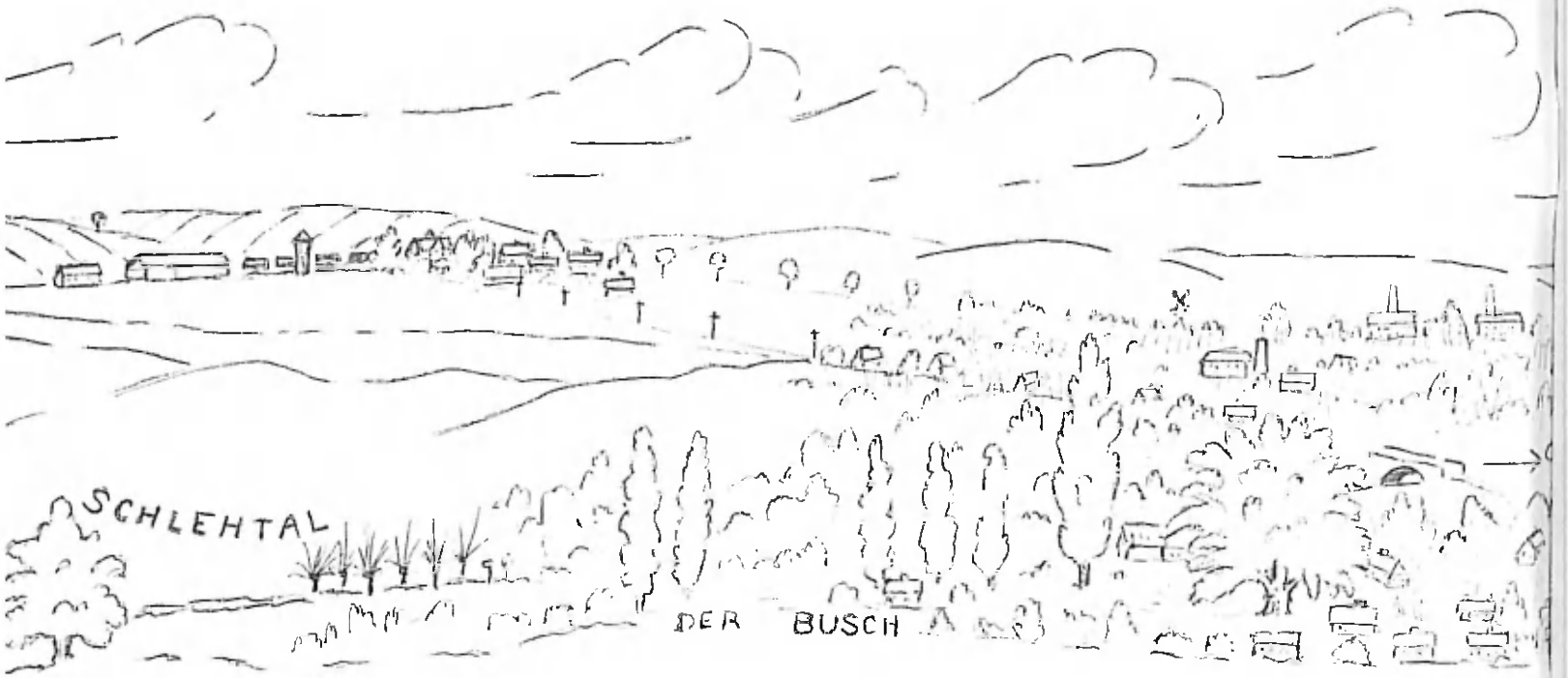
# MENNONITE LIFE

JANUARY 1971

*An Illustrated Quarterly Published by Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas*






Chortitza, 1922

# MENNONITE LIFE

*January 1971* *Volume XXVI* *Number 1*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FRONT COVER:
The *Schlehtal* (Valley of Blackthorn) in fall (Chortitza).

BACK COVER:
The youngest campaigner for "Jim" (Daddy).

INSIDE COVER:
Chortitza on the Dnieper River.

ART AND PHOTO CREDITS:
Front and inside cover, pages 12 and 13, reproductions from paintings by N. J. Kroeker. Back cover, pages 9 and 10, Juhnke campaign.


Printing and lay-out by Mennonite Press
North Newton, Kansas 67114

MENNONITE LIFE is an illustrated quarterly magazine published in January, April, July, and October by Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas. Second-class postage paid at North Newton, Kansas 67117. SUBSCRIPTION RATES: One year, $3.00; Three years, $7.50; Five years, $12.50. Single issues, 75 cents.

## IN THIS ISSUE

we find features that differ from most preceding ones. The focus is based in one way or another on the sponsor and publisher of the magazine, *Mennonite Life*. This finds expression in the articles "Education in Crisis," and in "The Changing Roles of Education." In addition to this most of the articles were produced by faculty members and former and present students of Bethel College which has published *Mennonite Life* during the past 25 years of its existence. ¶ Sol Yoder raises the always timely question on how one can and must aim to be an "Anabaptist Today," if one wants to preserve the best in the Mennonite heritage for future generations. Jim Juhnke wrestles with the same question by illustrating how he became politically involved, inspired by the same idealism. W. R. Estep, Jr., and Fred J. Zerger take us back to the early Anabaptist scene. Both come to the conclusion that they were considered "subversive" by their opponents in state and church because they broke so radically with the Christian tradition of their day. ¶ N. J. Kroeker features, in word and art, the first Mennonite settlement in Russia named Chortitza as he remembers it from 50 years ago when he left the place of his birth and youth. ¶ The review of the book *Systematic Theology Today* gives the reader an unusual opportunity to acquaint himself with the thinking of an outstanding theologian of our day, who is closely related to Bethel College. In Jean Wedel's account, we have an opportunity to familiarize ourselves with a contemporary issue in regard to the role of women in modern society. ¶ The "Index" is an unusual and extremely helpful feature covering the last five years of *Mennonite Life* (1966-1970). This same feature appeared in January 1966 and 1961, each for the preceding five years, and in January 1956 for the first ten years.

# Education in Crisis
# Bethel College and the Church

*By Elbert Koontz*

IT IS NOT NEWS that most of the small denominational church-related colleges in the United States are facing a time of crisis. The crisis is in financial resources and in terms of student enrollments. Inflation has brought its toll in the work of the higher education program as well as in other areas. This crisis is shared with Bethel College in North Newton, Kansas.

Bethel College has had a long standing relationship particularly with the Western District Conference of the General Conference Mennonite Church. The congregations of the district and the General Conference have received much from the college in terms of leadership since its founding. When the churches became vitally aware of the crisis at Bethel College, there seemed to be a ground swell of interest in giving assistance to the college. As a result of this interest, a motion was made at the Western District Conference session in Hillsboro, Kansas, that a Special Session of the District Conference be held to give consideration to the future of Bethel College, and to explore ways in which the Conference and the College could be mutually helpful to each other.

This Special Session of the Conference was called for November 27-28, 1970, at Krehbiel Auditorium, on the Bethel College campus. Forty-seven of the sixty-four member churches of the district were represented by delegates at this session. Some four hundred people attended. Reports were heard from President Orville Voth, about the nature of the crisis that is facing Bethel. A report of a Goals Study Committee, which has been working for several months, was shared by Willard Kaufman, chairman of the Board of Directors and of the Goals Study Committee of Bethel College.

From the small discussion groups came many helpful suggestions, as well as some frank criticisms and desires for new directions for the college. Many expressed words of appreciation for what the college has done and is continuing to do for the church and for the young people who attend there. As a result of this Special Conference and sharing together, a number of resolutions were passed. They are as follows:

## *Resolutions Pertaining to Bethel College*

Resolution #1 - *District Conference Study of Goals and Objectives*

The crisis of Bethel College is within the larger context of the entire Conference and our churches. There is a general situation facing us of leadership loss, of churches failing to grow, of our youth going out into the larger community and losing their identity with the Christian heritage of Anabaptist-Mennonite interpretation.

BE IT RESOLVED that we request the Western District Conference undertake a study of goals and objectives to state anew the nature of the Church, and to clarify the objective we expect for our educational program.

Resolution #2 - *College Personnel to Visit Church Communities*

We recognize the need to increase confidence between the Church constituency and the College, to facilitate communication and agreement concerning objectives, and to break down barriers between College and Church. We invite delegations of Bethel College faculty, administration, and students to our church communities, our homes and churches to share what it means to be Christians of Mennonite conviction in the 1970's.

Resolution #3 - *State Tuition Grant*

RESOLVED that we endorse the State Tuition Grant as proposed by the Associated Independent Colleges of Kansas, and request that the Conference and the churches express their support, with urgency, to the appropriate legislative officials.

Resolution #4 - *Recruitment Training Program*

WE RECOMMEND that a promotion, recruitment and solicitation program be established to train individuals within our churches for student recruitment in high schools and communities.

Resolution #5 - *College Financial Deficit*

RESOLVED that the Western District Conference assumes the estimated deficit this year of $175,000 in operating expenses of Bethel College. This is understood to be above budget norm of giving.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that all those in attendance of this special session of conference make a specific financial commitment to Bethel College as they are able, and begin the implementation of this resolution by joining one of the gift clubs before they leave the auditorium, projecting a goal of raising the $250,000 needed for current operating expenses; then go home, resolved to secure at least two more persons to make similar commitments.

Resolution #6 - *Communication between College and Constituency*

WHEREAS there has been a lack of confidence between Bethel College and its constituency;

WHEREAS there has not been sufficient two-way communication between Bethel College and its constituency;

WHEREAS it is not possible to place blame for the current crisis;

WHEREAS it has not clearly emerged that the four-year liberal arts college is the only acceptable option for higher education;

BE IT RESOLVED that the Western District Conference create a vehicle of communication which will provide for two-way communication with the Bethel College Board, leading to a mutual understanding of mission, which will reflect the various needs of the society to which the Church-at-large ministers.

### *Bethel College to Remain Church-Related*

The Executive Committee of the Conference met in special session on December 2, 1970, to seek ways of implementing these resolutions. It was felt by the Executive Committee that these needed to be carried out by the District Conference. The first step that is being planned is to have a team of three persons, one from the Bethel College Board, one from the Faculty and/or Staff, and one from the Conference, visit each church to share together how each local congregation can work at implementing these resolutions in their local congregation. It is hoped that there will be individuals in each congregation who will be willing to assume leadership in student recruitment, in helping to bring understanding between the church and the college, as well as help in soliciting funds for the college.

It seemed to be the overwhelming consensus that Bethel College should remain a church-related institution. It was recognized that there is a need for diversity on a college campus, but that there needs to be a definite Christian emphasis that is evident to students and to visitors to the campus.

It was also evident that changes in relationships with other institutions of higher learning will need to be explored. Details on all of these matters will need to be worked out with those in places of responsible leadership.

Representatives of the congregations and the college who attended the Special Session are quite enthusiastic about the meeting and a number have expressed their feelings thaat this has been a good thing and that doors of communication are beginning to open that seemingly were closing between the church and the college. Many are quite optimistic about the future of Bethel College as a Church-related institution, and have given tangible evidence of this by their financial support and personal involvement in soliciting students and financial commitment from others.

Many things remain to be accomplished to put into operation the motions passed at the Special Session of the Conference. As these are being implemented, we believe better understanding and support will be forthcoming.

# The Changing Role of Education

*By Esko Loewen*

THE FORTUNES OR misfortunes of education, and more specifically Christian higher education in this day, have been the focus of a great deal of current discussion.

Christian higher education is entering a "new Dark Ages" precariously involved in a "survival game" a Lutheran theologian warned. Yet, observing that "all institutions of higher learning are in upheaval, fighting

for survival, occasionally enjoying the luxury of a quest for definition," he said these "new Dark Ages" will provide the context for a "new Christian mandate."

### *New Dark Ages?*

These are words and thoughts presented by Martin E. Marty, professor of theology at the University of Chicago, in an address to a Campus '70 Conference. His point was that the old civilization is in decadence. Moral change is in the air. Violence and cruelty surround us. New superstitions are peddled everywhere. And in our "new Dark Ages" premium has already been removed from higher learning. Whether this rather dramatic label Marty places on our present scene does really apply or not will not immediately be clear to us. But, that he points to something that is disturbing to us and causing change, is quite clear.

The original inspiration to think about this subject came to me because of a brief talk given last July by Mrs. J. J. Siemens of the Bethel College Mennonite Church. The one comment she made started a train of thought because it was a personal experience of hers and for me a very striking personal experience of my own. She stated that her parents, in the early years of this century, made the decision to move to Newton for the purpose of being near Bethel College in order that their children might have the educational advantages the college could afford. This was most striking because my parents had done precisely the same thing, moving from a very fine productive farm to this community onto a farm of marginal productive quality in order that their children might have all the advantages of an education. All of which reflects something of what education meant at the time, how important it was seen to be, how special it was seen to be—for not many would have the opportunity—and to what lengths those who valued an education would go in order for it to become a real possibility. To speak autobiographically, Father had no more than a sixth grade education; Mother a little more as she had attended the academy here.

The fact that this occurred in those earlier years gives cause to reflect on what an education meant to those people and why it had significance, but even more important what it means to us today, and what its changing role is, especially as related to Christian education and what our expectations for the future might be. First of all, let us look back briefly to try to sense something of the hopes and purposes of those times. Let us look back not to glorify that era, but rather to try to understand it and in the understanding come to some appreciation or understanding of our own situation today.

### *Beginning in the Prairie*

When one considers that there were those in the early development of Christian education in Kansas who, just fourteen years after the great immigration had taken place, were laying the cornerstone for the first building of what was to become Bethel College, one has to wonder how such a thing could be possible. Just fourteen years before the land in this area stood unsettled—open prairie. I personally take a great deal of pleasure driving through the Flint Hills country, getting out where there are no houses and no trees and no roads—only prairie and off in the distance cattle grazing. Then, in my imagination, trying to picture this land as those early settlers first saw it. Or, to recall the story of one man who came out to stake his claim for land after which his family followed, meeting him at Peabody. They got in the wagon and rode into the tall prairie grass for about ten miles to the northwest. Finally, he stopped the team and his wife asked him why he stopped. He said, "We are at our new home." She broke down and wept.

Fourteen years after those scenes took place, a huge tent was set up on this campus and 2,000 people gathered to witness the laying of the cornerstone of Bethel College. How could this happen? What made this kind of a venture conceivable after so brief a time to become settled and to become established as homes and communities and churches? How could there be this kind of enthusiasm and this kind of readiness to undertake the venture of building a college?

If one reads the literature of the time and hears the people of the time speaking, it becomes very apparent there were high hopes and enthusiasm and optimism about the future that charged the air. One senses this in reading what these founding fathers wrote and said. Perhaps illustrative is the story told by Bernard Iddings Bell which suggests that there was a spirit and mood abroad which was not confined at one place, but quite general in fact.

### *An Age of Optimism*

Bernard Iddings Bell tells of his childhood growing up in Chicago on the southside. He lived in one of the large stone and brick houses which had a coach house in back for the carriage and horses. Those who remember the seminary's location when it was in Chicago will recall it was situated in just such a setting, a large brick and stone house with a coach house in back.

Bell said that on New Year's Eve in 1899, his father gathered the entire family in the living room. At midnight that evening he called on them to fall on their knees and praise God for the 20th century, the Christian century, the century when man would drive out ignorance, conquer disease, overcome poverty, and witness the birth of a new world of peace and brotherhood. For in all the millennia of man's striving it was this time, this century, this day toward which all the toil and travail of man's struggle would come to its full flower. All this was to come to fruition in this

new century where man's deepest hope and yearning would be realized.

There was a high note of optimism as to what the future had in store. P. S. Goertz, former dean of Bethel College, told me once that he went to China as a missionary inspired to do so by the slogan of the Student Volunteer Movement led by John R. Mott. That slogan was "The world for Christ in this generation."

At this point in our history it is hard to reproduce the mood of that period of time—the optimism that was charging the air, the anticipation and the hope that existed, the almost implicit belief in progress as being both inevitable and good. It was something of this spirit and mood that charged the air and inspired men, giving them hope and the willingness to undertake such a venture as building a college, and causing families to make an education so foremost in their values as to sacrifice other things that an education might be possible.

The 20th century has been a hard teacher. Early we learned that progress was not necessarily good or inevitable. Soon we became keenly aware that man is not innately good and that ignorance was not the only enemy; the educated man could be as hateful and violent, and because of his education only all the more treacherous. Two ghastly wars of untold destruction stand as mute testimony to that. There is found in man a deep and dark element which in Christian faith is called his fallen or sinful nature and that has made itself so manifest in these recent times. Some of the old assumptions described by Bernard Iddings Bell have long been disproven. We are much less sure than the Bell family about the good qualities of the 20th century. For those who can recall those days of optimism and high expectation, there can be good reason for a bit of nostalgia, if only those earlier dreams and hopes could be real and vivid once again!

Nevertheless, the 20th century like the 18th century period of "enlightenment," has been a period of remarkable new discovery and broadening of knowledge. Like the period of the Crusades, it has been a time of unspeakable folly and and inhumanity, until one wonders what the historian 300 years hence will have to say about the 20th century.

It is because of this that Martin Marty's phrase, the "new Dark Ages" for Christian education, begins to have a rather authentic ring. Just this past week we received a letter from a Quaker friend of ours whose son graduated from college this spring. The letter ended on a note of anxiety and concern—the future, unlike that night on New Year's Eve for Bernard Iddings Bell's father in 1899, did not hold high optimism and hope and promise for her sons. It looked foreboding.

There was the time when education, learning, removing ignorance, was seen as something of a savior. Drive out ignorance and the good life would result. Today, with colleges and universities beleaguered and a deep scepticism so evident, we can see that such a simple formula is insufficient.

Something much deeper and much stronger needs to be said and done ere we can hope to deal with the issues and problems with which we are confronted. For we are seeing shaping before us a much deeper and more profound searching and questioning, a probing and critical examination of basic views, convictions and beliefs than we imagined might have been possible. Where only a few years ago the affluent society was more or less accepted as good, today what all that means is under the white heat of questioning. Hopefully, as this takes place, we are more mature and more humble as we face the issues of life before us.

One thing that happens in times such as this, when old forms, old values, and old ways are suddenly threatened and found inadequate, is that there is a great amount of tension, there is a polarizing and division, there are factions; you need only look at the period of the Reformation in the 16th century to see how many factions and small groups and bizarre ideas and tension and polarization there were then. We glorify the Reformation. I don't think it was nearly as glorious for those who were involved in it as it looks when we view it from a distance of 400 years.

### *Gaining Perspective Today*

This is what is happening to us today. Something new and different is seeking the light of day. Therefore, the upheaval in the educational world. Therefore, new musical forms are being created for the church. Therefore, old forms of worship are under the fire of questioning and criticism. Martin Marty chooses to call it a "new Dark Ages." This it may be, no one really knows. It could as well be a bright new age of the kingdom, though that would not be very representative of the critical mood of these times.

Is not our need, among many others, one of gaining something of a perspective as to where we are, what is happening to us, why it is happening, and what our response can then be? It is when we do not understand this that we feel threatened and defensive, and we grab hold of that which we know and hold on to it at all costs. It is then that we become fearful of any kind of new change that may confront us. It is then that a critical mind lashes out at all the existing order of things, either demanding radical change or rigid status quo.

Two passages of Scripture from Paul's letters speak very eloquently to precisely our situation and the situation Christian education faces today. The one passage from I Corinthians 1:18-25 is Paul's forthright and unapologetic statement of what he preached, namely Christ and him crucified. It was offensive, it was foolishness, it was not defensible so far as Jews or

Greeks were concerned—it was what he preached.

Then, in the letter to the Philippians (3:12-16), he sets forth his own condition. He is now a prisoner. He has every reason to be discouraged and in despair. He is an infinitesimal voice in the vast sea of Roman paganism. He has no reasonable basis for hope, and yet he is not in despair.

As I look at the events of today—the beleaguered state of Christian education, the critical mind toward the church, the fact that church attendance is not as popular as it was ten years ago—I take great solace and comfort from these two aspects of Paul's life and ministry. He continued to "preach Christ crucified, a stumbling block to the Jews and folly to gentiles, and he did not know despair" (I Corinthians 1:18-25; Philippians 3:12-16).

This is your task and it is mine. This is your mandate and it is mine in our day and age. This is the task we face and the style of manner or stand we need to take as we look toward the future; not a high optimism, but a great hope.

# Being an Anabaptist Today—

## By a Mennonite Who is Trying to Become One

*By Sol Yoder*

### *Interpreting Anabaptism*

I agree with contemporary scholars and searchers for the true meaning of Anabaptism when they state that the key concept and organizing principle of the movement was the emphasis on the realization of the Christian brotherhood. Cornelius Krahn states that for the Anabaptists the idea of the covenant with Christ and with each other was central. Members of the covenant were those who had accepted the call of Christ, "Follow me!"[1] Franklin H. Littell says that the "Anabaptists were the first articulate and self-conscious Free Churchmen."[2] What they were after was not a "reformation" of an existing institution, but a "restitution" of the New Testament church. Thus—being neither Roman Catholic nor Protestant, being neither state-church nor denominational—the Free Church tradition represents a third form of Christianity.

The Anabaptists can be placed in a still narrower frame of reference: the Historic Peace Churches. These are a progression of churches from the 16th century Anabaptists through the 17th century Quakers (according to Robert Friedmann, "the flowering of the Anabaptist spirit") to the 18th century Church of the Brethren. What the Peace Churches have in common is more than the peace witness—it is the whole concept of the church: we are more than individual disciples, we are disciples *together*. Corporate obedience to Christ is a distinct possibility, indeed a necessity.

The Historic Peace Churches give a common answer to the question: *Can* we know and do the will of God? "Yes, by the grace of God, we can," answer the Historic Peace Churches. "No," counter the Protestants, "such pretense is mere spiritual pride, the worst of sins!" First comes the Good News: "Christ has made us free men," but this is followed by the Bad News: "The burden of sin still limits us in obedience." In the words of George Fox, "They are pleading for sin for a term of life." But in the process of being the church, the Historic Peace Churches discovered the real possibility of community without institutionalism and righteousness without legalism.

The great discovery of the Anabaptists, then, was the discovery of a method to discern God's will and to attain unity in the brotherhood. How ironic that today we have to discover it back again—from the psychologists. If to the technique of group dynamics one adds the Holy Spirit, one arrives at a good understanding of "church" as process. According to Franklin H. Littell, discipline is formed as a primary group of committed disciples in a face-to-face relationship "talk up the issue" among themselves and arrive at a consensus. A decision is arrived at—without a majority vote! "Voting is the refuge of men who have 'learned to count but not to evaluate,' and it is possibly the only acceptable basis for decisions when the principle and possibility of divine guidance have been discarded."[3] The discipline we have had a part in making, we can accept as our own, and supported by a mutual commitment to it, we can stand together. Thus we fulfill the prophetic task of the church: to "speak truth to power"—and take the consequences!

### *The Relevance of Anabaptism Today*

The same questions are up for review now as pre-

sented themselves during the Reformation: What is the relation of church to society, of church to state (the power structure)? But are the answers the same? The cutting edge moves on and the symbols change. Nowadays nobody will suffer for baptism—who cares when he is baptized, how he is baptized, or if he is ever baptized? Today the church will, however, suffer for its social witness, its response to the social-ethical issues of war, racism, poverty, and caring for God's creation. And what is today's sacrosanct symbol, which one dare not touch? Surely not baptism—perhaps the nation's flag? Again, nowadays it is not likely that the disciple will suffer the death penalty. But he will suffer psychological isolation, and he will have to lay on the line his standard of living, his job, his career.

How can we hope then to stand up to the powers let loose on us? I see it only in the strength of the faithful brotherhood. To be deprived of this support is tragic. May I illustrate this by what I call "the tragedy of Albert Einstein." Albert Einstein was a convinced pacifist, yet he was the creator of the atomic bomb in a political as well as scientific sense. When a young man, feeling keenly the tragedy of the slaughter of World War I, he had high hopes of averting another catastrophe: "If only 3 % of the population would be willing to go to jail rather than support a war, the offending government would be brought to a standstill." His hopes continued through the 1930's in spite of the Nazi regime's policy of *Gleichschaltung*. "Surely," thought Einstein, "the German universities, with their strong tradition of academic freedom and autonomy, would not bow to the pressure forcing conformity to Nazi ideology." Before his death in the late 1950's when he was over 90 years of age, I think he must have been looking back to these events in his life when he stated during an interview: "If I had to do it all over again, I think I would become a plumber." (Immediately he received a telegram from the president of the International Brotherhood of Plumbers naming him an honorary member.) And I think it was the disappointment of a noble soul which moved him to say further: "Most people won't even sacrifice their jobs for their convictions, let alone their lives."

What is the importance of the Anabaptist movement for us? Only by the strength of my brothers do I find the strength to stand firm for truth and righteousness in obedient response to God.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cornelius Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968, 192 ff., 255.
2. Franklin H. Littell, *The Origins of Sectarian Protestantism: a Study of the Anabaptist View of the Church*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1964, 82 ff.
3. *Friends Journal*, (August 11, 1956).

# A Mennonite Runs for Congress

*By James C. Juhnke*

FROM THE DATE of their arrival in the 1870's, Kansas Mennonites became involved in American political attitudes and processes. There were articles in *Zur Heimath* on the meaning of American democracy. Mennonites took out citizenship papers in order to vote in railroad bond elections. There were Mennonite township road overseers, school board members, and county commissioners. But it was nearly a full century before a Kansas Mennonite ran for a national political office. Bethel College history teacher, Jim Juhnke, ran in 1970 for Congress on the Democratic ticket in Kansas' Fourth Congressional District.

Juhnke's campaign had been predicted as early as 1882 by an American newspaperman, Noble Prentis, who commented on the great progress and contribution of the sturdy Mennonites in their first decade in Kansas. After praising the industrious Mennonite farmers for their hard work, their productivity, and their simple life, Prentis concluded his report with a bleak forecast of assimilation and decay.

". . . the evil day may come when the descendant of the Mennonites of the old stock will be cushioning store-boxes, saving the nation with his mouth, or even going about like a roaring lion, seeking a nomination for Congress."

James C. "Jim" Juhnke was a fourth generation Kansas Mennonite whose great-grandfather, Karl Juhnke,

was a German Lutheran who married into the Mennonite brotherhood. Like most farm boys who grew up in the heart of the Mennonite settlement in the post-World War II years, Jim attended small rural public schools dominated by Mennonite students and teachers. In the first grade he learned the flag salute. In the fourth grade he wrote his first letter to his congressman. In high school he was stung by taunts from non-Mennonite peers that conscientious objectors were not good citizens. After two years at Bethel College, Juhnke volunteered for a term of alternative service "in the national interest" under the Mennonite Central Committee PAX program, and then returned to graduate from Bethel in 1962, to take a year in seminary, to earn a Ph.D. in history at Indiana University, and to take a position as history professor at Bethel. Along the way he was inspired by the rediscovery of the Anabaptist vision, by Democratic politics in the Kennedy style, and by the national movement of protest against the Vietnam War.

Juhnke was first approached to run for Congress by the Wichita branch of the New Democratic Coalition, a group of reform minded, anti-war liberals who organized to keep the Eugene McCarthy movement alive after the disappointing 1968 Democratic national convention. "Newdeck" chairman, Paul Andreas, countered Juhnke's protests that he was too young (32 years old), too politically inexperienced, too much identified with unpopular anti-war teach-ins, and peace marches. The event which finally triggered Juhnke's serious consideration of running for Congress was President Nixon's escalation of the Vietnam War in the Cambodia invasion of May, 1970. Newdeck put up enough money to pay the filing fee, rent and furnish a campaign office in Wichita, and to meet other initial expenses.

Before announcing his candidacy, Juhnke consulted with the six Democratic party county chairmen in the Fourth District, with past congressional candidates, and with other party leaders. He found them warm and encouraging, almost without exception. The Democratic party was frustrated, exhausted, and in debt from previous futile efforts to unseat the popular Republican incumbent, Garner Shriver. A well-known and attractive Wichita attorney, Patrick F. Kelly, had run a vigorous and well-financed campaign in 1968 and had come away with only 35% of the vote. The voters liked Shriver's low key, non-controversial, conservative style. He looked like a middle-aged Sunday school teacher; he sent out a lot of birthday cards and congratulatory messages; he seemed to know what was going on, even if nobody knew just where he stood on issues. Only a brave man or a benevolent man would dare take on Shriver. A Hutchinson *News* reporter asked Juhnke how he was going to enjoy the role of the Democratic Party's "sacrificial lamb."

*James C. Juhnke*

But Juhnke was interested in the educational possibilities of a campaign as well as in winning. He was intrigued that the failures and frustrations of the Vietnam War had so transformed American opinion that a major party in central Kansas would find a Mennonite non-veteran peace candidate politically acceptable. He remembered being told by his father that the Juhnke house was probably bugged by the FBI in World War II to keep tabs on this outspoken peace man. One of Juhnke's history students at Bethel College suggested that he was running for Congress because he lacked a good concluding chapter for the book he was writing on Mennonites in politics. First he would live the chapter; then he would write it.

The Juhnke campaign had a youthful cast from the beginning. Two Wichita State University students agreed to take on the jobs of campaign manager and publicity chairman at subsistence salaries. Juhnke's younger sister called off a summer trip to Europe with her boyfriend in order to volunteer her secretarial services. This nucleus of volunteers grew until over two hundred young people canvassed the streets of Wichita on election day, November 3.

A primary campaign battle shaped up when Robert G. Martin, a 46-year-old Wichita building contractor who had become an attorney, entered the race to give Democrats an anti-dove alternative. This was not Martin's first time around. He had run second of five candidates in the Kansas gubernatorial primary of 1952. This time he entered to urge the United States to "win the war and get out," to "bring North Vietnam to her knees."

Martin's campaign suffered from his delayed announcement after Juhnke had tied up much Democratic support, from the candidate's overconfidence and preoccupation with his law business, and from the political unsalability of a hawkish Vietnam War position. When Juhnke won the August primary with 60% of the vote, he claimed a victory for "peace and new priorities." But non-issue factors were also important. Juhnke organized his campaign more effectively, put more resources into advertising, and bested Martin in two campaign debates.

Faced in the general election with the futility of trying to compete with the incumbent's "nice guy" image, the Juhnke campaign adopted a strategy of attack on the incumbent's voting record. An image of youth and "new directions" was captured in a campaign design of wavy arrows which suddenly took off in a purposeful upward direction. The image, designed by Robert Regier of the Bethel College Art Department, appeared on all Juhnke leaflets, yard signs, and television advertising, and was meant to contrast with an incumbent who was bland, noncommittal, old, and tired.

*Students campaign for James C. Juhnke.*

On the issue of the war and military spending, Juhnke called for "rapid and complete" withdrawal from Vietnam. Shriver consistently voted, Juhnke said, for "inflationary military budgets" and for such projects as the anti-ballistic missile system, and voted against a crucial education bill and Nixon's family assistance plan. Economic issues competed with the war for attention. Wichita's unemployment rate grew to over 10% during the campaign. Juhnke called for wage-price guidelines to deal with inflation and criticized the incumbent for voting against the Economic Development Administration which was called in to aid Wichita in its crisis. He challenged the incumbent to an open debate on all the issues—war, economy, environment control, welfare, political reform, and others. Shriver refused to debate.

The Juhnke campaign managed to get excellent press coverage on campaign issues, though the press occasionally exaggerated the combative side and ignored Juhnke's positive proposals. A number of key endorsements, including the blessing of the Wichita National Education Association Political Action Committee, gave the campaign impetus and put the incumbent on the defensive.

The campaign's softest spot was finance. National peace groups and other political lobbies had little or no money for the Juhnke campaign. They invested in candidates they thought had a chance to win. The national Democratic party provided only advice and information, while the state Democrats were preoccupied with re-electing governor Robert Docking. Largely excluded from party and special interest sources of funds, Juhnke got most of his campaign money from relatives, friends, and fellow-Mennonites. Two successful barbecues, one during the primary at the Juhnke grove in McPherson County and another in October at his uncle's home in Newton, were crucial in keeping things going. Rev. Melvin Schmidt, pastor of the Lorraine Avenue Mennonite Church in Wichita, sent out several appeals to Mennonites in Kansas and across the country. The Juhnke campaign could not afford billboards. Radio and TV advertising was minimal. Newspaper advertising was limited to the efforts of Juhnke committees organized in the six counties of the fourth district. The Shriver campaign by far outspent the Juhnke campaign in every respect.

The Juhnke campaign elicited a great deal of interest among Mennonites. Some traditionally Republican Mennonites were concerned that Juhnke was running on the wrong ticket—with the party that repeatedly got the country into war—and against such a fine Christian politician as Garner Shriver. For some Mennonites, Juhnke was tainted by peace marches and radicalism. One Sunday school class in a large church delegated a member to check with Juhnke per-

sonally regarding the rumor that he was, or had been, a Communist. Some Mennonites were taken in by the equally spurious rumor that Juhnke refused to speak on a platform with the American flag. Others supported the campaign through letter writing, canvassing, fund raising, and other volunteer work.

Juhnke received 35.6% of the vote on election day, about the same percentage as that received by fourth district congressional candidates in 1966 and 1968. Juhnke apparently did not benefit from a strong Democratic Kansas tide which re-elected conservative Governor Robert Docking and the law-and-order attorney general, Vern Miller. The high unemployment rate and depressed economy of Wichita probably helped Juhnke somewhat, but not enough to carry white laboring class precincts in Wichita.

Wichita, with 65% of the fourth district voters, came in midway between the western counties, Rice and Reno (Hutchinson) which went about 40% for Juhnke, and the heavily Republican counties with Mennonite concentrations, which were closer to 30% for Juhnke. The "Mennonite vote" was too small to make a significant difference in county totals. The few strongly Mennonite precincts varied widely. The rural Turkey Creek township in McPherson County voted 69% for Juhnke. Little River township (includes Buhler) in Reno County voted 35% for Juhnke. The city of Hillsboro in Marion County voted only 20% for Juhnke. Local variations made any overall pattern difficult to discern. It is probable that Shriver received the majority of the Mennonite votes, but it is also true that Juhnke cut deeply into Shriver's normal margin in these heavily Republican areas. Nowhere was there a Mennonite block vote.

Although he had lost the election by a large margin, Juhnke claimed a moral and educational victory for the campaign. The issues had been raised. The incumbent had moved into policy directions called for by the campaign. The campaign had provided a focus of hope and idealism for young people and others who were frustrated by the unresponsiveness of American politics to the overwhelming human problems of the world. The Mennonites had had the opportunity to see one of their own run for national office.

The Juhnke campaign was one more event in the history of Kansas Mennonite political acculturation. The Americanization of Mennonite political attitudes and behavior was exhibited both in the campaign itself and in the ambivalent response of the community from which the candidate came.

# A Trip to Chortitza

*By N. J. Kroeker*

## *The Big Oak Tree*

There it stood and still stands today the big oak tree, this living specimen of an exciting past giving proof to anyone that this was Chortitza. Tucked away among other exotic greenery of the beautiful valley which cradled our big village, it had withstood drought and flood, had been preserved from the destruction of malicious caterpillars, as well as from the axe of the worst enemy of nature—man.

No one who had ever walked near the gnarled trunk beneath those mighty branches which had the power to draw your eyes upward, could help being overcome with a feeling of reverence and peace, as if standing in the midst of one of the biggest European cathedrals. Limbs more massive than ordinary tree trunks strove up and up, fanning out into the open air and spreading hundreds of branches sideways and upward straight into the sky.

*Hundert-jährige Eiche* (Hundred Year Old Oak) was the official title coined by our oldest settlers for this giant. But many scientists of the Soviet Union today have estimated its age to be five to seven hundred years old. Not that our forefathers were not able to make a more accurate judgment as to its longevity—it was rather an expression of Mennonite conservatism. *Hundert-jährige Eiche* was a connotation as simple as their artless but strong faith in our living God.

To prove the most vital fact, namely that this precious link with the remote past was still living a healthy life, one of our oldest pioneers, Cornelius Hildebrand, had constructed in his factory a wooden collar which he had fitted around the trunk of the

*The 700-Year-Old Oak and the pioneer homestead of Gerhard Braun, Chortitza. Reproduction from painting by N. J. Kroeker.*

oak. Coil springs and a sliding pointer with a measuring scale were used to test the actual expansion due to the tree's growth. For a number of years data was recorded; however, it was apparent to anyone who cared to observe that the giant was still expanding. Today the government of the Soviet Union has declared this tree a monument worthy of protection, and it is a landmark all come to see.

Gerhard Brauns (*Busch* Braunen) built one of the oldest farm houses near this oak and were legally owners of the land on which the tree stood. Later on this place was owned by Jakob Loewens, and after the 1930's the site was bought by Abram Loewens.

The long branches shaded several acres of land and provided a beautiful setting for typical Mennonite celebrations such as wedding receptions or large family gatherings. From 1921 to 1923 the author lived in the red brick house (see painting) at the back which belonged to Mrs. Jakob Hildebrand. Some of the oak's long branches shaded this neighborhood driveway, too. As if by sheer force this mighty giant cast a spell over me because the more I saw of it, the deeper it moved into my heart.

## *Chortitza's Beautiful Bush*

About a stone's throw west of the Big Oak in Chortitza, there grew a mass of exotic green foliage. It was a concentration of enormous trees and dense shrubs, a spot as only God could plan. This beautiful corner of the village went by the name of *the Bush.* In essence it proved to be a most appropriate name, because here nature abounded in wild profusion. Small wonder then that numerous kinds of birds had found this to be a natural sanctuary.

"Hoop - opp - oop - oop" was usually the first sound of welcome you might hear during our warm summer days. Then the fun started. As you eagerly began to spot your host, the hoopoe, which was calling from somewhere out of the dense bush, he would wait for an appropriate moment to call again. But this time the call seemed to come from a different place farther away. It had been impossible for you to catch a glimpse of this friendly inhabitant at the place where you first heard his call of welcome. How could he have moved so fast and so far while you were craning your neck looking for him? His bright red headdress should have given him away. Suddenly you discover

*The House of* Buschbrauns *near the* Schlehtal. *Reproduction from painting by N. J. Kroeker.*

him directly overhead although you knew very well that he had made his last call from some spot farther down the valley. Now it began to dawn on you that a number of birds were playing a game.

Walking along the narrow path beside the sleepily murmuring streamlet, the River Chortitza, among the deep green grasses and burdock leaves, you would soon hear another singer chiming in brightly with his cuckoo call. Quite appropriately he blended his notes with the bird orchestra in the bush. It sounded as if Joseph Haydn had been to this spot to gather the bird music for his Toy Symphony.

The old willows (*Kopfweiden*) stood on either side of the stream silently like sentinels. Woodpeckers liked to frequent them as a place where they could beat out their happy drum tattoo.

But *the Bush* presented its finest singers in the evenings or early morning hours. These vocal artists were the nightingales which presented songs as no other birds can create. Did they know this? It seemed so. They literally filled the air with melodies, continually creating new cadences, warbling happily away and then softly whistling, producing an infinite variety of calls. These tiny singers were the true artists which never stop creating. It seemed that they only interrupted their songs to take a few minutes to improvise new tunes or variations to their heart's content.

To round off this short eulogy on the singers of *the Bush* without mentioning one other particular bird family of Chortitza would be a serious omission. Close to the *Big Oak*, actually on the thatched roof of the barn (the Old Braun's cottage), lived the storks. If I remember correctly this was the only stork family in Chortitza, although Rosenthal had some, too. They had built their huge nest high up on top of the roof overlooking *the Bush*. Every year on the 17th of March these feathered residents returned from the sunny south to occupy their old nest.

But one fine spring day a change took place. A young couple occupied the old nest after some renovations had been made. There was an official wedding celebration with three other storks attending and joining in. It was a pleasure to see these handsome birds in gleaming white and black feathers flying about in formation, then wheeling and performing in various ways until the couple was duly settled in their new habitat.

Many of the trees in this area were exceptionally big. I have often admired the huge trunks measuring nearly four feet in diameter of apple trees which were still sound and productive. The mighty lombardy poplars helped to form an interesting varied skyline. One of the poplars growing near the *Big Oak* was unusually tall. Older people in this vicinity often recalled the early days when they had seen this fast growing poplar tree become a close contender in its race with the *Oak*. However by 1920 we could see that the poplar had reached nearly double that height. The heavy foliage, which clustered around an infinite mass of branches, discouraged any scaling, and at one time a curious and daring tree climber had become trapped while trying to reach the top.

That was *the Bush* in its essence. It carried nature's lifeblood, witnessing the coming and going of generations of our pioneers of Chortitza.

## *Schlehtal—Valley of the Blackthorn*

Farther up the valley beyond *the Bush* nature displayed a particularly beautiful grove of huge oak trees which extended for about half a mile west to the *Kuhtränke* (watering place for cows). The man-made lake was formed after a high dyke had been built by the early pioneers. This area of oak trees was named the *Schlehtal* (valley of sloes or blackthorn).

Low hills flanked the wide green valley which was used for a common (pasture). However, it was kept for most of the year as beautiful as a park. With its narrow brook meandering through the meadow among the stately oak trees it was set like a jewel into Chortitza's countryside. (See painting of *the Schlehtal in the Fall*).

Dozens of imposing oak trees grew here as if scattered at random on both sides of the small stream that joined the River Chortitza. These trees, like the *Big Oak*, were the earliest living pioneers of this area, some as old as four hundred years and probably just about as big as the famous oak. They shaded the valley, providing an ideal place for visits and community outings. School classes and other groups frequented this peaceful area. That was the spot where nature abounded.

It was peculiar how some of these oak trees grew with two trunks side by side joined at the base as

wide or probably even wider than that of the *Big Oak*. How did we find out that those trees were nearly four fundred years old? There's a sad story behind it. Exactly fifty years ago in 1920, these giants were mercilessly cut down. Army forces occupying Chortitza ordered men to make firewood for generating steam to keep their locomotives at the railroad station in readiness day and night during the months while no coal was available. After that our valley, the beautiful *Schlehtal,* was ruined forever. Our people wept when it became known that this sanctuary was being destroyed. We counted the rings on the stumps which showed that it had taken hundreds of years for these beautiful trees to grow.

# Were the Anabaptists Subversive? The Birth of a Counter-Culture *

*By W. R. Estep, Jr.*

THIS TOPIC IMMEDIATELY raises some questions about the meaning of terms. For most historians the question mark is anachronistic for there is no question about the subversive nature of the Anabaptist movement. And perhaps they are correct but not for the reasons some have assumed.

## *Subversives*

The term subversive itself is a relative one. The whole Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century was a subversive movement as far as Rome was concerned. Its fury was unleashed in a torrent of threats by Hadrian VI in an intemperate letter to Frederick the Wise in which he blamed the elector and Luther with the calamities which had befallen the church.

We have you to thank that the churches are without people, the people without priests, the priests without honor, and Christians without Christ. The veil of the temple is rent. Be not beguiled because Martin Luther appeals to Scripture. So does every heretic. . . . The fruits of this evil are evident. For this robber of churches incites the people to smash images and break crosses. He exhorts the laity to wash their hands in the blood of the priests. He has rejected or corrupted the sacraments, repudiated the expunging of sins through fasts, and rejects the daily celebration of the mass. He has committed the decretals of the holy Fathers to the flames. Does this sound to you like Christ or Antichrist? Separate yourself from Martin Luther and put a muzzle on his blasphemous tongue. If you will do this, we will rejoice with all the angels of heaven over one sinner that is saved. If you refuse, then in the name of Almighty God and Jesus Christ our Lord, whom we represent on earth, we tell you that you will not escape punishment on earth and eternal fire hereafter. Pope Hadrian and Emperor Charles are in accord. Repent therefore before you feel the two swords.[1]

Luther, himself, a few short years later was to use similar terms in reference to the radicals. In his *Commentary on Genesis,* he puts it this way,

In our times the doctrine of the Gospel, reestablished and cleansed, has drawn to it and gained many who in earlier times had been surpressed by the tyranny of Antichrist, the Pope; however, there have forthwith gone out from us *Wiedertäufer, Sacramentschwärmer und andere Rottengeister* . . . for they were not of us even though for a while they walked with us[2]

By the term *Sacramentschwärmer,* Luther meant the Sacramentarians among whom Ulrich Zwingli occupied the foremost place. Zwingli must have winced at being classified as a *Rottengeister* alongside the *Wiedertäufer* whom he had led the City Council of Zürich to suppress, It is clear that in the eyes of Rome, Wittenberg, Zürich, Geneva, Canterbury, and Edinburgh, the Anabaptists were subversives and basically for the same reason. The magisterial reformers had inherited from Rome the Constantinian synthesis which underlay the medieval *corpus Christianum* for more than a thousand years. While Anabaptists threatened to destroy this sacral society, the Reformers, Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Cranmer, only attempted to reshape it in smaller dimensions.

*From *God and Caesar: Case Studies in the History of Relations Between Christianity and the State*, Robert D. Linder, editor, Longview, Texas: The LeTourneau Press, 1970. Reprinted by permission of The Conference on Faith and History. Copyright 1970 by the Conference on Faith and History.

## *Normative Anabaptism*

The condemnation of Anabaptism, therefore, was a foregone conclusion even before its lunatic fringe gained control of Münster. It is tragic indeed that the *Wiedertäufer* of the sixteenth century have not been allowed to escape the odium of the Münsterites. The "New Jerusalem" was neither normative nor the logical fruit of the Anabaptist movement. To insist upon interpreting Anabaptism through Melchiorite glasses is to forfeit historical understanding for the sake of ill-conceived prejudice. In fact, the forces of Philip of Heese and the Catholic bishop in this particular clash do not look especially heroic or angelic when compared with the handful of pitiful disillusioned defenders.[3]

Mistaken identity is not an unexpected phenomenon of contemporary adversaries who were quite willing to stoop to any level in order to smear those whom they were quite sure were demonically motivated. However, today, few are willing to concede that confusion, deliberate or otherwise, is the mark of enlightened scholarship. Even though the term, Anabaptists, has long been used as a catch-all label for a variegated milieu of radicals, this does not make it a term of scholarly precision. A broader and more acceptable designation for those commonly called Anabaptists is that which George H. Williams has popularized, Radicals. However, this word is not altogether satisfactory since it is somewhat relative and lacking in precision. However, contradistinct from the Magisterial Reform, the term, Radical Reform, lends itself to a more careful delineation of the separate categories in its evolution. Three relatively independent lines of development may be readily discerned: Inspirationists (*Spiritualisten*); Anabaptists (*Wiedertäufer*); and Rationalists (commonly designated anti-Trinitarians).[4] Of course, finer distinctions exist within each of these categories. Our interest at this point is in clarifying the use of the term, Anabaptists, in order to examine the nature of the sixteenth century Anabaptism and its dynamic as a subversive movement.

What then constitutes normative Anabaptism? Jarold Knox Zeman in a recent work, *The Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren in Moravia* 1526-1628, suggests seven stages in emerging Anabaptism all the way from the theoretical questioning of the validity of infant baptism to the "Practical institution of a local congregation as an expression of the church of baptized believers, with the administration of the Lord's Supper and church discipline."[5] Only the last phase can be classified as normative Anabaptism, according to Zeman. It involved not only a new concept of the sacraments, especially baptism, but also a new concept of the church, "a free church, a Christian fellowship based on voluntary membership and independence of the state."[6] Zeman's position is essentially that of Franklin H. Littell, who writes, "The Anabaptists proper were those in the 'Left Wing' who gathered and disciplined a 'True Church' (*rechte Kirche*) upon the apostolic pattern."[7]

Historically, it was the *Täufer* movement which arose in and around Zürich, initially under the influence of Zwingli but later fiercely opposed by him, that is designated Anabaptist. Fritz Blanke in his work, *Brüder in Christo* has presented this stirring history in five acts.[8] He documents carefully from the sources the reconstructed story of Anabaptism from its very beginning.

The question now remains, "Were these Anabaptists subversives?" If we reply in the light of a sixteenth century Europe the answer is "yes." Perhaps even if we answer in light of twentieth century American folk religion, the answer is still "yes." The next question is, "Why?" The answer is found in their theological distinctives.

## *Bible and Faith*

Underlying the *Täufer* movement was a strong biblicism. The Anabaptists translated, read, and believed the same Bible to which the magisterial reformers gave allegiance. However, they never considered the Old Testament final or complete. The New Testament alone was for them normative. In Christ the Old Covenant was fulfilled. Therefore, the key to their biblical hermeneutic was the New Testament interpreted Christologically. In public debates, early confessions, and theological writings the Anabaptists reveal a common understanding of the Scriptures.[9] It is Pilgram Marbeck who enunciates this Anabaptist consensus. Revelation was viewed as partial (*zeitlich*) before Christ. In a Pauline vein, (Galatians 3) Marbeck contrasts Law and Gospel. This is the hermeneutical key to his understanding of the fundamental difference between the Old and the New Testaments (*der absolute Unterschied zwischen Altem und Neuen Bund*) which does not call for a repudiation of the Old Testament but rather for an understanding of its proper role in the unfolding revelation of God as *"Die Verheissung an die Alten geht im Neuen Bund in Erfüllung"* (that which is promised in the Old is fulfilled in the New Covenant.)[10] Thus it is from an understanding of the finality of the revelation of God in the *Wahrheitsordnung* (literally, order of truth) of the New Testament that Anabaptist theology is drawn. All other basic concepts, i.e., the nature of faith, baptism, discipleship, the church, and the state are therefore derivative. It is with the implementation of these ideas that Anabaptism became incarnate in history and conflict between the magisterial reformers and the Anabaptists arose.[11] Conversely, Marbeck and the Anabaptists saw all sorts of dire consequences for Christendom in the failure to interpret the Old Testament properly. The Münsterites as well as Calvin were to be blamed in this regard. They had mistaken the foundation of the

house for the house itself. Their theocracies were based upon the faulty premise that the Old Testament was normative and its sacral society the ideal goal for the church and state.[12]

The concept of faith in sixteenth century Anabaptist writing is exceedingly suggestive. While it reflects a basic Protestant understanding of faith, it is no mere parroting of Luther's tower discovery. While they were quite convinced that the object of faith was Christ, their emphasis was upon the fruits of faith, which is always the test of faith's authenticity.

For the Anabaptists, the voluntary nature of Christian faith is an essential element of that faith. This conviction they drew from their understanding of the gospel, the preaching of which is predicated upon an uncoerced response. While faith may survive the tortures of the executioner, it is never the product of the inquisitor's method. Claus Felbinger, in prison awaiting death said it this way, "Now does Christ compel people with the stocks to hear his teaching, as in the manner of those who think they are Christian? God wants no compulsory service."[13] However, it was Balthasar Hubmaier in his *Von Ketzern und ihren Verbrennern* (*Concerning Heretics and Those Who Burn Them*), who in 1524 chiseled out the earliest and most closely reasoned treatise on the subject. It is doubtless at the same time one of the most significant works of the entire Reformation era. Throughout the tract, Hubmaier attacks repeatedly the death penalty for heresy. His position on this point may be summarized in seven statements:

1. One cannot build the true church through coercion;
2. Genuine faith is not the result of compulsion;
3. Man is not competent to judge between wheat and tares;
4. The state has no jurisdiction in religious matters;
5. Those who execute heretics deny the incarnation;
6. If it is a sin to destroy an actual heretic, how much greater is the sin to burn to death true preachers of the gospel;
7. Truth can neither be destroyed nor advanced by the burning of heretics for *Die warhait ist untödtlich.*[14]

Hubmaier pushes his concept of religious liberty to its furtherest limits when he advocates this same kind of freedom, without reprisals, for the atheist (*gotssfind*) whose only crime is the forsaking of the gospel.[15] This concept of religious liberty as necessary for the exercise of an authentic faith became a common conviction of all Anabaptists. It finds expression in numerous Anabaptist writings, an example of which appears in an anonymous pamphlet published in Augsburg (1530) that affirms, "All outward matters, even life and body, are subject to outward powers, only the true faith in Christ may not be compelled or conquered."[16]

The Anabaptist concept of religious liberty eventually penetrated some segments of the sacral society of the Reformed Church. Verduin points out that a Reformed minister was deposed

in the sixteenth century Strasbourg for adhering to 'a new and Anabaptist error' which consisted in this: 'that the magistrate must leave every man to his own devices in regard to religion, no matter what he believes or teaches so long as he does not disturb the outward civil quiet.' "[17]

Doubtless, the Anabaptists were considered subversive because of their concept of religious liberty.

## *A Counter Culture Is Born*

During the year 1524, the disillusionment of a number of young disciples of Zwingli with the leadership of their mentor became quite apparent. When he refused to substitute a simple observance of the Lord's Supper for the Mass on Christmas Day, 1523, as anticipated, they were grievously disappointed. Increasingly, it appeared, Zwingli had compromised biblical truth out of deference to the wishes of the city council. With the zeal characteristic of new converts, they sought support for their position from a number of sources: fellowship of the brethren; and from any reformer who would bother to answer their letters. Doughtless, they were suspected of subversive action from the first open disagreement with Zwingli in the October Disputation, 1523. In fact, before the end of the year, one of their number, Simon Stumpf, was expelled from the canton of Zürich, apparently for his antagonism toward Zwingli. By the middle of 1524, the remaining members of the group were discussing quite frankly the merits of believer's baptism in light of their understanding of the Bible. Convictions crystalized rapidly as Conrad Grebel, Felix Manz, and George Blaurock became convinced that infant baptism was unjustified on scriptural grounds. By September the interest of the group had broadened from the original points of disagreement with Zwingli to questions revolving around baptism, the nature of the church, and the whole of the Christian life. In their letter to Thomas Müntzer of September 5, 1524, it is clear that the Grebel-led group had moved quite beyond the mere rejection of infant baptism to a theoretical acceptance of believer's baptism.[18] Among other things, Grebel informed Müntzer that baptism does not save, as Augustine, Tertullian, Theophylact, and Cyprian have taught, dishonoring faith and the suffering Christ in the case of the old and adult, and the dishonoring of the suffering Christ in the case of the unbaptized infants." He went on to express the hope that Müntzer was "not acting against the eternal word, wisdom, and commandment of God, according to which only believers are to be baptized and not baptizing children."[19]

The next document which gives added insight into the developing baptismal theology of the emerging Anabaptist movement was a petition (*Protestation und Schutzschrift*) to the city council asking that Zwingli enter into a paper debate with the author on baptism. It appears that the author of this document was Felix Manz.[20] Instead of acceding to their request, the dissidents were "invited" to a disputation with Zwingli on baptism at the *Rathaus* on January 18. Zwingli was declared the winner and the brethren were asked to capitulate or suffer the consequences. Their response was to introduce believer's baptism into Zürich at the home of Felix Manz on the night of January 21, 1525. This immediately became the most revolutionary act of the Reformation and subsequently, the most obvious mark of distinction between the Magisterial Reform. which included Sacramentarians such as Karlstadt and Zwingli, and the Anabaptists.

## *Baptism as a Stigma*

More than two years before the Justinian Code, (against the Donatists) which prescribed the death penalty for the act of rebaptism, was evoked at the Second Diet of Speiers in 1529, Anabaptists were put to death in Switzerland. The first of those to die at the hands of Protestants was Felix Manz, who was drowned in the Limmat River on January 5, 1527.

The sentence read in part:

because contrary to Christian order and custom he had become involved in Anabaptism, had accepted it, taught others, and become a leader and beginner of these things because he confessed having said that he wanted to gather those who wanted to accept Christ and follow him, and unite himself with them through baptism, and let the rest live according to their faith, so that he and his followers separated themselves from the Christian Church and were about to raise up and prepare a sect of their own under the guise of a Christian meeting and church; because he had condemned capital punishment, and in order to increase his following had boasted of certain revelations from the Pauline Epistles. But since such doctrine is harmful to the unified usage of all Christendom, and leads to offense, insurrection, and sedition against the government, to the shattering of the common peace, brotherly love, and civil co-operation and to all evil, Manz shall be delivered to the executioner, who shall tie his hands, put him into a boat, take him to the lower hut, there strip his bound hands down over his knees, place a stick between his knees and arms, and thus push him into the water and let him perish in the water; thereby he shall have atoned to the law and justice . . . His property shall also be confiscated by my lords.[21]

An examination of numerous cases against individual Anabaptists by Protestant and Catholic authorities reveals that the charge of rebaptism was invariably present. This is not surprising since such an act provided an easy sign by which defection from the established churches could be discerned. However, there is more here than is immediately apparent. Infant baptism was the one sure sign of continuity of the Magisterial Reformation with Roman Christianity. It also remained the outward act by which unitive societies preserved their integrity. Emotional involvement was more consciously aroused by this event than by other rite in the corporate life of the *Landeskirche* or *Volkskirche*. In the light of such circumstances it is not difficult to understand why believer's baptism became such an affront to all Christendom, Protestant and Catholic alike. The act of "rebaptism" inevitably carried an implied repudiation of a sacramental theology, the validity of the ecclesical claims of Protestant and Catholic churches as well as the Christian pretensions of the state. By the same token the *Wiedertäufer* were accused of schism, blasphemy, and sedition. The subversive nature of such an unauthorized act was hardly open to question from the standpoint of the magistracy.

As long as the Sacramentarians did not actually practice[22] believer's baptism there was always the possibility that they could escape persecution. This, to some degree, at least, was the position of Casper Schwenkfeld and Sebastian Franck as was at one time that of Zwingli himself and Bucer as well. For both had questioned infant baptism in certain theological discussions, according to contemporary witnesses, but never followed through on the suggestion.

## *The Church and State*

For the Anabaptists a whole new ecclesiology was involved in the baptismal issue. Baptism was not only conceived as an act of individual discipleship, it also became the sign of a corporate witness. Hubmaier called it the door into the visible church. This concept is also found in Riedemann and Marbeck as well. For all Anabaptists, baptism marks the juncture of individual and corporate discipleship. It is a symbol of the believer's submission to the discipline of the brethren. Without it, they believed, the empirical church could not exist.[23] A distinctive view of the visible church is at the heart of the Anabaptist vision. The Anabaptists were not interested in reforming existing ecclesiastical structures but in rebuilding the church upon the apostolic foundation. Without a distinctive view of the church, it is questionable that Anabaptism could have taken shape. With the culmination of that event the magisterial reformers saw, rightly or wrongly, a threat to their own systems.

The Anabaptist concept of the state and its function was predetermined by the foregoing ideas. The Christian's relationship to the state is also shaped by their view of Christianity as primarily discipleship (*Nachfolge Christi*). While Anabaptists never denied the state the right of existence, as has at times been claimed, they did circumscribe its functions to purely secular

pursuits. To the state, they held, Christians must give allegiance except in religious matters. "Love," an anonymous Anabaptist writes, "demands all obedience and submission even until temporal death."[24] However, Christian love also prohibits a Christian from using the sword for any reason, they contended. Therefore if one is a true disciple of Christ, he cannot serve the state in an official capacity. He will be neither magistrate nor soldier. The oath and war taxes were also forbidden those who would follow the example of Christ. To those who were quick to accuse the Anabaptists of "copping out" on their responsibility to the state, they answered, "There would always be enough non-Christians who would manage the states' affairs without Christian involvement." This, at least, seems to have been the majority opinion as reflected in the writings of sixteenth century Anabaptists.[25]

Hubmaier's position was more positively oriented. He held that the Christian could wield the sword in defense of the state but only upon orders of the constituted authorities. Yet, in practically all other respects his view of the state was typically Anabaptist and his final submission to its decrees, both in Moravia and Austria, led to a martyr's death in Vienna.[26]

There is little doubt from the standpoint of the sixteenth century world that the Anabaptists were subversives. Yet, it appears that they were no more so than the early Christians of the primitive church, who determined to obey God rather than men. Like some New Testament prototypes, they may have been somewhat intemperate in their denunciation of what they considered error but in this their own error consisted in a lack of judgment, if not of love.

Three questions seem relevant from this study: First, have the free-church heirs of the Anabaptists and those of the Magisterial Reform in the New World forged a new synthesis which has created a quasi-sacral society that today carries the name of the establishment only to bear the brunt of an attack by a new generation of subversives?; Second, can any society exist without a religious foundation?; and third, how, then, are religious values to find creative expression in a secular state "with liberty and justice for all"?

FOOTNOTES

1. Roland Bainton, *Here I Stand,* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1950), pp. 250-251.
2. Leonard Verduin, *The Reformers and their Stepchildren,* (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964), p. 18.
3. Cornelius Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism,* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968), pp. 158-161.
4. W. R. Estep, Jr. *The Anabaptist Story,* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1965), p. 115.
5. Jarold Knox Zeman, *The Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren in Moravia 1526-1628,* (The Hague: Mouton, 1969), pp. 106-07.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
7. Franklin Hamlin Littell, *The Anabaptist View of the Church,* (Boston: Starr King Press, 1958), p. 47.
8. Fritz Blanke, *Brueder in Christo,* (Zurich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1955), p. 5.
9. Jan P. Mathyssen, "The Bern Disputation of 1538," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XXII (January, 1948), p. 30; and Jesse Yonder, "A Critical Study of the Debate between the Reformed and the Anabaptists held at Frankenthal Germany in 1571," (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, June, 1962), pp. 179 ff.; Jan J. Kiwiet, *Pilgram Marbeck,* (Kassel: J. G. Oncken Verlag, 1957), pp. 94-102.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102. About the Covenant see Krahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-194.
11. Leonard, Von Muralt and Walter Schmid (editors), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Taeufer in Der Schweiz,* (Zuerich: S. Hirzel Verlag, 1952), pp. 14-15; and George Huntston Williams and Angel M. Mergal (editors), *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers,* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press), pp. 74-75.
12. Gerhard Hein (editor), "Two Letters of Leupold Scharnschlager," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* (July, 1943), p. 168.
13. Estep, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
14. Gunar Westin and Torsten Bergsten (editors), *Balthasar Hubmaier Schriften,* (Germany: Guetesloher Verlagshus Gerd Mohn, 1962), pp. 96-100.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
16. Hans J. Hillerbrand, "An Early Anabaptist Treatise on the Christian and the State," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XXXII (January, 1958), p. 31.
17. Verduin, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
18. Williams and Mergal, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81; About the general development of concept of believer's baptism see also Krahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-56.
20. Von Muralt and Schmid, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff.
21. *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* (Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, *et. al.*, 1957), p. 473, III; and Ekkehard Krajewski, *Leben und Sterben des Zuericher Taeuferfuehrers, Felix Mantz,* (Kassel: J. G. Oncken, 1957), pp. 147 ff.
22. Krahn, *op. cit.*, 96 f.
23. Beatrice Jenny, "Das Schleitheimer Taeuferbekenntnis 1527," *Schaffhauser Beitraege zur vaterlaendischen Geschichte,* (Thayngen: Verlag Karl Augstin, 1951), pp. 51-55.
24. Hillerbrand, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
25. *Op. cit.*, p. 30. See Estep, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 ff. and *The Mennonite Encyclopedia, op. cit.*, IV, 611-617.
26. H. C. Vedder, *Balthasar Huebmaier,* (New York: The Knickerbacher Press, 1905), pp. 273-310.

## INDEX 1966 - 1970

This issue contains a valuable source of information in the *Index* of the last five years of *Mennonite Life* (see page 33). Similar indexes are found in the January issues of 1956, 1961 and 1966. Back issues containing these indexes as well as the other issues can be ordered by writing to *Mennonite Life,* North Newton, Kansas 67117.

# Dutch Anabaptism in Elizabethan England

*By Fred J. Zerger*

BETWEEN THE DEATH of Henry VIII in 1547 and Elizabeth I's ascension to England's throne in 1558, the English Reformation veered first to the left with Zwinglian Protestantism, and then right to the Catholicism of Rome. As the fortunes of mainline English Protestantism rose during Edward VI's rule and fell after Mary's coronation in 1552, so too, the fate of England's "radical reformation" and particularly her Anabaptist movement rose and then fell. Open Anabaptism in England during Edward's reign gave way to secret gatherings, emigration, and death for Anabaptists in Catholic Mary's England.[1]

## *Elizabeth and the Anabaptists*

Elizabeth's coming to power in 1558 announced the end of England's Marian night for Anabaptists as well as for their less radical Protestant brethren. Times were never easy for Anabaptism during Elizabeth's reign. Yet in terms of the relentless persecution of this radicalism, Elizabeth's government never approached the rabid fanaticism of its monarchical counterparts in the Netherlands, South Germany, or Switzerland. We can be certain of the death of only two Anabaptists at the hands of the English authorities between 1558 and 1603. Two Dutch immigrants, Jan Pieters and Hendrik Terwoort (also known as Henry Snell),[2] were burned at Smithfield in 1575 for ". . . their false Opyngons [opinions] and Sects of Anabaptists holden and averred by them . . . to give example to others, lest they should attempte the like hereafter. . . ."[3] To complete the record, four Englishmen were burned as Anabaptist heretics between 1578 and 1588, though it is difficult to determine if they were really Anabaptists from the information which survives. One of them, Francis Knight, was a member of the infamous Ket family, whose Robert Ket had led a peasant revolt in 1549 near Norfolk.[4]

At least until the 1570's, when both the rising tide of Dutch Anabaptist immigration and of English Separatism threatened Elizabeth's policy of religious uniformity, tolerance defined the relationship between her government and Anabaptism. Indicative of government attitudes in these early years were the alterations made in the Forty-Two Articles of 1553 by the Convocation of 1563. In striking contrast to the early articles, of which nearly half arraigned Anabaptists and their beliefs, only five of the Thirty-Nine Articles bore any relationship to Anabaptist beliefs or practices.[5] Another measure of tolerance in early Elizabethan England was the diminuation of brutality shown Anabaptists and their sympathizers. Public chastisement and deportation, not execution, were the standard measures of Anabaptist persecution. They epitomize early Elizabethan England's attitude of almost benign neglect toward Anabaptism.

Elizabeth and the Anabaptists in her realm came into serious conflict less than two years after her ascension to the English throne. Understanding

"That of late tyme sundrye persons beynge infected with certain dangerous and pernicious opinions in matters of religion, contrary to the faith of the Church of Christ, as Anabaptists, and such lyke, are come from sundry parts beyond the seas into thie . . . realme. and specillye into the citie of London, and other maritime townes, under the colour and pretence of flying from persecution against the professors of the Gospel of Chriyst. . . ."[6]

Elizabeth issued a Royal Proclamation on September 22, 1560, authorizing the search for all persons suspected of holding the "phantasticall and heretical opinions" of the Anabaptists. To be conducted by Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Edmund Grindal, the Bishop of London, and others, the search was to pay special attention to "London and other places herewith suspected" of harboring Anabaptists "borne in forreine partes, or in her Majesties dominions. . . ." In the event of apprehensions, the accused were to be brought to open trial where each had the chance to be reconciled "by charitable teachynge" or "to depart out of this realme within twenty days after this proclamation upon payne of forfeiture of all their goods and cattelles. . . ." As far as can be determined, the search was initiated without delay. A Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical was established to deal with the apprehended, but there are records neither of such apprehensions nor of banishments.

What precipitated the Royal Proclamation, and what was its function? One answer to these questions was given to the Continental Protestant Peter Martyr

in a letter to him from Bishop John Jewel after the Queen's proclamative action. Jewell's communique suggested that the Proclamation was designed to check Anabaptism in England and had been a response to Anabaptist controversy in some English churches. Writing Martyr from Salisbury on November 6, 1560, the bishop noted that

"We found at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth a large and inauspicious crop of Arians, anabaptists. and other pests, which . . . sprung up in that darkness and unhappy night of the Marian times. These I am informed, and hope it is the fact, have retreated . . . like owls at the sight of the sun, and are now no where to be found; or at least, if any where, they are no longer troublesome to our churches."[7]

## *Haemstede and the Anabaptists*

There is record of one controversy within the Dutch Stranger's (Reformed) Church in London prior to September, 1560, which revolved around Anabaptists and greatly disturbed that church's tranquility. It fits every qualification for having been one event which precipitated the Queen's action, although one cannot be certain that Bishop Jewel was making direct reference to this incident. If indeed he was, his optimism regarding the safety of the Dutch church was premature, for the Adriaen van Haemstede crisis of 1560 plagued that church and the Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical until 1562. It proved to be only the first of England's encounters with Anabaptism during the reign of Elizabeth.

The van Haemstede-Anabaptist controversy began sometime in the spring of 1560, when Adriaen van Haemstede—the minister at Christ Church, a Dutch Reformed immigrant church in London—came in contact with a group of London-based Anabaptists. These Anabaptists had come to van Haemstede for help in securing the right to worship in London unmolested. This request required that a written supplication for official tolerance and approval of independent worship be submitted to London's ecclesiastical authorities. Precedent for this request had been set by the London Dutch Reformed Church not only during Edward VI's reign, but also early in Elizabeth's reign when in February, 1560 the Dutch Strangers received permission to worship independently of the established order.[8]

It is not surprising that these Anabaptists sought government approved religious independence, if as seems clear, they were Dutch Anabaptist refugees from the Low Countries. This was an action in full accord with Dutch Anabaptism's desire to mitigate the charge that their faith had insurrectionary overtones.[9] Nor is it surprising that these immigrant sectaries should have sought out van Haemstede, himself a refugee from the Low Countries who had successfully secured permission to preach to his Reformed brethren in London. He was Dutch, yet obviously knew his way around the ecclesiastical world of London. More significantly, he was known to be sympathetic to Anabaptism. The famous martyr book he printed in the Netherlands in 1559 had included stories of Dutch Anabaptist martyrs among its accounts of the deaths of Dutch Reformed brethren.[10]

Van Haemstede's response could not have diminished his stature in the eyes of his Anabaptist countrymen. He agreed to present a supplication from the Anabaptists to Bishop Grindal and to intercede before the magistrate and Grindal on their behalf.[11] Furthermore, until the supplication could be made and approved, he offered the Anabaptists a place of worship within the confines of his own parish. This offer, however, was refused.[12]

## *Excommunication of Haemstede*

Van Haemstede was called to task for his dealings with the London Anabaptists by the Dutch Reformed Church council on July 3, 1560. He justified his actions on the grounds that the Anabaptists were peaceful followers of Menno Simons who needed to be tolerated so that their religious "ignorance" could be corrected. The council rejected his arguments on several counts, contending that his actions encouraged "suspicion and hazards for our [Dutch] Community with the English and others."[13] They ordered him to make a public confession of guilt and to terminate his efforts on the Anabaptist's behalf. He refused.

On August 5, the church council suspended him from his church.[14] Sometime after, in the spirit of his promise to the Anabaptists and his belief that only a few ". . . among the Anabaptists, as well as among the Papists and other sects, [are] weak members of Christ . . . ,"[15] he sent Grindal a supplication on behalf of the Anabaptists. Grindal acknowledged receipt of this supplication in a letter of September 4, 1560, to Peter de Loene and Jan Utenhove, the spiritual leaders of the Dutch Reformed community.

"I send you a copy of a certain supplication (for the free exercise of their religion—one principle doctrine, that Christ took not flesh of the Virgin, but brought it down from heaven) sent to me by some anabaptists as it appears, but anonymous. The author is supposed by some to be Adriaen: for he, as I am informed, was once heard to say, that he wished to write a supplication to me in the name of the anabaptists."[16]

The bishop's informant is not known, though it seems not unlikely to have been the Dutch church council itself.[17]

Events moved swiftly for both van Haemstede and the Anabaptists. He was summoned before Grindal on September 16, where he ". . . signed a correct confes-

sion of the incarnation, but refused to make a confession of guilt. . . ."[18] Four days later the Anabaptists had the answer to their anonymous petition in the form of the Queen's Proclamation. One part in particular appears to have embodied the government's final statement as regards the supplication; very probably it reflects on the contents of that document.

"And her Majesty also chargeth . . . upon payne of imprisonment, that no Minister [vanHaemstede?] nor other person, make any conventicules or secret congregations, either to read, or to preache, or to minister the Sacraments, or to use any manner of divine service, but that they [the Anabaptists?] shall resort to open chapples or churches, and there preach, teach, minister, or pray, according to the order of the Church of England. . . ."[19]

Adriaen van Haemstede was excommunicated by Grindal in November. In a letter of November 16, 1560, to Peter de Loene, the Bishop of London commanded him ". . . to excommunicate . . . Adrian and . . . cause him to be denounced as an excommunicate in a full congregation of the Members . . ." of the Dutch Stranger's Church.[20] Shortly thereafter, van Haemstede left England for Emden.

## *Haemstede's Followers*

While the Proclamation's appearance silenced the Anabaptist's cry for tolerance, it did not put an end to the controversy within the Dutch Reformed Stranger's Church. After van Haemstede's banishment, Grindal and the Dutch church council worked steadily during the next several years to rid the church of Haemstede's followers, who had emerged during the course of the controversy. In 1561, the Anabaptist sympathies of a large number of Haemstede's followers were stifled when they testified before "God and his Church" and in face of Grindal's authority:

". . . that our Saviour is both God and Man, and assumed His human nature, through the power of God, of the substance of Mary . . . and is found to be similar to us in everything except in sin, and that anything written or taught by Adrian Haemstede or anybody else [the Anabaptists] contrary to this doctrine is erronious and anti-Christian."[21]

The Dutch Reformed Church council had occasion in 1562 and 1563 for further punitive action in regard to Rolandus Over's application for church membership and Justice Velsius' devisive activities.[22] Over was refused membership because he would not deny salvation for Anabaptists who ascribed to the incarnation belief outlined in the supplication to Grindal. Velsius —a religious enthusiast who preached the heresy that man, "when he is born anew, attains that perfection which was in Adam"—never desired membership, but rather sought to build a following within the Dutch Reformed Church. His behavior so alarmed the Dutch leaders that they asked Grindal for assistance in ridding their congregation of Velsius' presence. Grindal's comments to Archbishop Parker's secretary, William Cecil, reflect the seriousness with which Velsius' activity was viewed: "I assure you, if [Velsius] be suffered to remain here, I look to have the city swarm with sects, ere a year ago about. Such another was Rothman, that began this business in Münster."[23] Velsius was jailed and deported not long after.

These and other encounters had even larger repercussions, for historian William Camden noted that further action against the Anabaptists and sectarianism was taken in 1562. He referred to a decree not dissimilar from that of 1560 which commanded:

"Anabaptists and such like heretics which had flocked to the coast towns of England, from parts beyond the spread the poison of their sects in England, to depart seas, under colour of shunning persecution and have the realm within 20 days whether they were natural-born people of the land or foreigners. . . ."[24]

One of the other encounters propelling the English authorities to this action may have been van Haemstede's unexpected return to London in 1562 to preach to his countrymen once again. He was arrested several days after his July 16 return and ordered by Grindal to sign a revocation of his former errors. He refused and departed the country within the fifteen days given him in a Privy Council edict issued August 19, 1562.[25] Part of the revocation follows below for it sheds light on the Anabaptist of 1560.

". . . after a consideration of about eighteen months I think differently, acknowledge my guilt and am sorry to have given so much offense. These are my errors [there were seven in all]: I have acknowledged the Anabaptists, who deny that Christ is the true seed of woman and made partaker of our flesh. . . . I also confess my guilt in having affirmed in my sermons that everybody in the reformed church is free to leave his child unbaptized for some years."[26]

## *Dutch Anabaptists in England*

Can we know anything about these Anabaptists, their origins, their religious disposition, and their future? They were some of the ten thousand Dutch refugees in 1560[27] and part of a larger stream of immigrants from the Low Countries who had found employment as well as respite from religious persecution in England since 1528.[28] If the proclamation of 1560 reflected accurately the situation, then we might suggest that the London Anabaptists were one dimension of a recent Anabaptist migration from the Low Countries to England which centered itself in London, Colchester, Sandwich, Norwich, Ely, and in other locations

in the east, north and south-central counties of England. Especially in the cities, there was work for Anabaptist refugees who may have been artisans and skilled laborers.

There is no evidence for concluding that Englishmen were among those whom van Haemstede counseled, but it is likely that that group of Anabaptist refugees included some Anabaptists of German stock. At least this is one conclusion which can be drawn from William Camden's observation that the Proclamation of 1560 was necessitated, in part, by the activities of German Anabaptists in England.[29]

Van Haemstede's claim that the Anabaptists he worked with were followers of Menno Simons—in other words, Dutch Anabaptist-Mennonites — gains credibility in light of their refusal to accept his offer to worship in the safety of his parish, and in face of their incarnation position. That refusal bespeaks a measure of orthodoxy—an unwillingness to compromise religion for security in the face of adversity—which was a hallmark of Menno Simon's wing of sixteenth century Dutch Anabaptism. Their concept of the incarnation points in the direction of their orthodoxy and of their Dutch Anabaptist background, without negating the possibility of association with German Anabaptists. This incarnation formulation, which denied that Christ partook of Mary's flesh, but rather was divine in flesh and spirit, was a view spread by Melchior Hofmann which was ". . . fully accepted among the Dutch Anabaptists, while the Swiss never dealt with it, and the South Germans did not fully agree along this line."[30]

Consistent with their supposed Dutch background, a rejection of infant baptism can be assigned to these Anabaptists on the authority of Grindal's proposed recantation to van Haemstede. It is not too farfetched to suggest that Grindal's charge that Adriaen spoke in favor of delaying infant baptism may have been grounded more in the supplication of 1560 than in van Haemstede's practices, teachings, or beliefs at any one time. If this be the case, then we might conclude that these Anabaptists held orthodox Mennonite views on adult baptism. The issue of adult baptism is one belief to which both Dutch and German Anabaptists would have subscribed; and—when placed alongside the Proclamation chastisement of ministering the sacraments in "conventicules or secret congregations"—it raises the interesting possibility that re-baptism, or baptism of adolescents, was practiced in London in 1560.

Finally, on the authority of action taken against several members of London's Dutch Reformed Church in 1563, the suggestion that these Anabaptists denied the ultimate authority of the magistrate, even to the point of nonresistance, should be given serious consideration. It may have been merely a perversion of Dutch Anabaptism's doctrine of nonresistance which found the following expression with Cornelis Riemslager and his friends: that ". . . it is permitted to oppose the authorities who come to arrest the brethren, yea, that one need not recognize evil authorities as authorities."[31]

There is no way to be sure of the path which the Anabaptists took after their bid for religious toleration was denied. Some of them may have returned to the Low Countries, and after 1567, to the persecution of the Duke of Alva. Anabaptists traveled between England and the Continent before and after the events of 1560.[32] Others may have consented to worship quietly within the confines of the Dutch Reformed Church. Several of the Anabaptist-Mennonites apprehended in London in 1575, when given the option of banishment or membership in the Dutch Reformed Church, chose membership and became pious and devoted brethren.[33] Nor should it surprise us that Anabaptists made or could make this move, for, as Cornelius Krahn points out, both the Anabaptists and Dutch Reformed were churches under the cross, and both sides ". . . were therefore more inclined to deliberate and discuss those questions in which they held different views. Both hoped to win the opponent to their respective point of view."[34]

Perhaps these Anabaptists were the same ones who secured the assistance of Adrian Gorinus, a Walloon minister in London in 1560-1561, in order to seek official toleration yet a second time. This incident, with government toleration of Anabaptism at its center, was similar in many respects to the van Haemstede controversy, and followed on the heels of that controversy later in 1560. It never reached the proportions, however of its predecessor, for Gorinus was early deposed by his church and in 1561 left England for Emden.[35]

Another option is that the Anabaptists continued to live in England, particularly London, where they practiced their faith quietly without attracting the constant attention of the authorities. One fruit of this subterranean activity may have been the application which Bishop Grindal submitted to Archbishop Parker in 1567, which warned of the secret Anabaptist conventicles being held in London and their corrupting influence on the population.[36] It was followed in 1568 by a search of London's alien population for those ". . . infected with dangerous opinions contrary to the faith of Christ's church, as anabaptists and such other sectaries. . . ."[37]

In conclusion, one particular surrounding van Haemstede and the controversy of 1560 deserves passing consideration. It is related to Bishop Jewel's aforementioned suggestion that Arians, as well as Anabaptists, had plagued English churches and were thus targets of the Proclamation of 1560. In an effort to determine whether or not his remarks were a reference to the London incident, it should be noted that van Haemstede was accused of Arianism—a heresy which

denied Christ's equality with God in the Trinity—by the Dutch Reformed Church Council.[38] If this accusation had been communicated to Grindal, he may well have alerted England's ecclesiastical hierarchy to the dangers of Arianism. One of those alerted would have been Bishop Jewel.

## *"Free-Willers"*

There is, however, another possible source for Jewel's particular enumeration of Arianism which the historian of English Anabaptism cannot overlook. This source—a general awareness of Arianism stemming from the activities of Englishmen whose sectarian faith evolved rather naturally to agreement with several Anabaptist positions, including Arianism—opents a new field for investigation in early Elizabethan Aanbaptist history. These natives, known as "free-willers" by their Calvinist opponents, were anti-predestinarians; their activities may well have influenced both the Proclamation of 1560 and the action taken in 1562. That both of these actions addressed themselves to the problem of "Anabaptistry" among native-born subjects, as well as among the immigrant population, attests to a part of the influence which can be measured.

A detailed analysis of this native sectarianism in early Elizabethan England, belongs to a separate essay and can only be mentioned rather briefly here. Anabaptism among groups of Englishmen was not a development particularly unique to the early years of Elizabeth's reign. Since the time of Henry VIII, Englishmen had ascribed to certain of the Anabaptist heresies with varying degrees of intensity. According to Irvin B. Horst, this attraction was strongest among the English anti-predestinarian forces in the last years of Henry's rule and during the brief rule of Edward VI.[39] Because of their belief in the universality of God's salvation and the sinlessness of man at birth, the "free-willers" arrived at beliefs similar to Anabaptist positions on good works, a rejection of infant baptism, tolerance of different belief systems, and the authority of scripture. Leading proponents of this "free-will" Anabaptism in pre-Elizabethan England were Robert Cooche, John Champneis and Henry Harte, to name only a few.

Cooche and Champneis renewed the predestinarian battle after Elizabeth's ascension in 1558, when both of them authored tracts (in 1558 and 1560-1561? respectively). At one point, Cooche's treatise, *Confutations of the errors of the careless by Necessity,* came to the explicit defense of Arianism among Continental and English Anabaptists.[40] This may or may not mean that he ascribed to the wide range of anti-trinitarian beliefs, but it suggests that the English free-will movement sympathized with Anabaptism. That same suggestion was advanced by John Knox and Jean Veron who answered Cooche and Champneis respectively. To what extent the government's actions in 1560 and 1562 were a response to this predestinarian controversy remains an unanswered question. It may well be unanswerable.

For this discussion the importance of the predestinarian controversy is its confirmation of the significant fact that early Elizabeth England's religious soil was still richly endowed with the sacramentarian humus of Lollardy. It could and did support an immigrant Dutch Anabaptist movement at the same time that it nourished a native evangelical movement with Anabaptist overtones.

FOOTNOTES

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2. Terwoort's alias is cited in Henry and Morton Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims.* Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1905, p. 107.
3. David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae,* Vol. IV, London, 1737, p. 201. An abridged version of this document appears in Bishop Kennett's Collection, *Lansdowne Manuscripts,* No. 991, folio 125, British Museum.
4. Francis Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the Country of Norfolk,* Vol. III. London, 1805, p. 293. Apart from Knight, the men were Matthew Hamont, John Lewis and Peter Cole.
5. See a recent discussion of this in William P. Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation.* Cambridge: University Press, 1968, pp. 249, 260.
6. *Queen Elizabeth's Proclamations, 1559 to 1602,* collected by Humfrey Dyson. London, 1618, p. 24. This proclamation is reprinted in Paul L. Hughes and James F. Lurkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations.* New Haven: Yale University, Vol. II, pp. 148-149.
7. Bishop John Jewel to Peter Martyr, Salisbury, November 6, 1560, in *Zurich Letters,* 1st Series (ed) Hastings Robinson. Cambridge: University Press, 1842, p. 92.
8. J.Lindeboom, *Austin Friars.* Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1950, p. 30.
9. Cornelius Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism.* Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968, pp. 238-239.
10. W. G. Goeters, "Adriaen Cornelis van Haemstede," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia,* Vol. II, p. 621.
11. *Ibid.,* 620.
12. Lindeboom, *Austin Friars,* pp. 42-43.
13. *Ibid.,* p. 43.
14. Goeters, *The Mennonite Encyclopedia,* Vol. II, p. 621.
15. Letter from van Haemstede to Jacobus Acontius, 14 June, 1561 in J. H. Hessels (ed.), *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum,* Cambridge: University Press, 1889, Vol. II, p. 165.
16. William Nicholson, ed., *The Remains of Edmund Grindal.* Cambridge: University Press, 1843, p. 243. See also Hessels, *Archivum,* II, pp. 139-140.
17. Nicholson, *The Remains of Edmund Grindal,* p. 244.
18. Goeters, *The Mennonite Encyclopedia,* Vol. II, p. 621.
19. *Queen Elizabeth's Proclamations,* p. 24.
20. Hessels, *Archivum,* II, p. 142.
21. *Ibid.,* p. 150. Goeters (*The Mennonite Encyclopedia*) cites Th. Petrejus, *Catalogus Haereticorum* (Cologne, 1629), p. 82, who listed a sect of Haemstede's followers. Earlier, men of the stature of the historian Emanuel von Meteren and the Italian engineer, Jacobus Acontinus, had been excommunicated for supporting van Haemstede.
22. Both of these accounts are based upon Lindeboom, *Austin Friars,* pp. 39-43.
23. Nicholson, *The Remains of Ermund Grindal,* p. 256. Bernhard Rothmann was a radical reformer at Muenster.
24. William Camden, *Annales Rervm Anglicarum et Hibernicarvm.* Londo, 1625, p. 64. Cited in Duncan B. Heriot, "Anabaptism in England During the 16th and 17th Centuries," *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society,* XII (August, 1936), p. 314.
25. Goeters, *The Mennonite Encyclopedia,* Vol. II, p. 621.
26. Hessels, *Archivum,* II, p. 201. See also *Calendar of State Papers,* Domestic Series, 1547-1605, July 31, 1562, at the Public Records Office in London.
27. A. E. Newman, *A History of Anti-Pedobaptism . . .* Philadelphia, 1897, pp. 345 ff. Cited in Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism,* p. 214.
28. Horst, *Anabaptism and the English Reformation,* p. 36ff. Also, Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism,* pp. 200ff; 214ff.
29. Camden, *Annales,* p. 47; cited in Heriot, "Anabaptism in England," p. 314.
30. Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism,* p. 259.
31. Lindeboom, *Austin Friars,* p. 48.

32. Cases in point are those of Anneken and Arent Jansz in 1538 and Hans Bret in 1575. Horst, *Anabaptism and the English Reformation*, pp. 36-37; Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism*, p. 200; Van Braght, *Martyrs Mirror*, 5th ed., pp. 1032-1054.

33. Hessels, *Archivum*, II, pp. 700-701.

34. Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism*, p. 250.

35. Hessels, *Archivum*, II, pp. 140-141; Goeters, *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, p. 621. A great deal of confusion surrounds this ill-documented controversy. The source of confusion is the omission of a surname for the "Adrian" Grindal cited in his letter to de Leone and Utenhove.

36. John Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1821, p. 262.

37. John Bruce and Thomas Perowne, eds., *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*. Cambridge: University Press, 1853, p. 321.

38. Hessels, *Archivum*, II, p. 165.

39. Horst, *Anabaptism and the English Reformation*, pp. 78ff.

40. Cooche's tract no longer survives in its original form. It has been recovered from Knox's refutation, *An Answer to a great number of blasphemous cauillations written by an Anabaptist. . . .*, Geneva, 1560. See also *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, IV (September, 1914), pp. 88-123.

# Systematic Theology Today

## A Book Review

*By Duane K. Friesen and Alvin J. Beachy*

Gordon D. Kaufman. *Systematic Theology. A Historicist Perspective*. Charles Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1968. 543 pp. cloth $8.50, Paper $5.95.

Systematic theology written from a historical perspective implies that one take seriously two factors —man's nature as a historical being and the historical character of the Christ event as the locus of God's self disclosure to man. Kaufman's methodology involves a constant dialectic which seeks to relate the Christian historical norm, the Christ event, to an anthropology which deals with man's primary nature as his historicity.

### *The Christian Faith*

Kaufman argues that Christian theologians have been quick to speak of Christianity as "an historical religion," but they have been slow to develop a theology that takes the full import of those words seriously. What he proposes to do in the work under review is to correct that deficiency—"to take the allegedly 'historical' character of Christian faith with absolute seriousness, exploring, as a kind of 'experiment in thought' (Kierkegaard), what the various Christian doctrines mean when understood essentially as attempts to grapple with and interpret the nature and meaning of history and man's historicity, and what man's historical existence looks like when its structure is analyzed with the aid of the key concepts found in the Christian tradition." (p. xiii)

The book is a systematic theology. This is a considerable accomplishment in a time when mostly "pieces of occasional theology" are being written. The book also goes considerably beyond the "fads" which have swept through the theological world and appeared in the headlines of the popular press. The book reflects thinking that is solid and that has developed over a long period of time. To write a systematic theology in the time in which we live is indeed daring, but Kaufman's view is that "precisely in this time of confusion and doubt we need . . . new proposals which set forth Christian faith in the round." (p. vii) His claims are modest, however. As an "experiment in thought" Kaufman wants us to see what it would look like if we were to think of the Christian faith from a historical perspective. Can we make sense out of our experience as Christians and modern men from this perspective? The book is a proposal, not a proof. Not all historical and philosophical questions are answered. Kaufman hopes that the work will have the kind of intuitive appeal as a whole which will lead to further scholarly analysis and documentation. He himself promises us a later book to deal with the claims of atheism.

### *The Content of the Book*

The book is comprised of thirty-three chapters and 525 pages of vigorous theological discussion. The book is divided into four main sections plus an Introduction. The Introduction, although not as interesting reading as many other parts of the book, must be thoroughly digested by the reader in order that he may understand Kaufman's approach to theology in the remainder of the book. The five sections beginning with the Introduction are titled as follows:

*Introduction*

Revelation and Theological Knowledge

*Part One*
The Christian Understanding of Ultimate Reality: The Doctrine of God

*Part Two*
The Christian Understanding of the World: The Doctrines of Creation, Providence and the Eschaton

*Part Three*
The Christian Understanding of Man: The Doctrines of the *Imago Dei,* Sin, and Salvation

*Part Four*
The Christian Understanding of the Redeemed Life: The Doctrines of the Church and Sacraments, Discipleship and Faith

The Introduction sets forth the basis and method for Kaufman's theological position. Kaufman's theology rests on three norms: 1. the historical norm, the Christ event; 2. the experience of modern man, especially his historicity; 3. the systematic norm—i.e., the concern to set out the doctrines of Christian faith in some kind of logical order. The third norm is very important since in a good systematic theology the arrangement of the material is itself a reflection of the theologian's point of view. For Kaufman the systematic arrangement of the various doctrines grows out of his understanding of the other two norms. We shall comment further upon these two norms, therefore, before we discuss the arrangement of the book.

In the second chapter Kaufman attempts to make sense out of the concept of revelation from the standpoint of modern man. Kaufman understands the phenomenon of revelation as the unveiling or revealing of the fundamental reality with which man has to do. Revelation is the central reality of man's experience, the ultimate standard in terms of which all other reality is measured. Revelation is a life shaping event or conviction by which men evaluate events of lesser significance. Revelation is a meaningful concept for modern man if by it we mean the "center or hierarchy of value around which one's life is ordered," or the "absolute presupposition" (Collingwood) in terms of which the rest of life is ordered. (pp. 20-21)

But how are modern men to come to know the revelation *of God*? Kaufman argues that when we are simply left to our own experience, all we experience is our finitude and our limitedness. We know "that" we our limited, but we do not know "what" it is that limits us. How is it possible for men to come to know "God" as that fundamental reality which is the center of life and history? Kaufman argues that this could come about only if that which is beyond the bounds of human possibility, were made knowable by an act of God in which what is originally hidden to man is made available to him. "The concept of revelation refers to a movement from outside the bounds of human history into man's world, significantly transforming or reversing history through bringing into being new ontological possibilities not previously implicit in human existence." (p. 37)

Kaufman makes one further step in trying to make sense of the concept of revelation. He says it is analogous to the communication of one person to another. Insofar as God is beyond the limits of man's experience, God cannot be known unless he chooses to reveal himself to man. This is analogous to our knowledge of other persons. We cannot know another person unless he chooses to reveal himself to us. We can know him as a "thing" by exercising our own powers of discovery, but we can never really know his personality unless he reveals himself in words and deeds.

The personalistic view of revelation as analogous to the way in which one self communicates to another self provides the basis for the systematic arrangement of the book. There are three aspects to interpersonal communication. To communicate something to another presupposes that there is a reality which is unknown and hidden to the other person. Secondly, this reality must be revealed or expressed through some form of communication. Thirdly, communication does not take place unless the reality which is communicated is appropriated and understood by the listener. Revelation is not a unilateral process in which man is simply manipulated from without, but like a word spoken between persons, revelation affects the hearer in such a way that he must appropriate the meaning for and in his own situation and experience. This is why Kaufman always seeks to correlate the experience of modern man with the historical norm.

## *The Doctrine of the Trinity*

This threefold aspect of interpersonal communication is the anthropological basis to which Kaufman can link the doctrine of the trinity. Insofar as God is understood in personal terms as a being who reveals himself, the doctrine of the trinity is essential to Christian theology. The book as a whole reflects this trinitarian structure. The first part of the book deals with the doctrine of God, the fundamental reality which is unknown to man and which must be communicated to him. But since God is never known except in a threefold way, the first part of the book discusses God from three standpoints—as a transcendent being, as revelation in history in the Christ event, and as present companion in the form of the Spirit. The second part of the book elaborates more fully what it means to say that God reveals himself by acting in history. Therefore the second major part of the book deals with God's relationship to the world—in terms of its creation, its present ongoing nature, and its future. The third major section of the book deals with what it means for God to become a present reality for man for his own decisions and values, and his

understanding of the meaning and purpose of life. This section of the book consequently deals with the doctrine of man, sin and salvation. The fourth section of the book is an extension of the third section. In part four Kaufman discusses what it means for the church to live by God's revelation in Jesus Christ as the fundamental meaning of life. The book, therefore, provides a "perspective and a terminology for apprehending and understanding in their interrelationship the ultimate metaphysical reality (God); the phenomenal realities treated by the several arts and sciences (the world and man); and the subjective realities of decision and purpose, value and meaning, with which ethical and existentialistic analyses have been concerned." (p. 12)

## *Christ and the Nature of God*

The remainder of this review will be a comment upon some of the more significant aspects of Kaufman's theology.

1. The Christ event stands as the central norm for determining what is said about God's nature. Kaufman's basic question is what it means for God to be working out his purposes in history as these purposes are revealed in the Christ event. Kaufman concludes that this event says significant things about the nature of God's power. God does not work out his purposes by contradicting human freedom. Rather God exercises his power by trying to persuade men to follow the truth. He is willing to let his Son be killed by men rather than coerce men into obeying his purposes against their will. As a consequence of taking the Christ event as the central revelation of God, Kaufman develops the notion of God's "nonresistance" to evil as one of God's perfections or attributes. He is the only theologian we are aware of who has based his case for nonresistance directly upon the character of God as revealed in its greatest clarity in Christ crucified.

2. It is clear that Kaufman's theological perspective is heavily influenced by the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition. But this statement needs interpretation. Kaufman by no means thinks it is possible simply to translate the vision of the 16th century into the modern period. Between the 16th century and the present stand man's secular achievements, the period of Enlightenment, philosophers such as Kant and Hegel, etc. Kaufman is just as much a product of these forces as he is a member of the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition. His theology is also reminiscent of more recent theological positions. Insofar as Kaufman emphasizes the centrality of the Christ event, and insofar as he employs a trinitarian structure to expound the Christ event, his theology reminds one of Karl Barth. However, insofar as Kaufman is trying to differentiate and relate the historical norm and the experience of modern man without absorbing the one into the other, Kaufman's method is probably much more similar to Tillich's method. In summary, Kaufman's theology has broad ecumenical roots, while at the same time reflecting special roots in the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition.

3. The reader should pay particular attention to the analogies Kaufman uses to describe the nature of God and His activity. The metaphors or analogies used are practically all drawn from the realm of interpersonal relationships and the family. It seems to us that this makes it somewhat difficult for Kaufman to be able to illuminate how God is working in and with social institutions and structures. It is also the reason why one sometimes wonders whether the radical nature of evil when it appears in the form of institutional structures has been taken seriously enough by Kaufman.

4. The term "faith" plays a key role in the whole book. The movement from "unfaith" to "faith" is the process whereby men turn from a self-centered and estranged position to view God as revealed in Jesus Christ as the meaning of history and the meaning of their lives. Kaufman's theology is a "theology of conversion." Yet somehow we do not see how Kaufman adequately sets out this movement from "unfaith" to "faith." Most of the book simply assumes the "faith" stance. The weakness of Kaufman's discussion of the movement from "unfaith" to "faith" is reflected in his discussion of the resurrection. It was through the event of resurrection that the disciples came to believe that what had happened in Jesus' life and death was not just some tragic event but the revelation of God. Kaufman understands the resurrection as primarily an event in the minds of the disciples in which they came to believe in the significance of other events of Jesus' life and death. Although the resurrection is truly an event in the realm of meaning, Kaufman believes that otherwise the disciples experienced "hallucinations" with respect to the actual appearance of Jesus. Not only does it appear that Kaufman has contradicted his own theological method by departing from the historical documents we have to understand this event, but his explanation is not plausible from the standpoint of human experience. How is it possible that men can come to "faith" through a series of hallucinations? It seems to us that Kaufman needs here a much more fully developed theology of conversion in which it is possible to describe in socio-psychological terms how it is that men come to "believe."

## *Historical Process and Revelation*

5. Kaufman's theology presupposes a process metaphysic. Reality is not a static structure or totality which is given once and and for all time. Since for man it is historical events which are the fundamental realities which qualify human existence and since these are always in the process of becoming and change, reality is not static but always in movement. God is a being

who creates men to make and remake themselves, i.e., men are beings with freedom. This means that God too is affected by men and can change and modify himself. As a result of this emphasis upon process and becoming, Kaufman reacts strongly against some of the traditional Christian understandings of God's power, omniscience, etc. Some of the most creative parts of the book are the parts where he reinterprets these doctrines into a process framework.

6. Kaufman seeks to understand God's act of revealing himself as a long historical process. God does not arbitrarily interject himself into the historical process. Rather God's action is to be understood in terms of a long process in which human freedom is not contradicted but used for Divine ends. God works through the social-cultural processes which lead to the development of human life and civilization, as well as in the special history which began with Israel where God began to try to restore man from his fallen condition through the history of salvation. "Every phase of the world-process is an expression of God's continuing activity, ever moving forward toward his ultimate objective." (p. 262)

7. Kaufman's theology implies a relativist position. Truth, insofar as it is historical, always reflects the situation of the knower and his particular place in the historical process. Although the "faith" stance involves a view of the total meaning of the historical process, this stance can finally only be appropriate for the person accepting various Western cultural assumptions. In other words *Systematic Theology. A Historicist Perspective,* might look very different if written by a person living within the framework of very different cultural assumptions. Kaufman is still operating from the point of view reflected in his first book, *Relativism, Knowledge and Faith.*

8. The "faith" stance means that man is able to hope that God is accomplishing his purposes in history. It seems to us that Kaufman bases his hope too one-sidedly upon an event of the past. He seems to be so aware of Western man's growing anthropocentrism and secularity in his turn away from a theocentric point of view, that one wonders whether God is sufficiently powerful to achieve his purposes in history. How is it possible for us to hope, "despite all evidence to the contrary," (p. 399) that "God is winning the battle proceeding in the very historical existence in which we are living"? (p. 399) Does not Kaufman need to stress more fully the places where God is working out his purposes in the present? Is this not the logic of his trinitarian position? Is he reacting too much against the old liberals who saw the realization of God's kingdom right around the corner? Does not the logic of Kaufman's position call for a much more optimistic point of view?

In summary we would like to highly recommend this book. It is worth the considerable time and effort which is necessary to understand its full implications. Both of us have used the book in the classroom, and we recommend it highly as a book to help students grapple with a relevant contemporary understanding of the Christian faith.

# Male-Female Roles in Our Society

*By Jean Wedel*

In 1869, John Stuart Mill observed that reason is a weak counter-agent against those intense and deeply rooted feelings which cluster about and contribute to the continuation of deeply embedded customs and institutions. Among these, he pointed to the relationship between the sexes, noting society's reluctance to effect changes in traditional male-female patterns. These patterns, along with various others in our society, are today undergoing intense, at times excruciating, examination and re-evaluation. The Women's Liberation movement, if it accomplishes nothing more important, has served to focus attention upon a problem which has been germinating for some time and which is psychologically and sociologically relevant. The subject of Women's Liberation usually gives rise to either defensiveness or derisiveness, and women frequently react as negatively to the subject as do men.

This is to ignore the relevance of the gesture, for the movement would appear to be a natural outgrowth of a basic disorientation of male and female

roles in our society. We are confused about the symbols and the realities of contemporary masculine and feminine roles, and this confusion complicates the interaction of male and female and adds stress to lives already faced with tension from other areas of experience.

Our conceptions of proper masculine and feminine activity are still greatly influenced by automatic association with the traditional, sex-determined functions. However, we cannot ignore anthropological evidence which shows that while the physiological differences between the sexes and particularly their differing roles in reproduction may have provided the initial impetus for the developing division between the sexes, the actual roles ascribed to the male and female have been almost entirely determined by the culture. It would be well then to look into the past to examine how, over a long period of time, society programs people—men and women—into specific roles that fit its demands for maintaining and reconstituting itself.

### *Anatomy Is Destiny*

Women liberationists vent a great deal of spleen upon an aphorism invented by Sigmund Freud—"Anatomy Is Destiny"—and in its fullest psychological development they are perhaps justified in their anger. However, one must recognize that woman's role in society has undoubtedly been molded by her function as the carrier of the race. However vigorous and capable the female of our race may have been, the bondage of childbearing was an immense handicap in the threatening world of the tribal culture. Natural processes restricted the female's capacity for physical activity, keeping her closely confined to the hearth and at times completely dependent upon the male for protection and food. Frequent pregnancies made this a consistent pattern of living. Sex-roles among our tribal ancestors were, therefore, basically biologically defined, and not until recently has this definition been seriously questioned.

As society shifted from a tribal to a trading culture, women's role was diminished for now there occurred a status differentiation between the work of the male and the tasks of the female. Trade forced the disintegration of the concept of work as an integrator of community. In the trading culture men began to acquire property for the simple reason that the unit of barter was the product of their work (usually cattle). This provided the impetus for the movement into a patriarchal family structure wherein the acquisition of property became of prime importance and the inheritance of that property of great social concern.

Various social practices of the patriarchy eroded the status of women. Kinship was recognized only through association with the male line. Descendants of the female line were not allowed to inherit property and frequently were deprived of lineal recognition. Wives were assimilated into the line; sisters, however, lost various rights and their sons were excluded from the line. Women became the property of men. The law recognized this by refusing to allow a woman to sue in court, to sign a legally binding contract, or even to manage her own property.

During the 16th century, the position of the woman began subtly to alter with the rise of the mercantile class. The family unit as we now know it began to formulate at this time, and with its formation the role of women was steadily enhanced. Women were important to the economy: they fulfilled the traditional role of caretaker of the children; they produced the food and clothing necessary for their families; they serviced the community by caring for the sick and aged; they contributed actively and directly to the economy by working in the fields (if farmers) and in the family shop (if tradesmen). A new kind of community sprang up within the family unit as all labored together, contributing thereby to the efficient functioning of the entire society.

A major threat to the family unit, and one which affected the female much more directly than it did the male, was the introduction of industrialization. Techniques of mass production provided products more efficiently, more cheaply, and more uniformly than women could ever do. In addition to assuming some of her previous functions, industrialization forced women into the working world, for the family now needed cash income to buy the processed foods and manufactured goods. Factories needed workers, and women were encouraged to seek employment. These workers were usually single women for society still expected the married woman to care for her home and family. Only if she was without male support could a married woman enter the work force.

The modern technological world has forced a radical adaptation in male-female roles. Woman's reproductive role has been alleviated considerably by contraceptive techniques; her role as keeper of the hearth has been lightened by a myriad of mechanical devices which allow her to complete her labor in a fraction of the time previously required. Woman has always been faced with the problem of reconciling her reproductive role and her participation in relevant and productive labor; now she is faced with the necessity of devising new roles or discovering new facets in the old ones. The problem is no less serious for the male, for as the female role is augmented and altered, the male role, of necessity, must also undergo change. There is a blurring of the traditional roles which disturbs many; when there is a severe disorientation, society can react arbitrarily. This disruption of sex roles is particularly evident in three areas, those centering about authority, about aggression, and about eros.

## *Lines of Authority*

Tradition has clearly established the lines of authority; the male because of clarity of mind and strength of body exercised authority in the world outside the home, the female, simply because her anatomy forced her into the position, supervised the home. History gives ample demonstration of the entrenchment of this concept. We are all familiar with the ancient ritual prayer of the Jew in which the man thanked God each morning "that Thou hast not made me a woman." Demosthenes described Hellenic sex-roles in this way: "We have hetairae for the pleasure of the spirit, concubines for sensual pleasure, and wives to bear our sons." Francis Bacon painted a bleak picture for 16th century woman: "Wives," he said, "are young men's mistresses, companions for middle age, and old men's nurses." Nor are modern observers more encouraging; Bruno Bettelheim, a contemporary psychologist, maintains that women's foremost desire is to be womenly companions to their husbands and good mothers to their children. And Dr. Spock, noted authority on child-rearing, echoes Bacon when he suggests that women, because of both biology and temperament, are created to be concerned with child care, husband care, and home care.

That women are today questioning this historical stance, claiming for themselves prerogatives which enhance their individual identity, is due to a series of events which gradually opened their eyes to the possibilities of securing deeply satisfying experiences outside the home. War provided the major impulsion for introducing women to a world outside the confines of *Kinder-Küche-Kirche,* the greatest influx of women into the work force coming in the time of war. Our Civil War provided the first major opportunity for women to enter productive work outside the home; most of these women returned to their homes when the men came back from war. The pattern was repeated with each involvement in war, until during World War II we found women saturating the work force, doing jobs heretofore reserved for men and earning salaries previously undreamed of. Women discovered that they could make valuable and worthwhile contributions to their society at the same time that they themselves gained a feeling of sureness and an appreciation of their worth. However, in accord with the traditional view of their role, most women returned to their homes as the men returned from war. Some women relinquished their independence with obvious reluctance; others remained in the work force to create a species that was often anathema to her society—the married career woman. Almost as though they sensed a revolution in the making, various components in our society, from the educational system to the mass media, began to educate women for the role as a modern woman; the old tribal role was now refurbished into a new science.

## *The Feminine Mystique*

During these past twenty-five years, there has been a distinct return to traditional views concerning marriage, homemaking, and careers for women. Coming on the heels of a period of creative and intellectual independence for women as it has, this neo-traditional indoctrination has created some ambivalency for her. Girls have been trained in the neo-traditional role in a variety of ways, not the least of which have been the courses in family living which provided intensive training in the various skills of homemaking. If a girl continued her schooling, she was likely to be trained as a nurse, secretary, or teacher, and her society still expected her to discontinue her career when she married and had children. She was virtually programmed into her role by a variety of media; popular women's magazines preached the new role with messianic zeal, bombarding the young wife and mother with articles which would have her become an expert chef, an authority of child psychology, a professional home decorator, and a patient companion and inspiration to her wage-earning husband. Movies, plays, novels, short stories, and TV shows also contributed to this eulogizing of the home as an ideal place for a young wife to develop and enhance any powers of intelligence and creativity which she might possess. When Betty Friedan speaks of the "feminine mystique" it is this total involvement in the child-church-hearth philosophy to which she refers.

Women had assumed an independent, authoritarian stance during those war years when they operated in the "outside world" quite capably. Now, as society exerted insistent pressures to keep her confined to her home and as technology relieved her of many onerous duties, the American woman has reacted by a total psychological involvement in the home which has frequently approached total control of the family. Her preoccupation with the roles of mother and housewife has produced a stifling motherhood and wifehood which have been memorialized by the literature of our time, a literature which stereotypes the woman as a destructive force which absorbs the child, warping his nature and interfering with his struggle for autonomy and independence. One cannot generalize too broadly, but the woman who molds and manipulates her children, who operates her household with startling efficiency, and who frequently "manages" her husband to distraction—and who still finds herself uneasy and subtly discontented—is a familiar feature of our society.

And what about the male? His traditional authority in the home has been dissipated by various social factors and he has been supplanted by a wife who has had other roles ameliorated. In addition, his opportunities to exert authority outside the home are considerably diminished in a world which provides fewer and fewer power stations from which an individ-

ual can exert control. Whether he is working in industry or fighting in a war, man finds his opportunities to exert authority, to become more than an insignificant cog in the machine, quite minimal. In this world of mass armies, gigantic power blocs, party bureaucracies, territorial alliances, and the unification of economic units, the male finds himself rapidly losing his identity as an authoritarian individual who has a variety of opportunities to wield power. His world appears to prefer a conformist who offers a minimum of friction to the system. This leads us to the problem of aggression, for, as man finds himself powerless in formerly power-productive situations, he is apt to re-channel the aggressive instinct which provides an impetus for seeking authority.

## *Aggressiveness*

Male norms have traditionally stressed such values as courage, mastery, aggressiveness, group solidarity, adventure, and toughness in mind and body. Society was so structured that the male was able to operate upon these norms in various ways. Men were "manly" if they could exhibit these qualities in socially acceptable and mutually beneficial ways. Unfortunately for the modern man, the traditional male roles no longer fit the realities of masculine life. They are beginning to lose their validity in that the conditions of modern industrial society call for a different type of "man" from that of past history. Most men today have been trained according to outdated codes which are difficult to put into practice in our society.

Because his world can no longer fully utilize his aggressive tendencies, these have been deflected into other areas such as the world of play, of sports, of playful eroticism. Bowling, golf, tennis, basketball, baseball, football—these are some of the sports through which the male expends his aggressive tendencies. Yet, even here, rigorous institutionalization and commercialization have eroded his opportunity to expend his aggressiveness in sports activity, and so he sublimates by giving himself over to passive absorption of action in the mass media. Men are ardent watchers of various types of sports activities, of Westerns, and secret agent films.

With the opportunities for personal heroism greatly diminished, modern man has redirected his aggressiveness into what may prove to be personally damaging areas of experience, damaging not only to the male but also to the female. He has created idols who are extensions of his own heroic potential. For a case in point we might look at Joe Namath. A sports writer recently referred to Namath as an anti-hero, but he is more likely the exponent and extension of modern man's concept of the hero. His casual contacts with women, his defiance of the rules of the "establishment," his strength and courage, his common origins—all go to make him the heroic extension of his culture. All of these fit into our modern society's conceptualization of the "man." It may be a generalization to suggest that the timid exterior of the Walter Mitty male conceals a daring core of James Bond, reality cannot be simplified to that extent, but it is certainly true that modern man has grave difficulty in reconciling his natural aggressive proclivities with actual life, far more so than earlier generations.

## *Eros and Machismo*

This redirection of the aggressive instinct in the male has developed into a distortion of masculinity labelled machismo, a Spanish word which denotes the male as superior, brutal, enigmatic, virile—and all of these in sexual terms. This psychological distortion is illustrated beautifully in the opening sequence of the TV show, "Then Came Bronson," with its Walter Mitty type opposed to Bronson, the perfect exponent of machismo, in a brief, telling episode. An impersonal catering to male chauvinism derived from the machismo psychology saturates the media these days; articles about our heroes reveal the tendency, ads are motivated by machismo, a whole playboy philosophy has grown out of this distortion of the traditional male role. And the chief victim of this trend is woman. One aspect of the Women's Liberation movement which would appear quite justified is their rejection of the machismo philosophy which so victimizes woman. As one women's liberationist remarked, the sexual revolution did not really free women, it only created a bear market for men.

Possibly the most severe dislocation in male-female roles comes in this area of eros, and it is an area which has considerable implications for problems in the areas of authority and aggression. Along with her role as mother, the female concurrently maintains her role as wife, and just as she is trained in the one, so she is indoctrinated in the other. Ruth Benedict in her book, *Pattern of Culture*, maintains that society, once having decided upon the role that each sex is to fulfill, embodies these characteristics in every thread of the social fabric, so that the role is implicit in the care of the young child, in the games the children play, in the songs people sing, in religious observances, and in the art and philosophy. And so it is with the girl's developing sex-role.

## *Little Sex Dolls*

A girl's role identity as a wife and mother are a much more primary concern than the boy's self-definition in the same area. He will become a husband and a father most probably, but his curiosity and concern centers about other areas, his life work, for instance. The occupational identity can begin to be formed early in the male, and at the point of adoles-

cence assumes priority over other concerns. Girls, in contrast, are simultaneously absorbed in a preoccupation with the connotations of her eventual wifehood and motherhood. They are preoccupied with phantasy about boys and popularity—marriage and love. Their achievement, status, and identity are attained through a male. Girls are continually reminded of their sexual destiny in a myriad of ways; they repeatedly practice the skills which their coming role as wife and mother will require. They play "house"—they entertain themselves with "dress up"—and they play with dolls, dolls that cry, dolls that say "mama," dolls that wet their diapers, and now dolls that bear babies. And when they're a bit older, they are given Barbie dolls with their male counterparts, Ken dolls, with which little girls can practice competitive processes.

Girls are quickly propelled into the real world of feminization. A manufacturer of undergarments reports that he sells two million dollars worth of bras to nine year old girls in a year's time. Simultaneously this fourth grader begins to experiment with lipstick and is required by custom to wear hose to school. Obviously the nine-year old girl has a terrific impact upon our Gross National Product. It is small wonder that in a few more years she is ready to make this whole process into something meaningful, and so now we have the ridiculous phenomenon of sixth graders going steady.

Magazines for the teenage girl concentrate on the lure: *Ingenue* and *Seventeen* indoctrinate young girls in the processes and skills which ideally lead to the Miss America pageant. People laughed as Women's Liberationists picketed this pageant several years ago singing:

> Ain't she sweet
> Makin' profit off her meat.
> She's just America's prime commodity,
> Ain't she sweet.

This protest may seem somewhat rabid, but it was not particularly innovative. Several years earlier, Harvey Cox, well-known theologian, had published an essay "Miss America and the Cult of The Girl" in the respectable periodical *Christianity and Crisis*. Here he maintained that the pageant represents a mass cultic celebration of The Girl in the collective soul of America. He sees The Girl as the realization of every mother's ideal image whose daughters are The Girl's initiates in modern fertility rites.

One sociologist calls this cult the Lolita Complex in reference to Nabokov's novel of that title. He suggests that the dominant female image of our society is one based chiefly on juvenile models of femininity, an image which is promulgated by our mass media. This idealization of the pubescent girl forces the grown woman to style herself as a girl-child, with occasionally grotesque effects. Meanwhile the actual juveniles are encouraged to enter sexual competition at an increasingly early age.

This preoccupation with the sexual is encouraged in the young wife, for just as she is trained in the skills required for motherhood by the mass media, so she is guided along the path of marital adjustment —a path with signposts marked "Freud"—"Kinsey"—"Masters and Johnson." The end result appears to an inculcation of fear, the dread of growing old, of fading beauty, of losing love. Under the impelling demands of the Lolita role, the female pursues the image of a vacuous idol, a lifelike sex doll, an eternal party girl—a role no female can fill for long, though many try. The Lolita complex has connotations for the male role also, for it denotes man's boredom with women of his own age and leads to a preoccupation with the attitudes of machismo.

## *Redefinition of Male-Female Roles*

Quite obviously, the basic construct of male-female roles is undergoing change. It is just as obvious that there is a need for healthy, directed change. Erik Erikson, contemporary psychologist, tells us, for instance, that a redefinition of the identity of the sexes within a new image of man is called for. When Margaret Fuller, nineteenth century suffragette, said, "What woman needs is not as a woman to act or rule, but as a nature to grow, as an intellect to discern, as a soul to live freely, and unimpeded to unfold such powers as were given her when we left our common home," she may have expressed the heart of the problem. And Dr. Mary Calderone may be wise to call upon women liberationists to liberate men, assuring them that their own liberation will automatically follow. Some sociologists propose a socially androgynous conception of the roles of men and women in which the sexes are equal and similar in such spheres as intellectual, artistic, political and occupational interests and participation—and complementary only in those spheres dictated by physiological differences between the sexes.

This assumes that the traditional conceptions of masculine and feminine are inappropriate to the kind of world we can live in in the remainder of the 20th century. In order to fully express their human potentiality, the traditional social-sexual differentiations between men and women must be reduced, thus mitigating suspicions and hostilities which too often separate the sexes.

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# Books in Review

## AN APOLOGY

In a book review (*M.L.* Jan., 1970, p. 46) Dr. J. Thiessen stated:

> The study of the Low German dialect of the Mennonites goes back to 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.

In a letter to the editor dated December, 1970, Dr. J. Thiessen wrote:

> I have erred in stating that Dr. Quiring and Prof. Mitzka were co-workers on the Mennonite Dialect in Hammerstein, West Prussia. But I have not erred in stating that Mitzka dictated to me the following sentence to be found as a footnote in my dissertation. "Diesem (Quiring) lagen Manuskriptauszüge vor". Obviously the dissertation is Quiring's work. To what extent the mentioned *Manuskriptauszüge* are included in it is not footnoted in Quiring's thesis.

## DRAFT DODGERS

Frank H. Epp, ed. *I Would Like to Dodge the Draft-dodgers but . . .* Waterloo: Conrad Press, 1970, 95 pp., $2.00. This paperback book is a collection of speeches and other materials to present the situation of the American draft-dodgers and deserters who migrate to Canada. In the preface the editor says the purpose is "to interpret the situation to increase understanding among all Canadians but particularly those associated with Christian churches, and to widen the base of moral and material support for the new immigrants." (p. 7)

The book contains eight chapters, each written by a different person who has some direct involvements with the problems. Frank H. Epp gives a personal statement on his history as a Mennonite whose family and church have frequently migrated and have come to Canada because of refusal to accept military service elsewhere. The title of the book comes from his lead essay.

John A. Lapp writes from the U. S. and as executive secretary for the Mennonite Central Committee Peace Section. He sketches the context out of which many young men feel it necessary to flee their country. He is aware of the complexity of factors which lead a man to choose to migrate. (A recent article by Richard Kilmer, "They Can't Come Home Again" in Christianity and Crisis, Vol. XXX, No. 20, December 14, 1970, pp. 274-277, also gives the meaning of the draft migrants in a larger context and could well supplement John A. Lapp's chapter.)

The chapters by John C. Lott and Jon M. Webb are personal statements of their reasons for going to Canada. They illustrate in a more intimate way what John Lapp states more abstractly. Jim Wilcox describes the Canadian Immigration Law and the recent history of the development of practices and policies in meeting the growing immigration of draft-dodgers and deserters.

Walter Klaassen poses most poignantly a dilemma for many Mennonites particularly but also for other Christians. Mennonites are frequently caught between compassion for the young men with their genuine need and the desire not to be implicated in condoning actions and position with which Mennonites disagree. Mennonites have long refused to participate in the military. Now a group of young men are refugees for the same reasons—but the motivations and positions of the draft-dodgers and deserters may be quite different from those of the Mennonites. Does aid imply complicity in everything they do and does it condone positions alien to Mennonites? Walter Klaassen sorts out the issues rather clearly. He could use some of the analyses of Richard Burkholder in his article on "Christ, Conscience, Church, and Conscription" in the pamphlet on *Conscience and Conscription* which reprinted the papers of the Mennonite Central Committee Peace Section Assembly of November 1969. Richard Burkholder gives a systematic basis for ethical analysis of such problems.

Jim Wert and Leonard Epp describe the actions and inactions of the churches in responding to the needs of the refugees. The final chapter describes the attempts of Bob Neufeld to give assistance in locating jobs for the migrants. He could easily have given a romantic and glamorized

account to gain support for the refugees and his work. However, he gives a balanced account, confirming at several points the poignancy of the dilemma which Walter Klaassen discusses.

The book has three appendices and pictures are placed at the beginning of each chapter. Both features enhance its value.

Events have changed the circumstances somewhat since the book was written. It was expected that Canada would have a larger influx of refugees and the need would rise rapidly. Some reduction in the drafting of young men has slowed down the number sufficiently threatened to flee the country. In addition the terrorist tactics of the Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ) in Quebec and the response of the Canadian government in imposing martial law after the kidnappings in October make the young people wonder if Canada is so different after all from the U. S. Nevertheless, the need continues and young people are still migrating.

The concern which motivated the book is deeply felt. The collection of speeches and essays should receive the serious consideration of Christians who have not yet informed themselves about the problem or are seeking guidance about their own response to the needs and the problems.

BETHEL COLLEGE *William Keeney*

## BACK ISSUES OF MENNONITE LIFE

Back issues of *Mennonite Life* are available in unbound single copies as well as in bound volumes (the eight issues of two years bound in one volume). Inquiries should be sent to *Mennonite Life*, North Newton, Kansas 67117.

# Five Years of Mennonite Life Index 1966-1970

THIS IS A CUMULATIVE index which includes all authors of articles and major subjects treated in *Mennonite Life* during the last five years of its publication (1966-1970). Such topics as countries, places, leaders, various cultural and religious aspects, etc., are listed.

Authors are listed by last name. Articles are given by issue, year, and page. The following abbreviations were used: Ja—January, Apr—April, Ju—July, Oc—October.

Index for the first ten years is found in the January, 1956, issue, pp. 33-48; the index for the years 1956-1960 is found in the January, 1961, issue, pp. 39-48; and the index for the years 1961-1965 is found in the January, 1966, issue, pp, 40-48.

MENNONITE LIFE
North Newton, Kansas

Annual subscriptions $3.00
Single copies 75 cents


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