites have been too little aware of how distinctive their relief and service contributions have been. Ours is an age of publicized protests, of visible demonstrations. There is little high drama involved when conservative Mennonite churchmen write out their inconspicuous stewardship checks which support the MCC, or when ordinary garden-variety Mennonite young people volunteer for service in PAX or Teachers Abroad Programs.

Because Mennonites are so self-apologetic and unskilled in the art of public relations, it often comes as a surprise to hear non-Mennonites being so lavish in their praise of the Mennonite accomplishment. The Methodist scholar and churchman, Franklin H. Littell, writes that Mennonites are among the "late bloomers" of American Protestantism and that the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* and Mennonite Central Committee "are far more substantial contributions than those made to scholarship or in relief by several denominations numbering many millions of members."[2] We read this and pinch ourselves. Is it really true?

In part it is true, even if the analysis ignores the self-serving and life-denying aspects of our institutions. The Mennonite church has experienced an institutional revival in the twentieth century which would have been impossible to predict before the turn of the century, and Mennonite relief and service programs are among the most obvious indicators of the revival. But we are also our own best critics. Only a Mennonite could have written the incisive and intemperate review which Mark Wagler put in a recent *Remnant* newsletter and ended with the pompous pronouncement, "But now the Mennonite church is dead: our analysis must begin and end here."[3] We read this and pinch ourselves. Is it really true?

In part it is true, even if it is one of those anti-institutional simplicities which characteristically emerge from the underground alienated left. The Mennonite church is both dead and alive, both possessed of the Holy Spirit and burdened by dry bones. In our quest for self-understanding it is wise to avoid the cruder simple slogans, no matter how well they serve our purposes of criticism or congratulation, and concentrate upon the complex realities of our past and present experience. We may find ourselves both more glorious and more inglorious than we anticipated.

Our questions are these: What are the motivational sources of Mennonite benevolent institutions and behavior? Why do Mennonites give money and volunteer in greater proportion to their numbers than other churches for relief and service programs?

Such questions yield no easy answers, partly because we lack adequate data and partly because human motivations remain forever obscure. We have no reliable information on such questions as how much Mennonite benevolent giving goes through church conference channels and how much goes elsewhere and is never reported. Little has been published regarding what kinds of Mennonites give the most (farmers, businessmen, old, young, wealthy, poor, conscientious objectors, veterans, etc.), about what situations of need elicit the greatest giving (war, famine, poverty, natural disaster, etc.) or about the extent to which church organizations can plan, program, and control the amount and type of benevolent giving which comes from the grass roots.

One clue to the dynamic of American Mennonite benevolent giving may be found in the fact that the bursts of Mennonite benevolence have roughly coincided with the bursts of American nationalist-militarist enterprise. It was in the closing years of the nineteenth century that America felt the tug of manifest destiny and engaged in an exhilarating imperialist war against Spain. In the Spanish-American War America not only captured Cuba but also acquired the Philip-

pines and became an imperial Pacific power. While America was discovering this new mission, the Mennonites were discovering a mission in India, which had been hit by a severe famine. To provide famine relief, the (Old) Mennonites in 1897 organized the Home and Foreign Relief Commission and the General Conference Mennonites in 1899 organized the Emergency Relief Commission. These emergency relief programs, which included gifts of both money and grain, resulted in the establishment of American Mennonite missions programs in India.[4] (The Russian Mennonite Brethren began their work in India in 1890.)

America went to war again in 1917, this time with even greater fanfare, enthusiasm, and national unity. World War I brought Americans together in a magnificent enterprise of idealism and altruism—we joined forces of righteousness to make the world safe for democracy. Mennonites, who were excluded from the great military crusade because they were pacifists and German-Americans, responded to wartime conditions in their own way. They gave money for relief, and they gave so generously that their church conference officials had to scramble to find sufficient acceptable ways for disbursement. In 1920 the different Mennonite relief agencies joined into a Mennonite Central Committee which focused a massive relief effort upon Mennonite victims of the Russian Civil War and upon American Christians in the Near East. The wartime and post-war Mennonite relief program, which absorbed the volunteer time and energy of many outstanding church leaders, involved the giving of some three million dollars.[5] The creation and activity of the Mennonite Central Committee in response to World War I represents the take-off period in American Mennonite benevolence.

World War II was a sterner affair for America. But the Japanese and the Nazis were the very incarnation of evil, and it might be all worthwhile if this was the war to end all wars. So Americans sacrificed, killed, and died for their beleaguered country in the 1940s because they believed their cause was just and their intentions honorable. The war was a great act of national unity and commitment. The Mennonites, again unable to take part in the war effort, were readier this time with proposals for alternative civilian public service for draft age men and programs for relief in war-torn countries. If World War I saw the take-off of Mennonite benevolence, it may be said that World War II saw Mennonite benevolence achieve orbit. It was the extensive wartime and post-war worldwide MCC relief programs which won the attention and admiring comment of such men as Theodore Wedel and Franklin H. Littell. Mennonites had established a name for themselves in Christian service and relief.

What is the meaning of the fact that the peaks of Mennonite benevolent enterprise have coincided with the peaks of American nationalist-militarist enthusiasm? Why is it true that, in the words of Cornelius J. Dyck, "Mennonites have needed wars to bring out the best in them"?[6] Is it simply that war tends to create and dramatize conditions of great need, and Mennonites simply respond in spontaneous generosity? Or could it be that there is a deeper connection between the altruism and self-sacrifice of Mennonite benevolence? In short, is American nationalism one of the sources of American Mennonite benevolence?

The limits of this presentation do not allow a conclusive answer to this last question, even if adequate information and analysis were available. In the absence of convincing evidence and argument, we may propose a hypothesis for further examination, criticism, and refinement. The essential points in the hypothesis would be as follows:

1. Mennonites are an acculturating religious minority who have gradually taken on the characteristics of their American social and political environment.
2. One of the American traits Mennonites have accepted is identification with American citizenship and a desire to be accepted as worthy American citizens. This is more than simple obedience to the biblical injunction to respect the established authorities, for it involves allegiance to and identification with a specific national system and its political symbols and forms.
3. The American national creed demands that all citizens in time of war make sacrifices to achieve the military objective, and the most visible and persuasive symbol of the essential sacrifice is willingness of young men to fight, kill, and die for their country.
4. Mennonites are pacifists who cannot conscientiously contribute to the national military effort which is the prerequisite of fully acceptable American citizenship in wartime. Their young men do not fight, kill, and die for their country. Regardless of legal loopholes provided as a convenience for religious pacifists, Mennonites cannot fulfill the popular requirements of citizenship in a war-making nation.
5. This situation puts severe strain upon Mennonite civic identity. We want and need to be good Americans. It is necessary to do something positive to validate once again our claim to citizenship, to make it possible to stand before our fellowmen and assert that we have contributed meaningfully and sacrificially toward national goals.
6. Therefore, Mennonites in behalf of their civic justification, engage in visible programs of service and relief. The model of sacrifice is provided by the sacrificing and sacrifice-demanding nation. The stimulus to Mennonite benevolent enterprise—the urge to find an acceptable counterpart for the energies of militant nationalism—is a product of Americanization. Mennonites give, in part at least, because they want to be acceptable American citizens.

The peaks of Mennonite giving, then, coincide with the bursts of militant American nationalism because benevolence is the Mennonite attempt to discover a moral equivalent for war. It is most urgent for Mennonites to give money and engage in relief programs precisely at those times when Americans are making and demanding national-military sacrifices. In the words of Harold S. Bender,

In a world where universal war service is required, the Christian whose conscience calls him to witness positively for peace cannot be satisfied with mere exemption from the burden of sacrifice which others are compelled to carry.[7]

This hypothesis that Mennonite relief and service programs are a product of acculturation to American nationalism is in contrast to the traditional interpretations of the origins of Mennonite benevolence. The orthodox interpretation holds that Mennonite benevolence is an internally generated phenomenon which arises from the peculiar history, traditions, and characteristics of the Mennonite churches. MCC represents the Mennonites doing their own thing.

Cornelius Krahn, J. Winfield Fretz, and Robert Kreider, in a perceptive and suggestive article, "Altruism in Mennonite Life," traced the roots of Mennonite benevolence to the Anabaptist heritage.[8] After an opening section in which Krahn discussed the Anabaptist doctrines of suffering and discipleship and their practice of mutual aid, and a middle section in which Fretz traced the expressions of altruism in Mennonite community life, Kreider concluded with a discussion of MCC work and confronted our question, "How is it that the Mennonites have been able to perpetuate this tradition of altruism from generation to generation?" Kreider's answer is worth quoting in length:

The basis of Mennonite altruism at home and abroad is a group consciousness described in the beginning of this study. Because of its religious background and peculiar history the group has lived withdrawn for a period of time, confining its altruistic efforts mostly to its own fellowship. When at a certain point of development the group confronts the needs of the "world" caused by some catastrophe or war, it responds to the challenge, and altruistic love and concern are expressed on a national or global level through such channels as mission and relief activities.[9]

It was the "religious consciousness" of Mennonites and their "disciplined brotherhood way of life," Kreider wrote, which explained Mennonite altruism.

First, Mennonites conceive of their church as a brotherhood which seeks to practice the New Testament teachings of love and neighborliness. . . . Second, Mennonites have a sense of being separated from secular society for a purpose. Altruism is a part of that purpose. . . . Third, Mennonites have long stressed that a Christian is simply a steward of his time and possessions for the work of the Kingdom. . . . Fourth, Mennonites have always felt a personal involvement in the needs of others. . . .[10]

This is the traditional explanation of Mennonite benevolence, a reflection of what most Mennonites believe about themselves. This explanation surely points to some key realities in the Mennonite experience, but it is also interesting for what it omits. For the traditional view sees Anabaptist-Mennonite historical achievements in their fullness, but it sees that history in a vacuum. It is as if the Mennonites were lacking an environment, an outside world which impinged upon the Mennonite community and helped shape its values, expectations, and behavior. Mennonite benevolence, it assumes, was generated entirely from within the community. The church responded benevolently, to be sure, to outside worldly conditions. But the spiritual motivational basis for that response came from within the Mennonite community.

In other areas of Mennonite life, however, it is obvious that acculturation to American models has had deep and permanent effects. Mennonites began speaking the English language, using advanced farm machinery, playing organs in their churches, abandoning footwashing and prayer coverings, naming their children Harry and Nancy, attending football games and crowning homecoming queens, shaving their beards and sometimes growing them again—all in imitation of American culture. Is it not reasonable to expect that American civic ideals would likewise have an impact upon Mennonites, that the American definitions of acceptable citizenship would become an important matter for Mennonites? Should we not anticipate that when Americans decide that now is the time for citizens to make sacrifices unto death for great national ideals, that Mennonites would be impelled to make a response because they have become Americans?

P. C. Hiebert, long-time chairman of the Mennonite Central Committee, saw the rise of Mennonite relief programs after World War I as a response to the American demands.

There was little satisfaction in just maintaining a negative position toward war. What was needed was an opportunity to disprove the charges of cowardice and selfishness made against the conscientious objectors, and to express in a positive, concrete way the principles of peace and good-will in which they [Mennonite conscientious objectors] believed it.[11]

H. A. Fast, another prominent MCC relief worker, mentioned the same theme in a 1947 article entitled "The Spiritual Values of Contributing to Relief."

Our people could not join in the war program. To thoughtful and sensitive persons that was a heavy burden upon their soul.[12]

The interesting question is why it would be a burden upon the souls of Mennonites that they could not join in the war program? Did they really wish to participate in the war? The answer is affirmative if we understand the need of Mennonites to respond in some positive way to the great idealistic American war effort. Fast continues,

> Here, now [in relief programs] was an opportunity for release of the deep reservior of Christian love and compassion long restrained under war pressures, and it overflowed in a generous outpouring of benevolent activity.[13]

If our hypothesis is correct. however, national war-making does not restrain altruistic and benevolent impulses but actually fosters them. It is in response to the call of warfare that men become willing and eager to make great sacrifices. Mennonites were certainly under pressure to act in some positive fashion during the war, but their overflowing love was not simply derived from the New Testament or from a heritage of mutual aid. Mennonites were moved to altruism by American models of altruism, though they needed to modify these models in certain ways to make them acceptable to the pacifist conscience.

To suggest that Mennonite benevolence is a product of acculturation, a kind of Americanization, may be deceptively simple. This was, after all, not merely an adoption of American traits in unaltered form. The American way was to take a gun and march off to war. Though many Mennonites did abandon their pacifism, and thereby lost a key element in Mennonite identity, the predominant Mennonite tradition has been refusal of military service and acceptance of Christian service alternatives. This is not acculturation in the simple sense that adoption of the English language is acculturation. Mennonite benevolence came from both the inside and the outside, from within the church community and from the American national world. The *form* of Mennonite benevolence—its expression as Christian benevolence rationalized in the terms of biblical discipleship, and its initial concentration upon inter-Mennonite assistance conceived as another event in the long history of mutual aid within the brotherhood—was substantially a product of the internal ideology and unique historical experience of the community. The *stimulus* of Mennonite benevolence, however, was substantially a product of Mennonite Americanization and of the Mennonite need to provide counterparts for externally defined standards of civic obligation.

Human motivations, of course, are complex, and it would be naive to assume that a single cause accounts for all Mennonite benevolence. The sources of spiritual strength and institutional vitality among Mennonites are diverse. The problem is that Mennonites too often in the past, when they have reflected self-consciously upon the origins of their relief efforts, have not seen nationalism as a relevant factor.

To view Mennonite benevolence, Mennonite giving. and the Mennonite Central Committee as products of civic acculturation need arouse no feelings of guilt or self-denigration. Perhaps the greatest need of our twentieth century world has been to provide alternatives for warfare. If Mennonites have been involved in a quest for a moral equivalent for war, and if programs of Christian relief and service have been stimulated by the energies of militant nationalism. this is no cause for shame. Mennonite alternatives have been severely limited. They have been apolitical and easily dismissed by governments. They have not risen to the standards of self-sacrifice set by national military martyrs in our time. But Mennonites have addressed problems of war and peace in ways often more creative and more constructive than other Americans in the twentieth century.

Whether or not Mennonites should point to their relief and service programs with unalloyed pride, we should not miss the essential irony of our position. If the hypothesis of this paper is correct, nonresistant pacifist Mennonites have drawn upon the spiritual resources of militant American nationalism for those very benevolent programs which are held to be unique and distinctive Mennonite contributions. The Mennonite Central Committee, long understood as a chapter in the recovery of the Anabaptist vision, is also a footnote to American nationalism.

FOOTNOTES

1. Theodore O. Wedel, "The Possible Contribution of the Mennonite Tradition to the Ecumenical Movement," Menno Simons Lecture, October 28, 1963. Tape in the Mennonite Library and Archives, Bethel College.

2. Franklin H. Littell. *From State Church to Pluralism, A Protestant Interpretation of Religion in American History*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1962, pp. 143-144.

3. Mark Wagler, "'The Glory and the Shame,' A Response to the Book," *Remnant Newsletter*, October 5, 1969, pp. 10-12.

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11. Levi Mumaw, *op. cit*., p. 29.

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Mennonites and Confrontation

SOCIETY, REVOLT, INTEGRITY

By Joseph Smucker

LIKE OTHER CITIZENS, we Mennonites are becoming well saturated with laments about both personal alienation and an unresponsive society. At the same time we are increasingly apprehensive about the rhetoric of militancy; the exhortations to "polarize the issues" and the "need for confrontation". It is no aid to our sense of well-being when we hear of the need to tear down the institutions of society while at the same time it is in vogue to speak of man's aggressive nature and to refer to the major role of violence in the development of history.

As the issues now stand, we find ourselves in a very perplexing state. Periodically we express our feelings of guilt. Yet we are uncertain whether we should be radically active in society, or whether we should issue well-timed proclamations which have the merit of serving as a "conscience" while maintaining our righteousness. Some among us would dismiss society, and having dismissed it seek understanding through the Bible and Mennonite traditionalism. Others would look toward an existentialist interpretation of the love ethic to provide the answers we require.

A Sense of Integrity

But I am not writing in order to add to the guilt feelings of the Mennonite community. Breast-beating has its place, but it is a privatized affair and certainly does not help the community of man. It is rather my intent to advance a very simple thesis that, rather than dwell upon their guilt for the plight of the world, Mennonites should require of both themselves and others a renewed sense of integrity and responsibility.

This call for a renewed sense of integrity and responsibility is nothing new. Others have made the same plea. But I want to examine the reasons why it is so difficult to follow through on such a plea. I would like to suggest that man's own rationality has produced conditions in which it is almost impossible to act responsibly or to require others to do so. It is as if man has constructed things called "roles" and "organizations" and has used these as replacements for his own sense of integrity and responsibility.

Organizations, for example, are involved in almost every aspect of our lives. Should we be involved in an automobile collision our insurance companies settle the claims for damages. Should our child be in trouble in school, we are referred to the counselor who interprets the child's actions to us and thus serves as a buffer between us and the child's teacher. If we have complaints about commodities, we file the complaint in a special department rather than to the particular person who sold us the commodity. In almost every arena of our lives we are faced with the vexing problem of trying to find out who has the ultimate authority, who is to be held accountable for given actions. Under these conditions we are faced with the paradox that everyone and no one is responsible. It has reached the point where an advertisement exhorts us to be tactful about recommending a mouthwash to someone by simply sending in his name to "Breath Anonymous". The organization will thereupon make the suggestion. Who is responsible? Everyone and no one.

This abstract nature of exercising responsibility may well be one fundamental reason for ghetto riots in northern cities. Specific persons bearing ultimate responsibility were relatively easy to identify in the South. Persons in the civil rights movement could demonstrate against the county sheriff, the town mayor or the particular owner of a restaurant. They were figures who represented authority and the specific issues were relatively clear. But who has the authority in Chicago? Is it Mayor Daley, the City Council, the Democratic machine? The problem is that no one and everyone has the responsibility for ghetto conditions. Responsibility is rather an exercise in abstract power. Is it any wonder then that the response of an outraged minority

is to riot against an all too abstract "system"?

Yet rioting, of course, is only one response against man's social constructions which have in turn imposed their own realities. Other "radicals" seek to force a polarization of the issues and thereby to more easily identify both the problems and the parties associated with them. In such a tactic the liberal, or moderate, is to be eliminated so that the extreme positions may confront one another. Thus, a segment of the New Left was arguing for supporting Wallace in the past presidential elections so that the issues might be polarized and clarified. From the perspective of these persons, liberals were seen to be amoral in their stance; obscuring the issues rather than clarifying them. The trouble with polarizing the issues, however, is that extremism is difficult to control, as the communists found out in National Socialist Germany.

A Privatized Existentialism

A third response is a withdrawal into a sort of privatized existentialism; a stance that maintains that the only thing one can rely on is one's own private experiences and meanings. The ultimate behavioral consequence of this is to simply "drop out" of society; to live in a restricted privatized world. Such a stance may be of comfort for a given individual, but it hardly provides a basis for attempting to improve the societal conditions that have fostered the reaction.

A variation of the privatized existential approach is to engage in emotion-generating sessions. The idea here is to look beyond the roles that men play to see the "real" emoting person. This may be a fine exercise in understanding the problems involved in playing organizational roles, but understanding does not necessarily change the conditions. Further, there is a danger in emphasizing emotions for the sake of merely emoting. It is fine to have a "beautiful experience," but as conditions now exist we can only hope for fleeting moments of these experiences. Finally, by placing such an emphasis upon emotions, it is only too easy to be swayed by demagogues who speak with "conviction" or who can "move" an audience.

It seems to me that neither extremist politics nor emotionalism are the only responses to a society that appears to have gone beyond any hope of insuring the sanctity and integrity of the individual. Rather, what is required is a kind of counter-rationality. A counter-rationality based upon what I would call religious humanism. This requires that we do not confuse the form and organization of religion for the content of it. All of us are familiar with a stance that loses sight of human concerns in the course of pursuing an ever stricter adherence to the forms of religious dogma. Nor does the position I advocate permit the substitution of new empty forms for past forms of religious expression. The Mennonite who becomes a religious liberal by adopting the behavior of a "swinger" is not liberal in my terms. He is rather contributing to the maintenance of a society which can only foster the breakdown of personal integrity. To be a swinger is to engage in cynical gamesmanship.

The stance that I have in mind would avoid a retreat into our own respective viscera, for that makes of us little more than heredity-bound animals. Further, the notion that action and commitment are to be valued for their own sake merely leads to selfish justifications of our own actions.

Renewed Sense of Community

I would argue for a renewed sense of community and, as a consequence, the assessment of any action on the basis of its appropriateness for others. This of course requires a strong sense of personal responsibility. In fact, the sense of personal responsibility provides the very basis for community. Yet how can this emerge if, as I have already indicated, the conditions in which we live prevent us from taking such a position? To this I must reply that these conditions may be more apparent than real. Perhaps this response is too simple. But suppose we were to consciously repudiate the notion that we must act in given ways because of the roles that we play? Suppose we did not permit ourselves to attribute a course of action to the fact that we were in the roles of businessmen, or farmers, or professors, or ministers, etc.? Suppose instead we assigned final responsibility upon ourselves as individual men? To identify ourselves simply as "men" would mean that our identity and our sense of integrity would transcend any particular role we might play. It would mean that we always have the option to say "no" to assuming any given identity or to any given demands of a particular organization or the larger society. It means that when we do say "yes" we have only ourselves as the final source of accountability; that we should see that accountability in relation to the *human community* rather than to some abstract organization. It means a conscious denial of the right of an organization to govern our lives unless we so choose to let it do so.

But to assign responsibility to ourselves as individual men is only one part of the suggested reorientation. Others must also be defined in such terms. Actions, regardless of who initiates them, must be viewed in terms of the individual man, not in terms of the role he is playing.

Perhaps there is a parallel between the way in which our present society is organized and the Catholic Church in Luther's day. The organization of the Church had replaced in importance the very tenets upon which it was formed. Not only could individuals absolve themselves of personal responsibility through the institutional services of the priest, but priests could also absolve themselves by rationalizing their behavior as functionaries of the church. Luther, in a sense, called for a renewed emphasis upon personal responsibility and

integrity. In so doing he helped set off a new "rationality" based upon individual responsibility. Yet, ironically, the consequences have been to replace the priest of Luther's day with an abstraction which we call a "role" or "duty" or "obligation" today.

Perhaps we need a clarion call like Luther's; a challenge that summons men to call themselves and others to account for their actions. Such a challenge requires everyone to be subject to his own "Nüremberg Trial" were God, fellowman, and self are the judges. It means that the individual Mennonite must take responsibility for his own actions and not assign that responsibility to Mennonitism. It further means that retreat into the Mennonite community may no longer be a viable option for many persons. It means that the emphasis upon love without an accompanying emphasis upon personal integrity is an empty platitude. It means that the objective of love is to foster integrity, and that conversely, integrity becomes worthy of love.

The Society as Demon

These ideas are not popular among a generation raised upon the notion that all of our ills can be assigned to that secular demon called society and that consequently there is nothing we can do about them. (I suspect the notion is derived from an inaccurate interpretation of the social sciences.) I am referring to many of the youth who have had much to say about the loss of personal integrity. Yet they are often content to hurl their charges against the "institutions of society" without inquiring into their own sense of responsibility and integrity. Often, for example, there emerges among those students who espouse a new love ethic a kind of irresponsible arrogance. Other students tend to romanticize action if not actual conflict. And there is often a strange fascination for a kind of benign anarchic state of existence, where creativity, goodness and all the ideal qualities of man will somehow emerge and be maintained in a pristine state.

Despite these criticisms, students should be listened to not because they are young and represent the so-called "now generation", but because they have the freedom to make judgments upon society. Listen, for example, to the lyrics of a Simon and Garfunkle record. Here are biting commentaries on contemporary society. They are not the banal blandishments which too many college youth were content to listen to in the '50's.

There have been many good reasons offered for students' involvement in dissent. But certainly, fundamental to this dissent is a growing awareness of the insensitivity of societal organizations to the needs of individuals. Higher educational demands have spawned huge university structures which cannot adequately respond to the privatized experience of education. Students' concerns with university organization have spilled over into other societal organizations as well, especially the political, industrial and military organizations. Students are asking for accountability and credibility among members of these organizations. (Unfortunately, students too often forget that ironically, universities provide an arena of freedom by which they can in fact register criticism and dissent.)

Personal Sense of Responsibility

While I personally feel that students too often express their concerns irresponsibly, I believe that we Mennonites need to somehow recapture their spirit of freedom. But the freedom that I have in mind is not a by-product of affluence or the protective walls of a university. It is rather a freedom based upon an awareness that as individuals, we have the freedom to choose, and with that freedom there is an affirmation of a personal sense of responsibility.

I believe that Mennonites have the basis for a "counter-rationality" if they do not confuse liberalism with conformity to the secular world. Mennonites are already liberal, even radical in their social and religious perspectives. Mennonites have a tradition that provides them with a sense of freedom; of being "in, but not of the world". But somehow we need to stop being privy to our own perspectives. We need to stop sharing these only among ourselves or in safe contexts or among destitute foreign peoples who already are intimidated by the awesome power of western man.

To put these concerns more concretely, Mennonites should ask themselves whether they are serving as mere sops to the plight of the people in some Latin American countries. If they are, perhaps they should be challenging the executives of American corporations who are responsible for many of these conditions. Mennonite farmers should ask themselves whether they are acting responsibly toward migrant workers. If they feel they cannot act as responsibly as they would like, perhaps they should challenge not only themselves but also the corporations with whom they may be under contract.

Mennonite project directors in urban areas should ask themselves whether they are permitting the people with whom they work to act responsibly or whether they are imposing a new paternalism upon them. Mennonite professors should ask themselves whether they are acting responsibly by encouraging their students in acts of civil disobedience. Would they, for example, be willing to give up as much as they are asking of the students? Students should ask themselves whether they are "involved" because of the excitement of it all or whether they see themselves as *responsibly* involved. Answers to these and many more questions require, I believe, a renewed emphasis upon responsibility and integrity. That emphasis can come about only when a sense of freedom has been realized. The consequences of such an emphasis are a challenge to the conditions of a society which, through its own rationality, provides too many easy avenues for avoiding personal accountability.

Finding God and Neighbor

By Myron Schrag

THE THEME THAT has been chosen for this conference, "Finding God and Neighbor" is a rather threatening one. By choosing this theme does it imply we have not as yet found God? Can it be that in Newton, in Moundridge, in Beatrice, in Meno we have not found God? Surely not! Just think of the established Mennonite communities there. Think of the many young people who have gone into Voluntary Service and Pax from these communities. Think of the many men who have contributed time to Mennonite Disaster Service work. Think of the countless articles of clothing Ladies' Sewing Circles have contributed to relief. Surely God has been at work among us. So what do we mean when we talk about finding God and neighbor?

Perhaps what this theme is implying is that we need to re-define what it means to find God. Maybe it was not so difficult to find God in the days when we were a rural orientated people. The outside world seemed far away. The problems of race and poverty did not affect us too much because we were not in contact with them. We contributed to conference causes and to the maintenance of the local church. As for being neighborly, we were always ready to plow the neighbor's field or cut his wheat when he was hospitalized. As for the problem of war, the government recognized our position and made provisions for us to send our boys to CPS camps or to serve as aides in hospitals. But now the realities of war are brought into our living rooms every evening.

So now we live in a different kind of world: the fact that this conference is in Wichita in a hotel is indication of that. Now we need to incorporate the Christian values of our Mennonite communities into the larger world community, a community of which we have become very much a part, sometimes against our will, sometimes by choice. We have been made aware that our neighbors are not just the Goerings or Schmidts or Janzens. We have discovered that our neighbors are also the ghetto residents of Wichita, Oklahoma City, Kansas City and Denver, and the Indians of Oklahoma. We have been rudely awakened to the fact that in order to be peacemakers, a simple nonresistant position to war is no longer adequate. For to be real peacemakers we are also called to work for reconciliation among the races. We are called to speak to the injustices of our society, whether it be poverty, the draft, or racial segregation. We are called to make tangible the gospel of Christ, so that men can feel it and touch it. The gospel is good news, and good news for our neighbors in the ghettos or on the reservations might be a decent place to live or a loaf of bread to eat. This type of mission will inevitably mean confrontation with the world, a world not overly concerned with reconciliation. Yet it is to this kind of world that Christ came to be a peacemaker, and it is in this kind of world we who claim to be his followers live and move. Is our faith strong enough to speak to this kind of world? Do we have anything to say?

Through the fast-moving events of our day God is speaking to us, perhaps in a little different way than what we are used to hearing God speak. Dare we be open enough to God to allow him to speak to us in language other than what we are used to hearing? Or is our concept of God such that he can speak to us only in a certain way? Could it be that the first step in finding God is to listen to the voices of our new neighbors? Unpleasant voices they may be; they might even make us angry; they might touch some sensitive spots, but listening to them might give us a clue as to what God is saying to us and what he would have us do.

This is where the danger in this theme of finding God and neighbor becomes apparent, for if we are really serious about finding God in the complexities of today, it may mean some rather radical readjustment in our thinking. It might mean some re-evaluation of our home mission programs, of our peace and social concern objectives, our methods of Chrisitan education, our concept of the ministry itself. Or it may also mean we will need to make a much greater effort to support the existing programs of the various conference committees. Maybe the adjustments need to come at the level of our personal lives, especially in the area of stewardship and commitment.

No doubt the adjustments we are willing to make will depend upon what sort of God we expect to find. If we expect to find a God who gives his blessing to the status quo, then we will not need to make any adjustments. This is a safe and comforting God, one who does not ask for any additional response on our part. If we expect to find a nationalistic God, then we will remain silent while our government spends billions for weapons and continues to send young men to kill and be killed in foreign lands. If we expect to find a God of the privileged, then we will see little need to stand side by side with the oppressed. If we find satisfaction in a Sunday school concept of God we will see little need for those efforts in Christian education designed to help us achieve a fuller and more mature faith.

Obviously, such concepts of God are narrow and limited. They say nothing about the God who sent his Son to live among sinful men. They say nothing about Jesus the Christ of the New Testament who

spent much of his time with the poor and the oppressed and gave them hope. They say nothing about fulfilling Jesus' prayer for unity in the church. They say nothing about Jesus attempting to meet all the needs of men, both physical and spiritual. They say nothing about total commitment to Christ and his cause—the man who asked others to give up everything in order to follow him and to proclaim a new kingdom.

For his efforts Jesus was given a cross. Is this the kind of God we want to find—the kind of God who would have us take up our cross? If we are really serious about finding that kind of God, it could have far-reaching implications for what happens in Wichita today and after.

Once we find this kind of God, only then will we know what it is to find our neighbor, wherever he may be. As the love of God was manifested in the act of giving his Son, so our love is truly love when it is put into action, and this action must, of course, include our neighbor. To paraphrase Elizabeth O'Conner, our inward journey to God must find its fulfillment in a journey outward to our neighbor. To find God and to ignore the neighbor is a contradiction of what the gospel is all about.

We have come to Wichita to deliberate, to discuss, and to think together as a brotherhood what our mission is in the Western District Conference. We say it is to find God and neighbor. Let us pray that this theme becomes more than just a catchy slogan. May this slogan by our actions here this weekend become a reality. The decisions we make will determine just how serious we are in carrying out the theme.

I John 4:11, 19-21 has something to say to us about finding God and neighbor. Possibly this could be the text for our theme: "If God so loved us, we also ought to love one another."

The Hutterites in Contemporary Society

By George G. Thielman

THE AIM OF this article is to describe the Hutterites, who—although they share many of the Anabaptist practices and tenets—are nevertheless distinct from the Mennonites. The majority of this very small group of Christians are now found in Canada, located near Lethbridge, Alberta, at Elie, Manitoba, and a few in Alsack, Saskatchewan. The present Hutterite population are descended from a very small number of original families who used to live in South Germany, Moravia, and Tyrol, several hundred years ago. There have been practically no additions from the outside since that time, and the present population comprise a few thousand situated in the Dakotas of the United States and in western Canada. They can trace their origin to the days of their persecution in Moravia and Tyrol in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[1]

The question is often raised whether the Hutterites should be classed with the Mennonites, since they do have a common origin and in the beginning there was hardly any difference between them.[2] The differences developed later.

Like the Mennonites, the Hutterites firmly believe in unconditional nonresistance. As a sect the Hutterites originated in Moravia in 1553, when they separated from the Swiss Brethren or Anabaptists (Mennonites), because they wanted to practice the Apostolic "principle of community of goods," or the sharing of all belongings, and because they insisted on a stricter application of the principle of nonresistance under the leadership of the Anabaptist preacher, Jacob Hutter. This clearly distinguishes them from the Mennonites, with whom the practice of "community of goods" can hardly be described as an economic tradition. The Mennonites fully recognize and practice the right of private property as do other members of the secular society. Both groups, however, show a record of genuine devotion and loyalty to Christian principles as well as persecution and migration.

Being persecuted for their beliefs and practices, the Hutterites wandered eastward and, in course of time, established themselves with their Mennonite cousins in the Ukraine or southern Russian steppes or prairies, where they enjoyed privileges similar to those granted the Mennonites.

In the 1870's, when the Czar of Imperial Russia threatened to abrogate their special privileges, they migrated to the United States and settled in South Dakota.[3] In 1889 a few Hutterites came to western Canada and established a community settlement near Dominion City, Manitoba. However, the major Hutter-

ite immigration into Canada came in 1918, as a result of hate propaganda and persecution in the United States. But the move did not come soon enough for some of them. Some of their young men died as a result of tortures inflicted on them in prison. Entire herds of their cattle were driven from their pastures because of their refusal to buy war bonds.[4]

These and other similar unfortunate experiences of the Hutterites in the United States occasioned their search for another haven where they could enjoy more freedom and peaceful coexistence with people holding different views. Fortunately, the Canadian government admitted them just a few years before an ultra-conservative administration issued an Order in Council barring all Mennonites, Hutterites, and Doukhobors from Canada. The year 1918 marked the exodus of the majority of the Hutterites from South Dakota to Canada. By 1947 there were thirty-five colonies or "Bruderhofs" in the province of Alberta and seventeen colonies in Manitoba.

It would be difficult for an outside observer to understand and accept the way of life of the Hutterites. However, it is time that people in pluralist democracies like the United States and Canada seriously implement the principles of Judaism, Christianity, and democracy which emphasize the worth and dignity of every man. Thus it behooves everyone who professes to be a believer in Christian democracy to respect the beliefs of those who differ with him, even if he cannot understand or accept them. Although the writer disagrees with the Hutterite ideas of "community of goods," he has no reason to despise them. In their "Bruderhofs" the Hutterites represent the most unique and interesting experiment in Christian communism in Canada, perhaps in the world, and they are unique in the fact that their communistic society traces back for the past three hundred and fifty years.[5]

To illustrate one facet of their way of life, one might mention here that there is a division of labor, everyone sharing the work in the community. Since there is no private property nor choice of occupation, everyone's job is assigned to him or her. Furthermore, all the members of the community eat at a common dining table.

Because of their peculiar beliefs and practices, it became exceedingly difficult for the Hutterites to find land for block settlements. In fact, it was public sentiment against them more than anything else that handicapped them in finding a place to live in peace. It is not surprising that a group, such as the Hutterites, who dared to be different from the surrounding society, so easily became a target and scapegoat in times of a national crisis such as the recent World Wars.[6]

It should be noted that during World War I the Hutterites in the United States suffered more persecution than any other pacifist group, for they were most consistent in refusing to compromise their stand. It is tragic to read about the incredible harassment the young Hutterites had to face when they were declared liable for military service or for noncombatant service in military uniform ordered by the President. Every conceivable means was tried to get them to perform the prescribed noncombatant service, including various methods of ingenious physical torture.[7] Nevertheless the young Hutterite draftees could not be persuaded or pressured to take part in any noncombatant service prescribed by the President.[8]

What made it so difficult for the Hutterites to defend their rights, either in the United States or Canada, was the fact that they were completely isolated from the rest of the secular society. In this isolation, there had been no adjustment to their political and social environment, and they had even lost touch with the other branches of the Anabaptists or Mennonites. Their independence gave rise to extreme hostile intolerance among their neighbors. Nor had the authorities made any attempt to find out about these queer people; they had simply been ignored. When the Hutterites refused to buy war bonds and to send their young men to answer the call to arms, even then government officials made no effort to look for the underlying reasons. They simply treated these German-speaking people with contempt and ridicule. Even top state courts ruled that they were a menace to society.

In order to escape from such frightful living conditions, they got in touch with Canadian authorities, who assured the Hutterites that they would not be molested in Canada. This favorable attitude indicated that Canada was interested in the Hutterites, perhaps in part because their farm sites in South Dakota were reported to be in excellent shape. According to the *Canadian Sessional Papers,* 1900, No. 13, II. Page 136, the *Report* indicated the possibility of a large influx of Hutterites into Canada at the turn of the last century. Actually, however, they did not come in large numbers until after World War I.[9] Moreover, even though the Hutterites were accepted in the new country, they did not find the hoped for peace and understanding in Canada either. From the time the Second World War broke out until some time afterward, they were subjected to considerable harassment.[10] History seemed doomed to repeat itself, as what had happened in the United States during World War I was re-enacted in Canada during World War II.

Local partriots saw a potential danger in the Hutterites, first, because of their negative attitude toward the Canadian war effort and, in the second place—and much more importantly—because of their rapid spread and their purchases of land for agricultural purposes. As a result of strong and persistent public pressure, provincial laws were enacted to prohibit the Hutterites from purchasing more land.

This discriminatory legislation was due to expire on April 30, 1947, but was replaced by new restrictions. A petition signed by 365 residents of three Alberta districts asked the provincial government to continue the ban on Hutterite buying of more real estate[11] and apparently convinced the government that the pacifist Hutterites were expanding their land holdings rapidly on war-time profits, thus giving war veterans no chance to acquire preferred land when discharged.[12] In any event, the Alberta Legislature replaced the wartime ban against the purchase of land by the Hutterites with a new law in the spring of 1947 which banned expansion of the existing Hutterite colonies and forbade the establishment of "new *Bruderhöfe*" within forty miles of any previously established group.

The Hutterites did, of course, try to present their side of the issue. They claimed that the four thousand Hutterites in Alberta could not possibly continue to exist unless they could obtain more land at once. They further contended that they farmed less land per capita than other Albertans, a claim which was proven valid later on.

For example, in 1947 thirty-three colonies in Alberta had 167,800 acres of land, giving the Hutterites a per capita acreage of 41.06 acres of cultivated and pasture land. On the other hand, their neighbors, according to the Hutterite claim, had 300-400 acres per capita, with some having as many as a thousand acres.[13]

The Hutterite leaders defended their legitimate right to buy more land before Hearings of a Special Committee of the Alberta Legislature studying the issue of whether the war-time ban against more land acquisition by the Hutterites should be discontinued. They said, "We don't want as much land as our neighbors, as we will not live in the same luxury as they do, but we need more agricultural land as a major means of support; we desperately need more land than we have now. We are worried over the future of our children. We do have the money to invest, and unless we can buy more needed land and provide for our children's future welfare, both our money and our young people will remain idle and, what's more, our colonies will continue to be overcrowded."[14]

The Hutterite leaders also noted that other groups of conscientious objectors were permitted to add to their land holdings by the purchase of more land and asserted that the prohibitions directed against them were a form of religious persecution because of their unconventional way of living.[15] They told the Special Committee of the Alberta Legislature that in their honest opinion the real purpose of the current agitation against them was to drive them out of their new homeland.

When we consider the fate of the Hutterites, the question which forces itself to the front is this: Will there ever be a time and a country in which a minority group's way of life will be consistently tolerated, not only on paper, but also in reality? Is it too much to expect this type of tolerance from democratic states such as the United States and Canada? Certainly the intolerance which we have described is contrary to the democratic principles which are professed by the people of these nations. It is an irony of fate that the ultra-conservative Old Colony Mennonites and Hutterites are continually moving from democratic North America to dictatorial countries in Latin America.[16]

However, it is only fair to note that among non-Mennonites and non-Hutterites there were strong reactions against the discriminatory actions of the Alberta government and the people with respect to the Hutterites. With impressive boldness a special correspondent for a widely read newspaper in Saskatchewan struck out against the authorities which curtailed land purchases of the Hutterite colonies. He posed the following burning questions:[17]

When a group of Canadians meet to protest the extension of Hutterite land holdings, do they come as people versed in history, mindful of the example of Sparta, which tried to pour all men into a military mold, or of Athens, the most democratic, and at the same time the most progressive of the Greek states? Do we remember Spain, whose retrogression from a first to a third rate power took place at the same time that its rulers were ruthlessly exterminating the Moors and the Jews? Do memories go back even as far as the example of Nazi Germany and the fate that overtook the "master race"? . . . If these cases from history are fresh in our minds, and if we say to ourselves, "Ah, but British and American liberty, our dearly purchased freedom of religion and speech—these are too strong to be impaired by just a few subversive laws against one inconspicuous group, and anyhow, these matters are too idealistic, too impractical," do we then examine the question in a practical light? Do we ask what is the importance to Canadian economy of a people who support themselves on an average of 27 acres per person; support themselves without taking a single old age pension or a dollar of children's allowance; without ever turning up at a hospital for municipal aid; with no individual from the whole group in jail or in an insane asylum, or suffering from venereal disease; with no government grant for religious and few government grants for educational purposes?

In reference to the land the Hutterites bought, the agitated correspondent went on:

When we talk of "the land our forefathers fought for," and ask why "these foreigners are allowed to purchase fields that should be available for veterans, do we remember that many of the acres which the Hutterites are now farming, they bought in the bleak years of the depression, and that although our forefathers may have fought for these lands, our fathers would not have accepted them as a gift at the time when the Hutterites bought them? Are we careful to make sure that any veteran would gladly purchase them today?

If we become more practical and ask of what

benefit the Hutterites are to the community, do we ever ask the lumberman how many dollars a month of lumber the Hutterites have purchased from him? Do we check with the coal and implement dealer? Or find out how many bushels of grain the colonies have shipped through the local grain elevators? Do we ask how many Hutterite weddings we have attended? How often in the past years we have taken implements to the Hutterite blacksmith shop for repairs? How many times a Hutterite diesel and snow plow has cleared off a road too costly for our municipal councillor to tackle?

If worried of the "practical," we revert to the "idealistic," do we ever ask whether in our zeal to have all our neighbors conform to the "white man's" pattern we may be losing variety and committing that error which Tennyson described as letting "one good custom corrupt the world"[18]?

However, such compassion and understanding were not general. There was a lack of communication between the Hutterites and the larger society; the peculiar beliefs and practices of this group produced a lot of resentment and dislike among the people who made no effort to accept them as good neighbors.

The unpopularity of the Hutterites was undoubtedly enhanced by the gross discrimination of the Alberta Legislature against these ultra-nonresistant people. However, the law-making body reflected public opinion in the Province of Alberta, which apparently was very unfavorable toward the Hutterites at that time. In fact, a reporter of the *Saskatoon Star Phoenix,* who spent four days in the colonies, said that the majority of the general populace would like to see the Hutterites pack up their baggage and leave the province. What to do with them was certainly a live question in southern Alberta during the post-war period.[19]

And yet, despite the strong agitation against the Hutterites, the reporter was able to make positive statements in their behalf:

Praise for them as farmers could be heard on every hand. It couldn't be otherwise, as they were master farmers.

Dislike of the Hutterites sprang from many factors. The public, still remembering the war and the loss of their sons on the battlefield, resented the Hutterites' extreme belief in unconditional nonresistance and nonviolence. They were also disliked for their peculiar communal way of life, for their isolation and nonparticipation in general activities of Canadian community affairs, so that they were not absorbed into the larger society. They were disliked for their extreme frugality or thrift, which made "poor spenders" of them. Although they were power farmers, and used trucks and tractors, they refused to buy automobiles, because these were considered a luxury forbidden by their simple way of life. Their old-fashioned manner of dress, with clothes cut from identical patterns along strictly practical lines, stamped them as queer people. There was no adornment of any kind to be found in their homes or on their persons.[20] Finally, they were not liked because of their lack of education, for their children seldom went beyond the public school grades.

Some Canadians, despite the generally outspoken opposition to the Hutterites, came to their defense. Reasonable people realized that they were human beings and that the actions of the Legislature violated the democratic doctrine of equality of civil rights. Some pressure was therefore being exerted on the legislature to let the legislation expire in the spring of 1947.

Urging the discontinuance of the law which forbade Hutterites to buy more land, their legal counsel, L. S. Turcotte, said at the Legislative Committee hearings in Edmonton, Alberta, that unless they could get more land, they would be forced to leave the province. Taking "Sunnyside Hutterite Colony" as an example, Turcotte compared it to the size of Japanese farms by pointing out that the 145 people in this community had but 4,500 acres of land, out of which only 1,700 acres were cultivated, while the rest was "rough pasture land." Thus the colony had merely 11-12 acres per person. However, since half of the cultivated portion was summer fallowed each year, this left only five to six acres of crop annually for each person.

Attorney Turcotte disputed the arguments of those who insisted that the Hutterite land purchases gave no chance to veterans to secure land on which to settle. "At least," he said, "let us be honest about it, and not bamboozle ourselves in believing that we are doing it to help the veterans to get farm land, when such is not the reason at all." He strongly contended that since the right to buy land was a basic right in a democracy, there was no justification for any action to deny that right, for "without land these people could not live."

Fortunately, a more favorable attitude prevailed in Saskatchewan. Its people and government took an exactly opposite stand to that of Alberta. Here the authorities welcomed this religious group and felt that the Hutterites' colonies had been a stabilizing factor for the districts where they had settled and for the nation generally.[22] Consequently, in order to relieve the congestion in their Alberta colonies, the Hutterites lost no time in responding to such positive conditions. Having been invited to come to Saskatchewan, the Woolford Hutterite Colony of southern Alberta bought $250,000 worth of land near Maple Creek, Saskatchewan, which involved 11,600 acres of mixed farming land. According to the colony spokesman, Fritz Komm of Cardson, Alberta, the deal was closed without delay. Furthermore, no restrictions were placed on the purchase.[23]

The Hutterites provide a fascinating field for further investigation. This small group has persevered in the conviction that they have the right to preserve their own cultural heritage, even though this caused friction between Canadianism and Hutteritism. Their stubborn adherence to their quiet and stable way of life makes more and more striking the contrast between them and the fast changing modern world around them.

FOOTNOTES

1. Robert England, *The Colonization of Western Canada, A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement (1896-1934)*. P. S. King & Son, Limited, Orchard Hill, Westminster, 1936, p. 247.
2. C. Krahn, "Faith of Our Fathers," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, March 23, 1950, p. 7.
3. "The Hutterite Study," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, June 15, 1951, Special correspondence.
4. Heinz Lehmann, *Das Deutschtum in West Kanada*. Junker und Duennhaupt, Berlin, 1939, pp. 109-111.
5. Robert England, *op. cit.*, p. 248.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
7. John D. Unruh, "The Hutterites During World War I," *Mennonite Life*, XXIV, No. 3 (July 1969), p. 131.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 132 f.
9. Heinz Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
10. C. Krahn, "Spread of the Mennonites," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, June 29, 1950.
11. "Ask Hutterite Ban to Remain," Calgary, Alberta, February 13, 1947, *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
12. "Alberta Hutterites Buying Still More Land," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*.
13. "Alberta Commission Studying Problem of Hutterite Land," Lethbridge, Alberta, February 10, 1947, *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. C. Krahn, "Faith of Our Fathers," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, June 20, 1957.
17. "Is It a Case Against the Hutterites?" special correspondence, *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, April 22, 1947.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Eric Knowles, "Alberta Hutterites," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, July 21, 1947.
20. *Ibid.*
21. "Hutterites Claim Alberta's Plan Is To Get Them Off Land," Lethbridge, Alberta, February 11, 1947, *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, Saskatoon, Sask.
22. "Hutterites Purchase Maple Creek Land," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, June 23, 1952.
23. *Ibid.*

Books in Review

Low German in Siberia

Hugo Jedig: Laut-und Formenbestand des Niederdeutschen Mundart des Altai Gebietes. Akademie-Verlag-Berlin (D.D.R.) 1966, 106 p., $2.00.

It is strangely paradoxical indeed that the first grammar of the Low German of the Mennonites bearing any semblance of completion should have been written by a Germanist in the Soviet Union, namely Hugo Jedig, Omsk. The descriptive grammar project has been undertaken in the remote heterogenous settlement of the Altai settlement. The study of the Low German dialect of the Mennonites goes back to Jacob (later Walter) Quiring's *Die Mundart von Chortiza in Südrussland* (München, 1928) a doctoral thesis. The noted etymologist, the octogenarian Walter Mitzka insists to this day that Quiring owes a goodly share of the work to his (Mitzka's) initiative and *Unterlagen*. It cannot be disputed that Mitzka at the time was conducting research on the dialect in Hammerstein and used Quiring as a *Gewährsmann*. Be that as it may, the work published under Quiring's name did give impulse to research, long neglected, in the field.

Jedig introduces the topic under discussion in historical terms but is conspicuously careful to avoid using the term "Mennonites", using *Niederdeutsch* throughout.

After this brief and somewhat arbitrary introduction, he presents a scholarly, objective and useful grammar of this Low German vernacular and documents it thoroughly and conscientiously. Wherever and whenever possible he cites Agathe Lasch, the only Middle Low German grammarian of note, on whose work all historical grammars of Low German must needs be based.

Jedig presents an historical explanation for the peculiarly palatalized k' in *Niederdeutsch* (as an example *k'oak'* for church) a dialect peculiarity that has long puzzled dialectologists. In his day Quiring overlooked this palatal k and its occasional variations. Unfortunately Jedig has not differentiated the two common usages of -u- and-ü- with equal discrimination (as examples *hus* and *hüs* for house and *ful* and *fül* for lazy). But this may simply be due to a lack of informants speaking variations of the vowel and the *Umlaut* since the *umlauted* u seems to have asserted itself in the Altai area.

A few random errors or inconsistencies may be noted. While Jedig's choice of examples to illustrate the a is appropriate and well chosen as in *gauns* for 'goose' *launt* for 'land' it is difficult to understand why he proceeds to the short diphthongs of au where the following serve as examples: *gauns* 'goose', *dauf* 'deaf' and *kaup* 'a buy or purchase'. It seems that in the latter set of examples the goose sneaked

in with little, if any, justification. On page 31 Jedig cites *boun* 'bean' as an example of the Middle Low German o:. He seems to err since Mennonites in their dialect know exclusively *Schaubel* (related to Säbel, sickle). A further slip is to be noted on page 35 where *Kerbe* should obviously read *Körbe* 'baskets' which is used to illustrate the palatal k'.

In my correspondence with Jedig I have never established whether he grew up with the dialect. If he did the work is an achievement, if he did not the work is an incredible masterpiece. In this case it ranks with Schirmunski's (Leningrad) *Mundartkunde* which is far and away the most voluminous, erudite and reliable work on German dialectology. The former puts the Mennonite dialectologist to shame, the latter the German. And Jedig has barely started!

J. Thiessen.

Evangelical Church in Russia

Beiträge zur Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche in Russland, by Hermann Dalton. Gota: F. A. Perthes 1887, reprinted by Editions Rodopi. Amsterdam 1968. Part I, pp. 344. Part II, pp. 429. 125 guilders.

This book dealing with the Evangelical Church in Russia consists of two major parts. The first part is devoted to the Lutheran Church and the second one to the Reformed Church. The term "Russia" is a designation in the widest sense of the word. The author starts with the earliest beginnings and includes the Baltic states and Poland as a part of Russia, even the period during which it was occupied by Gustavus Adolphus. The treatment follows the ups and down of the Lutheran Church including the 19th century.

In the second part, the Reformed Church is presented with a special emphasis on the manifestos and legal status of the church, starting with the earliest times of the settlement of foreigners. The chapter entitled "General Decrees in Regard to Christians of Foreign Denominations and Dissenters in Russia Particularly in Regard to their Relationship to the State Church" and other similar chapters are of general significance, such as the invitations to foreigners from Catherine the Great and Alexander the First. The second part of the book constitutes a significant source of legal information pertaining to all settlers. The last chapter of the book is devoted to the development of the creeds of the Reformed Church in Russia. It is fortunate that this book which had been out of print for so long has now been reprinted.

BETHEL COLLEGE *Cornelius Krahn*

Old Colony Mennonites

The Old Colony Mennonites: Dilemma of Ethnic Minority Life, by Calvin Wall Redekop. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 302 pages. $10.00.

The book by Dr. Redekop is a sociological study of the Old Colony Mennonites. They are a minority determined to retain an identity which finds itself under continuous pressure; there is the relentless pressure from the outside insisting on full accommodation, and then there is always more or less pressure from the inside, too, the demand of a part of the group for partial adjustment. Subjected to these two pressures, the group finds itself in the tragic or ironic situation that if it successfully resists this pressure it will stagnate internally, or if on the other hand, it makes too many concessions it must lose its identity and eventually disappear in the larger society. History knows many instances where a group determined to preserve its identity eventually has lost out to the majority and has become part of it. Redekop comes to the conclusion that this ultimately will be the fate of the Old Colony Mennonites, too.

A sociological study, of course, is different from a narration, but those who are interested infinding out how and why things are happening will find Redekop's book interesting and helpful.

The study starts with the background of the Old Colony group and traces very briefly its long journey from the Netherlands to the Vistula Delta, Southern Russia, the Canadian West, Mexico, Honduras, and Bolivia. This is a long road indeed, and one that bears witness to the determination of the group to retain its identity. It is an unusual record, and the price that had to be paid has been high. Whether we agree or disagree with these people, we cannot deny them a certain amount of admiration.

In its long flight from country to country the group became more and more tightly knit. Although of a very evangelical and missionary minded background, the group has completely given up these premises. The Old Colony Mennonites do not wish any newcomers in their midst, and they have no desire to influence outsiders one way or another; their sole wish is to be left alone and to be permitted to retain what they consider to be the Christian way of life. But in the course of time many of their values have shifted; education and progress are looked at with deep suspicion. To maintain the status quo has become the chief aim of the Old Colony leadership.

But underneath the official veneer there are rumblings. There is sufficient life and energy left in the group for a growing number of its members to long for a change. This desire is evident on the religious, educational, social, and economic levels of the group. If our society at large has furnished proof, as some of us think it has, that education does not necessarily make for a wiser and better people and economic prosperity does not necessarily make for happiness and contentment, then the Old Colony Mennonites have proven that ignorance and fear of progress are no panaceas either.

The book offers maps, tables, and photographs. Interviews with various individuals in and out of the group add substantially to the value of the study. The index is helpful.

Redekop very seldom, if ever, passes judgment. His study is fair, scholarly, and impartial. Sympathetic to the people he deals with and not blind to their shortcomings, the author still can say, "The Old Colony is a fascinating society, one which evokes admiration and respect" (p. 224). Human sympathy and understanding for those who are different from ourselves is a characteristic of a true scholar and gentleman. To all those craving for insight into human nature and the problems of minorities, this book can be highly recommended. In addition to this, it contains basic information pertaining to a less known branch of the Mennonites.

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA *Gerhard Lohrenz*

God Classified 1-A

Roy H. Abrams, ***Preachers Present Arms.*** Revised second edition. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1969. 330 pages. $5.95.

This monograph must remain unique in its field. To those of us who moved into the orbit of Christian pacifism in the turbulent 'thirties, Abrams' book served as liquid oxygen propellant, reinforced by the popular conviction that there was some kind of *legerdemain* behind American involvement in the first crusade in Europe. Abrams' study has now been reprinted with sections added on World War II and its aftermath. This book still stands to remind a now much more sophisticated religious community that preachers did behave that way in World War I, and have since; that in the time of war, both in the USA and in a somewhat similar fashion in the USSR, the church has become a part of the civil service establishment devoted to the prosecution of war objectives. We continue to "praise the Lord" while passing out ammunition, napalm, and nuclear missles. Perhaps in the second crusade we became more nearly "mournful warriors," but nevertheless, as caustic observation had it, God was finally classified 1-A even in World War II.

How in this "world village" or on "spaceship earth" God may choose, or not, to deliver man from his ethnocentricity and his violence is not clear to any observer at this point. Young Christians, and young Mennonites in particular, ought to read this book to capture for themselves the tenor of America's religious environment in one war-time situation. Perhaps then they can more clearly see that the church tradition in which they stand may be set part in a genuinely meaningful manner. Perhaps they might grow a bit more tolerant of some momentary intransigence of their elders.

After thirty years or more it is to be regretted that no very great amount of research effort has probed into a whole range of problems identified with the phenomenon of organized violence—a phenomenon which bristles with sociological and psychological import. The dynamic aspects of violence and nationalism have not summoned the efforts of Mennonite researchers to bring further understanding. Perhaps such issues are intuitively sensed as being beyond research?

Abrams' book should be read by all confessing Christians, and not a few practicing atheists would find reinforcement for their convictions in its pages also.

BETHEL COLLEGE *J. Lloyd Spaulding*

Faith and Liberty

Philip Wogaman. ***Protestant Faith and Religious Liberty.*** Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1967, 254 pages. $4.75.

Philip Wogaman has attempted to define the Protestant position on religious liberty. He does so by trying to combine insights from the fields of theology, political science and philosophy, and sociology with his own specialty of Christian social ethics which he teaches at Wesley Theological Seminary in Washington, D.C. He also intends it as a contribution to ecumenical discussion.

He states his major thesis in the preface, "the Reformation doctrine of the sovereignty of God provides the most important clue to the inner meaning of Protestantism on the one hand, and to the basis of religious liberty in Christian theology on the other" (p. 10). He develops the thesis by defining the continuing nature of the problem in chapter I, "A Perennial Question in a New Era." He proceeds to examine what he considers to be "Inadequate Foundations." He then gives the constructive theological case for the Protestant faith in "Protestant Faith as Criticism" and "Protestant Faith as Expectancy."

The central chapter is the fifth one on "The Responsible State in Protestant Perspective." He defines the state very precisely as "Society acting as a whole, with the ability to compel" (p. 149). Such a state always is a relative concensus of a society and is society's structure for acting as a whole to maintain itself. The responsible state should acknowledge its relativity over against the sovereignty of God, and the Protestant faith should not ask such a state to make ultimate judgments about religious faith. Out of this recognition comes the basis for religious liberty.

As a social ethicist Wogaman moves from the theoretical chapter to an application of the theory to several practical issues under the titles "From Principle to Policy" and "Protestant Faith in Dialogue: Some Concluding Observations." He deals with such issues as religious establishment, religious education, religious schools, and political involvement in the earlier one. In his argument for religious schools it is not at all clear that he would be sympathetic with the Amish. He seems to assume that preparation for participation in modern society is a right which adheres to the individual so that the responsible state must overrule the desires of parents. He cites the instance of the state's order for blood transfusions to save the life of a child despite the religious convictions of parents who object. He seems to use this practice as a parallel which he would probably apply to allow the state to overrule religious schools which do not offer the child the preparation to participate adequately in modern society.

The section on political action is generally good though he never seems to accept the church as an alternate form to the state for society with the two appealing to contrasting means as the ultimate sanction, the state symbolized by the compulsion of the sword and the church symbolized by the self-sacrificing character of the cross.

The final chapter deals with dialogue in ecumenical relationships, with the Marxists, and with secular humanists. He also discusses dialogue as means and ends. The discussion of dialogue with Marxists is needful, especially as it applies to treatment of Marxism as a "religion" in the United States.

His treatment of the famous figure of a wall of separation between church and state is also very helpful. He looks upon it as a metaphor with limited utility rather than as a principle adequate to define the proper way to deal with all church-state relationships.

A bibliography other than that given in the footnotes would be desirable. He shows a fairly wide familiarity with the literature in English though it is doubtful if he has taken seriously the Mennonite position other than as it is mediated through the writings of Franklin H. Littell.

The book is a contribution which should be read by those interested in religious liberty. Though the title seems to restrict the interest to the Protestant faith, his analysis of the state and the theological presuppositions which at least for Christians might determine their positions on religious liberty deserves wider reading.

BETHEL COLLEGE *William Keeney*

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