MENNONITE LIFE

March 1973

This Issue

begins with material relating to the approaching centennial of the coming of the Mennonites to the prairie states and provinces. With major observances scheduled for 1974, the centennial is of significance for all Mennonites of North America, not only the descendants of these particular immigrants.

¶ The Centennial Chronology by Cornelius Krahn vividly brings to life again the main events that led to the great Mennonite exodus from Russia in the 1870s. This day-to-day account naturally focuses on leading figures of the migration, some of whom are pictured in rare photographs from the Mennonite Library and Archives at Bethel College. Part Two of the Chronology, to be published in the June issue, will continue the recording of happenings through 1874 and the years immediately following.

¶ Mennonites have long struggled with the meaning of nonconformity. In an article adapted from a recent sermon, John Esau looks at the subject with a somewhat new perspective. He contends that "Mennonites have been rather excellent sponges. We have absorbed just about every new movement which came along, and somehow baptized it as the true Mennonite faith." But our most significant contributions, he maintains, grow out of our own "unique and valuable identity."

¶ In "My Pilgrimage to Anabaptism," Gan Sakakibara, Japanese scholar, gives a personal account of how he came into contact with Mennonites and related communal groups —a story that in many ways parallels the experience of the late Robert Friedmann. The article was sent by Elaine Rich, who with her husband Ronald is teaching at the International Christian University in Japan.

¶ The section, Radical Reformation Research, and the accompanying Bibliography are both presented in expanded form, since they were omitted last year. These valuable listings were compiled mainly by Cornelius Krahn and Nelson Springer, curator of the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College.

¶ Front Cover: The Cornelius Jansen family is shown in a formal pose at their home in Berdyansk, South Russia, about 1870. Jansen, a Prussian businessman in Berdyansk, a port city on the Black Sea, alerted the Mennonites of Russia to the impending introduction of universal military service and took the leading role in preparing for the migration to North America. Pictured from left are (front) Anna, John, Helena; (back) Peter, Tante Anna, Cornelius Jr., Mrs. Jansen, Father Jansen, and Margarete.

¶ Back Cover: First page of a letter by Bernard Warkentin to his friend David Goerz gives impressions of the unsettled central prairies of the U.S. a century ago. Dated August 18, 1872, it was written on stationery of the Brookville House, Brookville, Kan.

¶ Photo Credit: Page 4 (left and right), *Mennonite Quarterly Review*. All other illustrations are from Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kan.

MENNONITE LIFE is an illustrated quarterly magazine published in March, June, September and December by Herald Publishing Co., 129 W. 6th St., Newton, Kansas 67114.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: One year, $3.50; two years, $6.50. Single copies, 90 cents.

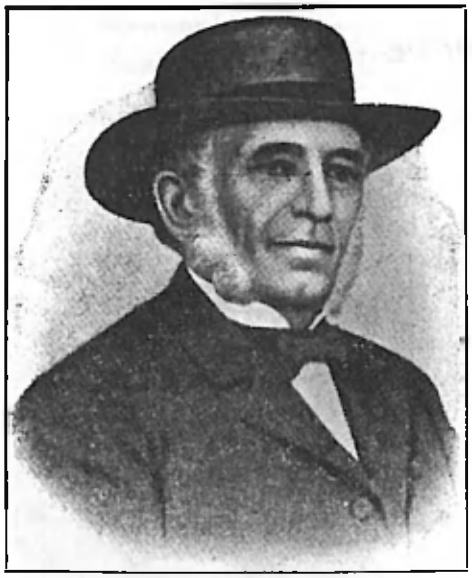
MENNONITE LIFE

MARCH 1973, VOL. 28, NO. 1

A Quarterly Magazine
Focusing on the Anabaptist-Mennonite Heritage & Its Contemporary Expression

Contents

Second class postage paid at Newton, Kansas. Send change of address form 3579 to Box 568, Newton, Kansas 67114.



Cornelius Jansen (1822-1894) was the "Moses" who in the 1870s led his people from Prussia and Russia to the "promised land" in America. Banished from Russia due to his zealous promotion of emigration, he later made his permanent home at Beatrice, Neb.

Bernhard Warkentin (1847-1908) is shown here in a photo taken at a St. Louis studio, probably soon after his arrival in the U.S. in 1872. Making his headquarters at the home of Christian Krehbiel, Summerfield, Ill., he traveled extensively, investigating settlement possibilities in Manitoba, Minnesota, Dakota Territory, Kansas and Texas.

An account of events relating to the Mennonite migration from Russia a century ago

A Centennial Chronology

Part One

By CORNELIUS KRAHN

WHY DID MENNONITES from various parts of Russia, Poland and West Prussia come to the prairie states and provinces a century ago? And how was the large undertaking accomplished? This centennial chronology is an effort to present a day-to-day account of the basic events and activities related to the migration. In the list of happenings are revealed the main reasons for the movement as well as the ways in which it was carried out.

The chronology makes it apparent that the centennial is at hand. Already in 1873 some of the pioneers and delegates came to North America. Furthermore, the migration was prepared far in advance by some who became aware of changing conditions, especially the introduction of universal conscription laws in various countries. In fact, some South German Mennonites such as Christian Krehbiel and his family had come to the United States long before this time. European Mennonites were in contact with some of the leaders in North America, among them, in addition to Krehbiel, John H. Oberholtzer and John F. Funk.

Also, Pennsylvania German Mennonites had come to Kansas in smaller numbers as early as 1872. All of this created an awareness among North American Mennonites of the settlement possibilities in the prairie states and provinces east of the Rocky Mountains, between Kansas and Manitoba. Inquiries from abroad reaching the Mennonite leaders of the United States paved the way for the migration.

The Mennonites who had been severely persecuted during the 16th century developed unique characteristics of suspicion and an aloofness from the world around them, wherever they lived. They had a common faith and a common tendency to be "separated" from the world. Migrating as Swiss- or Dutch-speaking minorities into other countries, they retained and developed certain characteristics wherever they lived. Originally persecuted because of their religious deviations, they were tolerated and at times even sought as hard-working and reliable tillers of the soil.

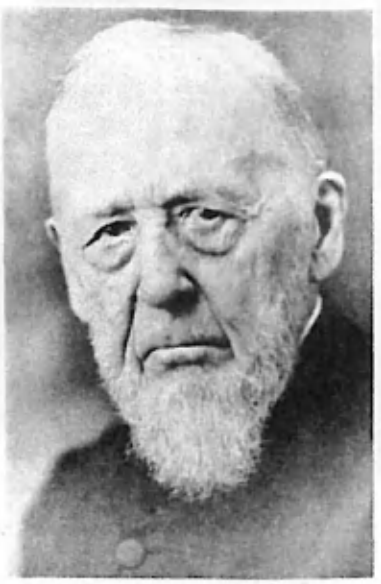
In the middle of the 18th century, scarcity of land, official measures of oppression, and other reasons made them look for new frontiers. They started moving from South Germany to the East. Among them were the Hutterites and the Mennonites that later became known as the Swiss-Volhynian and the Swiss-Galician because of the locations into which they moved and lived for a century. At the end of the 18th century, Mennonites from the Danzig area or West Prussia, where they had resided alternately under German

Cornelius Krahn, founding editor of Mennonite Life *and now consulting editor, is professor emeritus of church history at Bethel College.*

Leaders in North America helped pave the way

Jacob Y. Shantz (1822-1909) of Ontario was the principal promoter of the Mennonite settlements in Manitoba. He wrote a widely-circulated pamphlet, The Narrative of a Journey to Manitoba, *listing inducements for settlement there.*

Christian Krehbiel (1832-1909), a native of Weierhof, Germany, came to the U.S. with his father's family in 1851. As elder of the Summerfield (Ill.) Mennonite church, he had a central role in assisting settlers in the prairie states.



John F. Funk (1835-1930), publisher and editor of Elkhart, Ind., initially helped the Russian Mennonites by acquainting them with conditions in the U.S. Through his paper, Herald of Truth, *he informed American Mennonites of the plight of their European brethren.*

and Polish jurisdiction, followed the call of Catherine II of Russia, who settled large numbers of German prospective farmers in the newly-acquired areas of the Ukraine and also on the shores of the Volga River. Here they turned the steppes into a paradise with wheatfields and groves of trees which they planted, and by building orderly and beautiful villages in what had been a land of nomads. They were granted privileges and freedoms beyond those of the native population, which included autonomy in the administration of education and self-government. Above all, they were exempted from "all military services for all times." This was easy to promise in a time when there was no military conscription.

When some of these privileges were reduced or threatened, about 1870, the great migration set in. About one-third of the over 50,000 Mennonites residing in Russia and parts of Poland chose to seek a new country. Those who remained expected some adjustments in their educational set-up and an alternative service instead of military service.

Of the more than 18,000 Mennonites who left Russia, Poland, and West Prussia, some 8,000 chose Manitoba and the others went to the United States, settling in Kansas, Nebraska, Dakota, and Minnesota. This included all Hutterites and most of the Swiss Mennonites. The choice of the country depended somewhat on the guarantees and privileges offered to them. Those who wanted to duplicate their previous independent administration and educational privileges chose Manitoba since the promises were more generous in Canada. Those interested in the same climatic conditions came to the prairie states.

It is most likely that 1974 will become the great centennial year because it was in 1874 that the largest number of the 18,000 Mennonites came to Manitoba and the prairie states. The migration continued on a reduced scale until 1882. Some latecomers arrived in smaller groups up to the turn of the century.

The following chronology runs through the year 1873. It will be continued in the next issue.

KEY TO SOURCES

HZ—J. J. Hildebrandt, *Chronologische Zeittafel,* Winnipeg, Man., 1945

ML—*Mennonite Life,* published by Bethel College, 1946-1971.

RG—Gustav E. Reimer and G. R. Gaeddert, *Exiled by the Czar,* Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kan., 1956.

SD—Leonard Sudermann, *Eine Deputationsreise von Russland nach Amerika . . .* Elkhart, Ind., 1897.

MQR—*Mennonite Quarterly Review,* July, 1950, published by Goshen College, Goshen, Ind.

NK—*Newton Kansan,* published in Newton, Kan.

WL—Bernhard Warkentin's Letters to David Goerz in Mennonite Library and Archives, Bethel College, North Newton, Kan.

ME—*Mennonite Encyclopedia,* published 1955-59, four volumes.

SC—C. Henry Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites,* Mennonite Book Concern, 1937.

Mennonites Move To Russia (1750-1850)

January 14, 1750:

An edict issued in Warsaw compelled the Mennonites of Danzig to pay a sum of 5,000 guilders annually as an extra tax for protection. Measures like these had been and continued to be common in West Prussia and Danzig where Mennonites from The Netherlands had settled in the 16th century. This led to the migration of many to Russia.

December 4, 1762:

Catharine II issued an invitation which led to a large scale migration of South German Lutherans and Catholics to the Odessa and Volga areas in Russia. The Mennonites followed later. (HZ)

1784-86:

Swiss Mennonites moved to Galicia and some proceeded to Volhynia (Schrag, Zerger etc). In 1874 they came to North America.

May 2, 1786:

George von Trappe reached an agreement with Potemkin to invite Mennonites of West Prussia for settlement in Russia. (HZ)

October 31, 1786:

Jacob Hoeppner and Johann Bartsch left Danzig to inspect settlement possibilities in the Ukraine of Russia, which led to a large scale migration. (HZ)

February 23, 1788:

Four Mennonite families left Danzig for Russia. The first small group left before Hoeppner and Bartsch returned from their inspection tour of Russia. (HZ, p. 149)

1789:

The Chortitza Mennonite settlement was started on the shores of the Dnieper River. After all land had been occupied, daughter settlements were begun in near by areas. Among them were Bergthal (1836) and Fuerstenland (1864). Most of the Manitoba Mennonites came from these three settlements in 1874 and 1875. (HZ, p. 151)

1791:

Swiss Montbeliard Mennonites moved to Volhynia, Russia, from where they went to Kansas and South Dakota in 1874.

May 29, 1793:

Jacob Hoeppner and Johann Bartsch of Chortitza discontinued their assignment as delegates because of accusations. (HZ)

March 23, 1804:

Mennonites from West Prussia spent the winter in the Chortitza and planned to proceed to the Molotschna settlement, which grew very rapidly. (HZ, p. 161)

Winter 1869-70:

M. W. Klein and a group of Mennonites from Johnstown, Pa. bought 5,000 acres of land in Marion County, Kan. This was the beginning of the coming of the Mennonites to Kansas. (ME III, p. 485)

Mennonite Unrest In Russia (1870-72)

February 15, 1870:

Cornelius Jansen of Berdyansk wrote his first letter to Daniel Hege, Secretary of the General Conference Mennonite Church, USA, to inquire about settlement possibilities for Mennonites of Russia. (RG, p. 45)

April 8, 1870:

John F. Funk, Elkhart, Ind., responded to an inquiry by Cornelius Jansen about settlement conditions in North America. (RG, p. 46)

December 18, 1870:

The first conference of the Molotschna Mennonites convened, prompted by reports that the Russian government was considering revoking the law that exempted Mennonites from military conscription. (RG, p. 44)

Catharine the Great, empress of Russia 1762-96, invited the Mennonites as competent colonists into her recently acquired lands in the Ukraine. In 1786, she ceremoniously received two Prussian Mennonite delegates.

December 24, 1870:

Christian Krehbiel of Sommerfield, Ill., responded to the letter of Cornelius Jansen who in turn requested more information. (RG, p. 46)

1870:

The Halbstadt Secondary School (*Zentralschule*) introduced the Russian language as a subject of instruction. Until that time, only German had been taught. (HZ)

January 8, 1871:

A second conference convened at the Alexanderwohl Church of the Molotschna settlement in regard to the same question (see Dec. 18). (RG, p. 44)

January 22, 1871:

Conference convening at Alexanderwohl, Molotschna, chose four delegates of the Molotschna and two of the Chortitza settlements to present the Mennonite case of nonresistance to the government in St. Petersburg. (RG, p. 48)

Delegates Try to See The Czar (1872)

February 20, 1871:

The first delegation of Mennonites, consisting of five representatives of the Chortitza and Molotchna settlements, led by Leonhard Sudermann, arrived at St. Petersburg to see the Czar in regard to exemption from military service. (RG, p. 48)

March 20, 1871:

Cornelius Jansen wrote to Leonhard Sudermann in West Prussia (where he had gone from St. Petersburg), proposing that a delegation be sent to America to inspect migration possibilities. Jansen was in contact with the Elders Gerhard Penner and Wilhelm Ewert, who later led groups to America. (RG, p. 48)

April 23, 1871:

The St. Petersburg delegates reported to the Mennonite conference in Molotschna about the impressions and results of their trip. Additional conferences convened on August 13 and September 15.

July 20, 1871:

Cornelius Jansen wrote to the USA Consul (Dr. Smith) of Odessa that he intended to make a trip to North America. (This trip did not materialize.) (RG, p. 49)

September 9, 1871:

John H. Oberholtzer, Milford Square, Pa., wrote a letter to Elder

J. Wiebe, near Danzig, about the status of nonresistance in America in times of war. (RG, p. 47)

November 12, 1871:

The delegates reported they had been unable to see the Czar and the Czarina during their second trip to St. Petersburg. However, they submitted their petition to them. (RG)

January 8, 1872:

Cornelius Jansen wrote a letter to his friend J. S. Zohrab, the British Consul at Berdyansk, asking whether the Mennonites would be exempted from military service in Canada. (RG, p. 53)

January 11, 1872:

At another conference in Alexanderwohl, Cornelius Jansen proposed that a delegation be sent to North America to investigate settlement possibilities. The plan was supported by Dietrich Gaeddert. (RG, p. 53)

January 22, 1872:

Cornelius Jansen wrote an inquiry to the USA Consul at Odessa about settlement possibilities in the United States. The response from the U.S. embassy of St. Petersburg was that "compulsory military service does not exist in the USA." (RG, p. 54)

January 25, 1872:

At a conference in Alexanderwohl delegates were elected for a presentation of their case in St. Petersburg. The delegates later reported that an alternative service instead of military service would be expected of the Mennonites. (RG, p. 53)

March 4, 1872:

Russki Mir wrote that it was a "great pity that tens of thousands of Mennonites can not reconcile themselves to the new order of things that exists throughout the whole of Europe." (This is a reference to the introduction of universal military conscription.) (RG)

April 1872:

Cornelius Jansen published *Sammlung von Notizen ueber Amerika* (Notes About America) which he distributed among the Mennonites in Russia, Poland and West Prussia. (HZ)

April 3, 1872:

Mennonites were informed that the Russian Government would permit Mennonites to leave the country. (RG)

May 10, 1872:

Dietrich Gaeddert visited Cornelius Jansen in Berdyansk. After his return, the Alexanderwohl congregation started collecting signatures of those sending a delegation to America. (RG, p. 64)

May 11, 1872:

Consul Zohrab reported that Bernhard Warkentin, Philipp Wiebe, Peter Dueck, and Jacob Boehr went "to America to collect information." (RG, p. 56)

May 26, 1872:

Cornelius Jansen and family left Berdyansk for a trip to North America. (RG, p. 76)

June 1872:

Reuben Heatwole from Virginia arrived in Marion Center, Kan. He

Leonhard Sudermann (1821-1900) was a delegate to St. Petersburg and to the American frontier in 1873. Later he was elder of the Emmaus Church, Whitewater, Kan.

was soon joined by other Pennsylvania German Mennonites. (ML July, 1949, p. 7)

June 5, 1872:

Bernhard Warkentin arrived in New York with Philipp Wiebe, P. Dueck and Jacob Boehr. All were young Mennonite men (the first three from Russia) on an adventure tour which had some unusual results for thousands of Mennonites in Russia, Poland and West Prussia. (WL)

June 24, 1872:

A delegation was sent to St. Petersburg. Upon their return, the delegates reported on August 7 that they had again been unable to meet the Czar and that they were now convinced that Mennonites would have to accept an alternative service such as hospital work. (RG, p. 63)

July 25, 1872:

William Hespeler arrived in Berdyansk to induce the Mennonites to come to Manitoba. (RG, p. 59)

Summer 1872:

Bernhard Warkentin, Philipp Wiebe, Peter Dueck, and Jacob Boehr arrived at the home of Christian Krehbiel, Summerfield, Ill.

July 29, 1872:

Bernhard Warkentin wrote to his friend David Goerz while in the home of Christian Krehbiel, Sommerfield, Ill., that his host claimed that "only America is the land for the Mennonites . . ." He observed that "the conditions for agriculture and the raising of cattle are similar" to those in Russia. (WL)

August 1, 1872:

A decisive meeting took place in the home of Leonard Sudermann (Berdyansk). Those attending were Dietrich Gaeddert, (Alexanderwohl), Jacob Wiebe (Crimea), Heinrich Richert (Gnadenheim), and Isaac Peters (Marienthal).

August 1872:

Cornelius Jansen had five more pamphlets printed in Danzig containing information about settlement possibilities in North America. (HZ)

August 18, 1872:

Bernhard Warkentin wrote from the Brookville Hotel (which is still in existence) in Saline County, Kan., about his land inspection tour from St. Louis via Chicago and Milwaukee, all the way to New Ulm, Minn. He spent five days with the land agent, traveling over the prairie by horse and buggy through northern Iowa to Sioux City and Omaha, continuing on the Union Pacific Railroad to Cheyenne, Wyo., with numerous side trips by horse and buggy into the open prairie. He reported seeing 6,000 head of cattle on the Platte River, as well as Indians and buffalo. In Colorado he stopped in Denver and Central City. On the way back on the Central Pacific Railroad he stopped at the Brookville Hotel where he wrote a long two-page letter to his friend David Goerz in Berdyansk, who shared the information with the prospective Mennonite settlers of the prairie states and provinces.

September 17, 1872:

Bernhard Warkentin reported that his three travel companions were re-

turning to Europe, but that he had decided to stay longer. (WL)

September 22-25, 1872:

It was decided to send a delegation to America.

September 29, 1872:

Bernhard Warkentin traveled in the company of John F. Funk and the land agent, Mr. Hazart, through Minnesota and Dakota up to the Red River and the James River. Of greatest interest for him, however, was a visit to the agricultural fair in Minneapolis. Vividly and in great detail he described the varieties of wheat (including the Russian *Kubanka*), vegetables, fruits, etc. He was overwhelmed by the size and weight of the products. No doubt this had some effect on his deciding not to return to Russia, but to spend his lifetime on the prairie to raise wheat and develop a milling industry in Kansas. (WL)

January 8, 1873:

Bernhard Warkentin reported in a letter to David Goerz that he had received his letter in "the flour mill which he was studying." This indicates an early interest in the work to which he later devoted his life—importing and experimenting with hard winter wheat and the establishment of a milling industry. (MQR)

January 10 and 24, 1873:

A meeting was held in Alexanderwohl and Pordenau. Heinrich and Gerhard Wiebe and Jacob Peters, of the Bergthal settlement, attended the meeting. (RG, p. 65)

January 26, 1873:

The St. Paul *Daily Press* carried a detailed account about the Mennonite efforts to migrate to North America. (HZ)

February 1873:

The fourth delegation of Mennonites, consisting of Gerhard Dueck, Bernhard Peters, Peter Goerz, Heinrich Epp and Heinrich Heese, went to St. Petersburg in regard to the status of their exemption from military service. (HZ)

March 3, 1873:

Bernhard Warkentin wrote to David Goerz that his Summerfield, Ill. friends had urged him to make an inspection tour of Texas, which he had done. His Summerfield friends, he stated, were more inclined to go to the southern states than Minnesota or Manitoba. Warkentin gave Goerz detailed instructions in regard to what to bring along and what to leave in Russia. (MQR)

March 27, 1873:

A uniformed Russian officer informed Cornelius Jansen that he had to leave Russia within seven days. He was accused of spreading false rumors about the status of the Mennonites in Russia.

March 28, 1873:

Bernhard Warkentin wrote to David Goerz about his plans to join the Mennonite delegates from Russia when they would arrive to inspect the land. Some encouraged him to do this, while others thought he was too young. Warkentin was attending the college at Lebanon, Summerfield, Ill. (MQR)

David Goerz (1849-1914) was a close friend of Bernhard Warkentin, who traveled to America in 1872, and on the basis of letters from Warkentin spread information about America among Mennonites of the Ukraine.

April 10, 1873:

Warkentin reported to Goerz that he had received a letter from John F. Funk, stating that the three Bergthal delegates were on their way to Manitoba, where Hespeler would take them on a land inspection tour. (MQR)

Mennonite Spies In the Prairie (1873)

End of April, 1873:

Russian Mennonite delegates left for an inspection tour of North America. (SD)

May 3, 1873:

The Bergthal delegates stopped in Heubuden, West Prussia and were joined by Wilhelm Ewert for the inspection tour of North America. (HZ)

Early May, 1873:

Heinrich Wiebe, Jacob Peters, and Cornelius Buhr of Bergthal arrived on the *Silesia* in Halifax, Nova Scotia, while the delegates of the *Kleine Gemeinde* (Cornelius Toews and David Klaassen) and the Hutterites (Paul and Lorenz Tschetter) landed in New York. (RG, p. 83)

May 14, 1873:

The delegates left Hamburg on the *Frisia*. (SD)

May 22, 1873:

The Mennonite delegates arrived in New York, where they met the Rudolph Riesen family. (SD)

May 26, 1873:

The Cornelius Jansen family left Berdyansk. On their way to North America they visited friends in Danzig and England. (HZ)

Late May, 1873:

Leonhard Sudermann and Jacob Buller (of the Molotschna settlement), Andreas Schrag (of the Swiss-Volhynian group), Tobias Unruh (of the Polish group), and Wilhelm Ewert (of the Prussian group) arrived in New York on the *Frisia*.

May 30, 1873:

Leonhard Sudermann, Jacob Buller and Tobias Unruh, accompanied by Hespeler, traveled to Berlin (now Kitchener), Ont., where they met Jacob Y. Shantz. Wilhelm Ewert and Andreas Schrag proceeded to Elkhart, Ind. with John F. Funk. (SD)

June 6, 1873:

Ten of the delegates met in Duluth, Minn., and continued their inspection tour accompanied by Jacob Y. Shantz and Michael L. Hiller. In Fargo (Dakota Territory) they met John F. Funk and the other delegates. Now the group consisted of Leonhard Sudermann, Andreas Schrag, Jacob Peters, Heinrich Wiebe, Cornelius Buhr, Cornelius Toews, David Klaassen, Paul Tschetter, Lorenz Tschetter. They were accompanied by Jacob Y. Shantz, John F. Funk and N. N. Leatherman. (SD)

June 10-11, 1873:

The delegates inspected western Dakota. (SD)

June 17, 1873:

The Mennonite delegation of 12 men, accompanied by William Hespeler, Jacob Y. Shantz, John F.

Funk and Michael L. Hiller, arrived at Ft. Garry (later Winnipeg) on the boat *International.* They were assured by the Prime Minister of Canada and other officials that they would be granted all privileges they asked for. Riding in five big carriages, a group of 24 made an inspection tour of land along the shores of the Red River in Manitoba. (HZ)

June 18-20, 1873:

The delegates proceeded on five horse-drawn wagons to inspect the East and West Reserves on the banks of the Red River. (SD)

June 26, 1873:

J. Rempel bought 5,000 acres of land near Council Grove, Morrison County, Kan., for himself and his friends. This was the first purchase of land by a Mennonite from Russia. (HZ)

June 28, 1873:

Sudermann and Buller decided that they had seen enough, although there were still 14 townships left to be inspected. The Bergthal delegates, Wiebe, Buhr, and Toews, continued the inspection. (SD)

July 2, 1873:

The other returning delegates went to Fargo, where they arrived on July 6. (SD)

July 7-12, 1873:

The delegates traveled through Dakota and Minnesota by horse-drawn wagons or postal coaches inspecting land for settlement. They were accompanied by the land agents, Seeger and Trott. They met Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish and German settlers. (SD)

July 13, 1873:

The delegates attended a Methodist worship service in St. Paul. (SD)

July 14, 1873:

The delegates continued their inspection tour by train through St. Peter, Mankato, Mountain Lake and Worthington, Minn. Some land was offered to them for $6 per acre. (SD)

July 17, 1873:

The group continued the inspection tour by train from Sioux City via Council Bluffs, Omaha, Fairmont, etc. They met some German settlers from Odessa, Ukraine. (SD)

July 19-21, 1873:

Accompanied by J. D. Butler and George O. Manchester, the group continued by train to Red Cloud, Crete and Lincoln, Neb. Sudermann observed that Lincoln had a population of 7,000, a university and 12 churches. (SD)

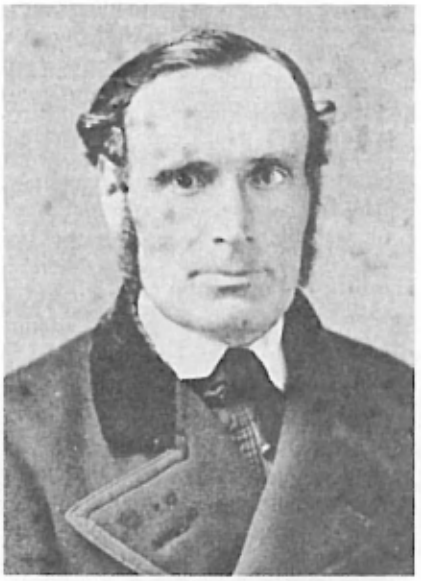
July 23, 1873:

The delegates of the Bergthal and *Kleine Gemeinde* groups continued their search for land in Manitoba and decided to settle there.

July 24, 1873:

Leonhard Sudermann, Jacob Buller, Wilhelm Ewert and Andreas Schrag, escorted by Jacob Y. Shantz, arrived in Summerfield, Ill. to consult with Christian Krehbiel. Numerous railroad agents came to see them.

Jacob Buller and Wilhelm Ewert, escorted by Bernhard Warkentin,



William Ewert (1829-1887) of Thorn, West Prussia, was joined by some members of his congregation in the 1874 migration and became the elder of the Bruderthal Church near Hillsboro, Kan.

made a trip to inspect Kansas. Leonhard Sudermann joined them. (HZ)

July 25, 1873:

John Lowe of the Canadian Department of Agriculture, wrote to the delegates of the Bergthal and *Kleine Gemeinde* groups in Russia that "an exemption from military service is granted by Law and Order-in-Council to the Christians called Mennonites." Eight townships were set aside for "the exclusive use of Mennonites" which were made available in parcels of 160 acres per family. The Mennonites were granted "the fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles" and in "the education of their children in schools." This was very attractive to the more conservative Mennonite groups, because these were freedoms they had enjoyed in Russia. (MQR, July 1950)

July 27, 1873:

Paul and Lorenz Tschetter had an interview with President Ulysses S. Grant. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish stated that "the President says he cannot exempt them from the laws of the states to which the other citizens are subject." (RG, p. 98)

July 28, 1873:

Paul and Lorenz Tschetter (Hutterites) presented to President Grant, Washington, D. C., a petition containing conditions under which they were willing to settle in the United States. (HZ)

August 1, 1873:

Leonhard Sudermann, Andreas Schrag and Jacob Y. Shantz met on their way to Ontario a number of Mennonites from Russia who had found work in Detroit. (HZ)

August 1, 1873:

Sudermann, Schrag and Shantz left for the East. (SD)

August 1, 1873:

On his inspection tour, Leonhard Sudermann met 27 Mennonite families from Russia, as the first group in America. These pioneers settled in Marion County, Kan. (Peter and Jacob Funk) and in South Dakota and Mountain Lake, Minn. (HZ, p. 243; ML, Ap. p. 49)

August 8, 1873:

Christian Krehbiel left Summerfield, Ill. with a delegation from Russia (including David Goerz) to inspect the land in Kansas. They visited Council Grove, Marion Center (where they spent a Sunday with the Funk brothers, Bruderthal) and continued from Newton to Great Bend and Larned and reserved land for settlement near Halstead.

August 10, 1873:

The Cornelius Jansen family arrived in Quebec. They were met the following day by William Hespeler and Jacob Y. Shantz. The latter made a cottage available to them. (HZ)

August 10, 1873:

Bernhard Warkentin reported that Gerhard Penner of Heubuden, West Prussia, had wrtiten that 450 Mennonites from South Russia had left for North America. (MQR)

August 15, 1873:

Cornelius Jansen and family arrived in Berlin (Kitchener), Ont. at the home of Jacob Y. Shantz.

August 16, 1873:

On his second day in Canada, Cornelius Jansen recorded in his diary that at a Mennonite meeting in Waterloo, Ont. it was decided to collect money for the poor Mennonites of Russia and Poland who wanted to come to North America. (RG)

August 19, 1873:

Cornelius and Peter (son) Jansen arrived in New York to meet the departing Mennonite delegates who had completed their inspection tour of the prairies of North America. (HZ)

August 19, 1873:

Jacob Buller and Wilhelm Ewert returned from their inspection tour of Kansas and met with Sudermann and his group in Philadelphia, Pa. (SD)

August 20, 1873:

Cornelius and Peter Jansen came to New York to bid the delegates a farewell before their departure to Russia. (SD)

August 21, 1873:

Leonhard Sudermann met 27 Mennonite families from Russia who had come to North America without waiting for the return of the delegates. (HZ)

August 22, 1873:

On their way from New York, Cornelius and Peter Jansen stopped at Wadsworth, Ohio, where they visited Carl C. Justus van der Smissen, instructor at the Mennonite school. They continued to Elkhart, Ind. but found John F. Funk absent. He and Bernhard Warkentin were helping the first Mennonite arrivals from Russia to settle in Kansas. (HZ)

August 28, 1873:

Cornelius and Peter Jansen arrived at Newton, Kan., at a "small prairie station of the AT&SF Railroad Company." (HZ)

August 29, 1873:

Cornelius and Peter Jansen joined Bernhard Warkentin, Tobias and Daniel Unruh, David Schroeder and Johann Fast in search of land along the Santa Fe Railroad and along the Missouri River, proceeding to Council Bluffs. In Chicago they met John F. Funk and Wilhelm Seeger and continued their inpsection tour through Minnesota, Wisconsin and Dakota. The Jansens did not favor settlement in Dakota. (HZ)

September 6, 1873:

The members of Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church decided to leave for America. (HZ)

November 7, 1873:

The Mennonite Board of Guardians consisting of Christian Krehbiel, Director; David Goerz, Secretary; John F. Funk, Treasurer; and Bernhard Warkentin, Business Manager, was organized in Summerfield, Ill. The Board was to help needy Mennonites by soliciting funds and distributing the same among them. (RG, p. 108)

December 5, 1873:

Secretary of State Hamilton Fish informed President Ulysses S. Grant that the Mennonite delegates "wish guarantees of exemption from military service and also jury service. They desire also to be free from the payment of substitute money in case of draft; and the right to govern their own schools." (RG, p. 97)

December 10, 1873:

David Goerz published a circular, *An Die Mennoniten-Gemeinden in Westpreussen, Polen and Sued-Russland,* in the name of the Aid Committee of the North American Mennonites. (HZ)

December 29, 1873:

Cornelius Jansen wrote that Jacob Y. Shantz was traveling among Ontario Mennonites, collecting money to help "poor brethren" from Russia. (RG, p. 103)

December 29, 1873:

Cornelius Jansen stated that the Mennonites of Canada had promised $10,000 for the needy immigrants. (RG, p. 103)

Night of the South Wind

The wind blows incessantly at night
In Hillsboro, Kansas.
It started in Texas at the creation
of the world.
Indians shooting buffalo with bows
and arrows,
cowboys driving cattle along the
Chisholm trail,
section hands building the Santa Fe
railroad,
Mennonites covering buffalo grass
with Turkey Red Wheat
in fields stretching to the
Rockies,
the horse and buggy, Model T, or Buick
could not stop it.
Relentless time shoves the wind
along the ruts
of the Chisholm trail, later highway 81,
through Enid,
Caldwell, Wellington, Wichita, Newton,
Walton.
At the thirteen-mile road the wind
turns north,
blows into Hillsboro, finds its way to the
Mennonite mission
apartments, slaps against the clapboards,
whistling through
window screens into the bedroom
staying my sleep.
It slips into ear, mind, heart, and later
into dreams.
Awake in the morning before me
the wind
invites me to a cup of
Mennonite coffee.

By ELMER F. SUDERMAN
Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minn.

SPEAKING OUT

On Being A Sponge

By JOHN A. ESAU

A SPONGE, either natural or artificial, has a large capacity to absorb—particularly liquid substances. We as people have something of the same capacity, though not always to our own welfare. We pick up from those about us ways of talking, particular phrases, little quirks, and even strange sounds. I find myself doing that all the time, unconsciously mimicking those about me.

We also tend to pick up ideas and ways of thinking and living from those about us. Sometimes we do so thoughtfully, but just as often we respond to the latest current influence, without thought or intention. We make it our own just because it is around us; we absorb it like sponges absorb water, only to shortly have it rung out, ready then for the next current fad or influence. And there is something obviously distasteful about that. One tends to suspect people who act like sponges to be rather superficial, or as Scripture puts it: "running after every new wind of doctrine."

There are other metaphors, probably better than the one I have used, to describe this phenomenon. Probably one of the more descriptive is that by which Phillips translated verse 2 of Romans 12: "Don't let the world around you squeeze you into its own mold, but let God remold your minds from within, so that you may prove in practice that the plan of God for you is good, meets all his demands, and moves towards the goal of true maturity."

That is the problem which I'm trying to get at, because I sense it is a problem with which all of us struggle, albeit in many different forms. It is an issue faced by every youth, living in the midst of many pressures to conform. It is an issue of those who face the fads in society; whether that be of foods, or clothes or even religion. It is an issue of those who make decisions about life-style in an affluent society. It is an issue of those, especially ethnics and minority groups, who seem to stand out as different from the rest of culture, and who find this uncomfortable.

We as Mennonites have especially had to struggle with this within ourselves. Somehow being different from "Americans," as they were called, made us uncomfortable in this society, and we went out of our way to prove that we were just like the rest, really.

There are then two levels to my concern here: One is the personal; the other is the church at large. But on both levels it seems to me that it is essential that we think critically about ourselves and what we are doing, or what is happening to us almost without choice on our part.

What does Paul mean when he writes: "Don't let the world around you squeeze you into its own mold, but let God remold your minds from within"? There is at once here a recognition that we are under pressure to live and do and say what others, presumably those who don't share the same faith and values which we confess, think we should do and say and live. "Don't be different," is the creed. Or in some cases it may be turned 180 degrees so that the new creed reads now: "Be different; don't be like parents." In either case the results are the same. The message comes from the world saying: "Be like us. Live like we do. Think like we think. Here's the mold, pour yourself into it."

The examples are endless: "It's good to be an American. Good Americans support their government and community. Don't speak about issues which upset the community."

"It's no fun to be a square. Join the fun generation. Do whatever you feel like doing."

"Evangelism is the *in* thing, but Mennonites haven't done so well. Join the latest, newest crusade to Americanize religion. You can after all be religious and just about anything else you might choose alongside."

Christians of the first century were distinctly a minority group. And they no doubt felt what every minority group feels—the pressure to be like everyone else. But Paul, as a wise and helpful teacher, gives them guidance: You don't need to be copies of the world, but what you do need is to have your values, your life, your minds shaped and formed by God. God after all gives many gifts; what you must do is to accept his gift to you and use it to the full. To do that is an intelligent act of worship. It is a sacrifice acceptable to God.

On the level of the church at large, Mennonites have been rather excellent sponges. We have absorbed just about every new movement which came along, and somehow baptized it as the true Mennonite faith. A group did this with old time Liberalism. A much larger group did this with Fundamentalism. In my seminary days the latest fads in theology were somehow made out to be Mennonite. And most recently the ideology of the New Left was claimed as the authentic inheritor of Anabaptist radicalism.

And it continues to happen. When someone says it's time to march for peace, we make it our thing. And when someone says it's time to evangelize, we obediently try to follow suit. And when society rediscovers communes, we try to claim them as the true Mennonite expression all along. It almost seems that whoever it is piping to us, we dance.

Now I believe in all these things as authentic expressions of discipleship and faith. And that includes communal groups and witnessing for both peace and the gospel of Jesus Christ, who saves individuals from the bondage of self and sin. But somehow I wish they would grow out of an inner compulsion—the remolding of the mind from within, as Paul puts it. Too often it seems we try to ape and follow after the world about us. And every new movement which swings our way somehow makes it more difficult to know who we really

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are or what God's purpose for us truly is.

There is today a new interest in the "ethnics" in our society. We have lived with the myth of an American melting pot, which we are now discovering hasn't melted quite the way some expected. There are groups such as our own who despite the pressures of conformity have maintained a unique and valuable identity, which in its own way is making a significant contribution to our common life.

Ten years ago we were concerned about overcoming Mennonitism; today we are more concerned about what it means to be a Mennonite in the midst of many other forms of faith. The new mood—a much more healthy and wholesome attitude—recognizes God's gift to us. We are part of the body, though not the whole. If we are true to ourselves and to the heritage which is ours, if we don't allow the world to squeeze us into its own mold, then we may yet have something important to offer in the world today, something to evangelize about.

The *Christian Century* carried an article on the Amish, not describing their oddities and out-of-date culture, but suggesting four areas in which the Amish have something to say to all Christians, indeed to our society, which they can say best by being true to themselves. Can you imagine the Amish making a contribution to our understanding of education, life style, evangelism, and ecology? It baffles our minds. But that is the suggestion.

The author concludes: "The Amish are not to be joined or copied but to be appreciated and encouraged. Perhaps that is the most one can learn from any minority sect."

"Don't let the world around you squeeze you into its own mold, but let God remold your minds from within." Whether it is as persons or as a church at large, there is a truth in this warning which we ignore only to our own loss.

But perhaps the positive is the more important—to allow God to remold our minds from within. The world is not the mold by which our lives are to be formed, but rather Jesus our Lord and Christ. It is from him—his love, his compassion, his forgiveness, his life committed to doing the will of the Father. It is from him that our lives are to be given shape and form.

That is the highest and greatest gift we could offer either ourselves or the world in which we live.

After the Melting Pot–An Ethnic Renaissance

There is a marked interest in ethnic identity noticeable in movements on the screen and in publications. It almost seems as though this is even stronger in Canada than in the U.S.A. There is hardly a university that does not have a program with the emphasis on ethnicity. We make references to a few publications only.

The University of Calgary is publishing *Canadian Ethnic Studies* since 1969. Before me is Volume II, December 1970, number 2, edited by Henry C. Klassen, connected with the university. This issue consists of numerous articles dealing with the various ethnic groups that have come to Canada. Among them is an article by A. J. Arnold entitled, "How Far Do We Go with Multi-Culturalism." Another one is by W. Entz entitled "German-Language Newspapers of Manitoba Before World War I." John B. Toews presents an article on "Russian Mennonites in Canada" and H. L. Sawatzky deals with "Viability of Ethnic Group Settlement, with Reference to Mennonites in Manitoba." This is only a sample of what one university is doing in this area.

John Norris in *Strangers Entertained* presents "A History of the Ethnic Groups of British Columbia," published by the British Columbia Centennial Committee (1971). The book seems not to have overlooked a single minority when it starts with the native Indians, Americans, English, Scots, Welsh, Irish, French-Canadians, Dutch, Belgians, Germans, etc. In chapter 19 we find the treatment of "Mennonites" by G. G. Baerg. It is a well illustrated book of 354 pages which provides a source of information how ethnic and religious groups are and can be treated to convey objective information about them.

Another book, published by the University of British Columbia and University of Toronto Press, is entitled *Empire and Nations* and is edited by Harvey L. Dyck and H. P. Crosby (1969). The chapter "Nation Building in Canada" deals with Canadian politics, culture, constitution, etc. In "Canada and the World" the role of Canada is featured. This chapter contains an article by Harvey L. Dyck dealing with the Mennonites in Russia entitled "Collectivization, Depression, Immigration, 1929-1930: Chance and Interplay."

A "Hutterite Investigation Committee" was founded in Alberta, Canada, in 1958. A report of this committee can be found in: Province of Alberta, Statutes of Alberta, Order and Council, Appendix C, December 8, 1958. Joseph W. Eaton wrote about this subject in "Canada's Scapegoats," in *The Nation,* Volume 169 (1949), p. 253-254.

Among those evidences of renewed interest in ethnic groups in the U.S.A. we find a series of school books published by Lerner Publications Company under the heading *The In America Series.* An effort is being made to present the background of the various ethnic groups and relate how they came to the United States and what contributions they have made in the developing and shaping of the country. Among the 30 or so books published thus far, the series starts with the American Indian, the Chinese, the Czechs and Slovaks, the Dutch, etc. The last volumes deal with *Freedom of the Press, Freedom of Religion* and *Freedom of Speech.* Included in the series are the Germans and the Russians. The latter has a chapter "Emigrants who Fled Religious Persecution" which devotes six pages to the Mennonites and winds up with Svetlana Alliluyeva, the daughter of Stalin, as one of the last ones to come to this country. In general, one can say that this is indeed a genuine and hopefully successful effort to prevent prejudices in regard to ethnic and racial backgrounds perpetuated in the family and not always successfully eliminated in the schools and society.

When will the time come that there will be a renaissance or restoration of names in line of their original spelling and meaning? The desire to Anglicize names and, worse yet, misspell and pervert the meaning of the names could have reached its climax by now. What about a little restoration!

—Cornelius Krahn

My Pilgrimage to Anabaptism

By GAN SAKAKIBARA

FIRST, I duly studied the Hutterite books written in fine penmanship in order to find material for my paper. But very soon this activity was to be more than a mere duty. The books began to fascinate me, and they have not ceased to do so till the present day." This passage is quoted from a short article by Robert Friedmann, which describes my experience. My friendship with Robert Friedmann was indeed a providential encounter in my life.*

Communal Christians

I became acquainted with Anabaptist communal Christians in the following way. In 1959, my wife and I were sent as delegates from Japan to the World Conference of the World Council of Churches at Salonica, Greece. After a half year's travel in Europe we headed back to Japan via the United States. After an unforgettable voyage on the *Queen Elizabeth* we landed in New York on January 4, 1960. Through the kindness of John C. Bennett, of the Union Theological Seminary, we stayed in the guest room of the seminary. Paul Peachey, a Mennonite peace worker working in Japan at that time, had suggested that we visit the Society of Brothers in Rifton, New York. Mrs. Bennett heartily seconded this advice, and we did so.

Then, on February 5, we visited the Koinonia Farm in Americus, Georgia. There Clarence Jordan gave us a letter of introduction to the Hutterite elder of the Tschetter Colony in South Dakota. Mr. and Mrs. John Lehman, members of the Reba Place Fellowship staying there temporarily, invited us to visit their community. After visiting and studying these four Christian communities of goods, I realized that they had common features. Their philosophy of life and their theology seemed to have something distinctly different from the ordinary Protestant churches. They were "Anabaptist" in their attitudes and way of thinking. In order for you to understand how deeply interested I, a 60-year-old man, became in these communities, you must understand something of my earlier life.

My Background

I was baptized in a Presbyterian church in 1918, but the denomination had not much importance for me. I became a Presbyterian because the church I happened to be attending at the time of my baptism was Presbyterian. It made little difference to me whether it was Methodist, Congregational, or Presbyterian. This indifference about denominations is generally characteristic of Japanese Christians, who have had nothing to do in their life with the historical events of Christian denominationalism. No, for Japanese Christians in general the existence of so many denominations was itself a rather annoying matter. "There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism" (Eph. 4:5). If so, why not one church? When World War II broke out, all Protestant churches were obliged to unite, not out of conviction, but because of governmental coercion. Despite the coercion, many Japanese Christians thought it was an excellent idea. The war ended in 1945. I was 47 years old.

When I started my academic career as a young Christian student, I wanted very much to live in commitment to Christ. My major was the history of economic thought, and I concentrated my study always on the borderline between economic activities and religious life. I studied Max Weber (*Religionssoziologie*). I read Ernst Troeltsch (*Soziallehren*

* About Robert Friedmann's pilgrimage to Anabaptism see *Mennonite Life*, July, 1962, 136-139, entitled "My Way to the Mennonites."

der Christlichen Kirchen). As a result of these studies I wrote a few articles and books. But I could not be satisfied with academic study only, spending all my time in an ivory tower. Commitment to Christ drove me to the practice of faith not only in my everyday life, but also in the area of social and political problems. The birth of Student Christian Movement (SCM) in Japan in the early 1930's grew out of that conviction. I wrote a pamphlet entitled *The Rejection of Only-inner Christianity.*

I Study in Germany

The Japanese government, becoming more and more oppressive, put an end to the SCM, saying it was being influenced by the Communists. Before this happened, I was sent to Germany to study. In the quiet, old, small and beautiful academic city, Marburg, my academic interest was focused on the Christian ethics of political economy under the guidance of Professor Georg Wuensch. I read Eduard Heimann. I was greatly interested in Christoph Blumhardt. Leonhard Ragaz' religious socialism and Rudolf Otto's theology of the kingdom of God interested me very much. The result of this ardent study was the (Japanese) publication of *The Evangelical Ethics of Social Economy* (1932). This was awarded the First Prize from the "Foundation for the Publication of Christian Book-Series," and proved to be one of the books for Christian intellectuals in those days to read without fail. This book was prohibited from being sold at the time of the war because of its motto, "Don't make the state your God!"

When I returned to Japan from Germany in 1933, my first speech was a warning to Japanese Christians, with the anti-Christian nature of Hitler's political philosophy as the main subject. But Japan's totalitarianism deepened day by day, and war became imminent. I was not allowed to continue to teach at the government college I was in, because I was considered a liberal.

Sad But Happy

The next ten years, 1939 to 1948, were at the same time the saddest and happiest of my life. We had no income but lived on the gifts presented by many farmer-friends from all over the prefecture. I could devote all my time to writing *The English Classical School of Political Economy as a Social Science* during those ten years without being bothered by the busy war-time situation. In order to write this book, I had to read a great deal. I borrowed books from the libraries of several universities in Tokyo. For that purpose I used to go up to Tokyo about twice a month. Sometimes I had to wander about with a heavy trunk full of books under the severe bombing. This study was planned to make up a scientific system, along with the later *Study of the German School of Political Economy as a Social Science.* My intention was as follows. Economic science is a study of man. If people's image of man differs (such as that of Christians from that of Marxists), will it not result in a scientific difference in the so-called science of political economy? I was granted a doctorate in the field of economics (Econ.D.) for this study.

Contacts with Mennonites

In 1945 the war ended. My study of the English political economy was completed. The inflation at that time was incredible. We could not stand against it. Just at that time the new Aoyama Gakuin University (Methodist) offered me a position, and I became a professor for the second time in my life. During this professorship I also wanted to prove my faith through action in social life, and I organized "The Socialist Christians' Frontier Fellowship" and worked as its chairman in the field of peace and anti-establishment action. Through this movement I became acquainted with Mennonite missionaries, among them Paul Peachey. He was really one of those who had a deep insight into my soul and gave me the two addresses of Christian communities mentioned earlier in this article.

I look upon my meeting with Peachey and the visits to those communities as a turning-point in my life with an epoch-making significance. I would through them find the subject matter of my life work and bring my past academic work to a providential finish. My works thereafter would be ones born from the object-consciousness which is giving me a heavenly power day after day.

The Printed Witness

In 1966, five years later, I published two Japanese books about Anabaptism, the first, historical; the second, sociological. The historical work was *Martyrdom and Exodus, 450 Years of the Hutterites;* the second was *A Study of Christian Communities of Goods in Our Day.* In a rather long introductory chapter to both books I treated the Anabaptist church, advocating the point of view that it was neither Protestant nor Catholic.

In 1965 I visited Robert Friedmann in Kalamazoo for the first time. In 1967 I took part in the Conference on the Concept of Believers' Church held at Louisville, Kentucky. The first "Believers' Church" Conference had been held at Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Chicago, Ill., August 23-25, 1955. The conference in 1967 brought my living and thinking into a wider Protestant context. On this occasion a picture was taken of Friedmann and me sitting side by side. It appears in the September, 1967, issue of the *Tie* with the following comment: "Gan Sakakibara, who journeyed from Tokyo, Japan, to the Believers' Church Conference site with Robert Friedmann, Professor Emeritus at Western Michigan University. Both men are considered leading scholars on the Anabaptists."

From that time on, my friendship with Friedmann grew ever closer. We met almost every summer. One day I proposed that he sell his Anabaptist library to me. At first he seemed quite surprised, but at last he agreed. I explained my intention in this way: "Mennonite colleges in the States will not be so interested in purchasing them because it would only mean duplicating their present holdings. If you sell them to old-book sellers, your library will be scattered without leaving any sign of its former owner. But if you sell them to me, I could establish a Robert Friedmann Memorial Library of Anabaptism in Japan. This would be a genuine contribution to the Church." This reasoning made him very happy, and he accepted the proposal. The work of establishing an Anabaptist library in Japan is now going on with the cooperation of Melvin Gingerich, Leonard Gross of Goshen College, and the Mennonite Library and Archives of North Newton, Kansas.

The third book of my Anabaptist Series, entitled *A Historical Study of the Classical Age of the Anabaptist Church,* was published in May, 1972. The fourth book in the series is to be the Japanese translation of Arthur Gish's *The New Left and Christian Radicalism.* Since Gish's

"Christian Radicalism" denotes Anabaptism, it is not at all strange to publish it as the fourth in my Anabaptist Series. In the series of four books, two are historical and two sociological. At the present stage of Anabaptist understanding in Japan if we publish only historical works it will be difficult to interest Japanese Christians in Anabaptism, not to mention Japanese people outside the churches. The sociological book has a special meaning at this point. One reader said that after studying it, he thought he could see the real essence of the Christian life in the four communities. Others have gone to the United States to live and learn the communitarian way of life as a result of reading the book. Gish's effort to unite the New Left with the Anabaptist way of thinking must influence Japanese Christians who are looking for a Christian way for the peaceful change of society. His proposal brings forward a fresh and strong standpoint for young Japanese Christians.

The Religious Situation

Japanese people in general like to be called "progressive" and dislike being called "conservative" or "traditional." They tend to take the latter for old-fashioned. In the sociological dimension, the formula "Marxism equals progressivism" is deeply fixed in the minds of some. Marxists affirm Machiavellism as a strategy for their revolutionary actions. But Machiavellism means accepting the thesis that the end justifies the means. Supported by this thesis, the Japanese New Left thinks that violence is the shortest way to social change. Under this camouflage. they pretend to be intellectual and progressive and speak loudly against the non-violent pacifist as though he were a coward and out-of-date. The silent majority does not speak against them. Although they do not speak, they express their dislike of violence by giving their votes to the conservative party at the general elections. The violent New Left is in this way really a great supporter of the dominant conservatives. This is the real situation of Japanese politics. Art Gish has pointed logically to the fallacy in this way of thinking. I translated Gish's book in order that Japanese Christian pacifists can understand the really revolutionary viewpoint that is truly biblical and Anabaptist. A conversion from the Machiavellian fallacy to the real and right way of peaceful social change is at once biblical and true. Fed by religious socialists like Blumhardt and Ragaz, supported by the social gospel of Rauschenbusch, I had kept fighting the establishment under the banners of the Student Christian Movement and Frontier Fellowship.

Dr. and Mrs. Sakakibara

The fifth book of my series is to be a theological work which could be the basis of the historical and sociological studies. Among Japanese Christians there are people who think of Anabaptism as if it were an old-fashioned villagers' religion and weak in theological thinking. Japanese people tend by nature to respect the scholarly profession. When they accept Christianity, they tend to deepen themselves theologically, but are apt to fail in remodeling their everyday lives after the teaching of the Bible itself. Some Japanese Christians, supported by the Lutheran theology of *sola fide,* even find this Anabaptist emphasis on the everyday life its weak point. In order to point out this false way of thinking, we have to present a "theology" of Anabaptism. This is an urgent task of Anabaptist scholarship in Japan. In response to this need I wish to introduce Robert Friedmann's Anabaptist theology to Japan. It is not yet published in the United States, but I hope to translate it into Japanese as the fifth in my series, under the title, *Anabaptist Theology.*

Anabaptism in Japan

The publication of my Anabaptist series will be continued in the future, but the order, time, and funds will have to be fully considered. The biography of Conrad Grebel is already in manuscript form. I want to publish this work someday together with his letters, already translated into Japanese. I have also translated Hans Fischer's *Jakob Hutter, Leben, Froemmigkeit, Briefe,* Myron Augsburger's *Pilgrim Aflame* (Michael Sattler) and Peter Riedemann's *Rechenschaft* (Confession of Faith). They are all in manuscript form awaiting publication.

In the summer of 1972 I made a one-month study tour to the United States. Society has changed since I wrote my book in 1966. There is now a high tide of interest in communes. I visited many such communities. Some of them were consciously Anabaptist from their first motivation. Among them were the Fellowship of Hope in Elkhart, Ind., Atlanta Fellowship, Atlanta, Ga., Fairview Mennonite House in Wichita, and The Bridge in Newton, Kan. The community of Art Gish was composed of Brethren, Mennonites and Catholics. At Suruban in Durham, N. C., and Memphis Fellowship, Memphis, Tenn., there were no Mennonite members at all. But no matter whether there were Mennonites (Anabaptists) or not, they were all clearly biblical. They insisted on discipleship, nonviolence, some even more on nonresistance (Memphis). These points of view are all Anabaptist beyond doubt. Some of them had Protestant background. They had been greatly repelled by the traditional Protestant churches which the *Post-American* attacks with severe blame. Parallel with this a newspaper like the *Catholic Worker* is noteworthy. Young Protestants and Catholics alike can not stay in the old church. Once they read the Bible for themselves with

a pure conscience and honesty, they strive toward a discipleship of their own. This is my conclusion.

My Guiding Star

At this point let me look back on my life for over a half century. Has there not been a Guiding Star shining all the time on my academic and personal way? Has there not been something always attracting me to Anabaptism even when I knew nothing of it? In Berlin over forty years ago, as a young student, I happened to buy Rudolf Wolkan's *Die Hutterer* from a second-hand bookseller. I knew nothing about Anabaptism at that time. Yet thirty years later I learned that it is one of the rare and important books for the study of Anabaptism! What a source of surprise and joy this has been to me.

My professors in philosophy and theology, including Max Weber, Ernst Troeltsch, Christoph Blumhardt, Leonhard Ragaz, Rudolf Otto and Walter Rauschenbusch, paved the way on which I walked toward 1960 and led to my encounter with Anabaptism. This was not an accident. Throughout my life I cannot but feel the existence of the providential guidance of the finger of God in all of this. I want to continue to his glory and the good of man.

EDITORIAL NOTE: Another aspect of the life of Sakakibara is the development of the Tokyo English Center, which is devoted to language and educational research. Once Sakakibara helped a young American pacifist missionary who could not find employment in Japan. He found employment for him as an English teacher. The success of the emerging English teaching program of Gan Sakakibara sounds like a miracle. However, one must see this in context of other circumstances. The scholar Sakakibara and the convinced Japanese Anabaptist has also been a student of economics. He developed the Tokyo English Center in a time when the imprint "Made in Japan" appeared on goods produced and distributed the world over. English became popular not only because of Japanese interest in English books, but also in relation to the production "know-how" for which Japan has become known.

Sakakibara has meanwhile organized a group called Bridge-Builders. In 1972, 150 junior high school students with 30 adult leaders traveled in America and stayed in homes of 4-H club members. This has been done for years and continues as a very successful program. There is also a student exchange program between Korea and Japan.

Sakakibara has been successful in introducing new and effective methods of teaching foreign languages and in promoting a program of student exchange involving a number of countries. This large program started with the good will expressed toward a stranded American boy in Japan. It has helped Sakakibara to publish books and devote his time to the promotion of genuine Anabaptist concepts of the church and Christian discipleship in Japan.

—Cornelius Krahn

VOICES AGAINST WAR: *A Mennonite Oral History of World War I*

By KEITH L. SPRUNGER

ORAL HISTORY is probably the most significant innovation in the field of history in the past 25 years. Not that oral history is completely new. Since the time of Herodotus, historians have been interviewing people and recording the stories they heard; the recent innovation is the systematic interviewing by tape recorder and then building these interviews into an organized collection. The technological advances of tape recording have made the recorder—especially the cassette—an inescapable feature of American culture. And very likely one of these tape recording personages you see could be an historian working on his oral history project.

Oral history became prominent by association with the famous people of the day: The Eisenhower collection, the Kennedy collection, the Johnson collection, the Columbia University collection. But oral history is also ideally suited to be a grass roots history—going to the people and to the non-famous folks who never get around to writing their own stories. Too often historians have had to admit that they have little or no information about the common people of the past. For their being so many of them, common people have left remarkably few documentary records. Oral history can help fill the gap in materials that otherwise will be lost.

Keith Sprunger is professor of history at Bethel College, North Newton, Kan.

With the growth of oral history as a field of study, a beginning has been made in Mennonite oral history. Occasional interviewing has been the rule for years. Cornelius Krahn of the Mennonite Library and Archives had a grant to interview Russian Mennonites who had come to Canada after World War II. The first large scale Mennonite Oral History project is centered in the Bethel College Mennonite Library and Archives and its Schowalter Collection on World War I conscientious objection. Bethel College has published an index-guide to the collection. It is entitled *Voices Against War* and is edited by Keith Sprunger, John Waltner, and James Juhnke.

Oral history began in a formal way at Bethel College in 1968 when the Schowalter Foundation of Newton, Kansas provided a grant to support a collection dealing with conscientious objection, especially Mennonite, during the period of World War I. In 1972 the Schowalter Foundation provided a second grant which makes possible the publication of this index and also a further expansion of the scope of the collection to include relief, mental health, and service aspects of Mennonite churches since World War I. The first director of the project was James C. Juhnke, professor of American history at Bethel College (on leave 1971-73), and during his absence leadership has been provided by John Waltner and Keith Sprunger, both of the Bethel history department, and J. Lloyd Spaulding, professor of economics

at Bethel College. Others who have served as consultants to the project have included Henry Fast of Tabor College and Paton Yoder of Hesston College. Many others have given counsel and encouragement. The collection is located in the Mennonite Library and Archives at Bethel College.

The focus of the project has been the Mennonite experience in America during World War I. The war was chosen as an area of study because of its critical effect upon American Mennonites. Further, the topic gave emphasis to a central Mennonite value, the peace witness; and it was feasible because of the substantial number of survivors from the period of the war who could be interviewed. "When the lightning struck in 1917-19, Mennonites were indeed tested in the most profound crisis of their experience in America," notes Jim Juhnke.

Most interviews have been with Mennonite World War I draftees, although other informants have been sought out to tell the experiences from the point of view of Mennonites who did not happen to be drafted, of women, and of Mennonite leaders, and of persons outside the Mennonite faith. The combined testimony of these interviews constitutes a significant addition to the primary source material available in Mennonite history.

The collection includes 273 interviews—or in some cases, attempted interviews—gathered in 15 states and four provinces in Canada. Reflecting the geographical location of Bethel College, the largest number of interviews has been collected in Kansas (111); but other states with substantial numbers of interviews include California, Indiana, Minnesota, Nebraska, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Virginia. The collection has little from the northern Indiana area; however, Goshen College has begun an oral history program for this region of Mennonite concentration as well as more widely. The largest number of interviews has come from men and women of General Conference Mennonite Church background; in addition many are from (Old) Mennonites, Mennonite Brethren, Amish, and other Mennonite branches.

In addition to the project directors of the Bethel College faculty, much of the work of interviewing and organizing has been done by Bethel students. Each year one or two history students have been Senior Fellows in oral history. These have included John Waltner (1967-68), Dale Schrag and Allan Teichroew (1968-69), Sondra Bandy and Don Holsinger (1969-70), Greg Stucky and Fred Zerger (1970-71), Carolyn Cox (1971-72), and David Haury and David Kaufman (1972-73). A few other persons have served as interviewers on a voluntary basis for occasional interviews.

As the collection grew to over 100 tapes—between 200 and 300 hours of interviews—the problem of organizing and indexing became obvious. The emphasis of the past year has been on preparing this index in order to make the material accessible to researchers. Carolyn Cox in 1972 carried on the task of listening to the tapes and writing brief summaries. Based on these summaries, various indexes were prepared. Over 60 of the interviews have been transcribed by typewriter.

The indexes and summaries make the interviews accessible for efficient study for the first time. However, the project is not complete and new information is constantly being added. The next step in the Bethel oral history program will proceed toward the period of World War II and beyond, giving a special emphasis to the history of Mennonite involvement in mental health.

A Mennonite Centennial

The Mennonites of the prairie states and provinces will observe their centennial in 1974. In 1870, unrest was created among Mennonites of Russia, Poland, and West Prussia, because of the compulsory military conscription which was to be introduced. One-third of the Mennonites prepared to leave Russia in 1873. During the following two years, they moved in large numbers to Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Minnesota, and Manitoba.

Most of the commemoration will likely take place in 1974. Centennial committees have been formed on local and overall levels. An Inter-Mennonite Centennial Committee of Kansas is aiming to coordinate some of the activities.

An Inter-College Centennial Committee of Bethel, Hesston, and Tabor colleges is preparing various programs which will possibly include dramas, musicals, a film, and publications. There are similar organizations in Manitoba and other states and provinces. Some films have already been produced and others are to follow. One of the most outstanding creations is the Mennonite Village Museum at Steinbach, Manitoba.

Peter Brock on Peace In Europe & USA

The list of books dealing with the radical reformation, revolution, war and peace, grows from year to year and has never before been as long as the one in this issue of *Mennonite Life*. It is hardly possible to do justice to all of them in thorough reviews. A few are selected to call attention to their uniqueness or significance. First of all, we mention a number of books devoted to the peace issue. They are the following:

Peter Brock, *Pacifism in Europe to 1914*. (Princeton University Press, 1972, 556 pp.)

Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States from the Colonial Era to the First World War*. (Princeton University Press 1968, 1,005 pp.)

Peter Brock, *The Twentieth Century Pacifism*. (Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1970, 274 pp.)

A superficial look into these books gives the interested person an awesome feeling. One individual has presented the total history of peace efforts in human society on nearly 2,000 pages. The style of the writer is such that any individual, whether he is scholastically inclined or a layman seeking information on the subject, can with delight read this record of man's ups and downs in trying to solve the problem of war. However, the author primarily devotes his study to the so-called historic peace orientated groups and individuals who have tried to promote peace by remaining uninvolved in militant human conflict.

The Anabaptist-Mennonites of Western Europe, Russia, and America are fully treated. So are other historic peace groups, such as the Quakers, the Church of the Brethren, etc. The writer has written a fluid text not burdened with learned apparatus of footnotes. However, the interested researcher finds his sources at the end of each chapter or at the end of the book. It is a monumental accomplishment and will serve generations to come as a source of information.

Radical Reformation Research

1971-1972

By Cornelius Krahn, Nelson P. Springer, Melvin Gingerich, Walter Klaassen and others

IN THE APRIL, 1971 issue of *Mennonite Life,* we reported about numerous research projects, including M.A. and Ph.D. dissertations. Preceding April issues since 1949 (except in 1961, 1963, 1967, and 1968 when they were in the July issues) contain similar information under the heading "Mennonite Research in Progress." Of special significance in this issue are the "Doctoral Dissertations" and the "M.A. Theses." The list is much longer not only because there was no listing in 1972, but also because we have been able to acquire new sources of information in regard to the Ph.D. dissertations and M.A. theses in progress. We name particularly the two volumes, *Dissertations in History,* by Warren F. Kuehl, published by the University Press of Kentucky in 1960 and in 1970, and *Dissertation in History,* published annually by the American Historical Association. Some selections were also made from the volumes of *Index of Graduate Theses in Baptist Theological Seminaries,* published by The Historical Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, covering the years 1894-1971.

The listing of additional dissertations has been continued annually in this column. The editors of *Mennonite Life* will be pleased to receive information about research in progress and dissertations to be included in subsequent issues.

This column also contains a report about the work of the North American Committee for Documentation of Free Church Origins, (NACDFCO). This issue will be sent to all members of the Committee as an annual report. Additional copies of this particular issue can be ordered from the publisher.

Doctoral Dissertations

Bauman, Harold Ernest. "The Believers' Church and the Church College." Ed.D., Columbia University, 1972, 233 pp.

Burger, Edward K. "Anabaptist-Catholic Relations in the Sixteenth Century." Ph.D., University of California at Santa Barbara. (In progress)

Burkhalter, Sheldon Wayne. "Anabaptism and the Unity of the Church: Insights for Contemporary Ecumenicity." D. of Min., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1972, 317 pp.

Dick, John R. "A Suggested Plan of Administration for the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Conference." D.R.E., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1953, 267 pp.

Friesen, Isaac I. "The Glory of the Ministry of Jesus Christ Illustrated by a Study of 2 Cor. 2:14-3:18." Th.D., University of Basel, 1971, 167 pp.

Gerlach, Russel L. "Rural Ethnic and Religious Groups as Cultural Islands in the Ozarks of Missouri: Their Emergence and Persistence." Ph.D., University of Southwest Missouri State College, 1972.

Hardwich, Robert. "A Study of the Mennonites of Denbigh Community and the West Valley District in Virginia." Ph.D., University of Virginia (Charlottesville). (In progress)

Hayes, Donald P. "The Iowa Amish and Their Education." Ph.D., University of Iowa, 1972, 105 pp.

Hiebert, Clarence. "The Holdeman People, A Study of the Church of God in Christ, Mennonite, 1858-1969." Ph.D., Case Western Reserve University, 1971, 630 pp.

Hopple, Lee Charles. "Spatial Development and Internal Spatial Organization of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Plain Dutch Community." Ph.D., Pennsylvania State University, 1971.

Isaak, Helmut. "Das Weltverstaendnis von Menno Simons," Ph.D., University of Amsterdam, 1972.

Jacobszoon, J. P. "Johannes Deknatel, een Amsterdamse Mennist in het gezelschap van Zinzendorf." Ph.D., University of Amsterdam, 1972.

Kadelbach, Ada. "Die Hymnodie der Mennoniten in Nordamerika (1742-1860)." Eine Studie zur Verpflanzung, Bewahrung und Umformung europaeischer Kirchenliedtradition," Ph.D. Johannes Gutenberg-Universitaet, Mainz, 1971, 285 pp.

Miller, Paul Martin. "Investigation of the Relationship Between Mennonite Theology and Mennonite Worship." Th.D., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1961.

Rechlin, Alice Theodora Merten. "The Utilization of Space by the Nappanee, Indiana Old Order Amish; A Minority Group Study." Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1970, 218 pp.

Rohland, Curtis, "Ethnic Education in a Multi-National State—Mennonite Education in Russia" Ph.D., University of Kansas. (In progress)

Saffady, William. "Anabaptism in England under Edward IV." Ph.D., Wayne State University, 1972.

Sawatsky, Rodney J. "History as Ideology: The Identity Struggle of an American Minority—The Mennonites" Ph.D., University of Princeton. (In progress)

Sea, Thomas F. "The Swabian League and the German Peasant's War." Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley. (In progress)

Steeves, Paul D. "The Evangelical Baptist Movement in the Soviet Union, 1917-1929." Ph.D., University of Kansas, 1972.

M.A. Theses

Beyler, Clayton Vern. "Meaning and Relevance of the Devotional Covering: A Study in the Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16." Th.M., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1954.

Brandsma, Jan Auke. "Transition of Menno Simons from Roman Catholicism to Anabaptism as Reflected In His Writings." B.D., Baptist Theological Seminary, Switzerland, 1955, 60 pp.

Braun, Jack D. "Mennonite Plays and Playwrights and the Mennonite Theme in Dramatic Literature in the United States." M.A., University of Kansas, 1965.

Burkhalter, Sheldon Wayne. "Anabaptism and the Unity of the Church: Insights for Contemporary Ecumenicity. M.A., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1972, 317 pp.

Byrum, Allen L. "Mennonite Settlements in Paraguay." M.A., Columbia University. (In progress)

Conley, James E. "Mennonite Missions in Ghana and Nigeria, 1957-1969." M.A., Indiana University. (In progress)

Dick, La Vernae J. "Early Mennonites in Oregon." M.A., Oregon College of Education, 1972, 107 pp.

Esau, John A. "Religion and Culture. A New Model for Understanding Their Changing Relationships." M.Th, Theological Seminary of the Twin Cities, 1972.

Foster, Claude R., Jr. "Johannes Buenderlin: Radical Reformer of the Sixteenth Century." M.A., University of Pennsylvania, 1963.

Hiebert, Marcia. "A Study of Characteristics of Students Enrolled in the Bethel Experimental Learning Laboratory." M.A., University of Kansas, 1971.

Hofman, R. "De zending der gemeente van Christus tot de wereld." Thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1970.

Hopper, John David. "Balthasar Hubmaier's Doctrine of the Church." Th.M., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1966, 101 pp.

Kiwiet, Jan J. "Hans Denck and His Teaching (1500-1527)." B.D., Baptist Theological Seminary, Switzerland, 1954, 114 pp.

Klassen, John J. "Scriptural Authority Among the Anabaptists: A Study of Implicit Obedience." Th.M., Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary, 1966, 105 pp.

Klippenstein, Lawrence. Religion and Dissent in the Era of Reform: The Russian Stundobaptists, 1858-1884. M.A., University of Minnesota, 1971. (Reference to Mennonites)

Knipscheer, Jr. L. D. G. "De eerste tien jaren van de Doopsgezinde vredesbeweging." Thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1972.

Krajewski, Ekkehard. "So-called Petition of Protest and Defense to the Zurich Council, 1524-1525; A Comparative Historical Document." B.D., Baptist Theological Seminary, Switzerland, 1954, 95 pp.

Lanning, James Walter. "The Old Colony Mennonites of Bolivia: A Case Study." M.Sc., Texas A & M University, 1971, 130 pp.

Laurence, Hugh Getty. "A Formal Analysis of Museum Displays in Central Kansas." M.A., McGill University, 1972. (Includes Kauffman Museum, Bethel College)

Martina, Sister. "Professionalization of Amish Teachers in Ohio." M.A., St. John College of Cleveland. (In progress)

Miller, Robert W. "The Role and Contribution of the Foreign Voluntary Agencies in South Vietnam, 1966-1971." M.A., University of Pittsburgh, 1972, 149 pp.

Moser, Robert E. "Historical Background of Zions Harp Hymnbook of Apostolic Christian Church." M.A., Illinois State University. (In progress)

Noebel, David Arthur. "The Rationale for Pacifism in the Anabaptist Movement." M.A., University of Tulsa, 1971.

Noll, Mark A. "Luther and Hoffman; Letter to Livanian Church and Later Break, 1525-29." M.A., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. (In progress)

Palij, Michael. "The Peasant Partisan Movement of the Anarchist Nestor Makhno, 1918-21. An Aspect of the Ukrainian Revolution." M.A. Thesis, University of Kansas. October 1971, 432 pp. (Reference to Mennonites)

Polzin, Alfred. "A History of the Germantown Mennonite Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania." Th.M., Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1971. 111 pp.

Raber, Chester Alden. "Investigation into the Beliefs of Mennonite Young People." Th.M., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1954.

Raegan, Cheryl A. "Amish Funeral Rites." M.A., Ball State University. (In progress)

Roth, Roy Daniel. "A Curriculum for a Proposed Church Music Major at Eastern Mennonite College. M.A., University of Oregon, 1972, 91 pp.

Voolstra, Sjouke. "Enige opmerkingen over de Hermeneutiek van Melchior Hoffman en de invloeden hiervan op de doperse beweging in Nederland." Thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1972.

Zwede, Weard. "Contribution of Anabaptists of the 16th Century to Religious Liberty." B.D., Baptist Theological Seminary, Switzerland, 1954, 61 pp.

North American Committee for the Documentation of Free Church Origins (NACDFCO), 1971-1972

The last meeting of the Committee of Free Church Origins was held in New York in conjunction with the American Society of Church History, December 1971. No meeting was held in December 1972 because of a lack of response from prospective participants.

I. Highlights of the December 1971 Meeting.

A. The Committee members reviewed the work and made plans for the future.

B. Cornelius Krahn, who has been the Executive Secretary of the Committee since its organization in 1964, asked to be relieved of this responsibility. He was asked to continue to serve as Vice-Chairman of the Committee. Walter Klaassen was elected to succeed Krahn as Executive Secretary. Ronald Sider of Messiah College was appointed Recording Secretary.

C. It was agreed that the annual "Research in Progress" and "Radical Reformation Bibliography" featured in *Mennonite Life* since 1949 be sent to all members and friends of NACDFCO as an off-print or in a copy of the issue of *Mennonite Life*. It was suggested that this research and bibliographical report could be headed by the title "Free Church Studies" with sub-sections on Radical Reformation, Anabaptistica, Mennonitica, Pietism, etc.

D. The Executive Committee of NACDFCO has produced

a new letterhead which brings up to date recent changes in personnel.

II. Current Activities and Source Publications (In preparation).

A. NACDFCO Paperback Series (in preparation).

1. Donald Durnbaugh, "Mutual Aid."
2. Clyde Manschreck, "Religious Liberty."
3. Lowell Zuck, "Christianity and Revolution."

B. Other source publications.

1. "Mennonite Bibliography, 1631-1961" by A. J. Klassen and Nelson P. Springer. (Expected to be off the press in 1973.)
2. "The Legacy of Michael Sattler" by John H. Yoder (at the press).
3. "Writings and Letters of Pilgram Marbeck" by William Klassen and Walter Klaassen (to be published in 1973).
4. "Balthasar Hubmaier" by William R. Estep and John H. Yoder.
5. "Hans Denck" by Clarence Bauman.
6. "Dirk Phillips" by William Keeney.
7. "Andreas Karlstadt" by Ronald J. Sider.
8. "The Czech Reformation" by J. K. Zeman.

(All these are to be published by the Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa., in a series "Classics of the Radical Reformation.")

III. To All Members and Friends of the Committee on Free Church Origins NACDFCO:

There will again be a meeting of NACDFCO next December in conjunction with the A.H.A. and A.S.C.H. meetings. Kindly respond to the invitation when you receive it in November.

This issue of *Mennonite Life,* devoted largely to research and publications, has been mailed to the members and friends of NACDFCO with the compliments of *Mennonite Life,* now published by the Herald Publishing Company, 129 West Sixth St., Newton, Kansas 67114. Since this issue should prove to be an excellent source of information for any researcher, be it in a teaching position or as a student, you can order additional copies by sending $1.00 per copy to the publishers.

You are also invited to check and see whether your library has a complete set of *Mennonite Life,* started in 1946. Complete sets and single issues (also those with the annual research reports and bibliographies) are available. Write to: Mennonite Life, Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas 67117, for information or order.

Related Projects

Cornelius Krahn and Walter Klaassen are preparing each a volume of source materials on Dutch and Swiss Anabaptism for undergraduate teaching. They are to be topically arranged.

The *Taeuferakten-Kommission* of Germany has published a volume of Taeuferakten devoted to Austria, Grete Mecenseffy, *Oesterreich II. Teil* in the series *Quellen zur Geschichte der Taeufer.*

The rather active Dutch sister organization *Commissie tot de uitgave van Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica* has recently appointed Walter Klaassen as a North American member in addition to Irvin B. Horst (Amsterdam) and Cornelius Krahn who are members of the organization since its beginning. Horst and Krahn are also members of the German *TAK,* the mother organization of NACDFCO.

George H. Williams is currently in Poland on a Gugenheim Fellowship doing research and preparing an English translation of *Historei Reformationis Polonicae* of Stanislas Lubienieckis.

Bethel College Research Projects

(Not published)

Justus G. Holsinger. "Puerto Rico, Island of Progress." Research Project at Bethel College, North Newton, Kan., 1970, 306 pp.

David Haury. "German-Russian Immigrants and Kansas Politics: A Comparison of the Catholic and Mennonite Immigration to Kansas and Their Politics." Research Paper at Bethel College, North Newton, Kan., 1970, 183 pp.

Fred Zerger. "Anabaptism in Elizabethian England: An Interpretive History." Essay presented at London School of Economics, 1970, 83 pp.

Donald C. Holsinger. "Pressures Affecting the Mennonite German-Americans in Central Kansas During World War I." Research Paper at Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas, 1970, 60 pp.

Becky Fretz. "Selected Student Characteristics Comparing BELL and non-BELL Bethel College Students." A Research paper at Bethel College, North Newton, Kan., 1971, 69 pp.

Sondra Kay Bandy. "The Mennonite Image of the Government." Research paper at Bethel College, North Newton, Kan., 1970, 58 pp.

Canadian Research

David Janzen is engaged in research on Hans Denck. The emphasis is on the theological contribution of this significant Anabaptist leader. David Kroeker is working on a cognate essay which is an annotated translation of Hans Denck's *Commentary on Micah.* Lyle Friesen is dealing in his research with "Mennonite Interpretation of Anabaptism."

Walter Klaassen is working on a lengthy essay on nonresistance, to be published in *Peace Research Reviews,* published by the Canadian Peace Research Institute. Klaassen is in the final stage of the preparation of the book, *Anabaptism: Neither Catholic nor Protestant,* (Conrad Press, Waterloo, Ontario). Walter Klaassen is also finishing the book, *Michael Gaismair: Revolutionary and Reformer,* for which project he spent some time in Austria. Werner Packull (University of Waterloo) has finished an essay entitled "Denck's Alleged Baptism by Hubmaier; Its Significance for the Origin of South German-Austrian Anabaptism."

The *Mennonite Reporter,* edited by Frank H. Epp, and published by Mennonite Publishing Service, Waterloo, Ontario, regularly carries articles of significant historical and theological nature, including book reviews of many Anabaptist-Mennonite publications.

Frank H. Epp is writing the history of the Canadian Mennonites, to be published in the near future.

Leonard Sawatsky, University of Manitoba, continues his research of the Mennonites that have migrated from Manitoba to Mexico and South America. He is the author

of *They Sought a Country: Mennonite Colonization in Mexico.*

John B. Toews, Calgary, Alberta, has written articles entitled "American Mennonite Relief in Russia (1921-1927)," "Mennonite Settlements in Siberia," and "Mennonite Flight into China."

At Home and Abroad

Roland H. Bainton has published his first volume on *Women of the Reformation.* His second volume is at the press, and the third is in preparation.

Samuel H. Geiser, of Switzerland, was recently honored by the University of Zurich, when he was granted an honorary degree in connection with his authorship of the revised and enlarged edition of his book, *Die Taufgesinnten Gemeinden,* (1971).

The well known Mennonite artist, "Tom" Schenk, has produced paintings of George Blaurock, Conrad Grebel, and Felix Manz. Schenk is best known for his Christopher Dock painting. His works of art have been featured in various Mennonite magazines.

Grant M. Stoltzfus of Eastern Mennonite College is engaged in a research project dealing with the relations of British and American governments to the conscientious objectors in World War I and II with a special inquiry into the origins of alternative service programs. In 1971-72 he had a T. Wistar Brown Fellowship from Haverford College which enabled him to study the Quaker sources there, as well as the Peace Collection at Swarthmore College. He intends to continue this project in the summer of 1973.

"Papers and Responses Presented at the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Program at Brook Lane Psychiatric Center, October 1 and 2, 1971." Fresno, Calif.: Mennonite Mental Health Service, 32 pp. (Typescript)

Jacob A. Loewen. "Research Report on the Question of Settling Lengua and Chulupi Indians in the Paraguayan Chaco." This research project was carried out at the request of the Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, Pa., 1964, 117 pp.

Christopher, Stefan C. *Plato's Republic and Hutter's New Jerusalem.* Cheney, Wash.: Eastern Washington State College, 1971, 15 pp.

Leland Harder, Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Ind., and a number of assistants, are reviewing the translation of the letters of Conrad Grebel, which are to be published in the near future.

Carl Bangs of St. Paul School of Theology, Kansas City, Mo., is preparing a manuscript for publication dealing with the *Kleine Gemeinde,* its characteristics and families.

History As Ideology

What George H. Williams described as the "pious Mennonite" interpretation of Anabaptist history has recently become the "whipping boy" of Anabaptist studies as for examples in Claus-Peter Clasen *Anabaptism: A Social History, 1525-1618,* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1972), and James M. Stayer *Anabaptists and the Sword,* (Lawrence, Kan., 1972). The charge that some Mennonite historians went beyond mere rescuing of Anabaptism from an antagonistic historiography to the apologetic use of Anabaptism to develop an identity for 20th century Mennonites is difficult to refute and must be recognized above all by Mennonite historians.

But those who would demythologize Mennonite studies of Anabaptism should be aware of their own presuppositions if they want to be taken seriously. Clasen especially, despite his disclaimers of ideological interest, riddles his volume with dubious conclusions on the basis of his particular value judgments. Thus, following from his commitments to quantitative analysis, he concludes that the importance of a movement can be weighed in the balance of numbers. And given his own pragmatic standards, he judges Anabaptist notions of society impractical.

At issue is not the legitimacy of those who would debunk the "pious Mennonite" reading of the Reformation era, but rather to insist that those pursuing other interpretations likewise admit their own presuppositions (as Stayer to some extent attempts to do.) Subjectivity, despite Clasen's claims to the contrary, is always inherent in historical work and it seems that the degree of objectivity attainable is in direct proportion to the ability and willingness of the historian to face his own faith principles.

Recognizing the necessity for historians to square with their own commitments or agendas, even for Mennonites to admit the existence of a "pious Mennonite" school of Anabaptist studies, is not to understand the phenomenon. Since they served as the major ideologues of American Mennonite identity, most Mennonite historians described the past, defined the present, and proposed the future. But even as advocates of a normative Anabaptism, they were guided in their description of that 16th century movement by the very sociological and theological milieu in America to which the ideal was to speak. Hence, the context of the historian must be known to understand his writings. To describe this "pious Mennonite" interpretation in its environment is the task of my dissertation. It is entitled "History as Ideology: The Identity Struggle of an American Minority —the Mennonites" (University of Princeton).

—*Rodney J. Sawatsky.*

German Mennonite Scholarship Revitalized

In Europe today only the German Mennonites have channels of scholarly publications in periodicals of their own. The Dutch had the *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* which started in a modest from in the beginning of the 18th century and achieved its classic era in 1861-1919. It was however, discontinued at that time and revived only in a modified form in 1952 in *Stemmen,* which was discontinued in 1963. At present, there remains a general weekly publication with an occasional book review and the annual *Doopsgezind Jaarboekje.*

The German Mennonites have a scholarly journal *Mennonitische Geschichtsblaetter,* published annually since 1936, and now also have made their *Mennonitisches Jahrbuch* another channel of scholastic pursuit and communications. This is especially the case since 1971 when Johannes Harder, formerly a professor of sociology at the Wupperthal Educational Academy, and now pastor of the Frankfurt Mennonite Church, became the editor.

In addition to the summary of the events and highlights of the year and a presentation of the lists of congregations and organizations since 1971, this yearbook contains challenging informative and scholarly contributions, many of which deserve to get full attention by American readers. Some of the titles of the articles in the last *Jahrbuch* (1973) should arouse curiosity. Among those of special interest are "Against the Lack of Freedom in the Free Church" by

Hans-Juergen Goertz (in translation) and "Visiting the *Grosse Werder*" (former Mennonite villages in present-day Poland) by Helmut Reimer, as well as another article on this subject by Rolf Fieguth in the 1971 *Jahrbuch* entitled "Mennonite Historic Awareness and Their Old West Prussian Home." The last two articles give a startling historical analysis of a chapter in Mennonite history of a minority in a national context not easily found elsewhere, including North America. The self analysis is honest, painful, and could be healing and corrective. It is a very critical survey showing how the Mennonites, as Dutch refugees, settled in the swamps of the Vistula River and became *die Stillen im Lande*. The joyous and sacrificial witness of the forefathers still found as an echo on the pages of the *Martyrs Mirror* disappeared in their gradual acculturation and adjustment to the German *Drang nach dem Osten*. As Dutch refugees, they gave up their language in exchange for the Low German and High German languages, but looked down on their Polish neighbors. The authors regret that the Mennonites failed to build bridges between the Germans and the Poles.

It is a hopeful sign that the German Mennonites are now sending their young people to the area of the former Heubuden Mennonite Church to work in a voluntary workcamp where the Germans under Hitler had a concentration camp.

Others who are critically reevaluating the Mennonite heritage and calling attention to it on the pages of their two periodicals are Peter J. Foth, J. H. Wiens, Heinold Fast, Gerhard Schellenberg, Gerhard Hein, Hans Adolf Hertzler, Abram Enns, Oskar Wedel, and others. (Copies of the *Jahrbuch* can be obtained through the Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas. For additional information see "Mennonite Historical Periodicals" in *Mennonite Life*, April, 1970, p. 89.)

Radical Reformation Bibliography

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By Cornelius Krahn and Nelson P. Springer

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Books In Review

Liberation Ethics

John M. Swomley, Jr. *Liberation Ethics.* N.Y.: The Macmillan Co. 1972. 242 pp. (Ppbk) $1.95.

Swomley has proposed an approach to ethics that is concerned with freeing men. Differing from other approaches, Swomley is concerned both with the end result of ethical action but also with the process. Thus he refers to it as "Liberation Ethics."

The first chapter deals largely with definitions. His delineation of a just revolution practically eliminates the possibility of a just war. The second chapter contrasts liberation ethics with other types. The contrast with situation ethics is particularly good, pointing up several weaknesses in the approach.

In the third chapter both overt and covert violence are analyzed. The position is illustrated in the cases of conscription, racial segregation, and poverty. He then asserts that "It is essential to recognize that in a complex society, systems rather than individuals are the root of oppression" (p. 41).

In the fourth chapter he looks at revolution. He tries to define revolution so as to deny that it must necessarily be violent. He thinks that the identification of revolution with violence and upheaval has misled people. He tries to correct the nation that the American Revolution was truly revolutionary. He does so in charging that too frequently what is called revolution is only the transfer of power from one group to another rather than the achieving of a basic change. The treatment of revolution and violence is one of the more interesting parts of the book.

The fifth chapter traces the impact of violence on revolution. He examines and disagrees with several general conclusions about the necessity and impact of violence on revolution. He uses the Russian, Chinese and Algerian revolutions as samples to support his arguments.

In the sixth chapter a more detailed examination of the Cuban Revolution is given. Swomley concludes that the success of the revolution supports the assumption that the disintegration of the consent of the governed was the real reason for change, not the guerilla actions or military successes of Castro and his colleagues.

In chapter nine Swomley proposes five reasons for rejecting violence as opposed to non-violence for revolution. In this chapter he makes his most positive contribution to nonviolence as the proper means for liberation ethics. The positive definition of nonviolence on p. 172 is especially useful.

The final chapter is devoted to conclusions. It is in this chapter that Swomley's Christian orientation is most evident. It is summed up in the following phrases, "The outlining of concepts such as repentance, reconciliation, nonviolent struggle, and the willingness to suffer. . ." (p. 229). Here he acknowledges that it takes Christian character to carry out revolution by nonviolent means.

Swomley's book is of interest not only for his ethical

principles but also for the astute analysis of ideals held up by some for the necessity of violence to achieve social justice. His case for nonviolence even in instances that seem to many to justify violence is helpful. The book should be of interest to those concerned about revolutionary social change, justice, and peace.

BETHEL COLLEGE *William Keeney*

A Study in Repression

Leona Rostenberg. *The Minority Press & The English Crown: A Study in Repression,* 1558-1625. Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1971. 263 pp.

The significance of the printed word in persecuted religious movements is surveyed in this recent book. By the "minority press" is meant the printing activities of the minority religions of 16th and 17th century England, Catholicism and Puritanism. Both of these extremist movements, which dissented from the official Anglican Church, lived precarious lives—Catholics more than Puritans—and so relied much upon printed books and circulating them by every way possible as the means of keeping the movement going. With official doors closed to them, the dissenting parties were forced to rely upon secret underground printers at home and foreign presses, primarily in the Low Countries. Catholics operated out of Flanders and such Catholic places, and Puritans often went to Dutch printers or to English printers in Dutch exile. The largest treatment related the history of Catholic printing in Elizabethan and Jacobean times; the last three chapters relate to the Puritan press. The book gives an informative survey of its subject, using printed sources. One inaccuracy occurs in the last chapter where William Ames, John Dod, David Calderwood, and Thomas Cartwright are listed as Separatists.

BETHEL COLLEGE *Keith Sprunger*

Bruderhof Beginnings

Arnold, Emmy. *Torches Together; The Beginnings and Early Years of the Bruderhof Communities.* Second edition. Rifton, N. Y.: Plough Publishing House, 231 pp. Illustrated. 1971. $4.95.

One need only study the utopian societies formed in this country from the colonial period through the 19th century to see that one of the most familiar features of communal life is its early demise. Oneida Community and New Harmony are two of hundreds that at one time existed and now are no more. Here is an account of a contemporary communal society that has survived for over 50 years. The fact it still is in existence makes it very unique in a day when once again communal living has become attractive.

Emmy Arnold's story begins with Germany before World War I. It traces Eberhard Arnold's spiritual pilgrimage and her own and how in 1920 the *Bruderhof* was first established, out of what circumstances it came in the deeply demoralized post-war Germany, why this was attractive, how the first people came to the *Bruderhof,* how the first *Hof* at Sannerz was established.

Then, the story goes on giving a personal account of developments, the struggles, the varied people who came, the effects of the economy and low German morale during the 20's on the *Bruderhof.* A rather detailed story of the visit of Eberhard Arnold to America, where he spent a year with the Hutterian *Bruderhofs* and was ordained by them, is told. The constant struggle for finances and how simply the people lived is another facet of the story.

The rise of Hitler presented another problem which meant first sending children to Switzerland, then men of draft age, and forming a new *Bruderhof* in Lichtenstein and later in England where the whole group finally was forced to flee. The story ends with the group finally going to Paraguay as the war began. By this time Eberhard Arnold had died.

In our day, when intentional communities have been popping up in many many places—and collapsing with equal rapidity, this story becomes of current interest. For communal living is no escape or solution, it is fraught with its own problems—and rewards. One article, entitled "Sunrise Hill—Post Mortem," assesses the reason at least for the collapse of that particular experiment in communal living as follows: "The 'love' we founded the Sunrise Hill venture upon was bound to fail. What then did we have to back up that love, to help it through difficult times? Very little indeed. The whole community project was founded upon that emotional strength of 'love' and if that collapsed the entire thing had to come down in a deafening roar. As it did. We had conjured up a proposed heaven for ourselves but it took angels to live in it, and we surely weren't such. We had taxed our love and faith and good intent and ability to change ourselves to the breaking point. Since there was nothing else for the roof to be supported by, the whole house fell in."

In a study I once made of American utopian communities, one thing became very clear. Those communities that even had a chance of lasting were those that had a profound religious commitment beyond themselves as their base. Love in itself is too fragile and human. A profound sense of God's hand guiding and upholding, which transcends the human institution and condition, is essential. And even with this the human struggle of the community is fraught with much pain along with the joys and victories.

Some of this is portrayed in this story. For anyone interested in intentional community it is a book of value and interest.

NORTH NEWTON, KAN. *Esko Loewen*

Riedemann on Separation

Robert Charles Holland, *The Hermeneutics of Peter Riedemann* (1506-1556): *With Reference to I Cor. 5, 9-13 and II Cor. 6, 14-7, 1.* Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt Kommissions verlag. 1970. Pp. 185.

This dissertation, submitted to the theological faculty of the University of Basel in 1967, begins with an exegetical study of the two passages from Corinthians that deal with the idea of separation. The rest of the volume is a consideration of Peter Riedemann's passages that deal with the same idea, basically limited, however, to the two Corinthian passages on separation. To this extent, the volume does not purport to be an interpretation of the complete Riedemann, not even of the complete Riedemann position on the separation of the church from the world. For Holland does not discuss Riedemann's position on nonconformity and the people of

God in terms of Riedemann's own biblical frame of reference. In fact it is not even assumed as being a legitimate interpretation.

One other aspect easily recognized afttr a casual browsing through the work, is how John Calvin's biblical interpretation of the idea of separation is accepted as being exegetically sound. Riedemann is consequently judged in light of Calvin, directly, as well as in light of Holland's own interpretation of I Corinthians 5 and II Corinthians 6.

One interesting insight Holland comes up with is the idea that Riedemann is " 'Calvinistic' up to the point of regeneration and 'Arminian' after the new birth' (p. 71). However, with the church/world issue, it seems that the author does not quite understand the Riedemann theology of separation. Holland, believing himself to stand with Calvin, views the "world" as signifying "this present life." ("Calvin takes the word 'world' to mean this present life, which would make [Riedemann's] explanation read '. . . for then you would have to go out of this present life . . . ,' an obvious impossibility as both Paul and Calvin realized." p. 46). It is quite obvious that the whole basis of discussion for Holland is narrowly "Pauline," as contrasted to other possible interpretations such as the Synoptic, the Johannine, the Petrine, or even Romans 12.

Holland also significantly faults Riedemann for showing no appreciation for history. This unwarranted critique has often been used by the Calvinist-minded historian. In reality, Riedemann's deep appreciation for history simply radiates a completely different idea of what history is all about (see page 129).

One of the most solid parts of the volume is a statistical analysis of Riedemann's scriptural references, found on pages 133ff. There is also a highly useful index to all the scriptural references used by Riedemann, found on pages 158-180.

In reflecting upon Holland's unusual method of interpretation, and the way he arrives at this interpretation: namely from selected chapters of the Pauline epistles, through Calvin, to Riedemann, one is again made aware of the several approaches that can be taken in attempting to arrive at biblical truth. As Holland so clearly points out for Riedemann, one's presuppositions do make all the difference, and this of course also holds true for Holland himself.

Perhaps we can only end this discussion by affirming that there are at least two major approaches to the Bible, one based on a discipleship which presupposes freedom of the will, the other resting basically within God's election, presupposing a type of predestination which minimizes or even denies man's ability to respond. A gathered, separate people of God is one possible end result of the former approach; a 16th-century Genevese theocracy, of the latter.

But the teachings of the Christian church rest upon both God's election and the seeming contradictory concomitant of man's ability to respond to God's revelation, through acceptance or rejection. Both rest upon biblical precept; both are types that individuals, in their own religious experiences, can identify with; and therefore, both must paradoxically be permitted to stand as being compatible with God's truth. Holland makes it his task to set Anabaptist scholarship straight about this—better, about one of these biblically juxtaposed truths.

GOSHEN, INDIANA *Leonard Gross*

Dutch Reformed Archives

De Archieven van de Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk in korte overzichten, ed. by De Commissie voor de Archieven van de Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk, Deel I. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960, 255 pp.

The archives of the Dutch Reformed Church (De Nederlandse Hervormde, formerly the Gereformeerde Kerk) contain a valuable store of materials on things both ecclesiastical and political. Unfortunately, the records of consistories, classes and synods are scattered from town to town and repository to repository (some not too easily accessible). The place to start always is the central archive of the church at Javastraat 100 in The Hague, but only a selection of the records are there. After that the traveling starts.

In case any interested scholars have overlooked it, attention is called here to a 1960 publication, a printed guide to the various archives, published by De Commissie voor de Archieven van de Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk, J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, chairman. This is part one, covering archives in Gelderland, Groningen, Friesland, Drenthe, Overijssel, and Utrecht. Hopefully, the project will soon be completed, thus covering the important provinces, especially Holland and Zeeland, not yet handled.

BETHEL COLLEGE *Keith L. Sprunger*

Amsterdam History

R. B. Evenhuis, *Ook Dat Was Amsterdam* [That Too Was Amsterdam]. 3 vols., Amsterdam: W. ten Have N. V., 1965-1971. 32.50 guilders per volume. Vol. IV in preparation.

In the early 1960s the Dutch Reformed Church made the happy decision to assign one of its Amsterdam ministers, Dr. R. B. Evenhuis, the task of writing a new history of the Reformed church in Amsterdam. Replacing the earlier work by G. J. Vos Az (1903), which dealt primarily with the internal history of the church for its first 60 years, the new work begins with the early 16th century, deals with the full scope of religious history, and makes wide use of hitherto unexploited archival materials. Add to this its lively style, and you have a most helpful contribution to church history.

References to Anabaptists and Mennonites occur throughout the work, but specific attention is given in the first volume to the Sacramentarians and early Anabaptists and in the second volume to the Mennonites after the Alteration (Reformation) of Amsterdam in 1578. At the beginning of Amsterdam's public Protestant regime, Mennonite church attendance was at least as high as that of the Reformed churches, and the Mennonites occupied high places in financial circles and were found in the ruling families. They obtained special privileges in the areas of militia duty, the taking of oaths, and marriage laws. They were engaged in public oral disputes and in pamphlet wars, the Reformed being the pursuers. One of the Amsterdam ministers, Jacobus Arminius, was unwilling to be drawn into this warfare, while some of the more ardent Calvinists pursued it with relish.

Evenhuis does not make careful distinctions in every case, as when he puts Anabaptist activity in Amsterdam "shortly

after 1525" (I, 38), and when he identifies the factions of Waterlanders, Flemings, Frisians, and High Germans simply in terms of place of origin (II, 210). He does use a few primary sources (e.g., the *Keurboek*); otherwise he draws on the work of de Hoop Scheffer, Mellink, Dijkema, Brandt, Wagenaar, Knuttel, Lindeboom, Dankbaar, and Knappert, among others. The high value of the book for Mennonite historiography lies in the context it provides for Amsterdam Mennonite history not only in the Reformed Church but also in a city which had vigorous blocs or cells of Jews, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, English Baptists and other dissenters, Socinians, mystics, spiritualists, Remonstrants, Collegiants, and Quakers, and also the varied cultural and philosophical currents associated with Amsterdam's Golden Age.

About the title of the book: it is a quotation from the book itself, a remark of the author after having described Amsterdam's public brothels.

St. Paul School of Theology, Kansas City, Mo. *Carl Bangs*

Biography of Arminius

Carl Bangs, *Arminius: A Study in the Dutch Reformation.* Abingdon Press, Nashville, 1971. 382 pp. $9.95.

The appearance of a new biography of Jacobus Arminius is a welcome addition to the field of church history. More than a biography, the book is subtitled, "A Study in the Dutch Reformation," and serves also as an introduction to the larger questions of the Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants in Dutch history. Carl Bangs is professor of historical theology at St. Paul School of Theology in Kansas City. He approaches his subject of Arminius sympathetically and with admiration.

Professor Bangs sets Arminius against a backdrop of the Dutch Reformation, which was "liberal and tolerant" in many ways. Rigid predestination, then, was not at the heart of the Dutch national reformation—there were many "Arminians before Arminius." Consequently Arminius' doctrines, Bangs believes, are not so much innovations as continuity. Predestination is the most famous doctrine repudiated by Arminius, and so it became a "recurring theme" of the story of Arminius.

Although the book gives considerable attention to the Dutch environment, it comes across primarily as intellectual history. Arminius' theories are carefully delineated and explained. We see his ideas, but Arminius the man is rather remote. This is the common problem of ecclesiastical biography where the sources are largely theological. For the early part of Arminius' life, the emphasis is upon the environment as the author "grasps at every straw of evidence, attempting in many cases reasonable conjectures where hard evidence is lacking." For the later period of life, the record is more full.

Arminius' life, immersed as it was in Dutch reformation history, intersected with various other movements. Among these are Ramism, which he espoused. The effect of Ramism upon its devotees' theology is not altogether clear since it appealed to Dutch Calvinists as well as to the Arminians. Other episodes in Arminius' life relate to the English Brownists and to the Anabaptists, with whom Arminius often dealt gently. The Dutch Anabaptists came out for free will and against predestination in a way that caught Arminius' attention. On these doctrines "he was sympathetic to the Anabaptist point of view and Anabaptists were commonly in attendance on his preaching." Still the gap between them was wide in other areas; "Arminius was no Anabaptist" (p. 171).

How far did Arminius actually depart from the Reformed doctrines? How "Arminian" was early Arminianism? Bangs keeps Arminius in focus against the Reformed background, pointing out that he retained much of the "ecclesiastical and intellectual structure of the Reformed Church" (p. 333). At the Synod of Dort (1618-19), where Arminius' followers were censured and dismissed, a French delegate called the Arminians *"cononici irregulares,* irregular regulars." In other words, as much continuity as discontinuity with Calvin. Presently, in The Netherlands the Mennonites and the Remonstrants are drawing together. Some local congregations of the two groups have united. Bang's *Arminius* helps to give some perspective to the movement together of two divergent groups. All in all, the book makes a good contribution to the study of history and religion.

Bethel College *Keith L. Sprunger*

Swath and Sheaf

Isbrandt Hildebrand, *Swath and Sheaf.* Winnipeg: Canadian Publishing Association, 1970. 64 pp.

These 22 sketches, selected from the Swath and Sheaf column in *The Canadian Mennonite* published in the years before 1968, report the observations of a Canadian Mennonite farmer living in the small village of Wheatland north of Saskatoon. Isbrandt Hildebrand is the pen name of a typical Canadian Mennonite farmer who is much involved in the life of the Mennonite community of which he is a part. But he is also involved in Canadian affairs, in relations with his fellow American Mennonites (who he thinks are not at all concerned with Canada as an important nation, and very little concerned with Canadian Mennonites), and with the rearing of his children, especially his son who attends the University of Saskatchewan. The author of these sketches has tied them together and created a story which is more than a series, which has achieved in this book a sense of steady progress and a unity. Most important of all, he has succeeded in convincing his readers of the reality of the central figure and through him many of the essential problems facing Canadian Mennonites today.

It is a good collection. Isbrandt Hildebrand is a thoroughly believable person with the solidarity, stability, common sense and occasional provincial outlook characteristic of many Mennonites. And Isbrand has a saving sense of humor. He is able to stand firmly as a Mennonite and from that perspective see the world around him. All churches, not only the Mennonite church, need more Isbrandts in their congregations.

Even though the book was written five years ago its insights are still pertinent today, perhaps because Isbrandt is dealing with problems that are central to humans everywhere. Are American Mennonites, indeed, unaware of what is going on in Canada?

Gustavus Adolphus College *Elmer F. Suderman*

Brookville, Saline Co., Kas., d. 18/6ten August 1872.

Mein theurer Freund Görz!

Da ich soeben einen Brief an meine l. Eltern, Geschwister & Freunde in der Heimath fertig habe, & die Zeit am heutigen l. Sonntag es mir erlaubt, so bist Du treuer Freund der nächstfolgende an den ich denke & schreibe. In der Hoffnung daß ich in Summerfield wieder einen Brief von Dir finden werde, um die kritischen Verhältnisse, hinsichtlich unseres Bleibens in Rußland erfahren werde, so bitte ich Dich, wenn ich mich im Falle getäuscht haben sollte, auf untenstehende Adresse, mir so viel Du bestimmt zu berichten. — Durch J. Dick's Brief an Sudermann's wirst Du vielleicht durch sie erfahren haben, welche Tour wir gemacht haben, wenn nicht so berichte ich sie Dir hiermit in der Kürze. Von Summerfield reisten wir über St. Louis retour nach Chicago, von dort längst den Michigan nach Milwaukee, durch Wisconsin, (durch uns wegen des steinigen Bodens & zu viel Holz nicht gefiel) nach Winona am westen Ufer des Mississippi schon in Minnesota. Hier zogen wir uns Erkundigungen bei einem Landagenten ein, der uns rieth, den südwestlichen Theil von Min. zu bereisen, nahmen daher, anstatt nördlich nach St. Paul, die Route südwestlich bis nach New Ulm am Minnesota Fluße. Hier nahmen wir uns ein Fuhrwerk an, & machten in Begleitung eines Commissioners aus der Land office eine 5 tägige Wagentour durch zum Theil noch gänzlich unbewohnte Prairien; die Gegend gefiel uns ausgezeichnet, schöne und 1½ Fuß tief schwarzer Boden, der prächtigste Graswuchs, viele fließende Flüßchen, & schöne Seen, in den meisten Fische drinnen & noch dazu das gesündeste Klima, was es giebt, aber doch bleibt einer zu wünschen etwas übrig, (& wenn das nicht wäre, hätte ich mir etwas Vollkommenes auf Erden hier. . . . .) die Ursache ist (das) daß der Winter 5 bis 6 Monate anhält, soll aber sehr beständig sein, oft (manchmal sehr starke Schneegestöber vorkommen!) Dann ist die Gegend etwas holzarm, doch wachsen an den etwas größeren Flüßen, stellenweise ziemlich mehrere Holzarten, als: [illegible], [illegible], Ahorn, Ulmen & [illegible] [illegible] Wallnuß. — An den Flüßen sehr [illegible] viel [illegible] — Von New Ulm reisten wir, wie gesagt südwestlich, & dann durch