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COVER

The front cover is a Jan Luyken engraving from the *Martyr's Mirror* of Maria van Beckum, who, together with her sister Ursula, was burned at the stake on November 13, 1544 at Deventer, Holland.

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DISCERNING THE TIMES AND SEASONS—A Symposium

Mennonite Life is in its thirtieth year of publication. We have invited our editorial associates to peer into the future for 25 to 30 years. What clouds "no larger than a man's hand" does one see on the horizon? What trends should *Mennonite Life* watch vigilantly, seeking "to discern the times and seasons?" What issues and developments may emerge during the coming decades which are of high significance for Mennonites? The following eight have responded—each watchman telling us of the night or of the new day being born.
—Editors

Coming to terms with the great antiquity of the universe and man

God's purpose in history is to build community, to establish brotherhood among men and father-children relationships between Himself and his adopted daughters and sons. There is much in Western civilization that over-emphasizes competition and individualism instead of community. In this kind of pervasive culture Mennonites must pay increasing attention to how community and brotherhood may be achieved. The answer can no longer be found primarily in maintaining rural farming communities but rather in discovering ways through which we can overcome the alienation and loneliness that abound in urban civilization. Experiments will go on in the area of establishing sub-culture, closely-knit, small neighborhoods in urban environments and in the setting up of small fellowship groups which may be neighborhood groups or which may transcend physical proximity settlements of people where mutual understanding, the sharing of joys and sorrows, and Christian discipline may take place. Our Mennonite emphasis will be there rather than on large memberships and expensive structures.

Another major concern among us will be to assess the impact of science upon not only our way of life but also upon our theology. Can we absorb the findings of science into our theology without being compromised by the assumptions of "scientism"? Perhaps as a people we still think in terms of a universe created six thousand years ago and of a human race six thousand years ago. Conservative Bible scholars are now willing to concede that the universe is many times older than the writers of earlier centuries had thought to be the case and that the first men were on the earth milleniums of years earlier than had once been thought to be the case. If this be true what are the implications of the assumption that the Revelation in Christ came to mankind only "day before yesterday," using a term suggesting the great antiquity of man. As one evangelical theologian among the Mennonites has recently stated it, "One of the major problems for Mennonites in the coming decades will be how to come to terms with the great antiquity of the universe and of man."

Melvin Gingerich
Goshen College

Erosion of the posture as the world's number one power

In the last generation, American Mennonites have experienced a major confrontation with the world—the war of the 1940's, the mushrooming of Mennonite Central Committee, the mushrooming of self awareness—*Mennonite Encyclopedia*, *Mennonite Life*, Mennonite history, and a new discovery of Anabaptism that finally has penetrated the larger church resulting in corrections in at least a number of church historians' very warped interpretations. These years also saw the planting of institutions—seminaries, camps, homes, colleges, the development of new programs, the coming of age of Canadian Mennonitism. These have been very exciting years for the church.

Looking ahead, a major issue still unsettled is the confrontation of the church with the world—the world of politics and militarism. To be a conscientious objector is accepted; we can say no to the use of our bodies in war and aggression, but the fruits of our labor (our money) continues to support the always hungry military machine. Our isolation has faded and we are deeply involved in economy and industry of the world. Whether we can be "in the world and not of the world" will be tested severely. The growth of world mission sees our churches of the third world becoming an articulate voice. They will be teaching us as never before.

Riding on the crest of the national posture as the world's number one power will probably be deeply eroded and changed as depletion of natural resources and energy continues. Our perceptiveness as a church will be tested as we seek to anticipate a changed national position in the world.

We are being tested severely as families break up; divorce and remarriage among us reflects these acids of instability. The attempts at new forms of church life and worship is a healthy challenge to our being faithful to Christ's Lordship. Finally, there will be new shaping of our institutions. Hopefully it will result in our drawing together as a unity in fellowship with diversity of expression—the MCC auctions or MCC Canada being our model.

Esko Loewen
Bethel College Mennonite Church

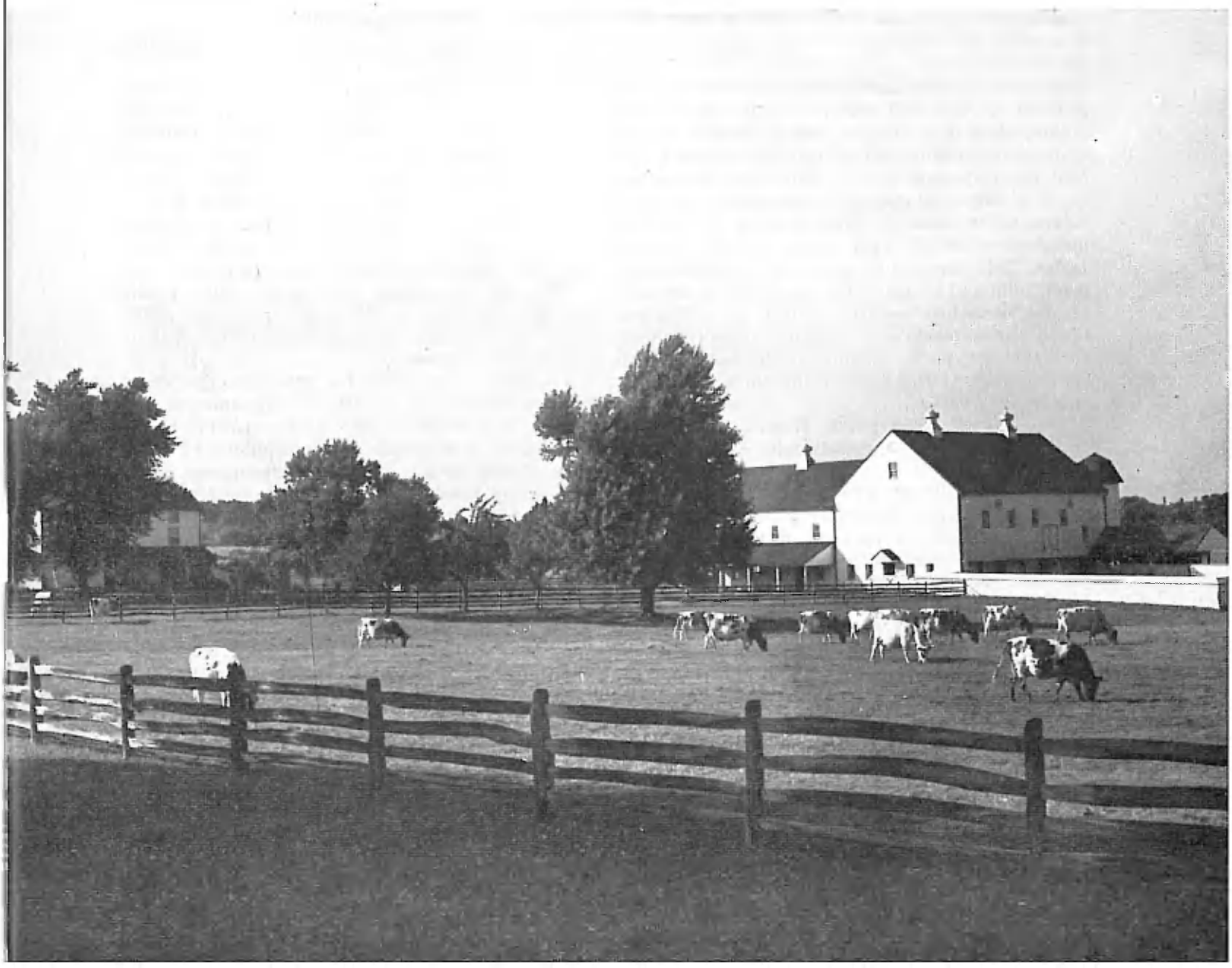
The effects of the computer . . . upon Mennonite identity

We have given ample attention to the effect of advancing technology upon conservative Mennonites and Amish. We have not done the same for Mennonites in general. What were the effects upon Mennonite communities of the coming of the telephone, the automobile, radio, and television? What are the effects of the computer and the whole phenomenon of technique (used in the sense of Jacques Ellul) upon Mennonite identity?

A second area is that of mental health. We have featured our mental health work, but we have not been able to find out what our mental health people are really saying about the Mennonite interpretation of the Christian gospel. Is it negative, as I am beginning to suspect more and more? What new interpretations of the Gospel can they share with us? In what ways should we modify the Anabaptist vision to be able to live today?

Walter Klaassen
Conrad Grebel College

Mennonite farm in Eastern Pennsylvania. Cover illustration of Volume 1, Number 1 of Mennonite Life, *January 1946.*



To test the values and authority of our capitalist society

The splendid thing about Anabaptist studies today is that they are much alive. Alive enough to inspire us with ideas and vision, and alive enough to be controversial. This however has been the case throughout the years of *ML*, so that 30 years later it is appropriate—even urgent—to ask: Where are we in Anabaptist studies?

The kernel of Anabaptism, Roland Bainton said in 1952, is an ethical urge. Both the investigation of the past and the Mennonite experience in the present appear to confirm this. The studies about peace and nonresistance are thus in character, and if one looks into the record of life and witness it is possible to discern in all modesty a calling or special task in this area. Consistency would seem to require a broadening of study and witness regarding our social and economic life. In the Atlantic Community especially, the church will be called upon more and more to test the values and authority of our capitalist society. One hopes at least that the investigation of these subjects and others will continue to give Anabaptism *contemporaneity* in the life of the on-going witness and not degenerate simply into an antiquarian interest.

As investigation and reflection continue, the primary sources will remain the basic point of reference. It is a healthy sign, therefore, to see that we are getting on with this task. From where I sit in Amsterdam it is possible to see before me two new major volumes of Swiss sources, the first volume of a series of Dutch sources, and an announcement of the 14th volume in the German series. This seems like a lot—and it represents much solid and reliable work especially on the part of non-Mennonite scholars—but it is a fraction of what remains undone. It seems imperative therefore that we push ahead with the task of both the recovery of the sources and their interpretation in our own age.

Irvin B. Horst
The University of Amsterdam

The voice of God above the din of the mass media

One of the most powerful forces affecting our Mennonite people at the present time is the mass media. These forces are pounding at the doors of our eyes, ears, and minds almost all of our waking hours. The messages that the mass media brings are of materialism, force, power, violence, nationalism, vulgarity and "my rights", without responsibility for the rights of others. There is little time to hear "the still small voice." The mass media are so loud and so convincing that many Americans are hardly aware of any difference between culture and Christ. Many are almost certain that being an American is the same as being a Christian. Mennonites hear these same voices, see these same sights, until they too have their sense of value of the Christian faith so blurred that they too may be accepting the values of the world.

As Christians, as Mennonites, we are called to be different from the "world." Mass media presses us into its mold. Jesus called His disciples, "to leave all and follow Him." Most of us seem to feel that we cannot "leave all." We argue, "who would feed the hungry?" The result is that we try "to take all and follow Christ." So we are trying to live in the world and yet not to be controlled by the world. Perhaps this was more or less possible when we lived in rather isolated geographical communities, but not now when we allow the mass media to move into the inner sanctum of our homes. In the present situation we are more apt to be affected by the ideas of right and wrong, or if there is even a right and wrong, of the mass media, than we are by The Word of God. Even our faith in God and Jesus as Lord and Savior may be so weakened that we are inclined to accept the watered down version of the nature of God as presented by the preaching of the mass media.

How will the Mennonites again hear the voice of God above the din of the mass media? For only as we hear more clearly Christ's Call will our spiritual communities be built to replace our geographical communities that have almost disappeared.

Howard Raid
Bluffton College

The sense of "community" is a crucial need

The task of focusing some of the issues facing the Mennonite church-ethnic group is very difficult. I shall simply point to a few issues I think are in need of attention.

The Mennonite church has probably experienced divisive forces from the time it first emerged, but I sense that there are more factors pulling at her today than ever before. The attractions of affluence, status, leisure, in short the bourgeois spirit, is exerting great pressures. The tremendous sociological shifts, from the traditional rural community to the urban and suburban structures, as well as the emergence of the technological ethos is pulling at Mennonites, for example in the occupational sphere.

The discovery or maintenance of the sense of "community" is a crucial need which will determine whether a Mennonite ethic is maintained, whether an ethos can be retained which will provide the spirit and the energy to do the creative things that have been attempted in the past. The

authoritarian structure of the religious institutions is no longer able to state the nature of the conditions and the response that is to be taken toward them.

I think the conditioning power of the occupational structures is overwhelming so that a person in the business context accepts the values of the ethos in which he works. Other examples can be cited. I do not know yet what the medium will be that can counteract these forces, but I would hope that *Mennonite Life* would find some role to play in this arena.

Cal Redekop
Goshen College

When we live in the spirit of our Lord . . .

When we live in the spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, we face the future. We look back, whether to 1874, the sixteenth or first centuries, merely to see where we have been and to get help in our present directions. When we live in the spirit of our Lord, our viewpoint must be future-oriented, international, and cosmic.

I see *Mennonite Life* as a forum where all Mennonites (including Africans and Japanese) can share their best thinking on contemporary issues and developments. I see it as a journal that encourages the arts and sciences. I see it as the one publication that welcomes a Mennonite viewpoint, no matter what the content, whether about sunflower seed, ceramics, eschatology, co-operatives, theories of translation, a dialogue with Buddhism, or the development of a new breed of dairy cow.

The future is exciting because Jesus Christ is already there beckoning to us. *Mennonite Life* pages are a place where we can share on the way to the future.

Elaine Sommers Rich
International Christian University—Tokyo

Clouds no larger than a man's hand . . .

In much of the sixteenth century, Mennonite churches were not geographically isolated communities. They were rather intense Christian fellowships of individuals and families who were scattered over local areas mid other citizens. In subsequent centuries the unpopularity of Mennonite beliefs and the resulting persecution drove Mennonites together and oftentimes into isolated regions where they formed close-knit communities.

In the United States and Canada we have come to associate Mennonite churches with Mennonite communities. In many instances they are synonymous. We may rightfully talk of Mennonites as congregational communities.

As a result of the tremendous changes in demography in the United States and Canada it seems to me we are witnessing a shift from the isolated and geographical rural Mennonite community to the older and in many ways more meaningful communities of the spirit. The "clouds no larger than a man's hand" in this instance that foretell what is happening is the emergence of dozens of the small intentional communities that are evolving right out of the established older congregations. These new communities are bona fide evidence of a search for a deeper social and spiritual relationship between believers than our established communities now manifest. The members of these groups are concerned first of all with sharing life and its joys and problems. They are fed up with the unsatisfied consumerism and the constant spending of money for that which is not "bread." By the year 2000 we may see more communities with a mix between Hutterites and General Conference Mennonites.

J. Winfield Fretz
Conrad Grebel College

Our Grandfathers Are Our Libraries, Museums and Colleges

A Mennonite Life Interview with Mpanya Mutombo

M.L. How did you become a Mennonite? How did you receive your name?

M.M. When people ask me how I became a Mennonite I tell them that I grew up as a Mennonite. My name, Mutombo-Mpanya, sounds more like a Luba name rather than a Mennonite name. Mennonites came from different cultural backgrounds. Swartzendruber was a German name before it became a Mennonite name. My name has become a subject of conversation with many people I meet. Some find it difficult to pronounce just because they are not used to it. Others find it too long. In fact, this is only one of nine names I have. In Luba culture we have as many as ten names. Names play the role of a natoinal passport or driver's license. Names tell who you are, who your parents are, from which country you come. They tell part of the history of your people, your clan. Names describe your ancestors and what they did. The name I have comes from my grandfather. I am expected to give it to my children as an homage to my ancestors. My name gives me my place in Luba society and history. It is my identity.

Some people call me Clement, a Christian name given me in 1952 when I was baptized. By national law Christian names are not used anymore in Zaire. But how did I become a Christian Mennonite? It all started when I went to school. In 1952 I was living near Tshikapa, a small mining city on the bank of the Kasai river. Only children of workers at Forminiere (a diamond company) were accepted in St. Andre, a Catholic primary school. My father, who was working for the mining company, had just died. With his death I had to leave school and stay at home. I then spent my time between drawing in the mud and accompanying my mother to the field. One morning a young man, Kongolo Jean, from Ndjoko Punda, formerly Charlesville, came looking for children to go to school. He came to start a Protestant school of first and second grades just a mile from my house. I went to Kongolo's school. It was a poor school compared to the Catholic school. It was made of brush and sticks. We sat on pieces of wood and we didn't have tables on which to write. Our blackboard was an old large sheet of metal. The roof was low and had holes in it. The teacher was not able to stand up while teaching.

The atmosphere of the school was good. There were a few students, all seven years of age. We attended class in the mornings from 8:00 to 11:00. The main activities were drawing, reading, writing and catechism. Catechism was very important. We had about 30 minutes of catechism every day. Only those who were good in catechism were allowed to continue in school. By the end of the school year we all were ready to be baptized. We were baptized in the Tshikapa River by Archie Graber, a Mennonite missionary.

Mpanya Mutombo attending the MCC African country directors' conference at Lusaka, Zambia, February 1974.

For me going to a Mennonite school, getting baptized and becoming a Christian was not a big problem. My family was open to the idea of western education. My grandfather on my mother's side was the chief of Tshikapa Bena Nshimba village. He was well known as chief Matapishi. He used to receive colonial Belgian administrators, mining company officials like Mr. Rend, Dr. Mareau, and others. Many missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, wanted him to be converted so that his whole village could become Christian. He never became Christian really, but he liked Mennonite missionaries

because of their simplicity. They were not as rich as the Catholics were; they ate African food, slept in African homes, spoke African languages and taught people manual work. They were known as missionaries of good heart.

M.L. Tell us about your grandfather.

M.M. In relating to all these foreigners my grandfather had a larger concept of the world than that of a normal chief. Besides telling us about the history of our Luba people, the genealogy of the clan, proverbs of wisdom, medicine, and traditional law, he shared with us what his white friends had told him. You know, our grandfathers are our libraries, museums, colleges and yes, our data banks. It was from him I heard about Adolf Hitler and World War II. He was an admirer of the Germans because of their efficiency. He especially liked their uniforms and their boots. He managed to have a pair. I saw the Bible for the first time at his place. He used to read it, but I'm not sure that he understood what he was reading.

M.L. And your parents attitude toward Christianity?

M.M. As far as my parents are concerned, they both recognized the value of western education in colonial society. But they didn't want to become Christian. My mother especially didn't want to become Christian, she became a Christian only two years before she died. The reason she resisted Christianity had to do with imperialistic and western aspects. Christian evangelism implied to her that nothing was good in Africa. We had a wrong religion, wrong education, wrong food, wrong administration. We were wrong people. We were forced out of what we were. She was too proud.

For my third, fourth and fifth grades I had to move to the Kalonda mission station. That was about four miles from my home. There we had about three and a half hours of class every morning and one and a half hours of manual work. We had to work in the school fields where we planted manioc, corn, peanuts and beans. We also worked for our teachers in their homes or in their fields, sometimes during class hours, other times after class hours.

During vacation we worked to buy books for classes. I worked with Archie Graber on the truck, loading and unloading. This truck work sometimes took all day and all night. Some of us were not paid but we liked riding on the truck and singing Mennonite hymns all night.

M.L. Describe the world you visualized beyond your village.

M.M. I was living in Tshikapa, a small mining town along the Kasai river. In Tshikapa we had Belgians who were working for the mining company, Portugese who were merchants. We had also American missionaries. Among the black people we had three different tribes. Of these tribes my tribe, the Luba tribe, was the only one that was not originally from that area.

Of the world beyond Tshikapa I had an idea of South Kasai and Shaba where my parents came from. I knew that the Portugese and Belgians and Americans came from different countries and spoke different languages. The only thing we knew was that they all were beyond the big sea, and that their lands were too cold and too crowded.

I a'so had an idea of countries like Germany, Ethiopia, Egypt and Israel because my mother's uncle had been a soldier in Eastern Africa. He used to talk about these countries. I felt that the center of the world where things were really happening was very far from my little Tshikapa. We enjoyed singing and the sound of the truck in the night under a tropical sky illuminated by the moon and thousands of stars. We also worked as gardeners and house boys for Allan Wiebe and Waldo Harder. We got about $1 a week. The first week we would get a Bible. I remember that when I took my Bible home my mother was impressed. The book was big-

Aunt of Mutombo from Tshikapa.

Neighbor of Mutombo in Kinshasa—member of the Luba tribe.

ger than any book I had had before. It was written in small characters on fine paper. It seemed so dense and contained so much that my mother asked me what was in that book. I told her that it was full of stories. I read for her that day the story of Joseph being sold into Egypt by his brothers.

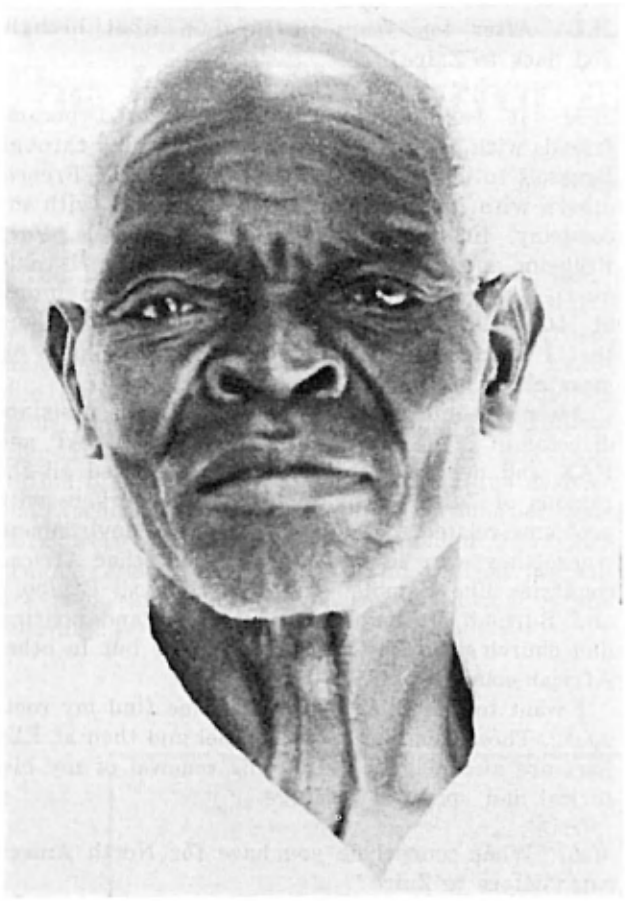
M.L. Where did you continue your studies?

M.M. I went to Nyanga in 1957 to the Preparatory School and the Ecole de Moniteur. Nyanga was the Zairian Mennonite Center for education. All the leaders we know now, Tshilembu, Kakesa, Kilabi, Ntumba Kala, Mpayi Shambuyi, Mayambi, Kabangi, I met in Nyanga. Missionaries like Frieda Guengerich, Peter Buller, George Fall, Lodema Short were my teachers. Life in Nyanga was hard. We had to look for our own water and wood, to cook our own food, sometimes make our own beds and build our own dorms. Many students were suffering from malnutrition and parasites. I remember that my mother didn't want me to go back to Nyanga again. She was afraid that I would die. Nyanga was about 70 miles from my home and we didn't have transportation. Once I travelled the distance on foot. Another time we took a small canoe on the river. That was very risky as the canoe was small with many holes in it. There were crocodiles and hypopotami in the Kasai river. In the evening when we couldn't see well where we were going we were scared of being put in the water by animals. With God's help we made it to Nyanga.

Besides the hard life, Nyanga had a good school. We had classes all morning. In the afternoon we went to work in the fields. In the evening we went to study. Those who had petrol studied in their rooms with small camp lanterns, because we didn't have electricity. Others went to study on the verandas of missionaries because they had generators. The majority of our teachers were North American with good knowledge of the French language. The school was inspected and subsidized by the Belgian administration.

Three years at the Tshikapa mission station, four years in Nyanga; altogether I spent seven years on Mennonite mission stations as a boy. It was during this time that I got a big part of my Mennonite background.

Mennonite secondary school at Nyanga.



Methodist pastor from Mulunguishi, Shabaland, and member of the Luba tribe.

M.L. Where were you when independence came to Zaire?

M.M. I left the Tshikapa and Nyanga area in 1960 because of the troubles that came with independence. For us Luba people, troubles started even earlier in 1958 during the Luba-Lulua war. I remember an awful scene in 1958. I was in Kananga visiting my brother. We were going to the market in the morning when we saw a dead woman with her stomach cut open and a child of two was put in the stomach. The war had started. It lasted about three years. The reason for the war was that the Lulua people didn't want to be dominated by Luba people when Belgians were leaving the country after independence. People left everything behind as they fled. Some left their young children because they couldn't carry them. Those who had the money could take a truck or fly. Others went on foot. One saw pregnant women and children sitting in the road too weary to move a step farther.

When I left Tshikapa for Mbuji Mayi I was hoping to get away from the war. We were not in Mbuji Mayi a month when another war started. This time it was central government troops against local government. Ba'uba people wanted to secede to have a state of their own. Many people were killed by soldiers, hunger, and floods. Most of them were refugees with no place to stay, no food. It was then that Archie Graber came with MCC resources to give food and help for the building of small houses. Last year I visited a family with seven children whose house was built in 1961 with the help of Mennonites. It was during these Luba wars that I was caught twice to be executed. But with God's help it didn't happen.

The first time it was in Tshikapa. I wanted to take an airplane to go to Mbuji Mayi, but the airport was in the Lulua area of the town. I tried going through, hoping that nobody would recognize me. Somebody recognized me and I was arrested and locked in a garage with other people. Something happened that attracted the attention of the guards. Only one had a gun and the door was not locked. I tried my chance and ran away. As I was running I expected shooting any time but it didn't happen.

The second time I was arrested was in Mbuji Mayi. I was at the airport trying to get a package that my cousin had ordered from South Africa. At that time U.N. Ghanian soldiers were controling the airport. I had on me a paper in English taken from Archie Graber's house. The Ghanian soldier who spoke English wanted to read the paper so I gave it to him. When local secret police saw that they thought that I was a spy sending information to other troops, I was judged as betraying the country and was to be executed. Fortunately for me it was Saturday morning. I had to wait until Monday morning and by that time my brother who was a public official, a minister of information, found out that I had been arrested and arranged to have me freed.

M.L. How did you find your way from these scenes of conflict to Belgium?

M.M. In 1961, because of the lack of schools in the Mbuji Mayi area and because there were so many students, and also because of our political enemies, my brother and I went to the national capital, Kinshasa. He worked for the Cabinet of National Education and I went to a Catholic school, St. George College. There were many of us from Mbuji Mayi in that school. It was a good school. After one year I received a scholarship to go to Belgium where I spent a total of ten years studying

education in the Nivelles Teacher Training school, business in the School of Commerce of the Free University of Brussels. During the time spent in Kinshasa and in Belgium I made friends from other Mennonite backgrounds. Some of those friends were high officials in the Zaire government, like Mbumba Mulapwe, who was vice president of IGP, one of the highest financial institutions in Zaire. Another friend of those days, Kabeya Mutetela, is a pilot of 747 jets. Most of my classmates have become members of the Zaire middle class—some government officials, some diplomats, some employees of multi-national corporations.

While I was in Brussels I was not really isolated from a Mennonite milieu. I came to know David Shank in Riksensart. I worked with Robert Otto in his church in Brussels. I spent some time with pastor Lambote in Namur at the Evangelical Center. I made a trip to eastern France where I saw French Mennonites.

M.L. After ten years in Belgium what brought you back to Zaire?

M.M. It was during these years that I became friends with MCC workers who were coming through Brussels to go to Zaire. I helped some with French, others with ideas about Zaire, others just with my company. In 1972 while I was in Brussels, Vern Preheim and Ray Brubaker arranged that I could go to Akron, Pennsylvania, and work as an intern at MCC headquarters for six months. It was there that I learned English and got to know a little bit more about MCC and Mennonite work.

After my internship I went to Zaire as assistant director of MCC in Zaire. I worked with TAP and PAX and during these two years I visited all the regions of Zaire trying to help MCC workers with problems related to their work and the environment where they were living. I also visited other African countries like Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Burundi. It helped me to understand political and church problems not only in Zaire but in other African countries.

I want to add this, MCC helped me find my roots again. These months now at Bethel and then at Elkhart are also helping me in this renewal of my historical and spiritual heritage.

M.L. What counsel do you have for North American visitors to Zaire?

M.M. Usually North Americans have good will and want to know about the culture and about what is right and what is wrong. Africans have a different concept of time. In Zaire one must learn to accept it when somebody is 45 minutes late. North Americans take themselves seriously, and have some kind of superiority complex in foreign countries. The most important tip that I would give to somebody coming to visit my home village would be to have humor and humility. If things don't make sense that means either they are funny or you don't understand, so laugh at yourself or be humble. Another tip would be reflection and questioning. Many people going abroad take pictures of things, the landscapes, villages, animals, but they don't try to relate to people, or they don't ask themselves questions about things they see. There is an African saying that when you go to see another tribe be stupid and ask them how they do things. Another saying is that when you're facing a hungry lion and you're pretty sure that you have had it, please take a moment for reflection.

The Martyr's Mirror and Anabaptist Women

by Wayne Plenert

The *Martyr's Mirror* is a lengthy but fascinating book about the first one hundred and thirty or so years of the Anabaptist movement. It traces the movement by relating the information available about the martyrs; hence the title. Stories about martyrs were being published in Holland from 1562 onwards, until in 1617 an 863 page edition of the stories was written by Hans de Ries and Jacques Outerman. Several editions of this work were published, until Thielman Janz van Braght researched, reviewed, and revised the entire book, and published a Dutch edition of the present day text in 1660.

Van Braght repeated several martyrs, and omitted others but the stories can still give some sort of statistical tally. He names about 270 female martyrs out of 930, or 30 per cent. The preponderance of males could be due to the attitude of the inquisitors and executioners, and because males in many areas outnumbered females in the movement.[1]

In the executions themselves, most often the men were burned or decapitated, and their wives or other convicted women were drowned a few days later. Sometimes leaders were executed first and others followed. The form of execution was

Anneken Jans (Briel) recognized as an Anabaptist by singing a hymn, she was arrested at Rotterdam in 1538. On the way to the place of execution, she asked that someone accept her fifteen-month-old son, Isaiah, whom she carried in her arm. A baker volunteered and raised the child.

Maria of Montjoie was drowned in 1552 after an imprisonment lasting nearly two years.

not always consistent, for many men suffered the ignominy of being tied to a millstone or being thrust into a sack, and getting tossed into a lake while the women also might be killed in a different fashion. In fact, the first Anabaptist martyr was Felix Manz who was drowned,[2] and the first female was Weynken, who was burned.[3] The last martyr of the sixteenth century was Anneken van den Hove, who was buried alive. The account includes an illustration showing a horde of villainous-looking men gathered around a poor, innocent but cheerful head sticking out of the ground.[4]

There are five different kinds of information that might be given about a martyr. (1) There are the letters to the outside. (2) There are letters describing debates with accusers. (3) There are courtroom and other records, given in the third person. (4) There are the execution scenes, also given in the third person, that might include the victim's "last words." (5) There are the epitaphs, with a few words by the editor.[5] Any one of the five could give material about a girl or woman, but the letters written either to, about, or by a female provided more material than the other writings.

Orly Schwartzenstuber, in his 'The Theology of the *Martyr's Mirror*," describes the difficulty of evaluating the book. Since there are so often exceptions to the themes, and since different accounts are of different value, and have to be evaluated as to their merit, examples given have to be seen as illustrations and not as proofs. The way that he shows this is by describing the difference between a "confession" and a "disputation." Someone "young in faith" restricts himself to a simple statement of belief, while the more mature believer would argue more aggressively with his accuser.[6] This distinction was true of both sexes. The two young girls of Bamberg who were captured were glorified by the writer although they only held to their faith, and did not debate their points.[7] The teacher Elizabeth was apprehended, but she debated her points very well. She was put under the screws, but still refused to recant, so like the two girls, was also drowned.[8] The *Martyr's Mirror* treats both stories in the same fashion, although the testimony of Elizabeth offers much more to current study.

The account of Elizabeth offers an example of how difficult it can be to make sexual distinctions from the writing style. When her captors first found her, they said, "We have got the right man, we have got the teacheress."[9] "Man" in this case is an obvious misnomer. In another instance, Maeyken de Korte refers to herself in the masculine.[10] The translator explains the reason, but when the unusual word usage is used apart from the normal "his" and "brethren" to refer to a general male-female audience, the task of evaluating biases becomes even more intense and difficult.

In the letters found in the *Martyr's Mirror*, the varying roles of men and women were often displayed. A husband might write of his wife's "feeble ability;" or he might advise her not to remarry after his death; or might wish that he had been a better husband. A wife could tell of her great love for her husband, how her prison experience was difficult but parting with him was the hardest; or a mother might write to her son that he learn wisdom, so as to set his sisters a good example.

The editorial comments also provided much information on the roles of the people. Towards the end of the book, the stories were put together by van Braght himself. In one episode, he revealed his own view. His story was the drowning of a trio of sisters in 1643, and he introduced it as follows:

> The army of God which at this time prepared itself for the conflict and the sufferings of Jesus Christ, consisted not only of men, who are sometimes judged to be the strongest, but also in women, for God's power is made strong in weakness, which appeared in the case of three pious heroines of God . . . .[11]

It is interesting to note God's power is necessary to make women strong. But it is also well worth noting that women, through this God-implanted power, are an important part of God's army. Although women appear to be weaker, this is a judgment of man that ignores God's power.

This theme of weakness appeared throughout the book. Both men and women talked about their weakness of the spirit, which they consistently overcame, and which resulted in their successful deaths. Weakness of the flesh, however, was a female trait. Janneken Walraven, for example, was said to be "one of the weaker vessels," but "not weak in faith, but steadfast and valiant."[12] The most interesting of the stories of the weakness of women is one that combined the weakness of the flesh with the weakness of the spirit, and the condescension of a seemingly jealous husband. Henrich Verstralen wrote his "dearest wife," his "flesh," his "bone," whom he soon would leave a widow, to advise her not to remarry, but to live a quiet widow's life, for "how often has this happened, that widows whose husbands went before so valiantly, and so courageously gave their lives for the truth, by marrying again, have subjected themselves to many sorrows, some of them falling into perdition . . . ."[13] If he was not jealous, he certainly had little faith in a women's ability to pick a man.

Along with the theme of weakness went humility. Again this was true of some of the men and women, but more often of women. Several letters ended in terms like "your weak sister in the Lord." One woman wrote, "according to the spirit I trust I am doing the best, but my best is nothing special."[14]

The most common description of women's deaths (and often of men's as well) included the adjective "steadfast."[15] The *Martyr's Mirror* gave almost no stories about people who recanted. All were heroines or saints.

There were a number of themes in the deaths that were completely unique to women. Several times, women were captured while pregnant. The common practice was to let the mother have her baby, place the infant in an appropriate institution, and kill the mother. This happened to Lijsken Dirks, Janneken Munstorp, Richst Heynes and a few others who were not named. Lijsken Dirks first was tortured for the names of her midwives, and later, after the delivery, was thrown in the Scheldt and drowned at 4 a.m., so was murdered secretly.[16] Janneken managed to get her daughter to friends before the priests could take her, and wrote her a moving letter.[17] The story of Richst Heynes was written by some person who only contributed a few times, but whose work was identifiable by the miraculous influence of God that pervaded his accounts. In this case, Richst was tortured, and her child was born bearing the torture marks.[18]

Sometimes the pregnant woman managed to escape. Andries Langedul was arrested just as his wife was giving birth. Guards were posted to ensure her capture. But her nurse got the guards drunk, and then had her carried through a window on a make-shift plank bridge to the neighboring house.[19] There was also an instance where a non-Anabaptist preacher did not capture a girl, but pushed her so hard that she miscarried.[20]

Women were not only tortured physically, they were also shamed. In one case, Anneken was forced to stand at her execution in a bare chemise.[21] Elizabeth was made the subject of a tragic joke. The executioner had compelled her to wear a shift and linen trousers. Then, while she was sitting,

he untied her gown. When she stood up, the gown fell off. She felt greatly ashamed, so went straight to her pyre and said very little by way of testimony.[22] There was a young sister who had her upper body completely bared. "Never was such shame afflicted on me," she exclaimed.[23] Three women were drowned and had their naked bodies thrown into the Scheldt, "but they shall be clothed," added the commentator, ". . . and live in eternal unperishable joy."[24] And in a prison in Flanders two females were tortured on the rack. The one, Francijntgen, an old woman, protested being tortured naked, and got to wear her shift. Maeyken was given no choice. When she was asked, if she were ashamed to lie there in the nude, she replied fittingly: "I did not place myself here naked; but you, who inflict this misery and disgrace upon me who am innocent, shall hereafter have to suffer eternal shame and pain for it.[25]

The *Martyr's Mirror* contains many letters by people about to die. The reactions of these people are somewhat diverse, but have the same theme running throughout. The problem of these letters is how to respond to the relatives and friends in the world, when death is known to be imminent. The example of Henrich Verstralen, which was given earlier, was the hope that his wife not remarry, but live a quiet widow's life, taking care of the house, the children, and her faith. He also expressed a very deep love for his wife. Wouten Denijs eulogized, "My beloved wife and children, whom I love next to God . . . ."[26] Jan van Haesbroeck's words were, "O my beloved love, be pleased to know, that you were a medicine to my heart the last time I saw you . . . ."[27] For many of the Anabaptist martyrs, the memory of their wives and family was a sustaining force in their imprisonment and torture.

For others, though, it was a memory that had to be forcefully forgotten at times. In order to die for one's faith, one must be able to think that the cause is worth more than the sacrifice. Hence the family that is left behind must be demeaned in order to exalt Jesus Christ and the Church. Claes de Pratt wrote a confession which described his questioning. When the jailor asked him to think of his wife and children, he replied, "I think of them enough, but Christ has said, 'Whoever will not forsake father and mother, sister and brother, wife, child, yea, his whole life, for my name's sake, is not worthy of me.' "[28] In a letter to his wife and brethren, Thomas van Imbroeck said, "Now I know that wife and children are visible [as opposed to eternal] and

Ursula van Essen of Maastricht tortured and burned at the stake on January 9, 1570.

though they be dear to me, yet I will count them but dung . . . ."[29]

There are not as many letters of wives to husbands. More often, they write to their children. But the few that there are, provide some insight to this problem. Lijsken Dirks, who was mentioned earlier as being tortured while pregnant, exchanged a series of letters with her husband who was also imprisoned. The letters show very well the support that a loving couple can give to each other, especially under such trying circumstances.[30] Adrianken Jans was captured, and eventually gagged and strangled to death. While in prison, she wrote a farewell letter to her husband. In order to console him, she reminded him that their love was eternal. He wrote back an encouraging letter, urging her to "Keep her soul in patience," and closing with "By me, your dear husband and weak brother in the Lord, who am not worthy of the name; but by the grace of God we can do all things."[31] Both letters were particularly moving. The way the couple resolved their problem showed an amazing combination of faith and love, both in each other and God.

This last example illustrated further the problem of what to say to those left behind. Janneken, who had to die shortly after giving birth, tried to explain to her daughter why she and her husband had had to die, how long they had lived together (six months), and the fact that they were not criminals but Christians. She gave her daughter some instructions on how to live—it is very easy to see just how much she wanted to raise her daughter—but wrote more advice on salvation and truth.[32]

Soetgen van den Houte also wrote to her children. Her letter was very moving, for it appears that her children had been transplanted into a non-believer's home. She asked them to take God for a Father, so that they would not feel like orphans. She wrote in tears, admonishing in love." Her main concern was also her children's salvation, and she was apprehensive that this was lost, and so wrote in a very moving and compassionate style.[33]

This was the reason that *Martyr's Mirror* was written—to show the faith of the martyrs. Although the women do not contribute as much, both in terms of total personnel and in contributions per martyr, and although several times they are urged to remember their role in life below the men,[34] still, their stands for their faith, and the faith that they display, cannot be seen to be any lower than the faith of men. When they debate, for example, they show the same fervor and commitment as the men, and when they are killed, they have the same decisive belief that what they do is right, and is the will of God for them.

In these debates, the women were up against the same opposition as the men. They were able to match the men in terms of theological positions understood, and Scripture verses quoted. There were a few women whose higher rank was mentioned, and so had attained a position where their abilities could be more regularly utilized. Elizabeth was a teacher.[35] Digna Pieters was said to have confessed to holding conventicles.[36] A document was signed by the minister Ruth Kunstel and the elder, Ruth Hagen.[37] But the role of women was not exalted because of these exceptions, or even because some of the women could give a sharp answer to an inquisitor. The woman's role, just as the role of the average man in the *Martyr's Mirror*, was a significant one because to themselves and their brothers and sisters, they meant something. This showed in their stubbornness in not relenting to the physical and verbal torture. They knew their adversaries were clever and deceitful, so if they did not have an answer, they rejected the question as a lie or clever play with words, and merely repeated what they had already said, or even stopped talking.

This conviction of being of special worth was also apparent in their family lives. A couple that was married in the Lord was married both in the flesh and the spirit. Although the wives were "wives" in the literal sense of the word, they were also "sisters" in the spiritual sense. They assumed a responsibility for their partner's salvation that was nigh to being as great as their own. Children too, were to be considered special. Since they were not yet baptized, the parents had a much greater responsibility to raise them "in fear of the Lord" than in the other churches, for their salvation was not yet assured.

The most important symbol for the woman was "Bride." They had to live as though they were engaged to Jesus Christ, that someday they would marry the Bridegroom.[38] This was a position that was theirs alone. It could give worth and meaning to all that they did, and make the hardship and sacrifice only a temporary inconvenience. And if they accepted this role, it entailed a special responsibility, and a superior honor and privilege indeed!

[1] An example of such a trend is given in Claus-Peter Clasen, "Sociology of Swabian Anabaptism," *Church History* XXXII (June 1963): 177.

[2] p. 415. (All page numbers in footnotes refer to the 1950 edition of *Martyr's Mirror*, Scottdale: Mennonite Publishing House, unless otherwise indicated.)

[3] p. 422-424.

[4] p. 1093-4.

[5] This list was formulated by Orly Schwartzenstuber, "The Piety and Theology of The Anabaptist Martyrs in Van Braght's *Martyr's Mirror*, I," *MQR* XXVIII (January 1954): 11.

[6] pp. 8-9.

[7] p. 500.

[8] pp. 481-3.

[9] p. 481.

[10] p. 623.

[11] p. 1120.
[12] p. 563. For "weakness" see also pages 563, 579, 679, 681, 880.
[13] p. 880.
[14] p. 983.
[15] for example pages 500, 503, 504, 563, 666, 980, and the list could go on and on.
[16] p. 504.
[17] pp. 983-987.
[18] p. 481. Another short account of the deaths of two pregnant women can be found on pp. 622-623.
[19] p. 633. Two other stories on p. 1121.
[20] pp. 1114-1115.
[21] p. 495.
[22] p. 502.
[23] p. 890.
[24] pp. 569-570.
[25] p. 553.
[26] p. 760.
[27] p. 770.
[28] p. 555.
[29] p. 579. Other people's solutions to this problem can also be found: pages 586, 706, 798, 910, 933, 951, 955.
[30] pp. 511-519.
[31] pp. 926-929.
[32] pp. 984-987.
[33] pp. 646-650.
[34] for example pp. 689-698.
[35] p. 481.
[36] p. 551.
[37] p. 1122.
[38] See for example, *Ibid.*, p. 648, 525, 549, 563, 569 966, 968, 977, 991, 1094. The theme of Bride is a more specific one than that of eternal life with Christ, found *ibid.*, p. 820, 870, 926-927, 981.

Gerrit Hasenpoot, a tailor, was burned at the stake in Nijmegen in 1557. Here he is visited by his wife and child who bids him farewell.

Mennonite Social Consciousness 1899 - 1905

By Steven K. Friesen

The beginning of *The Review* in 1899 by H. P. Krehbiel, who had studied divinity at Oberlin College, was an important event in the rise of social consciousness among the Mennonites. Under the editorship of Krehbiel, a reform-minded progressive, *The Review* became a forum for socially concerned Mennonites. *The Mennonite*, official paper of the General Conference Mennonite Church, also served as a forum for the rising consciousness among the General Conference members as did the *Herald of Truth* for the Mennonite Church. From 1899 to 1905 these three Mennonite papers indicate the form that the rise of social-political awareness took among these two Mennonite groups, the largest bodies of Mennonites in the United States. They also show some differences between the two groups.

International Consciousness

The Mennonite periodicals during the 1900's showed evidence of a developing international consciousness. International conflicts and relations, world peace, and the church's role in bringing about peace and arbitration were recurring themes in articles and editorials.

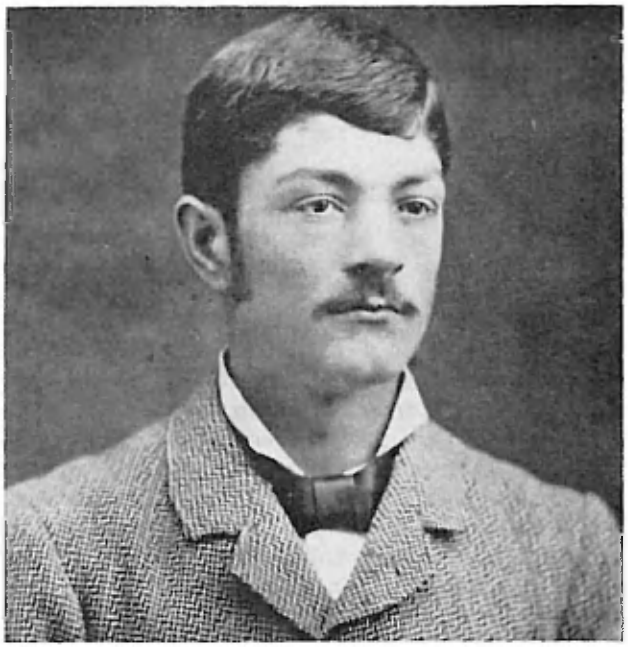
The United States had just acquired the Philippines in 1899 and was encountering opposition on the part of the Filipinos. A bloody struggle went on between Americans soldiers and nationalist elements in the country until 1902. The Mennonites were concerned with the developments on the islands. *Herald of Truth* had several articles decrying the oppression and corruption on the islands. The war, according to several writers in that paper, had brought to the Philippines anti-Christian elements such as saloons and corrupt men. A. K. Kurtz contended in 1900 that the Philippines were "cursed with the American saloon" and that the missionaries being sent by various churches would be hampered by the evil that preceded them. He felt that instead of sending missionaries after such a thing has happened, Christians should start living what they profess and evil would not occur at all.[1] An editorial in *Herald of Truth* in 1902 expressed a similar feeling in lamenting the manner in which cruelties of war in the Philipines had stood in the way of Christianizing "our little brown Filipino brothers."[2]

The Boer War in South Africa was also going on at this same time. Mennonite periodicals took their traditional stand as with all wars. They condemned the conflict and hoped that it would end soon. *The Review* strongly condemned England and blamed the war on "English greed and pride."[3] *The Review* carried the most coverage of the war of the three Mennonite periodicals. Many of the items were not only condemnatory of England but supportive of the Dutch landowners in their struggle to remain independent. In the April, 1900 issue, H. P. Krehbiel wrote, ". . . but our sympathies are with the Boers, for they are fighting for their independence. . . ."[4] *Herald of Truth* also reprimanded England, saying she should have sent Bibles instead of war implements.[5] However, *Herald of Truth* and *The Mennonite* had much milder views of the war than did *The Review*.

By 1900 a conflict was beginning to brew in China between Japan and Russia. The Mennonite periodicals carried much coverage of this conflict. In 1903, *Herald of Truth* referred to the selfish motives in the conflict saying men think more of national honor and glory than of enlightened reason.[6] During the Russo-Japanese War it took a stand criticizing both Russia and Japan. But in 1905, in an article announcing the end of the conflict, editor Funk made the point that heathen Japan had behaved much better than so-called Christian Russia in negotiations.[7] Earlier than 1905, *The Review* had already declared that Russia "clearly is in the wrong."[8] *The Mennonite* also reported the Russo-Japanese War extensively in a weekly section called "News of the Week." After the conflict was concluded *The Mennonite* published a letter that was sent by Mennonites to President Roosevelt commending him for his arbitration in the Russo-Japanese War.[9]

The Mennonite periodicals began directing their attention to conferences and assemblies for world peace during the early 1900's. During the International Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899, all of the Mennonite publications had some coverage of the proceedings. *The Review* carried by far the most information about the Hague conference. News of other meetings for international peace were published in an editorial framework of strong commendation.

Rev. A. S. Shelly, Bally, Pennsylvania



H. P. Krehbiel c. 1890

The Mennonites began to become involved in these efforts for establishing world peace. In 1905, S. K. Mosiman attended and reported on the Universal Peace Conference in Lucerne, Switzerland as a representative of the General Conference. In his report he said that if Mennonites all over the world would become active much could be done to bring world peace.[10] Earlier, in 1904, J. L. Byer had posed the question, "While prominent people of differing nations are banding together, endeavoring to bring about this desired end, largely from humanitarian and economic reasons, is it not time that we as a body with our professed conviction should be active in this work?"[11] Indeed, at this time Mennonites were becoming more involved in bringing about world peace. In 1903, *The Mennonite* published the news that the Universal Peace Union Conference was being held at the Germantown Mennonite Church. Those addressing the conference included Clara Barton and N. B. Grubb, a prominent Mennonite minister.[12] During this period the Intercollegiate Peace Conference also came into being among Mennonite colleges.

All three periodicals, *The Review*, the *Herald of Truth*, and *The Mennonite*, increased their coverage of international events. In January, 1902, *The Mennonite* became a weekly newsmagazine and began publishing a section, "News of the Week." This had news of such things as the Panama Canal and atrocities by the Belgians in Belgian Congo as well as news of domestic import. *The Review* also had a section that dealt with international and domestic news. *Herald of Truth* did not establish any specific section for dealing with news but often carried news of international significance.

Domestic Consciousness

The early 1900's marked a domestic awakening for the Mennonites. When Americans in the Progressive Era turned their attention to social and political reform, the Mennonites reflected the prevailing national spirit. Their Anabaptist belief patterns spoke precisely to bringing reform into the world. They were becoming aware of a crucial step which needed to be made in America. The editor of *Herald of Truth* wrote in 1903:

> That step means that this country must stand among the nations as an asylum for the oppressed and distressed of every land, and as a land where oppression and injustice are not countenanced, and where bigotry and ignorance must make way for toleration and enlightenment. But with trusts on one hand and unions on the other, and with political corruption all around us, individual liberty is at present a sadly diminishing quality.[13]

Domestic consciousness meant that the Mennonites took such belief as their traditional concern about poverty and oppression and began to look for the causes in environments and institutions. While sin certainly was seen as playing a part in poverty, sometimes the poor had no control over their situation. Sin occurred in the institutions and in the environment of which the poor were forced to be a part. The alcoholic was led into sin by greater sinners, the producers of liquor.

H. O. Kruse, a Bethel College faculty member,

made it perfectly clear when he wrote, "It is not an exaggeration to state that social conditions are largely, if not entirely what man has made them. It is equally true that the individual man is largely what surrounding social conditions have forced him to become." Kruse went on, "Organized effort toward the attainment of proper social conditions, is, therefore, not only a privilege but an obligation."[14]

The Review and *The Mennonite* consistently placed domestic news of social import before their readers, while the publication of domestic news of social concern by *Herald of Truth* was more sporadic. In "News of the Week" *The Mennonite* carried news items about the opening of Congress, the appointment of a new Secretary of Navy, and the victory of a college president over a Tammany man in a race for mayor of New York.[15] Headlines in another issue ran: "Rights of the Negro"; "Chicago Strike to End in Peace"; and "Miners Will Not Go On Strike".[16] *The Review* covered news of social reforms and their actions. *Herald of Truth* tended to use its news items to press religious and biblical points, such as when it sketched an analogy between labor unions and the union of the Lord which calls out strikes against the employer Satan.[17]

The Review contained several articles on the problems of negroes in a white society. These decried the oppression that the negro was forced to undergo, but optimistically assumed that the negroes were managing to overcome these problems and were beginning to be accepted by white society. One article contended that the negro was furnishing the solution to the race problem and showed how the negro was demonstrating himself a hardworking, intelligent, equal to the white. "Let the negro show fitness, ability, power, and he will soon cease to be ostracized and oppressed."[18] Another article gave an account of race riots led by whites against blacks and severely reprimanded Christian people for being involved in such things.[19]

Herald of Truth took the opportunity the race riots and other crimes presented to press a religious solution to the crises of the times:

> Judging from the lynchings and burnings of negroes, the daily records of other crimes, mob violence, strikes, riots, race feuds, etc., etc., it is evident that this country is yet far from civilized. At least the civilization is rather strongly spiced with anarchy. The overabundance of this element in our boasted civilization, will, let us hope, pave the way for the introduction of better means than the present lax legislation for the improvement of social conditions.[20]

The Mennonite dealt with another solution to crime and anarchy when it raised the doubt whether fear of death had any effect in preventing crime: "Would it not be more humane and serve the ends of justice as well as of mercy better if the convict under converting and reforming influence be kept in restraint while he is made not only to earn his own living but to contribute to the necessities and comforts of human kind?"[21] Such opinions dealing with the solutions to social problems could be found in all three periodicals throughout the early progressive period.

During the years from 1899 to 1905, *The Review*, *The Mennonite*, and *Herald of Truth* brought before their readers information and opinions about domestic issues ranging from women's suffrage to "yellow journalism" to patriotism. The opinions and articles about these issues ranged from biblical to secular in their orientation.

Temperance

In 1881, the *Herald of Truth* began publishing appeals for temperance. Many of the Mennonites apparently began to give up drinking and smoking. By 1899, *The Review* and *The Mennonite*, as well as *Herald of Truth*, were strongly temperance oriented. In 1902, the "Proceedings of the 16th Session of the General Conference of Mennonites of North America" contained a resolution that congregations that tolerate drinking among members cannot be part of the conference: "Recognizing in the so-called saloons and all kinds of drink houses one of the greatest and most common evils in human society, these should in no wise be countenanced by our congregations and members of our conference."[22]

The fact that such resolutions were being passed indicated that a certain number of the Mennonites still drank and smoked at least in moderation. O. C. Funk attempted to define temperance in an article in 1900:

> Drinkers insist that true temperance is moderation, but moderation is an indefinite term. That which may be moderation for one will be excess for another. Without doubt the best temperance is purity, the purity that comes from a proper use of right things, and entire abstinence from evil things.[23]

The article went on to say if the church stood as a unit against alcohol and in favor of temperance much of the sadness in the world would be ended. In *Herald of Truth*, P. S. Hartman spoke against tobacco as a stepping stone to crime and related the news that many of the brethren in the church were giving up the habit.[24]

All the periodicals kept up with the temperance movement in the United States to varying degrees. *Herald of Truth*, although giving the subject pretty substantial coverage, was not so interested in the nationwide temperance movements as were the other papers. While many articles occurred in the *Herald of Truth* condemning liquor as the cause of poverty and degradation most arguments for temperance were biblically oriented and stressed conversion and awareness more than action for temperance. *The*

Mennonite and *The Review* were more action oriented. *The Review* carried an article about the Anti-Saloon League in nearly every issue.

Carrie Nation as a temperance reformer received some attention in *The Review* and *The Mennonite*. In 1901 H. G. Allebach, then associate editor of *The Mennonite* criticized Mrs. Nation for hurting the temperance movement. He said, "We shudder at the barefaced claim that God has commissioned a woman to wreck every saloon in a large town." He was of the opinion that she should stay at home and teach her children temperance.[25] Later in 1901 he had another item in *The Mennonite* criticizing Carrie Nation's methods: "You cannot expect men to reform until they are regenerated. Temperance is one of the fruits of the Spirit. If you want to reform your neighbor or your state don't train the batteries of the law upon your subject but fire the 'gospel gun'."[26] Later in the year another article appeared in which the writer expressed the wish that Carrie Nation would stop her violence because she had a much better witness through "moral suasion."[27] By 1902, *The Mennonite* appeared to be wavering between condemnation and commendation of Carrie Nation. In 1901 a news item in *The Review* was marginally supportive of Mrs. Nation. By 1903, *The Review* was encouraging and praising Mrs. Nation while condoning her saloon busting because of her high motives.[28]

The action-oriented view of temperance that many Mennonites appeared to have soon led to controversy about the role of the nonresistant Christian in politics when attempting to inject a Christian element. It seemed largely the Mennonites' zeal for temperance that about brought discussions concerning government participation.

Government Participation

During the Civil War, some American Mennonites had participated in voting. In Lancaster County, the Mennonites voted solidly for Thaddeus Stevens who had advocated policies to the advantage of Mennonites in regard to draft legislation. After the Civil War, however, the Mennonites began again to question all government participation. In 1864 the Indiana Conference stated:

> . . . since as a non-resistant people cannot . . . hold office . . . therefore we acknowledge that this is inconsistent for us to vote for worldly office inasmuch as in so doing we would make ourselves liable also even by force to defend and sustain those whom we elect.[29]

From the Civil War numerous American Mennonite conferences advised against voting and other government participation. In 1865, J. F. Funk wrote in the *Herald of Truth*, ". . . I consider it, at least, safe to abstain from it."[30] The Russian Mennonites came to the United States with a more positive orientation toward government. Consequently, in the 1880's General Conference Mennonites began voting and participating in lower offices where force was not used.

Carrie Nation

By the 1900's the Mennonite Church still held firmly to its policy of nonparticipation but the *Herald of Truth* occasionally demonstrated an openness to voting. It also carried some articles leaning toward prohibition. The General Conference Church had come into the 20th century with a much more positive attitude toward voting. In 1880 Valentine Krehbiel had been appointed by Kansas Conference Mennonites to present an essay on the subject. He contended the vote was a way in which the Mennonites could inject peace principles into the world. The question of whether to vote or abstain from voting was left up to each individual.[31] This policy of individual choice was retained when the General Conference and *The Mennonite* moved into the 1900's.

Of the three Mennonite publications, *The Review* contained the most coverage of the question of government participation. The attention given the issue in *The Review* served as a spark to the discussion that followed throughout the early 1900's in all three periodicals.

Bryan and McKinley were the presidential candidates in 1900, the first election year that *The Review* was in publication. H. P. Krehbiel said in an editorial in March that bribery and corruption were increasing in politics. He wrote, ". . . it is time that Christian citizens see to it that men of Christian virtues are elected into office."[32] Later, in July, he again wrote that Christian citizens should obey their consciences in the election and vote for the candidates rather than for party. By not voting, he said, the Christian weakens the side that is morally right. Much of the corruption in government can be blamed on the nonvoters.[33]

In October, J. J. Funk, who had been the first mayor of Hillsboro, wrote to support Bryan and criticized McKinley's war-like policies. To this, H. P. Krehbiel replied that McKinley was more peace-loving than Bryan by virtue of Bryan's participation in the Spanish-American War.[34] The November issue was devoted almost wholly to the upcoming election. One man cited a quotation by Roosevelt condemning nonresistance and questioned how anyone could vote for McKinley without endorsing his running mate. He felt it would be better not to vote than to vote for McKinley.[35] Another writer challenged Christians to find a place in the Bible that forbade voting and saw no harm in trying to get the best man in office.[36] J. Eicher replied to the writers advocating a vote by saying that the Democratic party has been "wrong on all issues of righteousness, equality, and civil liberty for the last fifty years." He advocated a vote for McKinley and went on to say, "Imperialism is a sham issue invented to catch votes and will not be heard of after the election."[37] Another response advocated voting for John Wooley, the Prohibition candidate, because both the Republican and Democratic parties were corrupt.[38] Krehbiel said, in evaluating the issue, ". . . we think, these papers, coming from different writers living in widely separated sections of the country, reflect the general political feeling and thought among Mennonites."[39]

In 1902 an issue appeared in January containing a symposium of opinions about government participation. Five of the articles advocated government participation for "righteous" ends while the sixth article appeared to be straddling the fence between advocating and condemning government participation. N. C. Hirschy summed up the various positions when he stated: "The business of Christian people is to make the government what it ought to be."[40]

While *The Review* took a position that leaned towards advocacy of participation in government, *The Mennonite* approached the issue more with the intent of provoking thought and discussion while leaving the decision to participate up to each individual reader. *The Mennonite* had virtually no mention about the election in 1900. But after the 1902 symposium in *The Review*, Editor Allebach of *The Mennonite* concluded that involvement in politics was a matter of conscience for each person to decide.[41] In an article on the responsibilities of Christian men in the country, William Moyer stated: "It is a man's sacred duty to vote for the best welfare of his people and his country in the light and understanding God gives him."[42] In the same issue E. F. Grubb also reasoned that the Christian is the most moral citizen to vote; therefore it is his duty to vote.[43] By 1905, the view of *The Mennonite* began to move more to advocacy of voting: "The man who prays for his country will vote as he prays and the vote of the praying man is the Salvation of the nation."[44]

The *Herald of Truth* took the position that the nonresistant Christian should abstain from political participation. During the election of 1900, Editor Abram Kolb took note of the election and of the unrighteous things happening in the campaigns. Referring to earlier conference decisions about participation he said:

> No doubt all our brethren know the rules and decisions of their respective conferences on the subject of politics, and we hope they will bear them in mind just now when they will need them, and hold themselves aloof from the things that are not good and not pure, and are entirely inconsistent with the life of Christian.[45]

Many articles and editorials about government participation seemed to also reflect this feeling. In an article defining nonresistance, Daniel Kauffman said that Christians cannot bring a moral influence into politics because they soon become like all the politicians once they have entered that realm. He urged that voting even for reforms be avoided unless the voter thinks it right to "follow up the decrees of the ballot by compelling submission at the point of the sword."[46] J. A Holdeman agreed with Kauffman that voting for laws implies that the law may be enforced in ways that may be counter to nonresistance. He also pointed out that just as Christ did not desire

to serve as king of the world, so Christians should not desire to be a part of worldly government.[47] Other articles also appeared in *Herald of Truth* saying that Christians cannot participate in the "worldlings'" attempts at reform and that to vote means rejection of nonresistance.

Prohibition

In covering domestic events all the Mennonite periodicals also covered news of the prohibition movement. The Mennonite attitudes toward prohibition efforts were consistently positive. In *The Review* an article relating new saloon prohibition laws in Iowa and commending the Anti-Saloon Leagues efforts apeared as early as 1900.[48] *The Mennonite* in 1899 assessed a prohibition bill that passed the Georgia Legislature, "Every step toward the suppression of the monster evil of alcoholism is a cause for genuine rejoicing."[49] *Herald of Truth* did not begin to convey such a positive attitude toward prohibition until later in the years 1903-1905.

The Review published a number of articles advocating the use of the vote for prohibition. John H. Von Steen wrote several times supporting the Prohibition party. "Prohibition does not prove successful without a party behind it to enforce it."[50] When in Newton, Kansas, a "wet" candidate was on the ballot for Mayor, *The Review* noted, "And not only Mennonite men but a goodly number of Mennonite women for the first time in their lives went to the polls to vote, in order that the 'wet' candidate might the more surely be defeated."[51]

At one time, *The Mennonite* had confined most of its articles about temperance to the advocacy of persuasive rather than legislative methods. It had approved of legislative action bringing about prohibition but had not advocated Mennonite participation in bringing that action about. By 1905 *The Mennonite* was actively advocating Mennonite action against liquor. An article in March, 1905, related how a town in Pennsylvania had voted against renewing liquor licenses. The article concludes, "Some more Pennsylvania towns should follow suit, especially towns inhabited by Mennonites."[52]

Prohibition still seemed to be the center of controversy by 1905 in *Herald of Truth*. More articles had begun to appear advocating voting and political involvement for prohibition which in turn seemed to be countered by articles saying nonresistance excluded political participation. One article affirmed that it was the duty of the Christian to oppose the evils of intemperance, but stated to vote to suppress the liquor traffic would be in violation of the principle of nonresistance.[53] Yet another article called for a vote in favor of prohibition and stated, "No intelligent man doubts, no honest man can deny, that any great movement aimed at the destruction of the saloon has a deep claim upon every Christian man and woman in this land."[54] By 1905 no clear stand had yet emerged on this issue on the part of *Herald of Truth*.

Rev. H. G. Allebach, Quakertown, Pennsylvania

General Reform Consciousness

A general view of Mennonite consciousness as conveyed by *The Review*, *The Mennonite*, and *Herald of Truth* indicates an entrance into the "spirit" of the times and the acquisition of what could be called a general reform consciousness. This consciousness is related not only to the issues already surveyed but to the general attitudes the Mennonites began to acquire during the early 1900's.

Examples of this attitude can be seen occurring throughout the issues of the three periodicals. There was a feeling of optimism tempered with a spirit of reform and justice. In *The Review*, Krehbiel wrote in Dec., 1900: "And if Christianity has made this century great, shall it not make the next still greater? Perfection is still not attained. The world can still improve. And the 20th Century will furnish to Christians the opportunity to scale these unattained heights."[55] As N. C. Hirschy pointed out at the cornerstone laying of the Central Mennonite College in Bluffton, Ohio, the new century was filled with many challenges:

> The oppressed must be set free, the tyrant must be slain, despots must be dethroned. The Cubans and Philippinos are not yet free; the Boers are next door neighbors to slaves; India is starving and China is in turmoil. These wrongs must be righted, gov-

ernments must become submissive to the inevitable, and must become servants of the people.

There are also social problems that await solution. The cry of the needy, the destitution of the helpless, the wretchedness of the neglected, are pleading for relief. . . . Society must be purified, environment must be made more wholesome, the enemy of righteousness must be trodden under foot.[56]

The Mennonites were beginning to realize these challenges and search for the ways in which they might be met. They began to search the society around them and themselves. This was a search in which many found, "If then men of the world and semi-religious men can be bold and strong enough to institute and carry out great plans of moral reform, what should not true Christians be able to do, when they have the same moral stamina, coupled with divine grace? Ah! Men of the world often put us Christians, who profess to go forth in the name of the Lord, to utter shame."[57]

Conclusion

The formative period of this social consciousness for the Mennonites, 1899-1905, was a time filled with controversy and awakening. During this period the Mennonites experienced a widening of perspective that was characterized by an emergence of awareness, controversy, and changed attitudes about social problems to a degree unknown before in their history in North America.

FOOTNOTES

1 A. K. Kurtz, "Politics," *Herald of Truth*, XXXVII (Oct. 1, 1900), p. 301.
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3 *The Review*, II (Jan., 1900), p. 4.
4 *The Review*, II (April, 1900), p. 4.
5 "The Boer and British War," *Herald of Truth*, XXXVII (July 1, 1900), p. 194.
6 *Herald of Truth*, XL (July 16, 1903), p. 225.
7 *Herald of Truth*, XLII (Sept. 7, 1905), p. 281.
8 *The Review*, VL (Feb. 15, 1904), p. 4.
9 *The Mennonite*, XX (Oct. 26, 1905), p. 4.
10 *The Mennonite*, XX (Oct. 26, 1905), p. 5.
11 J. L. Byer, "What Have We to Be Thankful For by Way of Social and Civil Privileges," *Herald of Truth*, XLI (Dec. 1, 1904), p. 387.
12 "The Germantown Peace Conference," *The Mennonite*, XIX (July 9, 1903), p. 2.
13 *Herald of Truth*, XL (May 7, 1903), p. 46.
14 H. O. Kruse, "A Symposium of Several Writings on the Proper Attitude of Mennonites Toward Government," *The Review*, IV (Jan. 15, 1902), p. 2.
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26 H. G. Allebach, "Mrs. Carrie Nation," *The Mennonite*, XVI (April, 1901), p. 51.
27 "Mrs. National Strength," *The Mennonite*, XVII (Oct., 1901), p. 3.
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33 *The Review*, II (July, 1900), p. 4.
34 *The Review*, II (Oct., 1900), pp. 2, 4.
35 C. D. Amstutz, "Roosevelt and Non-Resistance," *The Review*, IV (Nov., 1900), p. 2.
36 M. H. Hochstettler, "Nonresistance," *The Review*, IV (Nov., 1900), pp. 2, 3.
37 J. Eicher, "A Reply," *The Review*, IV (Nov., 1900), p. 3.
38 John H. Von Steen, "A Response," *The Review*, IV (Nov., 1900), p. 1.
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40 N. C. Hirschy, "A Symposium of Several Writers on the Proper Attitude of Mennonites Toward Government," *The Review*, I (Jan., 1900), p. 3.
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47 J. A. Holdeman, "Nonresistance," *Herald of Truth*, XL (April 30, 1903), p. 138.
48 *The Review*, II (March, 1900), pp. 6, 7.
49 *The Mennonite*, XV (Dec., 1899), p. 17.
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54 J. A. U., "Wine is a Mocker," *Herald of Truth*, XL (Nov. 26, 1903), p. 379.
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Grandfather's Gold Coins

by Peter J. Hampton

The 1914 to 1924 period in Russia was one of the most momentous decades of Mennonite history. It witnessed a revolution, a typhoid epidemic and a famine. Tens of thousands of our people died of starvation, were murdered by roving bands of bandits, and succumbed to that dreadful disease of typhoid.

At first the 1914 world war was far away from where we lived in Saratove on the Volga. Dad's business flourished. He was a miller. With the help of his brother-in-law David Letkeman, dad had managed to build his flour mill into a prosperous business. He was well known in the community. When he drove through the streets with his white stallion he was recognized as Peter Petrovich Petkov, a man whose benevolence had earned him national notice.

When dad contributed a sizeable sum of money to the Russian Red Cross, Czar Nicholas ordered that dad be presented with a ruby red cross framed in silver with a large E on top of the cross commemorating Catherine the Great who invited the Mennonites to settle in Russia in the late 1700's.

Gradually times deteriorated. The war did not go well for Russia. There was talk of civil war. Then mother became ill with tuberculosis. After my brother Jacob was born, my mother pleaded with father to move back to Warwarowka, her family home in the Ukraine. Dad agreed. He sold his share of the family business and bought a farm in Warwarowka. Mother got worse and when I was five she died.

It was at this time that I first learned of grandfather's gold coins. Grandfather was well to do. He was a farmer and an innovator. He introduced sugar cane to our people. It was he who showed our people how to raise silk worms. He was successful in almost anything he undertook. He made a lot of money, but he did not like paper money. He was constantly converting the paper money he earned and did not need in his business into gold coins. All of us were curious to know where grandfather kept his gold coins. But grandfather would not tell.

Our family first shared in grandfather's gold coins when grandfather gave my dad mother's inheritance to invest. It was a tidy sum of gold coins. My brother Jacob and I were too young to appreciate our mother's inheritance but father was delighted. He promptly purchased a retail store with the gold coins and from then on paid more attention to store keeping than to farming.

Meanwhile the Russian Army had capitulated to the Germans. Lenin was secretly shipped back to Russia by the Germans in a freight car so he could foment trouble. In those days Lenin was Germany's secret weapon with whom they managed to do the Russians in. Soon after the Russian revolution was on. Anarchy reigned throughout the country. Bands of bandits roamed through the countryside, plundering, burning, raping and killing. The Machnovtse, the Petlurovtse, and the Wosnesentse. In desperation our people hid their valuables to keep them from the bandits. But after the Mennonites were tortured to reveal the hiding places of their treasures, many of the treasures were lost. Grandfather's cache of gold coins however remained intact. They were never discovered by the bandits. Gradually as the Red Army replaced the bandits, order once more returned to the country.

Now the dreaded typhoid epidemic struck, and no one had time to think of gold and buried treasure. People were dying everywhere of the dreaded disease. It became so bad that school children had to be recruited to bury the dead, up to three or more in a grave.

The typhoid epidemic was followed by the great famine. Many of the Mennonites who survived the typhoid epidemic were now dying of starvation. What few possessions were left were now traded for food. Our Wurlitzer piano was traded for a sack of flour; mother's commode was traded for a sack of potatoes. It was at this time that attention to grandfather's gold coins reappeared. Uncle John received several gold coins to buy a couple of horses so he could plow his fields. Aunt Greta received five gold coins when she married, and dad received enough gold to start out in business once more.

My brother Jacob and I were now in our preteens. Jacob was ten and I was 12. We decided to search for grandfather's gold coins. As we proceeded with our search we came up with some interesting successes. On one of the rafters in the cow barn we found a gold watch belonging to Uncle Isaac as we learned later. We also found a pair of boots belonging to Uncle George. But grandfather's gold coins could

not be found.

Then one day while my brother Jacob and I were snooping around grandfather's tool shed, Jacob accidently stepped into the treasure-trove. A floor board gave way as he jumped up to reach a tool on the wall and then came down full force with his weight. As he extracted his foot from the broken floor board a shiny coin peaked through. Upon quick investigation we found a whole box of gold coins. So this was Grandfather's gold cache.

Panic now took hold of us. What were we going to do? Taking any of the money would be stealing and that would not do. Telling that we had found the money could lead to a severe spanking for getting into grandfather's tool shed, which neither of us relished. So we decided to keep quiet about our find. We closed the box, put it back where it had been. straightened the floor board as best we could, and then left grandfather's tool shed in a hurry.

After that we put ourselves on watch to see when grandfather would go to his tool shed. When he went there and stayed a long time we knew that he was working, but when he went there and soon came back we knew that he had once more dipped into his gold cache. We had additional evidence because soon after a member of the family or some one else in our village experienced the munificence of our grandfather.

Mr. Dyck got money from grandfather to purchase seed grain. Mr. Janzen got money for a new plow; Mrs. Wiebe received money for an operation; and Helen Epp got enough money to go away and train to become a teacher. Everywhere grandfather's largess was present. He helped the church and the school; he helped the business men of our village and the farmers.

Then one day grandfather took sick and died. Some said he died of old age; others said he died because he was needed in heaven to help the Good Lord with his work. Whatever the reason, my brother Jacob and I now decided to look into grandfather's box of gold coins once more. When we opened the box we found a note and two remaining gold coins. The note read: To Peter and Jacob Paetkau: Thank you boys for not giving my secret away. Here is a gold coin for each of you!

So grandfather had known all the time that we knew. He trusted us with his secret. Jacob and I were proud to have had such a wonderful man as a grandfather. My brother Jacob too has passed away. I don't know what happened to his gold coin. But I still have mine. From time to time I take it out of our safety box in the bank and look at it. When I do I get warm all over. The gold coin looks as gracious and as magnificent as when grandfather first gave it to me. The stories it could tell!

CENTENNIAL SOD

By Peter Ediger

You came
with plows and prayers
piercing me
turning me
thrusting your red seed
into my womb.

Was your invasion
born of love
or were you raping me?

Were you making me
breakfast
for the world
or were you laboring
for that which is not
bread?

And what of those
who knew
my virginity
whose mocassined caresses
stroked the bosom of
my youth
is their love lost to me?

And what of generations
yet unborn
whose coming I anticipate
have you a covenant
with them?

"The Anabaptist or the Bernese Farmer" by Aurele Robert. Cover illustration of Volume II, Number 1—the third issue of Mennonite Life, *January 1947.*

INNENLAND

A Three-Part Choral Reading
by Elaine Sommers Rich

Part I THE VALLEY

Dark Voice Solo
This mountain ravine is deep.
Dark shadows spread over it.
Buzzards circle; crows caw.
Withered trunks, rusted beer cans,
Bony roots litter the slopes.
Brambles and thorns thicken the underbrush.
The air is a miasma of mosquitos.

Chorus of Dark Voices
Caw! Caw! Caw!
Desolation. Waste. Death.
Caw! Caw! Caw!
Drought. Litter. Waste.

Individual Voices Building to a Climax
Our eyes sting. Our nostrils burn.
We cannot live in this valley of desolation.
This air is a heaviness in our lungs.
We cannot sing. We cannot breathe.

Chorus of Dark Voices
Caw! Caw! Caw!
Barrenness. Death. Despair.
Caw! Caw! Caw!
Desolation. Darkness. Waste.

Part II THE PEOPLE

Chorus
We are prisoners in this valley.
A heavy landslide has buried us.
Who can lead us to a green ravine,
to a city of light?
Our fathers and mothers have told us
There is a choked spring
somewhere in this valley.
They have forgotten its place.
Can we clear out the clutter?
Can we unblock the litter?
Fresh water in this valley?

Light Voice Solo
Fresh unpolluted water!
Surging streams of water!
A pure spring of water in this valley!

Chorus
Can we remove twisted concrete and boulders?
Can we clear away the underbrush?
Where is this stream?

Echo Light Voice
Is this stream?

Chorus
Where is this fountain of fresh water?

Echo Light Voice
Fresh water?

Part III THE CITY

Chorus All Voices
Come, let us sing a new song of praise unto our God.
We are people from every tribe, nation, and tongue.
We have built a city of light in this green ravine.
Trees grow in our city.
Orchards and gardens are everywhere.
Meadowlarks, *uguisu* and nightingales sing in our city.
Let us bring our violins, lutes, guitars, *shakuhachi*
and drums to the green heart of this city.
Let us bring our balalaikas and castanets.
Let us sing a chorale that stretches the rainbow
and lifts the clouds.
We and the birds and the water sing.

Vocal Ending on a Chord of Joy
Praise! Praise! Praise!
Throughout all our days!
Praise! Praise! Praise!

Of "Innenland" Elaine Sommers Rich writes the following: "It was partially inspired by reading Eberhard Arnold's *The Inner Life*. This translation into English of the original *Innenland* was published just this year by the Society of Brothers at Rifton. The original was written in the early 30's, but was buried in metal boxes on the hillside behind the Rhon Bruderhof in Germany, smuggled to Lichtenstein, published in Switzerland. Loyalty to Christ was disloyalty to Hitler."—Editors.

Books in Review

Kenneth Reed, *Mennonite Soldier*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1974. pp. 518. $6.95.

Let's go back to the days of World War I and pick up the tales of two Mennonite young men—the brothers Mastie and Ira Stolzfus and the efforts of each to be true to himself and to his calling.

"We're just asking you nice, Are you a yellowbelly or ain't you? Are you a conchie who won't fight or—"

"God damn it!" said Mastie. "No!" He lifted the buggy whip and brought it down smartly on Apple Boy's back (page 66).

Mastie's calling is toward the world, and he, the prodigal son of Red Isaac, the Mennonite bishop, flees the narrow confines of his Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, farm home to join the army, defying his church and his family. Excommunicated from the congregation for drunkenness, he pits himself against the depraved German to assert his manhood and his solidarity with the human race.

The church calls Ira to refuse military service, even when drafted and shipped off to Camp Ethan Allen in Georgia. The church speaks in an unsteady voice and leaves him awkwardly unprepared. But Ira is as eager to be a Christian witness as is his brother to shoulder a gun. So much so, that he holds an uncertain emotion for the young girl that comes to the railroad station to see him off to camp.

The greatest decision facing me now isn't whether I love her or not, although I think I do, but whether I can remain true in the army camp. "I love the church," he said (184).

Ken Reed in his first novel, *Mennonite Soldier*, has given us a readable addition to the Mennonite martyrology bookshelf out of the experience of an ingrown peace church's encounter with World War I. That adventure proved so painful we've tried ever since to rid our corporate soul of the very memory. But a hole in the soul won't do. We need to fill it in with what really happened with all its pain and hope from the not so distant way-back-when so that we can be complete persons in the now right here.

Ira refuses to wear the army's uniform; a uniform makes the soldier. He refuses stubbornly to do the military deed, even planting marigolds to beautify the camp for a visiting general who upon seeing a disciplined garden border may feel the troops are combat ready. Ira suffers savage torture at the hands of the officers and soldiers who either misunderstand him or fear him. Though persecuted and bullied, he sees each ordeal as an opportunity to witness to his Christian faith and all but laments when momentarily the trials cease.

Reed brings a necessary note of realism to his narrative, a note accepted when found in the Bible but fiercely rejected in that which we possessively call Christian literature. Recognition, even in passing, that Mennonite men—and women—do have sexual impulses will be reassuring to some, disturbing to others.

"Don't," she whispered, but it was more faint this time, like a thirsty, fasting pilgrim refusing water when his body is pleading for it, his conscience failing under the powerful thirst of his body. He kissed her again and again. "Don't," she said, but she had given up.

It began to rain on the tin roof overhead (74).

Reed makes a most eloquent plea for an end of war as a crippled Mastie views the fields of his home and remembers other farms.

He could imagine the barn with its doors hanging cockeyed on their hinges and the roof torn off by artillery, one whole wall reduced to a pile of stones which soldiers were piling up again as a barricade. On the top of the silo a machine gunner would cover the hillside until he was shot out and in the pasture every one of those fat steers would be on its back side with its legs sticking straight out, bloated, dead, and concealing gunners. The house would be burning and the whole valley crackling with gunfire (493).

And in the other brother's brief furlough before going to prison, he captures the mood of a lost son of the soil.

He started to walk toward the haymow, full of hay he hadn't help make (423).

Born near the end of World War II, Ken Reed hasn't lived through the emotions of either this century's great cataclysms called world wars, though Vietnam should have been enough for anyone. Therefore, he has a claim for forgiveness in giving us a good war story not deeply rooted in history or in the depths of the soul.

In terms of history, let's apply the test of language. Dare we believe characters who are allowed to talk out of turn—a turn of thirty to fifty years?

Ten minutes ago, we were ordered to the front—ready to go in hours. How's that grab you? (177).

Hot mama! and welcome to the club (322).

No one has brainwashed me! (437).

I think I'm going to go out of my gourd (474).

The shallow roots of the soul are not as easily and quickly documented in such short compass, because the soul responds to feelings. I can only offer my feelings in evidence that the characters on paper have not come fully into life. We are told directly (perhaps too directly), and from the beginning, that these two sons are the sons of Jesus' parable of the prodigal and the prude (Luke 15). Both sons choose a vocation, both end up crippled in body, but more in soul. Mastie recognizes his sin in all its blackness and seeks and finds forgiveness, forgiveness for sins described in quantity. Ira's sins are the white sins of spiritual pride and self-righteousness but they seem to be sins ascribed to round out the story more than allowed to grow out of the events.

Ira, the conscientious objector, has not been fleshed out or breathed into. Neither in him or in his brother can we see ourselves, and we're less rich because of the gift withheld—the language of the soul.

Yet, here are the elements of a cracking good story, a martyr story from our times and for our times. Those old martyr stories used to form a large part of the spiritual diet of our forefathers and foremothers, hardening the believers for their vocation as a peculiar people. Lately, we've not been sure that we wanted to be quite that peculiar.

NEWTON *Maynard Shelly*

B. R. White. *The English Separatist Tradition from the Marian Martyrs to the Pilgrim Fathers.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971, pp. 179. $9.50.

H. C. Porter, ed. *Puritanism in Tudor England.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971. pp. 311. $9.95.

Robert Merrill Bartlett. *The Pilgrim Way.* Philadelphia: A Pilgrim Press Book, 1971. Pp. 371. $12.00.

The stream of books on Puritan topics continues to flow briskly. Because it cuts across social, political, and economic fields, Puritanism is related to many topics, going much beyond the strict confines of religion and intellectual history. The three books listed above may be of interest to readers of *Mennonite Life* although their titles may not call particular attention to them. Of special interest is *The English Separatist Tradition* by B. R. White of Regent's Park College, Oxford. He gives a survey of Separatism up to about 1620 based upon printed sources. There has been some suggestion that this survey is still premature inasmuch as many Separatist documents are now in process of publication or re-publication. One of the longest chapters gives an account of John Smyth's Separatism, which relates to the connection with Anabaptism. Smyth's Puritan group in early seventeenth-century Amsterdam "remodled Separatism" by adopting adult baptism, making Smyth the chief English Anabaptist of early times. This chapter of twenty-six pages provides a convenient, readable, good survey of Smyth's activities. White plays down the connections between Smyth and the Dutch Anabaptists. Rather surprisingly, no mention is made of Johannes Bakker's extensive book on Smyth, *John Smyth, de stichter van het Baptisme* (Wageningen, 1964) or other recent Dutch literature on Smyth. Bakker gives greater attention to the Smyth connection with the Mennonites.

H. C. Porter's book, *Puritanism in Tudor England,* is a collection of documents. Porter includes material from both the Separatists and the mainline Puritans; and all in all, he has produced a handy compendium of Puritan sources. Most are rather short. American readers can enjoy browsing in *The Pilgrim Way* by Robert M. Bartlett, an informative, well-illustrated book on the Pilgrim Fathers and their migration to America. A large part of the book is devoted to the Pilgrim experience in Holland, centered on John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrim church of Leiden. The later chapters follow the story to America. A most attractive feature of the book is the generous use of illustrations—this is a book to look at as well as to read.

In its overall interpretation, it is a sympathetic portrayal of Robinson and the Pilgrims. Bartlett has used the usual sources (Burgess, Dexter, Bradford, Plooij, and others). He does not break new ground but the volume is a pleasant tribute to "the Pilgrim Way" and was appropriate to the celebration of 1970 (350th anniversary of the *Mayflower*). Some overemphasis on the Pilgrim phases of Puritanism occurs by giving so little note to the large non-Separatist English settlement of Leiden and Hugh Goodyear its minister. William Ames (this reviewer notes) did not graduate from Christ's College in 1607, but rather in 1597/98.

BETHEL COLLEGE *Keith L. Sprunger*

MELVIN GINGERICH

One of the founders of *Mennonite Life*, January 1946.

January 29, 1902 — June 24, 1975

Nelson Springer of Goshen College in a memorial tribute at the Goshen College Mennonite Church, June 28, spoke in part thus:

Melvin Gingerich, 405 Marilyn Avenue, resident of the Goshen community since 1947, died of a heart seizure while he and his wife were visiting their son Owen and his family in Cambridge, Mass., Tuesday, June 24. He had not been ill, and death was unexpected. . . .

He came to Goshen as Director of Research at the Mennonite Research Foundation and Custodian (later Archivist) of the Archives of the Mennonite Church.

He served as managing editor of the four-volume *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, managing editor and associate editor of the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, associate editor of *Mennonite Life*, and co-editor of the *Mennonite Historical Bulletin*. . . . Melvin wrote extensively. His first book, *The Mennonites in Iowa*, remains a pacesetter for the manner in which it interprets movements as well as chronicles events.

There were other books commissioned by church agencies: *Service for Peace, Youth and Christian Citizenship, What of Noncombatant Service, Mennonite Attire Through Four Centuries.*

Just before he left Goshen two weeks ago he added finishing touches to his manuscript on Edward C. Eicher, U.S. Congressman and head of the Securities and Exchange Commission during the 1930s and 1940s.

Long a promoter of better understanding between Mennonite groups, he was also keenly interested in other ecumenical contacts, particularly as they related to peace concerns. He was conversant in theology, the sciences and the arts, as well as in history, which was his specialty. . . .

As Melvin pictured the University of Heaven [from a 1966 chapel address] he expressed the hope to learn more about God and his works, about Christ, about the Holy Spirit. He looked forward to fellowship periods with the saints of all ages. He wanted to attend celestial chapel where he expected one of the songs might be the "Hallelujah Chorus." We rejoice in having walked with him in part of his pilgrimage here.